Revitalising Communities in a Globalising World

An Empirical Approach to Ordinary Hermeneutics

Edited by

Lena Dominelli

REVITALISING COMMUNITIES IN A GLOBALISING WORLD

Contemporary Social Work Studies

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Revitalising Communities in a Globalising World

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Contributors

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Disclaimer

The views conveyed in this book are those of each of the authors concerned and not necessarily those of their respective universities, the editor, or Ashgate.

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PART 1
Theories and Concepts for Practice

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Revitalising Communities: Introduction

LENA DOMINELLI

Introduction

We live in a period of unprecedented and unremitting change driven by the forces of globalisation. Globalisation, defined as an economic system, has integrated remote parts of the world by bringing them together and overcome great distances via technological innovations like the internet and mass airplane travel to move people and goods across the earth's surface physically and metaphorically (Cox, 1981; Stern, 2001).

I have argued that globalisation is more than an economic force and define it as a socio-political and economic form of social organisation that has penetrated everyday life all over the world, including aspects deemed sacrosanct and invulnerable to commodification. It has subjected these to market-discipline; flexible accumulation; the internationalisation of the state and social problems; forms of contract governance; and reification of human relationships at the interpersonal level. Expressed as the ideology of neoliberalism applicable across the globe and endorsed through policies of structural adjustment located in industrialising communities, the current form of globalisation has promoted capitalist social relations worldwide and altered people's perceptions of the possible by initiating major changes in how they: engage with the routines of daily life; participate in the broader activities of the world around them; and act to exploit and/or protect their social and physical environments (Dominelli, 2004a).

Communities are fluid and constantly changing entities grounded upon ties that are based on geography, sometimes conceptualised as virtual space; interests; and/or identity. Communities, as ideas and practices about social cohesion that are passed on from one generation to another, provide stability and continuity in shifting social terrains located in specific contexts including the macro-level one of globalisation. Membership in a given community is accorded to those meeting specified criteria. The processes of their inclusion exclude others occupying the same locational space and having daily interactions with those included.

Communities have been affected by globalisation in a kaleidoscope of positive and negative changes dependent upon specific contexts, histories and traditions, often calling into question how any particular one is defined and/or perceived. People respond to changing communities by revitalising them in various ways - embracing change; restructuring to accommodate it; or resisting it. Theories and practices used in reacting to the impact of globalisation on communities are explored in this text. The implications of revitalising communities for social work education and practice are a preoccupation of its last section. Authors consider both themes through a social justice perspective in the whole of the book.

Globalisation, as a dynamic of change, tears at community ties, often replacing existing bonds with less stable and more precarious ones. Communities, as the spaces within which people construct their lives through interactions with others have become places whereby the politics of globalisation are played out. Communities are globalising and becoming more open to influences outside their control at the same time as defending their boundaries and drawing tighter limits around them or defying existing borders through acts of resistance. So, communities are constantly forming and reforming as their actors interact with others to (re)negotiate the spaces they call their own.

This book delves into people's responses to the challenges of globalisation when (re)defining and revitalising communities whether impacted upon by migration, environmental degradation and/or disasters. The problems are extensive, but examinations of their resolution by active citizens realising their human rights guided my selection of contributions for this book. Another was identifying forms of education and training that inspired people to draw upon past and present thinking in creating futures more suited to current and anticipated needs.

Structure of the Book

The theme of revitalising communities resonates throughout the book and is explored differently in each chapter. I have not attempted to impose either a singular analysis of globalisation on contributors or select those offering a pre-determined outcome. Rather, I have chosen those that raise critical questions for further consideration, more data for continued analyses, sensitive portrayals of events that ask us to think differently about taken-for-granted everyday occurrences, and the dream that one day people will be able to create social structures that advantage all equally so that the earth's resources can be allocated to promoting human well-being and enhancing the beauty of our physical environments.

Structured around three sections covering practice, education and theory, the book examines the diverse impact of globalisation on communities variously defined in different parts of the world. The boundaries between these spheres are intellectual constructs and hence arbitrary and/or contentious because they can be drawn and interpreted differently by author, editor and reader. There are also degrees of overlap between them. Each chapter is indicative of a particular way of thinking and doing, but raises concerns that resonate elsewhere. Their ordering is not inalterable. A number could be moved from one section to another without detracting from its tripartite structure. I have chosen to place each in the order I have, despite the different lengths of the chapters and sections according to my view of its key message in advancing the theme of change and community responses to it in the context of a globalising world. Sometimes I have grouped chapters together because they pursue a topic with different lenses. Those considering the impact of migration on communities illustrate this point.

Of the book's 3 sections, *Part 1* focuses on theory, exploring both concepts - globalisation and communities, to depict their contested and changing forms in different settings. It highlights differing definitions and responses to globalising forces within community-based spaces and services. Authors analyse globalisation, its opportunities and drawbacks, asking difficult questions about who benefits from its spread throughout the planet. They show that globalising communities are in continual states of flux as they respond to shifts in their physical and social environments. The diversities that they encompass ensure that each community is unique even if it shares some features with others.

I examine theoretical aspects of globalising communities and agency in Chapter 1. Ankie Hoogvelt explores definitions of globalisation and the interplay between globalisation, imperialism and aid in Chapter 2. She raises issues taken up later by others, particularly Stubbs, Askaland, James and Desai. Irene Levin considers how the collapse of boundaries between professionals and

the communities within which they practice have impacted upon images and discourses within and about social work and highlights their social construction in chapter 3. This is followed by Marilyn Callahan and Karen Swift's examination of how discourses about risk have been shaped by being integrated into neoliberal reconfigurations of the welfare state in Canada without improving conditions for those it intends to serve. In Chapter 5, Mel Gray and Bill Mitchell consider how the limitations of neoliberalism and structural adjustment distort social development by focusing on events that unfolded in post-apartheid South Africa. In Chapter 6, Carolyn Noble rethinks the role of social movements and collective action in initiating social change and identifies important contributions that social workers can contribute to these.

Part 2 investigates practice examples of how different groups of people or communities have responded to the challenges of globalisation. In Chapter 7, Paula Asgill and Margaret Ledwith depict anti-racist feminist perspectives in working across racial divides in community settings and problematise the creation of more egalitarian relationships between different groups of women. Gary Pattison explores the concept of participation, articulated through social policies endorsed by British Conservative and Labour governments, but badly implemented in practice in deprived communities in Chapter 8. Keith Popple unpacks community development strategies that unfold through community action in Scotland and England next. He argues that local initiatives can transcend government fiat, a message of relevance elsewhere. The use of microcredit schemes to exploit the potential of microfinancing initiatives in poverty alleviation strategies amongst women in poor communities is addressed by Ingrid Burkett in Chapter 10. She highlights opportunities within microfinance initiatives while identifying dangers in having poor communities take responsibility for paying loan defaults by individual women. The impact of NGOs in developing social structures and relationships within community settings in a transitional country, Croatia, is pursued by Paul Stubbs in the following chapter to reveal traditions of community organising that predate the Fall of the Berlin Wall.

The role of economic imperatives in undermining the human rights of marginalised groups occupies the subsequent three chapters. In Chapter 12, Jacquie Green and Robina Thomas explore the barriers inflicted upon indigenous sovereign development by colonial exploitation and destruction of native culture. They show that indigenous peoples' desire to heal can be met by First Nations community-based child welfare systems that they run and manage. The wish to empower children through community involvement is further explored in the context of South Africa by Vishanthie Sewpaul and Dorothee Hölscher in Chapter 13. They examine several case studies to indicate how this can occur through interagency working and the use of volunteers. Darja Zavišek considers initiatives promoted by disabled people seeking control over their lives in parts of Eastern Europe in Chapter 14. She discloses the patchy nature of empowerment strategies used in different parts of what were once called socialist policies and practices.

Migrants, as established populations in the community encompassed by the nation-state, illustrate the contradictory elements of contemporary definitions of community based on similarity of bonds (Dominelli, 2006b). Migration is a theme in the following few chapters. In the first, Abye Tasse challenges common depictions of (im)migrants as uneducated rural residents from low-income countries by focusing on Ethiopian migrants to France and the USA. He shows that highly educated and Westernised Ethiopians have migrated to Western countries for some time. In Chapter 16, Sven Hessle considers dilemmas faced by practitioners working with immigrants in a society once conceptualised as homogeneous – Sweden. He argues for a more holistic approach that blurs the boundaries between the culture of origins and the majority Swedish culture to achieve a better understanding of what interventions are needed in any specific situation.

The nature of migration is changing. John Small and Lincoln Williams indicate in Chapters 17 and 18 respectively that it is better conceptualised as a cycle of migratory movements that blur the

boundaries of citizenship between nation-states and recast citizenship as a transient phenomenon with multiple configurations for any one individual or community. This situation is familiar to transnational families whose members are scattered across several countries. John Small considers migration from the Caribbean from a sociological perspective. His work, like Abye Tasse's exposes the cyclic nature of migration and collapse of distinctions between sending and receiving countries. Caribbean migrants returning to their country of origins concerns Lincoln Williams in Chapter 18. Here, he tells of difficulties encountered in returning 'home' through an adult's personal reflections on a migratory trajectory that began in childhood.

The taken-for-granted assumptions made by European migrants in their role as travellers affected by the tsunami that occurred in the Indian Ocean in December 2004 are explored in Gurid Askaland's chapter. In Chapter 20, Lizy James looks at the impact of aid on local people rebuilding lives after this tsunami struck.

Part 3 places the spotlight on social work education at both national and international levels, asking how education and training can better equip practitioners to practice in globalising communities, give meaning to the values of respect and tolerance in specific contexts and use the earth's resources to enhance the welfare of all, including the planet. Each chapter highlights the need to revisit concepts of social citizenship and move beyond its embeddedness in and determination by a nation-state. People belong to more than one place, and as Askaland argued earlier, this sense of belonging holds even when engaging in ephemeral and temporary relationships that lack the continuity identified in chapters 15, 16, 17 and 18. Armaity Desai uses her experiences of working with those inhabiting areas devastated by natural and human disasters to show how universities can draw students into reconstruction efforts in unfamiliar places.

Mehmoona Moosa-Mitha focuses on the rights of child sex trade workers and argues for recognition of the roles that children play in asserting their own rights in chapter 22. She argues for a social justice education that transcends adultism (Dominelli, 2004b), the social relations whereby adults impose their views of the world upon children, to celebrate children's agency. In Chapter 23, Gale Cyr continues the theme of educators responding to difference with a First Nations social justice model that transforms traditional indigenous knowledge for modern usage. Lynne Healy considers the educational significance of retheorising international social work in a globalising world next. Ruth White raises a new issue for social work educators by reflecting upon the difficulties faced by practitioners seeking parity of qualifications for employment in countries other than those in which they train. I end the section with Chapter 26 on a reciprocated learning that takes account of globalisation and social worker mobility across borders without prescribing a single model that applies to all countries. I conclude the book by arguing that globalisation poses serious issues for communities. Social work educators and practitioners have to engage with these to promote community well-being in an egalitarian framework whether exchanging students, curricula, research opportunities and findings; looking for jobs; or helping others.

Globalising Communities: Players and Non-Players

LENA DOMINELLI

Introduction

Globalisation has redefined communities,[1] changed boundaries, fused cultures and altered social relations within and between communities to create players with access to markets and choice, and non-players who are excluded. Whether based on geography, interest or identity, communities have been subjected to the pressures of globalisation in contradictory processes of interdependence; integration and fragmentation; homogeneity and diversity to become *globalising communities* in context-specific locales. Globalisation has both imploded and extended communities physically and virtually, prompting their greater general assimilation into a market-driven system that legitimates the principles of advanced industrial capitalism. Market discipline, a neoliberal ideology about flexible accumulation, the internationalisation of the nation-state, internationalised social problems, peoples' place in society and relationships with the state (Cox, 1981; Dominelli and Hoogvelt, 1996; Dominelli, 2004b), shapes relationships amongst diverse actors in distinct communities. Their outcomes depend on how actors exercise agency within specific social relations and the natural resources that they access to produce wide variations in the distribution of wealth and resources and leave a raft of non-players adrift in a sea of plenty. As Hoogvelt (2001) and Stern (2001) argue, globalisation produces 'winners and losers' – players and non-players respectively. The internationalisation of social problems has challenged communities of practice to find common ethics and standards monitored by managers to promote accountability and comparability.

The term 'community' is contested and its meanings highly variable. Communities are formed as people come together collectively because they share an interest or hold some objective in common, have similar identity attributes or live in the same geographical space, or connect with others on the basis of any combination of these. A community of social work educators can be configured by those who self-define as such and create structures that enable them to act as one. By forming communities that are bound by similarities, people include those like them in their grouping and exclude those who are different. Thus, communities are simultaneously both inclusive and exclusive social formations.

This would not be a problem if communities were not divided into *insiders* who belong and *outsiders* who do not and the assignation of value to this status. The designation of insiders as superior and outsiders as inferior or deficient creates a hierarchy that exacerbates this binary division and can engender conflict between these two groups if the tensions produced are not addressed. Violence erupts when one group prevents another from realising its aspirations and goals while facilitating the capacities of others to do so. The ensuing strains can be mutually beneficial if their outcome is deemed positive by all those involved.

The processes whereby exclusionary delineation occurs involve 'othering' which I (Dominelli, 2002a; 2004b) define as:

an active process of interaction that relies on the (re)creation of dyadic social relations where one group is socially dominant and the others subordinate … [In it], physical, social and cultural attributes are treated as signifiers of inferiority in social relations where social encounters perpetuate the domination of one group by another. During this interaction, the dominant group is constructed as 'subject', the oppressed group as 'object' (Dominelli, 2002a: 2).

'Othering' processes and dynamics occur at the individual and collective or group levels and can be challenged in both domains. 'Othering' facilitates the articulation of dominant discourses that privilege insiders and promote dichotomous conceptualisations of the world and human social relations. The North/South divide of rich and poor countries is one of these referred to in this book. Commonly perceived as either-or formulations of reality, including choices about particular actions that people undertake, this expression ignores complexity, e.g., poverty within communities not just between them. Othering discourses accepted by outsiders become hegemonic or internalised as a normal condition of life. Hegemonic discourses penetrate the routines of everyday life and become rooted in a person's consciousness as taken for-granted assumptions that make the exclusion of outsiders seem natural and immutable. Social interactions located within these dynamics render resistance difficult.

Unthinking acceptance of thought regimes rooted in daily interactions allows for Foucault's (1980) 'technologies of the self' that shape an individual's response a situation. Through their acceptance, people become agents that support the status quo and do not require coercive measures to keep them loyal. Those who reject these dynamics are more likely to engage in resistance activities to undermine the existing set-up.

Individuals and collective groupings like the nation-state can belong to several communities simultaneously. People vary their allegiances to particular communities, depending on their overall aims and objectives, and so communities become dynamic entities rather than static ones frozen in time as portrayed in nostalgic myths. The processes of change taking place in communities lead people to adjust to the shifting constellation of social relations and contexts that incessant interaction between different communities brings forth. Community development is neither straightforward nor linear. Migratory experiences indicate that it is a constantly evolving process with movement in all directions.

In this chapter, I examine the impact of globalisation on communities and indicate how understanding the forces that play upon them can help to address better the needs of disadvantaged and marginalised communities that are themselves the product of globalising changes at the level of the locality, nation-state and/or international arenas (Ife, 2000).

Globalised Communities are Comprised of Players and Non-Players

Globalised social relations have made boundaries between communities, especially those based on geographic location, more permeable and porous. Fast moving or instantaneous electronic means of communication and airplane travel have made these even more so. For example, satellite television has enabled people living in isolated communities to know what is happening in far-off places they may never visit and through it, participate in events they could only previously imagine. These have covered the environment, armed conflicts, natural or people-induced disasters and the safeguarding of the earth's resources. It is becoming increasingly difficult to postulate any given culture or peoples as an isolated entity. Electronic means of communication have given immediacy to news and altered people's expectations of the possible; their role as players; and the nature of their relationships with others. Despite mass travel and the internet, poverty continues unabated and a digital divide exists where previously there was none. Globalisation continues to reproduce

inequalities by creating players and non-players. Alongside the non-players whose capacity to secure wealth is restricted, is the destruction of the earth's resources by a rapacious capitalism focusing on the bottom-line of its key players – the shareholders making money.

Alongside this openness, some countries have tightened their borders and looked for ways to reduce contact with the outer world. Both movements can be observed in any one defined community. For example, China has begun to engage in trade and tourism with other countries as it develops economically at a rapid pace to take its place amongst the largest economies in the world. Meanwhile, its government's ideological control over its population remains significant and it has barred open access to the internet, threatening to deprive companies that ignored its injunction a place in its sizeable markets. As a result, the icon of the virtual global community, Google, restricted internet connections there.

Globalisation has also increased the level of interdependency between nation-states; activities in one country may have a considerable impact upon another. And, it has widened and deepened the reach of global firms that can now make investment and production decisions without being held accountable for their effects by local workforces and governments. Some multinational firms have more resources and wealth at their disposal than countries whose populations have the world's lowest per capita incomes (Shah, 2002). Until recently, multinationals have emanated outwards from Western countries. The rise of China and India as global economic powers is likely to shift this locus of power and decision-making in the near future.

Attracting multinational companies to one's community does not ensure long-term investment, the collection of considerable taxable revenues, jobs that last into the future or decent rates of pay (Wichterich, 2000). In recent years, well-paid manufacturing jobs from the North have migrated to poorly paid workers in the South to the tune of 400,000 posts a year (Wichterich, 2000). This wave is being swollen further by service sector employees whose work is disappearing overseas where salaries are considerably less, e.g., the transfer of call-centre jobs in England to India and consequent reduction in employment opportunities in the companies' original base. HSBC, the bank that prides itself on its attachment to and understanding of the local has relocated thousands of posts, as have British Telecommunications, Norwich Union, the Prudential and Avia, saving companies $18,800 per post (BBC, 2003).

In an interdependent world, such cavalierism has to be called into question. Who is going to guarantee the rights to daily life including not only basic amenities for survival, but health and educational services as envisaged in the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights or the Convention on Rights of the Child, if people are without the well-paid jobs that make them players in the global economy? Who will be held accountable for those who can sell only their labour for a pittance and those excluded from the labour market for having none to sell? Left to their own devices, personal survival strategies include: women and children sex trade workers offering their bodies to those ready to exploit them; becoming objects of people-trafficking by organised criminal gangs that cross borders with impunity. These extend a hand out of the raft to create a floating merry-go-round of both players and non-players.

The same nation-states who are signatories to international protocols on human rights can be those with national policies that violate their realisation in the scramble to the bottom of the wage hierarchy as the neoliberal adage of looking after oneself replaces social solidarity. Key players in this internationalised marketplace have little regard for the well-being of the non-players that they exploit. Yet, non-players have agency. They are non-players only in that they do not fully control the conditions under which they are exploited; and, if given a real choice, they would secure better-paying jobs and safer spaces in which to live and work.

Demographic changes have encouraged the migration of labour from one country to another. Low birth rates, ageing populations and growing economies in a number of European countries

have attracted overseas migrants to fill vacant posts. These include shortages of health and welfare professionals. Countries like the UK have attracted social workers, doctors and other highly trained migrants into its workforce. Meanwhile, industrialising countries like South Africa that provided social workers for British welfare agencies have been deprived of the crucial skilled labour power they need.

There is little reciprocity in these exchanges. South Africans have paid for their expensive training resulting in a net transfer of resources from a low income country to a high income one. The UK has underinvested in training for some time and has neither paid for external training so that additional cohorts of professionals can train for their country of origin's needs, nor raised sufficiently the numbers of traineeships in the UK. Fewer than the 5,000 social workers called for in workload planning have been trained annually in Britain for several decades, reaching 4,700 in 2004. Professional bodies have not responded adequately to the needs of practitioners in meeting this shortfall, especially in creating anti-racist workplaces. In emerging economies like China, migration has been internal, from rural areas to urban ones in search of work which is not always available and so slums have arisen where none previously existed and realigned the player-non-player divide. But, by 2006, more than 200 new schools of social work had been formed to train professionals capable of addressing the social problems presented by rapid urban economic growth and rural impoverishment.

The differentiated impact of globalisation on communities has meant that while some have been decimated and/or disadvantaged by the outward flow of goods and services that it stimulates, others have been privileged and materially enriched; their position as players enhanced. Overall, huge increases in disparities in wealth between countries as well as within them have arisen (Wichterich, 2000). Americans constitute 4 per cent of the world's population but consume 25 per cent of its resources. These are unevenly spread and nearly 50 million Americans lack health insurance. Similar numbers live in dire poverty and work in low paid jobs (Ehenreich, 2002), providing a pool of non-players here too.

These figures hide as much as they expose. Further probing is required to show the variegated communities that make up these socially excluded groups. Black and non-white ethnic minorities are disproportionately represented amongst these non-players. Official government responses to the wreckage wrought by Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans in 2005 demonstrate that poor black people continue to receive fewer state resources when in need (Biever, 2006). As the USA is the richest nation on earth, such differentiation reveals the difficulty of envisaging an account of change that holds for all Americans and highlights the need for nuanced and diverse analyses.

A ray of optimism in this scenario is that African Americans, excluded from the development of the New Orleans of the future, are demanding inclusion in decision-making processes. They engaged in the election of the city's mayor and ensuring that the 2006 celebrations of Mardi Gras, one of their crucial cultural events, went ahead as planned prior to the storm (Biever, 2006). This is a story of survival by non-players and their becoming players by exercising agency.

Poverty and wealth inequalities worldwide have increased to a greater extent than predicated in the more optimistic 1970s when social reformers envisaged an end to social exclusion. Their aspirations promoted international action to eradicate poverty and advance human well-being. One of these, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, endorsed in 1989 aimed to abolish child poverty by 2000. This was not to be, and within communities, the uneven effects of globalisation leave children and women over-represented amongst poor people (Wichterich, 2000).

Against this bleak backdrop is the optimism of resistance communities as people resist the devastation of globalisation by creating alternatives that promote growth in their locales, seek to protect their physical and social environments and develop international networks that support their aims and ambitions for a better life (Bauman, 1998), especially one that is under their control

and can uphold cultural and linguistic traditions that they hold dear, a point contributors make often in this book.

Under conditions of globalisation, the flip side of homogeneity is heterogeneity and there are examples of the revival of communities that had long feared their demise alongside the formation of totally new ones. The fall of the Berlin Wall with its rapid establishment of small nation-states that had virtually disappeared, e.g., Estonia, can be interpreted as the resurgence of communities that had once had their identities submerged in a larger entity, the Soviet Union. Stubbs and Zaviršek make the same point for Croatia and Slovenia in chapters 11 and 14 respectively. Burgeoning microfinance initiatives can also be taken as signs of challenges to the hegemony of large financial agglomerates that act as multinational institutions. Even these examples have to be treated with caution. As Ingrid Burkett shows in chapter 10, microfinance and microcredit schemes can easily become incorporated into the established banking order and lose their capacity to develop local independent enterprises and fail to promote women's participation in commercial life and income generating opportunities that have a wide reach.

Resistance is not without drawbacks. It is not always carried out in a non-violent manner. When it promotes violence, it raises serious questions about the link between ends and means and undermines the idea that change that promotes human well-being has to be achieved through methods consistent with the ends being sought. Events in the anti-globalisation movement that resulted in riots in Seattle and other cities in the West where the G8 countries have met show that engaging in violent acts simply leads the established media to focus on these rather than the movement's message: that globalisation produces many more losers or non-players than winners and that injustices endured by disadvantaged people need to be addressed. The 1999 and subsequent demonstrations against the World Trade Organisation (WTO) bear testimony to this.

Globalisation Favours Capitalist Social Relations and Neoliberal, Managerialist Agendas

Globalisation as a system of domination entails capitalist social relations penetrating all aspects of everyday existence. 'Economics as ideology' disguises political choices that support capital accumulation in areas of life traditionally considered exempt from its reaches (Dominelli and Hoogvelt, 1996a). It has changed the relationship between the individual (citizen) and the state; the 'client' and the practitioner; and the employee and the employer. And, the new global division of labour draws nation-states into its orbit to control and manage national economies.

Local economies become subject to market discipline' that favours 'just in time' and 'flexible' production and requires a flexible workforce capable of working anywhere and mobile capital. The market privileges high salary levels amongst corporate directors while those at the lower reaches of the labour hierarchy fall in the 'race to the bottom'. This disproportionately disadvantages women and people in low-income countries (Wichterich, 2000). People work for low wages as global competition moves jobs from high-wage to low-wage areas with little community accountability in either location (Estes, 1996). Also, global recognition of brands exemplifies a movement that introduces change as local cultures fuse with external ones and borders become meaningless to multinational firms whose products go on to become household names.

Globalised communities have also been formed in education as borders are transgressed by multinational institutions that become privileged providers and regional entities come together to harmonise qualifications and secure transnational recognition. In the educational arena, globalisation has: broadened the range of educational providers, e.g., even McDonald's has its own training university; increased demands for greater recognition and harmonisation of qualifications to improve labour mobility; and raised hopes about increasing opportunities for training in other countries. The European Union (EU) as a community sought these objectives under the Bologna

Declaration of 1999. Ruth White, in chapter 25, explores the obstacles professionals confront when crossing borders in their absence. This lack easily turns players into non-players.

Progress on the Lisbon Convention of 2001 that elaborated further on the changes to higher education specified in Europe's Bologna process has been slow. The renewal of the Lisbon Strategy was linked to creating more and better jobs. The EU's aim of making Europe 'a more attractive place to invest and work' focused on deepening the internal market, improving regulation, opening up markets and enhancing the European infrastructure in education to encourage mobility. Laudable as these objectives may be, they prioritise economic exigencies over social life. And so, public policies fail to integrate quality of life into decisions about investment and work and educational developments.

The growth of private providers appears in the range of self-employed consultants ready to undertake research and uphold standards in contexts where the quality of their offerings and skills is unregulated. The trend towards private involvement in service delivery in social services, health and education is likely to intensify as the General Agreement in Trades and Services (GATS) promulgated by members of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) is implemented. GATS will extend the numbers of non-state providers in the mixed economy of welfare and multinational firms in all three sectors and encourage community formation amongst corporate leaders. Private provision carries enormous implications for public welfare services in Europe including education as the purchaser-provider split becomes more widespread and nation-states commission their provision from commercial, for-profit and voluntary agencies. An effect of this development is to exclude poor people from the market in goods and services.

The American experience of the mixed economy of welfare exposes a danger in market-oriented practice, namely, that public provisions become residual and less able to meet the needs of socially excluded individuals and communities that become non-players in the market-place. Case management encapsulates communities of older people under a wide range of providers. In a resource-based system, the ageing community of service users and carers becomes socially excluded and their needs ignored (Barr et al., 2001; Stalker, 2002; Dominelli, 2004b).

Case management creates new arrangements of players by organising the delivery of services according to a 'mixed economy of welfare', especially for communities formed by older people. In it, the state, for-profit sector and civil society including the voluntary sector each play a role in facilitating market-oriented service provisions. Case management also relies on 'contract government' through which the state compels providers in the private 'for profit' and voluntary sectors to adhere to requirements through contractual arrangements that specify type of service and quantity provided; consumers covered; and mode of delivery. These constraints disempower social workers and community workers in deprived communities by limiting choices or providing illusory ones. As one social worker interviewed by Kahn and Dominelli (2000) claimed:

> Much lip service is paid to consulting users and listening. Often they are told that a service can only be offered in a certain way. Choice is theoretically offered, and then taken away (social worker)

This development has led many in the voluntary sector to argue they were losing autonomy, creativity and capacity to respond to need as defined by those they serve (Barnes, 1997). And again, players become non-players.

Globalisation has affected social, cultural and political dimensions of life from the international level to the local. Globalisation can be said to:

• Privilege the market and reinforce economic or class-based social exclusion and oppression;
• Emphasise individual consumption and survival;

- Commodify citizenship;
- Commodify welfare provision;
- Promote brand recognition and service usage;
- Enhance the power of those controlling resources;
- Emphasise personal responsibility over social solidarity;
- Focus on risk minimisation in addressing social problems rather than looking for causes;
- Turn social workers into bureau-technocrats, 'busy' in following procedures, form-filling and being accountable mainly to management;
- Increase managerial control over the workforce;
- Introduce corporate management techniques into the delivery of the personal social services, education and health; and
- Be contested and resisted.

Managerialism Minimises the Extent of Change in Service Provision

The 'new managerialism' (Clarke and Newman, 1997) has been an important element of globalisation not only for managing production processes in manufacturing, but also servicing communities. It is a central ingredient in the modernising agenda and has become crucial in public sector workplaces for managing change amongst practitioners, in organisational cultures and service delivery. Its spread has engendered conflict within workplace communities along the manager-managed cleavage (Dominelli, 2004a). In research undertaken by Khan and Dominelli (2000) in Southern England, a manager explicates this as:

> When people complain they are not doing social work, they're doing more paperwork, I say, we are local authority employees and we're implementing laws and we're accountable. Things have to be recorded and have to feed into planning. An assessment's only as good as it's written up (manager).

Another manager commenting on the workplace community's division between managers and frontline workers talks about case management as:

> a shift from social workers doing things for people towards more user empowerment, valuing people, listening to people (manager).

Social workers composing a community of practitioners, on the whole, disagree with their view of this change as benign and helpful. One says:

> We are so busy managing resources we are in danger of ignoring the people who need them (social worker).

Another practitioner complains about altered relationships with users:

> (I'll go from being) a direct provider of care to becoming much more an assessor and arranger of services (social worker).

Oliver (1990) claims that social workers cannot be empowering professionals, but they can avoid disempowering people. Empowerment aims to create players, but is a contested concept. It began with the objective of mobilising people in deprived communities in the civil rights movement in the USA (Solomon, 1976) but has become a trendy term used across the political spectrum and by corporate agencies to establish credentials as people-centred organisations. I define it as the process of:

Promoting the capacities of individuals and groups to take control of their lives and access the resources they need to participate fully in society. Thus, it is a process of creating power through negotiated interactions between people relating to one another socially (Dominelli, 1997: 51).

For me, empowerment becomes a processual tool that facilitates social inclusion/cohesion in communities. In professional practice it can be:

- Commodified when linked to purchasing power;
- Tokenistic when offering illusory choices;
- Bureaucratic if accessible only through a complaints procedure after a service has been given as is exemplified by the Citizens Charters; and
- Empowering when power is shared with service users who are treated as co-workers in particular interventions.

Social workers also argue that needs-led assessments are devalued as resources are scarce and choice is limited. Needs-led assessments aim to give service users a voice in self-defining needs and are used to challenge hierarchical definitions identified in schemas like Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (Maslow, 1943) which has been influential in social work.

Transnational communities of managers formed through networks of support and learning have promoted procedures familiar to many. One of these, risk assessments has become key in managing risk and uncertainty in contemporary society (Beck, 1992). Risk management has promoted the growth of a 'new managerialism' that curbs professional power and replaces professional judgment with procedural norms. These do not engage service users effectively even if 'commitment' to a particular plan of action is secured when they sign a contract. These instruments fail by treating users as passive recipients of expert ministrations; deprecating practitioners' capacity for autonomous thinking in contextualising needs and relating these to the specific circumstances of the person concerned; obstructing critical reflexive assessments in co-working relationships; and denying advocacy for specific services regardless of resources, although inadequate resourcing has been a fundamental flaw in public provisions since the founding of the welfare state (Kincaid, 1973). Lack of resources turns professionals into non-players in their (re)distribution.

The 'risk society' has been intensified under globalisation as current certainties of life are swept aside without being replaced. Assessments of risk seek to provide communities with certainty or security in an uncertain world. Risk assessment schedules assume that an accurate assessment of the hazards that might be encountered in any specific situation can reduce the risk of harm being incurred. As Callahan and Swift show in chapter 4, risk assessment schedules have become essential tools in child protection work. Earlier, these were used to assess the dangers convicted sex offenders and mental health patients posed to society. The faith that policymakers and practitioners invest in these instruments is misplaced (Quinsey, 1995) because 'dangerousness' is an illusive concept and not all the factors that combine in any given situation to produce a particular outcome are known. These tools have become substitutes for independent thinking and assessments of specific circumstances undertaken by professionals using their knowledge and skills to reach particular conclusions, thus reducing space for professional reflexivity.

Critical reflexive practitioners who judiciously exercise agency act autonomously when circumstances warrant it. Their capacity to use discretion is tempered by being held accountable to service users. Used in co-working relationships that empower vulnerable people, reflexivity helps to balance needs, constraints and opportunities in formulating services appropriate for specific situations and facilitates the creation of players rather than non-players. Communities created around meeting people's needs for services can be reinvigorated by reflexive practitioners working in partnership with users.

Conclusions

Globalisation has had profound effects on communities and created players and non-players as part of the processes of producing these entities in both virtual and physical domains. Restructuring initiatives undertaken in these sites by both state and market have intensified social divisions amongst those inhabiting these spaces as greater polarities in wealth have appeared. At the same time, people have resisted being passive victims buffeted by the changes that have been introduced to make their own mark as players on life's stage. As a result, people have accepted, accommodated or resisted changes to their communities through the exercise of agency.

Note

1   I base what I say about communities in this chapter on my book, *Women and Community Action*, published by Policy Press, 2006.

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Globalisation and Imperialism: Wars and Humanitarian Intervention

ANKIE HOOGVELT

Introduction

The world is scarred by growing chaos and crises, so called 'new wars, and international terrorism. Where do all the 'new' wars come from? And is international terrorism merely mindless violence or does it have a cause and a purpose? In political analyses, the end of the Cold War is often seen as a watershed. The Cold War, so it is argued (Haass, 1999: 3) made for a bipolar world order that had held in place a more or less stable structure of nation-states with each super power 'managing' its clients, even when these were engaged in inter-state conflicts. When this structure collapsed, political authority diffused and fragmented, and protest movements became inspired more by ethnicity or religion than by nationalist ideology or territory. This would explain the fact that the vast majority of the so-called 'new' wars are *intra*-state and not *inter*-state.

This paper takes a different approach. *First*, it is one that is concerned less with watersheds, and more with continuity. Scorecard comparisons of conflicts and wars before and after a certain historical benchmark illuminate less than the realisation that the root cause of violent conflict is the same, and resides in asymmetrical relations of power and wealth between groups of people, be they organised as states or as communities, or even loosely networked around a dominant grievance and ideology, like the mushrooming cluster of Al Qaeda associated terrorist cells. The root of inter-communal violence is always social injustice.

Second, I recognise that there has been a historic shift in the formation of world order, but contend that this has less to do with the demise of a bipolar *political* structure than with a reconfiguration of global *economic* relations. Economic globalisation which I define as an *intensification* of cross-border trade, and production relations, has yielded a global core-periphery hierarchy that cuts across nation-states, bringing relatively small groups and segments of people of all nations into the core, while leaving growing majorities in most nations marginalised and excluded. This *economic* reconfiguration in turn draws new lines in the *political* sand. Despite huge local variations, in historical antecedents, in chosen methods and forms of violence, and in objectives, I shall argue that today the overwhelming majority of armed conflicts, of rebellions and communal violence are associated with the exclusion of 'the majority world' from the benefits of globalisation. Of the 45 armed conflicts that have taken place since 1992, all but 2 (putatively: the Balkans and Northern Ireland) originated in the periphery.[1] Pitted against this 'majority' world is an emerging 'global coalition', a political alliance of the globally privileged.

Third, my contention is that because the process of contemporary globalisation is *systemically* unable to widen the economic opportunities for the majority, the global coalition is increasingly preoccupied with matters of security and the management and containment of conflicts rather than their solution. This security focus not only fuels further discontent and resistance, but also co-opts and corrupts humanitarian interventions and post-conflict resolutions.

The argument in this paper proceeds as follows. In the section entitled, *Globalisation: Capitalist Expansion or Involution?* I discuss the characteristics of economic globalisation that began in the 1980s. I discuss these at some length and with perhaps tedious statistical detail because the question of whether or not globalisation in the foreseeable future will gainfully engage the majority world is the most important question of our time. My argument is that it will not, and that globalisation should be comprehended as a qualitatively different phase of capitalism, one of *involution* rather than *expansion*. It is characterised by an emerging global *social hierarchy* of core-periphery relations rather than as before – a primarily *geographic* one. Under conditions of globalisation the functions of the state become reorganised to suit global rather than domestic capital accumulation priorities. As a result, the political and economic integrity of the national territorial state is eroded, and domestic peripheralisation and exclusion become a principal source of instability. Domestic instabilities translate into international insecurity, as social exclusion within nations builds up pressures for the territorial expulsion of excluded groups. The resulting spectre of economic and political refugees threatens the social stability of the rich nations to which they flee.

In this way, globalisation, paradoxically, reinforces the need to maintain, at all costs, the *de jure* interstate system and to uphold the legal sovereignty of states so as to enforce the obligations of states to keep within their borders the people who carry their passports. At the same time, globalisation also makes still more pressing the need for state sponsored and militarily backed strategic control over vital resources (more especially energy resources) in foreign lands, as host nations in the periphery collapse into zones of instability, and fracture into rival factions and groups, warlordism and banditry. Taking these two together, globalisation and exclusion on one hand, and energy imperialism under conditions of exclusionary globalisation on the other, one might appreciate that although all so-called 'new' wars have their roots in social injustice, the forms they take are very different, and so indeed should be the conflict resolution efforts which the international community expresses a willingness to undertake.

In the section, *Sub-Saharan Africa: Reform, Failed States and Civil Wars*, by way of an illustrating case study, I track the descent into anarchy and civil war that in the last decade has blighted many countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Here, typically, though not in every instance, societal implosion may be put down to the historic failure of developmentalism, followed by an internationally imposed neoliberal reform agenda at the very time when the new globalised world economy has rendered obsolete earlier forms of incorporation of the continent.

In the section, *Humanitarian Intervention and the Management of Exclusion,* my attention shifts to international humanitarian responses to the various crises, wars and 'complex' emergencies, as in the parlance of the United Nations (UN). This reveals that the humanitarian response itself is in crisis while it operates in a policy vacuum and is constrained by considerations of neutrality. These considerations in turn engender a logic that articulates a praxis of managing, containing and policing the perimeters that separate the privileged minority from the excluded majority world. This is of fundamental interest to the professional praxis of social workers and constitutes a key element in their addressing of issues that Khan and Dominelli have termed the 'internationalisation of social problems' (Khan and Dominelli 2000; Dominelli 2004a).

How is this policy vacuum to be filled? On one side it is threatened to be filled by a US-led global security agenda that treats humanitarian organisations as partners in the fight against global terrorism. As Secretary of State Colin Powell (2001) told a gathering of non-governmental organisations:

> just as surely as our diplomats and military, American NGOs are out there serving and sacrificing on the frontlines of freedom. NGOs are such a force multiplier for us, such an important part of our combat team (cited in Barnett, 2005: 2).

On the other side, it may also be filled by a radical humanitarianism in which NGOs and social work professionals deliberately take the side of the poor and oppressed and become involved in liberating people and securing social justice.

In the concluding section I point to alternative policy responses on the part of international social work practitioners that are sensitive to the variations of exclusionary sources of injustice and conflict.

Globalisation: Capitalist Expansion or Involution?

In the past, it was assumed not only by liberal economists but also by those standing in the Marxist tradition, that the world market system (or capitalism) was inherently and *forever expansive* in character. It was thought that the relentless search for raw materials, for cheap labour and for market outlets, time and again would drive capitalism *either* into fresh geographic regions, *or* when these were no longer available, into developing and upgrading existing ones. Whilst it was exploitative, it was nevertheless *potentially* inclusive because to overcome the self-imposed limits of the market, capitalism had time and again to reconstruct itself to emancipate the downtrodden in order to achieve extended market opportunities. This was precisely the emancipatory role that even Karl Marx assigned to the capitalist mode of production. And this process did open up windows of opportunity for human progress. Even Marxist-inspired analyses that tracked the underdeveloping effects of capitalist penetration in the Third World never doubted the globe-girdling expansive drive of capitalism and even *they* were able to distill some prospect of progress from their analysis, theorising that capitalist exploitation would provoke rebellions in the periphery that would usher in the transition to socialism (Amin, 1982, 1990).

But is expansion still a feature of the capitalist world economy under conditions of globalisation? This is the uppermost important question of the present era. The neoliberal consensus holds that indeed it is and, moreover, that it brings growing prosperity for ever larger numbers of people. The pro-globalisation, pro-growth lobby consists not only of the usual suspects, the international financial organisations of World Bank and IMF, the World Trade Organisation (WTO), the governments of the G8 countries, transnational corporations and their Think Tanks, but also counts amongst protagonists many, perhaps the majority of academic economists. It is undoubtedly the leading, or 'hegemonic' world view. Ranged against it are the anti-globalisers, not just those who march with the protest movements but leading NGOs including their own academic research departments like those of Oxfam and Christian Aid.

What makes the academic debate inconclusive is that it is a battle fought bitterly on a terrain of flawed statistics. The same statistical data series collected by various international organisations: on capital and trade flows, on country income, on absolute poverty and global inequality, may yield diametrically contrasting results depending on the methodologies used. For example, an oft quoted recent study by World Bank economists, Dollar and Kraay (2002a, b), discovers that, in the past twenty years (i.e., the years of globalisation) there has been a strong correlation between increased participation in international trade and investment on the one hand and rapid economic growth of nations on the other. Contrast this with *The Scorecard on Globalisation 1980–2000*, a study by the Centre for Economic and Policy Research (Weisbrot et al., 2001), which found that countries at every level of per capita GDP performed worse on average in the period of globalisation than in the period from 1960–1980 when internationally sanctioned national development policies permitted inward-oriented growth strategies.

The Neoliberal View

Let us examine the claims of the neoliberal theory and its empirical findings more carefully. The neoliberal theory of globalisation was most succinctly put by the World Trade Organisation in its Annual Report, 1998, in six interconnected theses which I summarise as follows:

1. globalisation is the integration of production, distribution and use of goods and services among the economies of the world. While globalisation in some sense has been evolving since the end of World War II, the last 15 years have seen an acceleration of this process.
2. this pace of integration is evidenced in the accelerated ratio of world trade to world output, and even more so in the accelerated ratio of global investment flows to world GDP, both direct (FDI) and indirect.
3. While technological progress is at the root of this expansion, its acceleration in the past 15 years owes to the current international regime of trade openness, reform and liberalisation of the regulatory environments of developed and developing economies alike.
4. The benefits of accelerated trade and capital integration of the world economies are evidenced in accelerated economic growth and higher incomes for all participating regions and countries.
5. Where such benefits are not in evidence (as admittedly in many less developed countries) or where the domestic distributional impact is less than optimal, this is the result of inadequate domestic policy responses.
6. The reason for the positive link between trade and capital openness on one hand and economic growth on the other is the expansion of markets and the benefits of competition which spurs innovation, reduces costs, and disseminates technology, knowledge and best practice.

Let us look at the controversy surrounding these bold statements that comprise a credo. The first two equate globalisation with increased trade and capital flows between the national economies of the world while the next three make the claim that trade openness and liberalisation lead to economic growth benefits for the poorer countries, and may also alleviate poverty if the right kind of domestic policies are adopted.

Globalisation: Trade Expansion?
Certainly, international trade has expanded very rapidly in the last few decades, but the participation in world trade flows shows long-term *declining* regions alongside *rising* ones. Below, I present the trade figures over the past half century as Table 2.1 and Figure 2.1. The data are based on the WTO's website's interactive data-base and cover imports and exports. I have assembled the data into three groupings: 'old core', 'dynamic Asia' and 'marginalised regions' in order to highlight the historic shift in direction of trade flows towards the emerging markets in East Asia. What we can see from this Table is that emerging Asia's gains of trade expansion have been matched by a long-term structural decline of trade participation of the regions of Africa, Latin America, the rest of Asia and the ex-COMECON countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

Meanwhile, the original 'core' countries of the international system have held on to their dominant position with almost exactly the same 60 percent share of international trade as they had 50 years ago (see Table 2.1 and Figure 2.1 opposite).

Table 2.1 Share of World Trade by Trade Regions, 1953–2003

Region/year	*1953*	*1963*	*1973*	*1983*	*1993*	*2003*
Marginalised regions	31.4	29.0	23.8	27.9	15.8	18.2
Old Core	61.6	63.3	65.1	57.3	61.4	59.4
Dynamic Asia	6.9	7.8	11.1	14.8	22.7	22.5
World	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: *WTO Statistics Database* (www.wto.org) downloaded 3 July 2004 with calculations by Tim Beal. See accompanying notes at the end of the chapter.[2]

Percentage of world trade

Figure 2.1   Changing Pattern of World Trade, 1953–2003

Source: WTO Statistics Database (www.wto.org) downloaded 3 July 2004 with calculations by Tim Beal. For accompanying notes, see end of chapter note 2.

Globalisation: Capital Expansion?

A similar story may be told about international *capital* flows. In the colonial period, right up till 1960, the Third World had received one-half of all global direct investment flows, but during the post-war period, foreign direct investment (FDI) switched away from the far-flung empires of the past into a concentration in just three regions of the world economy: North America, Europe, and East Asia. In the 1990s, there appeared to occur a turnaround in fortunes, with the developing world's share rising to 28 percent in 1998, reaching 31 percent by 2003 (see Figure 2.2 on the following page).

However, this FDI-led integration is also a selective affair. Of the total of US$203 billion of FDI that went to all parts of the developing world in 2003, just over one-half was directed towards the Asia Pacific with well over two-thirds of this again ending up in China, Hong Kong and Singapore (UNCTAD, 2004, pp. 49–51). By contrast, the continents of both Africa and Latin America have experienced long-term declines in foreign direct investments notwithstanding recent expansion in the petroleum sectors.

Percentage of total inward FDI
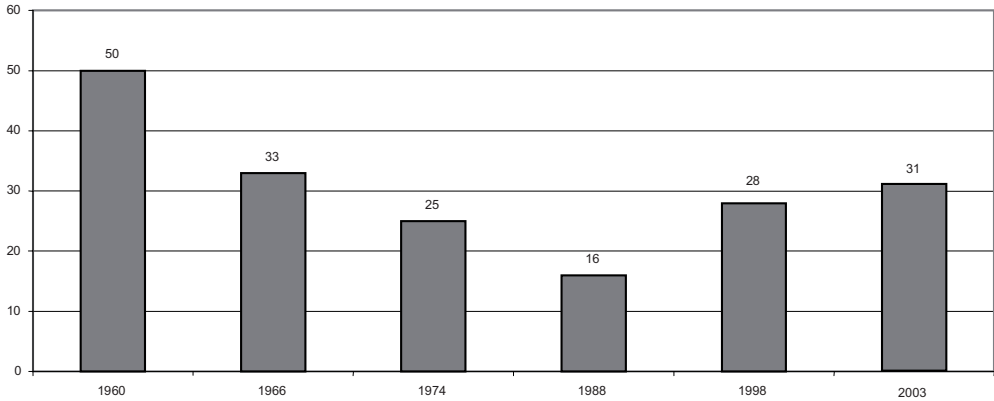
Figure 2.2   Share of Developing World Inward FDI, 1960–2003

Sources: For 1960 figures, see M. Barratt Brown, *The Economic of Imperialism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974: 206–207). For 1966, see L.B. Pearson, *Partners in Development* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1970: 100). For 1974, see UNCTC, *Transnational Corporations in World Development: A Re-Examination* (New York: UN, 1978: 242: Table III). For 1988, see UNCTC, *World Investment Report* (New York: UN, 1991: 11: Table IV). For 1998 and 2003, see *World Investment Report 2004* (New York, UN: 367–371: Table B.1).

On a population count, the selectivity of world integration as measured by trade and investment flows is even more stark. China, for example, has a very large population of about 1.3 billion, but it is well known that in China both investment and growth are concentrated in eight coastal provinces (mainly in the South) and in Beijing. In their book *Globalisation in Question*, Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson (1999) tried to discount this anomaly by including only the populations of the coastal provinces and Beijing in their summation of all populations in the ten most important developing countries in terms of inward investment.

Together with the other nine most important developing countries hosting FDI plus the population in the Triad countries (North American, Western Europe and Japan), they constituted about 30 percent of the world population, who between them, received 86 percent of all global direct investment in the first half of the 1990s. Hirst and Thompson concluded that 'this means that between a half and two-thirds of the world was still virtually written off the map as far as any benefits from this form of investment was concerned' (Hirst and Thompson, 1999: 73–74).

Corporate Globalisation: Concentration and Centralisation
The neoliberal assumptions of globalisation look even more threadbare if we study trade and capital flows not by location (i.e., flows between national economies) but in terms of ownership. It would appear that much of the statistical evidence regarding the enhanced 'integration of the economies of the world' can be re-interpreted as evidence of *corporate globalisation* rather than of *inter-nation integration*. For example, if we take as a measure of foreign ownership the total stock of all foreign direct investments, both in the rich and in the poor countries, and we calculate this figure as a percentage of everything that is produced world-wide in a year, in other words, as a percentage of world GDP, then we find that the ratio of this stock of foreign

ownership to world GDP has trebled from 10 percent in 1980 to 31 percent in 1999 (UNCTAD, 2000:18).

Another measure of 'transnationality' is to look at how much is produced and sold by foreign-owned firms, and to compare this figure with the total of world product and with the total of world trade. In 1982, the total *product* attributed to foreign affiliates world-wide was only 5 percent, but this had doubled by 1999 (UNCTAD, 2000: 4). And, transnational corporations now *sell* from their foreign-owned affiliates nearly twice as much as the total of world exports (UNCTAD, 2000: XVI).

The neoliberal assessment of this process of enhanced production and trade under the wings of transnational corporations is positive. It is argued that foreign direct investment helps national economies to gain access to international trade which otherwise they would not have (UNCTAD, 2002). But there are questions about what exactly is being counted as foreign direct investment. For instance, it has been calculated that the largest part of US foreign direct investment is reinvested earnings and profits (UNCTAD, 1997: Figure 2.2).

Therefore, it is not an autonomous source of external financing that helps to bring a country's productive capacity competitively into the world market. Furthermore, both reinvested earnings and *new* cross border flows are often used *not* to start new businesses (so-called greenfield investments), but to acquire existing productive or commercial capacity in the host country. It is estimated that cross-border mergers and acquisitions (M & A) – 95 percent of which are in fact not mergers but acquisitions, have accounted for between one-half and two-thirds of all world FDI flows in the 1990s. In 2000, cross-border M&As reached a total of 1.1 trillion US dollars, only marginally less than the total of 1.3 trillion recorded as total FDI flows for that year (UNCTAD, 2001: 52).

The conclusion from this is that what is happening is that indeed world FDI flows *are* expanding, but mostly to the extent that transnational corporations use FDI to acquire a controlling stake in *existing* productive and commercial capacity, thereby bringing into their integrated global production systems more of the geography of the 'free' world market than was historically the case. In short, there is *expansion* in terms of *strategic* ownership and control and this goes hand in hand with a consolidation of capital integration in the new 'core' of the world system (the regions of North America, Europe and East Asia).

Moreover, within the universe of the Transnational Corporations (TNCs) there occurs, at the same time, a process of *organisational centralisation* as the bulk of international production is undertaken by a relatively small number of TNCs. Transnational Corporations in 2002 numbered some 61,000 parent firms with around 900,000 foreign affiliates. But ownership and production is not equally distributed amongst them. The 100 largest TNCs (less than 0.2 percent of the total) accounted for 14 percent of the sales of foreign affiliates worldwide, 12 percent of their assets and 13 percent of their employment (UNCTAD, 2004: 9). For example, in the automobile sector, the top six corporations account for over 75 percent of the global market. In information technology (IT) hardware, the top three firms account for 71 percent of the global supply of servers, two-fifths of the global sales of PCs and three-fifths of global sales of mobile phones. In sum, competitive capitalism's inbuilt tendency to concentration and oligopoly has finally flowered on a global scale (Nolan and Zhang, 2002).

Globalisation: The Pro-Growth Debate
Does globalisation bring economic growth for poor countries? This is the tenet contained in propositions 4 and 5. And, since social workers intervene primarily in the lives of poor people, this discussion can provide insights that can assist them in appreciating the links between the global and the local within which they work. Those expounding these propositions claim that poor countries

that open their borders wide to international trade and liberalise their markets, have higher rates of economic growth than those who do not. But is this really the case?

As already hinted at in the preamble to this section, statistical findings on the growth benefits of globalisation are ambiguous and riddled with methodological controversies. If we compare the economic growth performance of the world economy as a whole during the past twenty years of globalisation with that of the preceding decades 1960–80 when there was more protection, the results are negative.

Between 1960 and 1980, the world economy was growing much faster than today – world per capita income was growing about 3 percent per year, as compared with 2 percent since then. Per capita income growth in the developed countries slowed from 3.2 percent to 2.2 percent, while in the developing countries it went from 3 percent to 1.5 percent (Ha-Yoong Chang, 2003). But the most telling comment to make is that the claim of trade liberalisation boosting growth largely rests on the economic growth performance of a number of countries in the East Asia region, few of which, are or have been, exemplary pupils of the free trade school.

China, whose commanding performance holds the world's attention is in fact still one of the least economically open nations of the world and continues to apply protective tariffs, capital controls and fixed exchange rates as well as subjecting its economy to pervasive state control. In India, another impressive performer, the economy grew rapidly in the 1980s, but its globalisation process only started in earnest in 1991 (Chandrasekhar and Ghost, 2002; Weller and Hersh, 2002). China and India are ranked as two of the least economically open nations of the world, in the Heritage Foundation's *Index of Economic Freedom* (Weller and Hersch, 2002, *passim*).

In any case, the UNDP's (2003) *Human Development Report*, while still keeping faith with the neoliberal credo, complains that the growth boosting benefits of globalisation have proved disappointing so far. Of 155 countries with data, only 30 had annual per capita income growth rates above 3 percent in the 1990s – 3 percent being the minimum growth needed to reduce poverty at constant inequality levels. Among the rest, 54 countries saw average incomes fall, and in 71 countries annual income growth was less than 3 percent (UNDP, 2003: 40).

Economic Growth and Poverty Reduction

As for the link between economic growth and poverty reduction, here the evidence is less ambiguous. Table 2.2, taken from the UNDP *Human Development Report 2003* (UNDP: 2003: 41), testifies that in those regions where growth has happened poverty reduction is in evidence, where it has not, poverty reduction has likewise come to nothing. However, it remains a moot point whether the growth performances in the countries of the successful regions were due to liberalisation under globalisation. Indeed, the Achilles heel of the neoliberal view is in point 5 of the credo (see page 26 above) where domestic policy responses are said to be responsible for distributional impact. But such domestic policy responses are disabled precisely by the openness of capital and trade regimes, and by the privatisation of markets imposed under the IMF/World Bank structural adjustment policies on indebted developing countries. As Kevin Watkins of British Oxfam has summed up:

> the application of stringent monetary policies, designed to reduce inflation through high interest rates, has undermined investment and employment. At the same time, poorly planned trade-liberalisation measures have exposed local industries to extreme competition. Contrary to World Bank and IMF claims, the position of the poor and most vulnerable sections of society have all too often been undermined by the deregulation of labour markets and the erosion of social welfare provisions, and by declining expenditures on health and education. Women have suffered in extreme form. The erosion of health expenditure has increased the burdens they carry as carers, while falling real wages and rising unemployment have forced women into multiple low-wage employment in the informal sector (Watkins: 1994: 126).

Table 2.2 Economic Growth and Income Poverty

Region	Growth in the 1990s (annual per capita income growth in the 1990s in percentages)	Poverty reduction in the 1990s (percentage point reduction)
East Asia and the Pacific	6.4	14.9
South Asia	3.3	8.4
Latin America and the Caribbean	1.6	-0.1
Middle East and North Africa	1.0	-0.1
Sub-Saharan Africa	-0.4	-1.6
Central and Eastern Europe and the CIS	-1.9	-13.5

Source: *UNDP Human Development Report 2003*, (UNDP, 2003:41).
Note: Change is measured using the US$2 a day poverty line.

Globalisation and Absolute Poverty

Finally, there are statistical measures relating to global levels of absolute poverty. Going by the World Bank's poverty data, it would appear that globally the proportion of people living on less than US$1 a day has dropped from nearly 30 percent in 1990 to 23 percent in 1999 (UNDP, 2003: 41). But the methodology of the $1 a day measure is seriously contested (Tammilehto, 2003: 17–19; UNDP, 2003: 42) and, again, as the UNDP *Human Development Report* (2003: 41) points out, much of this impressive reduction has been driven by China's incredible economic growth of more than 9 percent year in the 1990s, lifting 150 million people out of poverty. Elsewhere, notably in sub-Saharan Africa, in Eastern Europe, the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) and Latin America, the number of those living in absolute poverty rose (UNDP, 2003: 41).

An Exclusion Theory of Globalisation

To question, as I do in these pages, the geographic and demographic reach of globalisation is not to say that there is no such thing as globalisation. My own theory of globalisation (Hoogvelt, 2001) closely resembles that of Manuel Castells (1996) who draws attention to the importance of the fusion of information technology with telecommunications in the development of a truly 'global' and 'real-time' economy. This fusion began early in the 1980s and ushered in an era of *intensifying* economic*,* financial, cultural and social cross-border networks than existed before.

   In Castell's view, the global 'real-time' network economy develops a newer, more advanced division of labour in which only *segments* of economic structures, of countries and regions, and of populations are linked up with one another, while other segments of economic structures, countries or regions and social groups are disconnected, marginalised or even expelled from the network. But crucially, the global network hierarchy continually adapts and adjusts to its competitive, information driven environment with the result that sometimes places are switched off, or downgraded, while others are being incorporated, upgraded or even created. Think for example of the new 'silicon' valley of Bangalore in India, or our own 'Cambridge Corridor'. Thus, the global economy is highly dynamic, highly exclusionary and highly unstable in its boundaries. It is characterised by a variable geometry that dissolves historical, economic geography (Castells, 1996: 106). Following on from this, I would argue that globalisation has rearranged the architecture of world order. Economic,
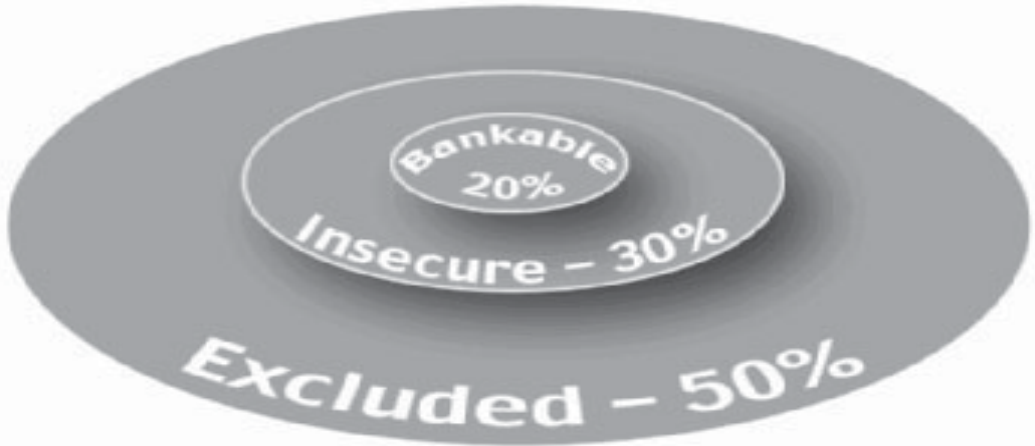
Figure 2.3 – World Order since 1980s
Source: Calculations are based on Hutton (1995:109) and ILO (2000). See further details.[3]

social and power relations have been recast to resemble *not* a pyramid of rich nations (at the top) and poor nations (at the bottom) but instead a three-tier structure of circles (see Figure 2.3).

All three circles cut across national and regional boundaries. In the core circle, we find the elites of all continents and nations, albeit in different proportions in relation to their respective geographic hinterlands. Very roughly, the figures are 40–30–30 in the rich countries, and 20–30–50 in the poor countries.[3] In sub-Saharan Africa, where the middle layer is largely missing, the respective proportions are more like 10–20–70 or even 10–10–80. We may count in the core some 20 percent of the world population who are deemed 'bankable' and therefore able to borrow funds.[4] They are encircled by a fluid, larger social layer of between 20 and 30 percent of the world population (workers and their families) who labour in insecure forms of employment, thrown into cut-throat competition in the global market. State-of-the-art technology, frenzied capital mobility and neoliberal policies together ensure both a relentless elimination of jobs by machines, and a driving down of wages and social conditions to the lowest global denominator.

The third and largest circle comprises those who are already effectively excluded from the global system. They include the 2.8 billion people who are estimated on US$2 per day (UNDP, 2003: 41). Performing neither a productive function, nor presenting a potential consumer market in the present stage of high-tech information-driven capitalism, it would seem that, for the time being, they are effectively excluded from universal progress. This exclusion defines danger and draws the Pentagon's new map of strategic security and military intervention in the age of globalisation according to Thomas Barnett, Professor of War Analysis and Advisor to the Pentagon (Barnett, 2003, 2004). He writes about the need to protect the 'Functioning Core' of the global system from the 'non-Integrating Gap' where chronic conflicts incubate the next generation of global terrorists. To suppress bad things coming out of the Gap, 'seam' states like Morocco, Algeria, Pakistan and Turkey must be mobilised to 'firewall the Core'.

Domestic peripheralisation and exclusion are principal sources of instability, not only in the Third World, but also inside the advanced countries. The difference is that the advanced countries still have the public wherewithal to contain and manage social exclusion. For example, in the United States, between 20 and 25 percent of the population lives below the absolute poverty line,

their life expectancies on a par with Latin America, and over 11,000 violent deaths each year testify to the kind of instabilities and insecurities which, when happening in other parts of the world, are described as 'societal collapse'.[5]

The US manages this exclusion process by a mass incarceration policy. With more than 2 percent of the total population under control of the penal system, the USA scores one of the highest per capita prison population in the world.[6] No less than 30 percent of black men in the US will go to jail during their lifetime on current trends, according to a recent report by the US Justice Department, and prison has become the social policy of choice for low income people of colour (Young, 2003). This is a policy option that is not open to poor countries in Africa where disaffected urban youth are left free to maraud the countryside plundering and looting. Castells' view of globalisation allows for a small measure of optimism about the prospects of inclusion into the globalised economy. The pursuit of the right kind of social and economic policies by national governments (development of information infrastructure, education, and training for the 'new', 'knowledge', 'digital' or 'real time' economy being the most important ones) *can* make a difference in so far as it may succeed in placing segments of businesses and of workers of *any* country within the loop of global business flows. Although there are some spectacular examples of poor regions and social groups being upgraded in this way[7] my own view is marred by pessimism about the *systemically* exclusionary nature of the process itself.

Systemic Exclusion

In my view, contemporary globalisation *systemically* leads to social, political and economic exclusion for the following four reasons:

1. Globalisation is deeply connected to a contemporaneous shift from an industrial based to a *knowledge-based* economy. While the relentless application of information technology to industrial and agro-based production processes has eliminated jobs, the job expansion of the knowledge-based economy itself requires dramatic restructuring of skills for the 'high tech' age. Everywhere the intermediate jobs are disappearing and job markets show the same U-shaped curve, that is: high demand for low level skills and high demand for high level skills, but little demand for intermediate skills. But, and this is the crux, knowledge-based jobs are typically globally mobile. Low skill jobs, by contrast, are both of the mobile kind and of the locally proximous kind. Some disturbing facts on the international brain drain testify to the outmigration from the developing world being skewed toward the better educated, with a number of countries, especially in Africa, the Caribbean and Central America losing more than 30 percent of the highly educated group (Carrington and Detriagiache, 1999). The poaching of the better educated into the core of the world system leaves the periphery without the human capital necessary to lead and organise human societies, while the enforcement of the passport system of nation-states prevents the low skilled poor from joining the privileged.

2. The emergence of the so-called New Economy is already delivering such a huge explosion of information-based *products* as to ensure that capitalism, at least for the foreseeable future, is able to overcome the limits of the market without having to upgrade the masses that are excluded from this process. Market *deepening* has replaced market *widening* as the dominant profit strategy of capitalist firms. Market deepening is understood as the constant invention of products that meet the lifestyle needs of the rich; today this is mostly in media and communications. In a world in which the 20 percent richest people have incomes 170 times that of the poorest 20 percent, the profit strategy of capitalist firms is geared towards producing for the 'have lots' rather than the 'have nots'.

3. A key feature of globalisation as we have seen above (page 29) is concentration and oligopoly on a global scale. The problem with oligopolistic control of markets is that there is little competition to provide the economic rationality for reducing market price in order to capture a larger market share. In a previous age, this led to cross-border imperialist expansion. Today, the only option open to the capitalists is to expand into new commodities. This is the reason behind the ever more frantic drive toward privatisation, i.e., the commodification (or marketisation) of ever larger segments of the public and social domain. In developed and less developed countries alike, everything from public utilities like water and electricity, to social services like education to health, and even prisons and welfare, is being contracted out to private enterprise in an effort to channel tax revenue into the service of private capital accumulation. Even that last bastion of national sovereign dispensation, the monopoly of power vested in the military, is now being press-ganged into private corporate take-overs. In his new book, P W Singer (2003) offers insights in to the unprecedented levels of privatisation of military planning, training, construction and services that were already pursued under Clinton.[8] These trends have been accelerated under the Bush administration, the 'war on terror' being used as a convenient excuse for this latest marriage between profits and patriotism. Looking at the extraordinary symbiosis between the military and industrial complex, in which private US defence industries and corporations were spearheading US campaigns in Iraq and reaping the financial rewards of warfare both during this campaign and in the aftermath of reconstruction (Donnelley and Hartung, 2003) a cynic might well conclude that the permanent war economy is the last chance saloon of an imploding global capitalism.

4. Finally, there are grave and serious environmental limits to global wealth creation. Even while the present 'miracle' growth of both China and India is accompanied by appalling social inequality and exclusion that still leaves a combined aspiring middle-class of an estimated 600 million people eager to embrace western consumer habits with all the environmental degradation that this entails. Such growth is not sustainable. China's ecological foot print is already observable in greenhouse gas emissions nearly rivalling that of the US in national air quality levels failing WHO standards by a wide margin, in growing shortages of fresh water and food supply, and in an ever swelling appetite for imported oil and other fuel and non-fuel minerals. All these environmental demands will shape a future that is, on one hand, increasingly adversarial in terms of international political economy, and on the other, becoming ever more ruthless in the denial of principles of universalism and human rights.

Globalisation and Imperialism

Neither globalisation nor exclusion transcends or negates the phenomenon of imperialism. Imperialism is present whenever and wherever deliberate transnational *political* power is exercised for the purpose of the mobilisation, extraction and external transfer of *economic* surplus from one political territory to another. Those who argue that imperialism is strictly a feature of inter-state relations and no longer on the agenda of capitalism under conditions of globalisation (Gamble, 1999) seem not to have noticed the 750 US military and 'service' bases strategically placed around the globe with many of them defending oil leases from competitors or providing protection to oil pipelines (Johnson, 2004: 4).

As Chalmer Johnson (2004: 167) observes, the bases invariably claim to be doing something completely unrelated like fighting the 'war on terrorism' or the 'war on drugs' or training foreign soldiers, or even engaging in some form of 'humanitarian' intervention. But only the really innocent may be fooled by this. Moreover, the institutional range of imperialism is endless, and need involve

neither colonial annexation nor the deployment of military forces. For example, US imperial power is also exercised through what Peter Gowan (1999) has dubbed the Dollar-Wall Street Regime (DWSR), a supportive interface between US government dollar policy and private actors in the so called 'free' international financial markets. Again, it may be disguised in multi-lateral institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF. Both organisations have enormous leverage over indebted economies in the Third World and are dominated by the USA as a consequence of a system of voting rights that is weighted according to economic size and contribution. Finally, I would also class as 'imperialist' those forms of transnational power deployment which involve either *local militia* or *foreign mercenaries* hired by multinational corporations, or complicit alliances between themselves and domestic military regimes, to secure their operations in foreign lands.

Indeed, I would argue that under conditions of globalisation, naked and undisguised forms of imperialist expansion and intervention are on the rise. There are three reasons for this. First, there is growing competition for dwindling energy sources. Second, collapsed states in the periphery no longer offer the prospect of successful co-optation and co-operation, and for sure the exclusionary dynamics of globalisation itself is responsible for the diminishing capacity of the co-opted states to hold the line against local protest movements and sabotage. And third, the new sources of energy are increasingly offshore and the technology of extraction and transportation require less domestic infrastructural 'development' and economic engagement, and more policing and security patrolling. It is this potent mix of continued imperialism under conditions of globalisation and exclusion that is responsible for the surge of new wars in the periphery today. I examine these below.

Sub-Saharan Africa: Reform, Failed States and Civil Wars

Introduction

The exclusionary logic of today's globalised system is currently manifest in its most extreme form in sub-Saharan Africa. The sub-continent numbers no less than 32 out of the UN's 40 'least developed' member countries. Early post-independence growth, while externally dependent, had nevertheless been a source of hope and optimism, but this was followed by stagnation and negative growth in all but very few countries, e.g., Mauritius, Botswana, as earlier forms of incorporation into the international division of labour were rendered obsolete when the world economic system globalised and entered what Manuel Castells has referred to as the 'newest' international division of labour (Castells, 1996: 106). Over the last fifty years of the twentieth century Africa's share of international trade had steadily declined from 7.5 percent to just 2.3 percent (WTO, 1998: Table II.2). Meanwhile, Africa's share of all FDI flows to developing countries dropped from 13 percent in 1980 to less than 1 percent in 2000 (UNCTAD, 2001: 19) the bulk of which was targeted on the four oil exporters: Nigeria, Angola, Cameroon and Gabon. Private finance now contributes less than one-tenth of the resource flows into the continent, the rest being made up of various forms of aid and other concessionary flows (UNCTAD, 1998: 127).

Globalisation, as we have seen, involves a seismic shift in market orientation towards intangible information based products, while the application of information technologies to the production process itself results in a long term downward shift in prices for resource inputs. This is bad news for those peripheral regions in the world economy that have to pay their way by exporting primary commodities. Since the 1980s, the terms of trade for primary commodities have begun a consistent long-term downward trend, and by the turn of the Millennium were lower for sub-Saharan Africa than in 1954 (UNCTAD, 1998: 119). At the same time, the information technology revolution has transformed the infrastructure of production, management and communication in the global economy. But in respect of network capability and network connectivity, sub-Saharan Africa is the

'switched off' region of the world (Castells, 1998: 94). Without the requisite infrastructure, that the sub-continent cannot hope to pay for with declining export receipts, it is doomed to exclusion from the new global division of labour. Thus, for all intents and purposes it would seem that Africa has become structurally irrelevant to the present global economic order.

However, a mega caution is in order. *First*, GDP and other aggregate economic indicators such as sectoral growth rates do not reflect the reality of the economies which they purport to represent. They do not register adequately the size of the *informal* economy which in many African countries forms a very substantial part of economic activity. *Second,* more ominously, the 'official' data attest to the marginalisation of the continent's economy from the *legal* markets in goods and services, and their officially recorded transactions. But as Bayart et al. (1999) have argued in *The Criminalization of the State in Africa* many countries on the sub-continent are increasingly implicated in international *illicit* trade, for example, narcotics, and in the *illegal* export of diamonds, gold, and other precious minerals, of agricultural products, works of art and game, and last but not least, of weapons of all kinds. They have become fraudulent and smuggling states. Because such underground transactions are not officially recorded, it is difficult to estimate the size of sub-Saharan Africa's criminal economy, although Bayart et al. suggest that the process of criminalisation has become the dominant trait of the sub-continent (1999: 19). *Third*, statistics on capital movement are likewise wholly inadequate. With globalisation has come the deregulation and integration of the world's financial markets and this has facilitated the merging of two streams of capital flow: private capital fleeing the Third World (some of it quite illegal from the national treasurer's point of view) and mainstream corporate and institutional funds that are raised on the money markets. Money laundering has become easy as it is progressively more difficult for public or national regulatory bodies to track illegal funds. Indeed, with deregulation, the concept of illegality has been whittled down to its minimum moral denominator, namely to include only those monies that are clearly derived from drug smuggling. There is ample evidence of growing substantial private accumulation by African residents in the core of the world system: diverted booty that is not reinvested in the African countries where the wealth is generated (Jackson and Rosberg (1994); Collier 1995). The Commission for Africa Report, *Our Common Interest* (2005: 114) estimates that 40 percent of the stock of Africa's savings is held outside the continent. Last but not least, sub-Saharan Africa's foreign debt which has trebled in the last twenty years since the 'debt crisis' first broke in 1982. Debt repayments remain Africa's foremost intractable problem and the noose that keeps it articulated to the global system. Africa's debt gives the international community enormous leverage over the political and economic trajectories of the inflicted countries. It is the prime reason why states have to adopt so called 'sound policies' of governance and implement economic reforms of privatisation and deregulation in order to achieve debt reduction. Thus, the decline of Africa's share in *legal* markets has not led to its becoming disconnected from the world economy or even to its being less integrated in the global system. What is happening, rather, is the emergence of a *new articulation of the sub-continent's economy to the global system.* It is one in which there is a confluence of illegal wealth accumulation, including its transfer into the core of the global system, with legally imposed patterns of debt reduction. Together, in their interstices, they create sites of contestation and violent conflict.

The Failure of 'Developmentalism'
The debt crisis of the 1980s provided the trigger for a paradigmatic shift in development policies on the part of the international donor community, spearheaded by the World Bank and the IMF. It was a shift that was ideologically consistent with the ascendancy of the neoliberal consensus in the West with its anti-statist emphasis on economic liberalisation and deregulation, the latter itself an outcome of globalising pressures (Hoogvelt, 2001: chapter 8). Previously, the international

community had authored a 'developmentalist' model in the Third World which had ended up backing autocratic regimes and which had helped finance bureaucratic state apparatuses in an effort to overcome what had in those days been perceived as 'internal blockages', for example, the absence of a local entrepreneurial business class. State-led development generated a plethora of government interventions in both external and internal markets including the setting of dual exchange rates, the erection of tariffs and other import controls, as well as domestic subsidies for staple foods and petrol, and the provision of social and welfare services, e.g., health and education, way beyond the internal financial capacity of the state.

It had also buttressed a bulging bureaucracy, fed a kleptocratic elite and made corruption at all levels an endemic feature. But all these had been condoned by international donors and scholars for two reasons, one scientific and one strategic political. While the scientific reason hinged on the theory of 'late development', the nature of the modernisation and the imperative of catching up with the West, the geo-political reason simply had to do with the realities of the Cold War world and the need to keep Africa and other underdeveloped lands in the capitalist camp.

Neoliberal Regimes: From Structural Adjustment to 'Good Governance'
The moment of truth came in the early 1980s when the failure of developmentalism to raise productivity and export earnings (read: hard currency earnings) led to the inability to pay off the international debts incurred during the 'developmentalist' extravaganza. In the subsequent scramble for the rescheduling of debts the World Bank and the IMF were catapulted into a new role, which I have elsewhere described as 'bailiffs of international capital' (Hoogvelt, 1995: 75). In a first phase of the much lamented structural adjustment programmes the emphasis by the international donor community was largely on *economic* measures: replacing state sponsored price distortions with 'real' prices; abandoning economic planning in favour of reliance on market forces for regulating the economy; removing price controls and subsidies in favour of price determination by supply and demand; discontinuing deliberate policies of industrialisation in favour of greater incentives for the production of export commodities; dismantling import controls and liberalising foreign trade and payments; privatisation of state properties and their sale to foreign interests; cut-backs in social services and removing the tax burden for the higher income groups.

But when these policies in their turn failed to deliver the desired results, the emphasis shifted from a focus on economic reforms *per se* to one on the political will and capacity to implement such reforms. In its review of adjustment policies in Africa, the World Bank made this crystal clear when it coined the term 'good governance' for the purpose (Leftwich, 1993). The international donor community began to use terms like 'spoils politics', 'patrimonial state', and 'kleptocracy', to blame the failure of reforms in Africa on the lack of democratic legitimacy that had worsened the crisis because resources were squandered by elites rather than being used in pursuit of economic development objectives. Democratic institutions, it was argued, could provide checks and balances necessary to reform and growth. In hindsight this paradigmatic shift from a developmentalist indulgence in authoritarian rule to an advocacy of democracy is hardly surprising if we consider that structural adjustment programmes require a measure of popular legitimation which the dictatorships which had contracted the debt burden had not needed. Where the contracting of the debt had been a highly private, invisible and unaccountable affair, paying the monies back would bear down directly on every section of society, through devaluation, hyperinflation, wage reductions, public sector cutbacks and so on. The pain of adjustment is, so it was thought, would be easier to bear if people at least felt that they have voted for it themselves.

By the late 1980s and early 1990s the era of political conditionality had begun. The European Union formally adopted political conditionality as an 'aid regime principle' in 1989 while the United States added a 'democracy initiative' under the auspices of USAID in 1991 (Baylies: 1995).

Between 1988 and 1993, the United Nations monitored ballot box elections in some 30 sub-Saharan African countries. It would be wrong to suggest that the move toward democracy was wholly imposed from outside and did not find a responsive and fertile soil among African progressivist movements. As Ihonvbere (1996:25) has described it, there was an interesting dialectic between an imposed democratisation agenda on the one hand, and populist pressure on the other. The wrath of the people erupted once the West stopped nurturing despotic regimes, while the SAPs (unintentionally perhaps) contributed to the proletarianisation of the middle classes, bringing 'an army of bureaucrats, intellectuals, and professionals into the ranks of workers, peasants and the unemployed'. Furthermore, as Ihonvbere himself and many other African progressivists argue, the model of western liberal democracy is inappropriate in Africa, has nothing to do with real democratisation, and has been quickly and successfully seized upon by the existing rulers as a survival strategy (cf. Olukoshi and Laakso, 1998).

Neoliberal Reforms and the Descent into Anarchy
In many sub-Saharan African countries, the imposition of neoliberal orthodoxies, including the privatisation of the public sector, liberalisation of trade and capital regimes, insistence on electoral reform, and emasculation of the state apparatus, have all contributed directly to the descent into anarchy and civil war. Recent wars have scarred 14 of the 36 countries on the subcontinent. Banditry, warlordism and low-intensity conflict have come to prevail in other parts of the region too. How exactly does neoliberal reform lead to descent into chaos and war? Analytically we may discern at least three trajectories, although in reality all three are intertwined.

Perverse Outcomes
First, as Beatrice Hibou (1999: 73) has documented in some detail there are the perverse outcomes of neoliberal *economic* reforms. For instance, the privatisation of public enterprises fuels intense conflict between different factions of elites, and becomes a weapon in ethnic rivalries. Since the procedures for privatisation are concentrated in the hands of those close to the head of state, privatisation is a means by which powerholders can provide favours for their supporters and destabilise rivals. The attraction of the state-owned enterprises is not merely their financial worth, or their normal commercial activity but the possibilities that they offer for clandestine operations such as money laundering, control over importation of goods, or smuggling. On another front, the liberalisation of the banking system in the absence of strong regulatory and supervisory bodies, merely extends the opportunities for fraudulent practices, facilitates the transfer of capital and property from the legal to the illegal sector, and the export of both legitimate and illegitimate funds abroad. In short, it contributes to financial criminalisation.

Implosion of the Patrimonial State
A second trajectory is the destabilising impact of the emasculation of the state apparatus. In a compelling study of the reform process in Sierra Leone, Reno (1995) has argued that neoliberal reforms dissolve the 'patrimonial' state form that emerged after de-colonisation and encouraged disaffected elites to strike out on their own. After independence, the newly-independent states in Africa were typically weak, they lacked legitimacy and were confronted by formidable coalitions of rent-seeking strongmen using alternative, often tribal, power bases. The patrimonial state form emerged naturally to deal with this situation. In the patrimonial form, rulers used state resources to buy off the opposition. The larger the state sector, the greater the amount of monies and lucrative positions of privilege which were in the gift of the rulers. Undoubtedly, this state form created unwieldy, inefficient and corrupt administrations, and led to economic decline and debt. But what is often overlooked is that *it also kept the peace*.[9]

Imposed neoliberal reform, by contrast, attacks the patrimonial state, cleanses out the corrupt bureaucracy and yanks state officials out of the framework of patron-client politics. In its efforts to get the state budget under control, the IMF has even negotiated with governments to sub-contract tax collection to foreign firms. But this manner of reining in the rent-seeking state and its officials dissolves the patrimonial glue that holds the society together. It brings about fragmentation as erstwhile clients are now forced to seek their own benefits independent from the central authority. This hastens the collapse into 'warlordism'. As Reno (1995) summed up the situation for Sierra Leone in the 1990s:

> much recent fighting, especially its territorial spread, is directly related to the elimination of opportunities for powerful strongmen under 'reform' and the efforts of these strongmen to strike out on their own for personal gain … ordinary citizens conclude that Freetown has less and less to offer in the way of services or protection from predations of wayward elites. The reformist state is attacked from two sides, from below, by those who believe it will have little to offer them, and from above, by clients who make irresistible claims on reform policies (Reno, 1990: 217).

World Bank and IMF officials protest their innocence as country after country tumbles into civil strife and despair. After all, all *they* want to do is to 'free' poor peasants from corrupt state marketing boards, and 'liberate' urban enterprise from the punitive shackles of bureaucratic licences and petty government regulations. Their grand design is to use the economic discipline of global markets to promote social restructuring. But this strategy backfires because Africa is simply too far behind to make a living in the global market. Because of its structural irrelevance to the global economy, any enforced return to global markets as agents of economic discipline can, therefore, not even be excused on grounds that the adverse effects of adjustment will be 'temporary'. Nor, it seems to me, can the officialdom of the international institutions be excused on grounds that they could not have foreseen the political consequences of their neoliberal programmes. Theories of the patrimonial state and the positive function of corruption had been part of mainstream political development literature in the 1960s and 1970s. Influential political scientists like Samuel Huntington had commonly viewed political corruption as the only means of integrating marginal groups into a disjointed social system (Huntington: 1968). Some were objective enough to recognise that the growth of corruption, e.g., in 17th and 18th century England, was a necessary alternative to violence, an historically inevitable step in the long haul towards the institutionalisation of a political structure and administration relatively independent from the competing demands of economic agents (Scott, 1972). It is the tragedy of Africa that history has not given it time to catch up.

Poverty, Looting and Rebellion

A third linkage between neoliberal reforms and the collapse into wars and anarchy, is one that is immediately obvious to the casual observer. Neoliberal reforms have had an adverse impact on what were already perilously poor societies. During the first wave of structural adjustment (1980–1988), Hewitt de Alcantara and Dharam Ghai (1991: 14–17) have estimated, on the basis of UN figures, that in the sub-Saharan region as a whole, per capita incomes declined by 30 percent, and that the total loss of income over this period equated to a third of annual imports, 45 percent of export earnings, 10–11 percent of the region's combined GDP and 60 percent of gross capital formation. And, while it is true that political crises and civil wars in many countries have contributed to this staggering loss of income, the adverse international economic environment (as partly mediated through structural adjustment and debt management policies), so they argue, can be held responsible for most of it. For a vivid account of how the macro-economic statistics of the adjustment process bear down on the micro-level of ordinary peoples' daily lives, I refer readers to my *Open Letter to the IMF*, written after personally witnessing a particularly savage round of

IMF conditionalities imposed upon Sierra Leone in 1987 (Hoogvelt, 1987). Practically overnight, the savings of millions were wiped out through the simple expedient of a forced free-float of the currency. The imposed removal of food and petrol subsidies, the axing by 15 percent of the government workforce and various other penalising measures, quite literally drove people mad. While the extremely brutal, spiteful and seemingly mindless forms of violence that in subsequent years were unleashed by rebel forces cannot be wholly explained by the social turmoil set in motion by structural adjustment, the chain of causality cannot be denied.

Characterising the New Wars in Africa
Western writers have searched in total bewilderment for the reasons, whether cultural or instrumental, for the 'senseless madness' associated with many recent conflicts in Africa, '*their reductio ad insanitatem*' in Hans Magnus Enzenbergers' posh Latin phrase (Enzenberger, 1993 cited in Mkandawire, 2002: *passim*: 183). Cultural reasons have hinged on racist interpretations of Africa's return to its 'heart of darkness', a reference to some culturally embedded genes of barbarism that explain the recurrence of such deeds today (Kaplan, 1994; Ellis, 1998). Rational explanations have almost sighed with relief when a utilitarian link appeared to be found, for example, when interviews with Sierra Leone rebels revealed that cutting off hands was intended to dissuade the population from voting (Richards, 1995: 186). In his excellent, critical, review of the literature on the post-colonial rebel movements in Africa, Thandika Mkandawire, Director of UNRISD (2002), deals scathingly with both sets of explanations and next makes the important and original observation that, typically and uniquely in Africa, rebel movements originate in the malaise of the urban setting but despite urban origins, they do not become urban guerrilla movements but, instead, confront the peasantry. This is because they cannot successfully pursue rebellion in towns where incumbent regimes possess monopoly of force.

In Africa, the pains structural adjustment have been borne in the main by the urban underclass, while the peasants with the exception of those in countries of settler agriculture and concessions, still have direct access to land, and traditional usufructary rights. Peasants do have grievances that make them resort to 'everyday forms of resistance' including tax evasion, withdrawal from official markets, hoarding, pilfering, deception, theft, and exit from the national territorial or officially designated spaces, but their grievances are not of the kind that revolutionary movements or liberation armies can mobilise to topple an exploitative state or landlord class, as occurred in Asia or Latin America. So, roving into the countryside, African rebel movements enter a hostile rural environment. Having little in common with the peasantry and nothing to offer it, they resort to violence as the only way to control it. And, as in Collier and Hoeffler's (1999) 'looting model of rebellion', loot is acquired during the process of their rebellion rather than being dependent upon prior victory.

While African post-colonial rebel movements have in the main drifted towards this roving type, as Mkandawire argues, they often also aspire to some form of sedentary existence or permanent control in 'liberated zones'. This is more especially the case where extractive resources such as diamonds or gold, offer a revenue base, control over which can finance the training and arming of local militias, and create the conditions for a fully fledged functioning war economy.

Resource Wars
Even when critical academic analyses do have a background understanding of the wider adverse international context, the portrayal of contemporary African communal violence itself is, nevertheless, one that is often focused, even where not entirely blamed, on the victims. It is an analysis that stubbornly ignores the *direct* imperialist connections that stoke the fires, supply the weapons, purchase the commodities (oil, diamonds, gold), and in so doing, erect a self-reproducing

architecture of a war economy. The expanding killing fields of Africa are ultimately attributed to resource scarcity pushing primordial ethnic cleavages towards escalating wanton violence (Kaplan, 1994: 46). Belatedly, however, analysts are beginning to describe the numerous ties that cement the private interests between state officials, rulers and warlords on one hand, and foreign commerce and investors on the other. In Sierra Leone, for example, where rebels have controlled the diamond areas, the profits of war have been fostered by clandestine supplies of diamonds smuggled across the border into Liberia and sold to a number of Canadian companies, with links to the Central Selling Organisation of the De Beers Company (Smillie et al., 1999).

There are other studies that lay bare the murderous intertwining of international rivalries for Africa's mineral wealth and the fractious explosion of resource wars on the ground (Collins: 1997; Outram, 1997; Hunt, 1999). Kofi Annan (1998), Secretary General of the UN*, observed that foreign interests play a large role in maintaining some conflicts in the competition for oil and other African resources. Meanwhile, a UN panel of experts recently found that foreign interests sustain the current war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo by illegally subsidising militias, in return for gold, diamonds, cobalt, and coltan – a mineral much in demand in the manufacture of mobile phones (Hunt and King, 2003). But nothing compares with the truly explosive conditions which accompany the global minority's insatiable demand for oil and gas, most of which is located within the majority's territorial waters and land. Here is where the violent interface between exclusionary globalisation and imperialism truly leaves its footprint on the early part of the 21st century, beating a bloodstained path right across the three continents of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

'Blaming the victim' is a central message of the neoliberal reform and democracy agenda, and one which social work practitioners are familiar with. And yet, those living in the heartland of the global capitalist system *are* the cause, and the excuse, of much plunder, degradation and dereliction in the margins of the world. The refusal to accept such analysis, and the responsibilities which flow from it, also defines the nature of humanitarian intervention and the 'management of exclusion'. I turn to discuss this in the next section of this paper.

Humanitarian Intervention and the Management of Exclusion

In the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, the United States devoted vast sums of money and other resources to the comprehensive re-building of the war torn nations of Europe and Japan, and to reconstruct (in the case of the former) or develop (in the case of the latter) democracies there. Social workers became part of this reconstruction endeavour, especially after Marshall Plan aid took over the work of the United Nations Relief Agency (UNRA) in 1946 and were expected to help rebuild 'the social' (Kendall, 1991; Lorenz, 1994; Dominelli, 2004b). The challenge was huge, but the coherent planning and forethought (10) that went into the task was also hugely successful. Contrast this with the woefully inadequate provisions following the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, or Kosovo. Nation-building is no longer on the agenda.

The globalisation analysis presented in this paper suggests that the reason for this difference is not necessarily the competence of the respective authorities, but plain economic and geo-strategic interests. The USA came out of the Second World War as the largest industrial nation of the world, responsible for one-third of world manufacturing output (League of Nations, 1945: 13) and over one-quarter of world trade (WTO, 1998: Table II.2: 12). Enlightened intervention to rebuild the war-torn societies of Europe and East Asia as market outlets for American manufacturing was a vital interest in that time. It meshed with an abiding geo-political concern to keep the communist bloc contained and at bay, and ensure that US-friendly governments everywhere, and more especially in a buffer zone around the communist-bloc, were installed and supported so as to safeguard US access to vital resources in other lands.

Military intervention abroad, thus, has been an enduring part of US foreign policy and has been legitimated in successive doctrines relating to the need to protect of American interests (Horowitz, 1967; Klare, 1972; Blum, 2000). Just for the record, since the end of the Cold War, the US has intervened militarily, overtly, or covertly through CIA-backed expeditions, in 72 countries (Pilger, 2003). For a short time in the post-World War II period, the enlightened vision that married US interests to economic development abroad entered the jargon of US military strategists even in respect of the underdeveloped and revolutionary prone *Third World* countries as when, for example, in 1966, former Secretary of Defence, Robert McNamara, explained:

> Security is development, and without development there can be no security. A developing nation that does not, in fact, develop simply cannot remain secure for the simple reason that its own citizenry cannot shed its human nature … . Without internal development of at least a minimal degree, order and stability are impossible. They are impossible because human nature cannot be frustrated indefinitely (cited in Klare, 1972: 27).

These conditions no longer apply. Today, it seems, human nature *can* be frustrated indefinitely. If yesteryear's structural requirements were for robust economies that could absorb the manufacturing output of the US, guarantee vital access to raw material resources, and secure the containment of the USSR and China, today's requirements are just two: access to and control over vital resources, especially oil, and the management of exclusion. But, and this is the crux, even in those areas where there are vital resources, the access to those resources, owing to sophisticated technologies of exploration and extraction, require but a minimal development of domestic infrastructure, and little or no economic development or social stability. Thus, viewed from the internal dynamics and logic of the globalised economy, as I have argued above, the mass of humanity in the periphery of the global economy really does not serve any economic purpose anymore. And therefore, the management of their exclusion and the containment of the violent conflicts that this exclusion brings in its wake has become the second geo-strategic interest.

Peacekeeping and the New Humanitarian Intervention
Humanitarian intervention broadly defined is a set of beliefs and actions dedicated to promoting security, human welfare and alleviating human suffering amid conflict and other forms of social distress (Le Sage, 1998: 26; Roberts, 1996). Such actions may also include military force. Since the end of the Cold War and the consequent delinking of most conflicts from immediate superpower rivalries, the UN has found its peacekeeping services increasingly in demand. The number of UN peacekeeping forces (troops, military observers and police) engaged in action in the decade of the 1990s was between 3 to 4 times higher than in previous decades.[11] It has been argued that earlier forms of peacekeeping operations were minimalist in as much as they were intended to supervise and monitor the implementation of peace or cease-fire agreements already agreed between the warring parties (e.g., Cyprus, Lebanon). Today, however, there is much talk in the literature about the 'new interventionism' (Mayall, 1996; Ramsbotham and Wodehouse, 1995) because the scope of humanitarian interventions has widened to take on what the UN has labelled the 'complex emergencies' associated with the civil wars of the 1990s.

Complex emergencies are said to combine internal conflicts with large-scale displacements of people, mass famine, and fragile or failing economic, political and social institutions (Roberts, 1996: 11) and are thus thought to require a wider *multi-faceted* international response in which relief, peace and development go hand in hand with the need to protect civilian populations from ongoing conflicts. It is a moot point whether the 'complex emergency' is a historically new fact on the ground, or whether the term reflects, as Slim puts it, 'the taxing experience of the outsiders in the international community who seek to respond to such wars as essentially non-

combatant, humanitarian and peace-promoting third-parties' (Slim, 1997: 4). He argues that complex emergencies are social constructions of reality that reflect the agenda and world-view of the onlookers. This has enormous consequences for the way in which the interventions are conducted.

The Crisis of the New Humanitarianism

The 'new' humanitarianism has occasioned an outpouring of what one might call 'agony' literature on the practice and the theory of NGO engagement in zones of conflict. Soul-searching questions are being asked about what is the point of saving lives when wider human rights abuses that endanger that life continue without, or even because of, humanitarian relief. The so-called 'dark side' of humanitarian interventions is now widely understood and catalogued. Relief operations in the middle of live conflicts can fuel the war effort by freeing up local relief resources for the war effort, or even directly by providing such resources (when taxed or diverted at checkpoints) to the combatants; emergency relief supplies may destroy local markets and escalate violence by attracting raiding; they can facilitate the isolation and displacement of particular populations, undermine coping strategies, and bestow unrepresentative legitimacy on warlords (Keen and Wilson, 1994; Anderson, 1996 cited in Slim, 1997: 10). On the wider theoretical or 'vision' canvass, many have critiqued the manner in which ambiguities in the relief, peace and development agendas of the intervening parties is driven by the neoliberal discourse, and pulls the intervention into attempting to restore 'normalcy', or in Duffield's words, into 'state-repair' and assisting societies in conflict to get back on 'the strong state, strong market development track' (Duffield, 1996: 189). By seeing conflict as a dysfunctional interruption of the normal, desirable development process, they miss the point that these conflicts in fact are rooted in a rejection of that process. And thus, humanitarian intervention, for the critics, adds up to no more than a 'welfare net' for war victims, and more insidiously, if unwittingly, a vehicle for Western governments and transnational corporations to maintain the security and order of the existing inter-state capitalist system (Le Sage, 1998: 43). International NGOs are at risk of becoming the humanitarian police force of the 21st century, shielding globalised elites from failed states and the global underclass.

Military Humanitarianism

Alongside UN agencies and UN forces, international relief and development NGOs have emerged as organisations of choice in the new interventionism. Often already working in zones of instability and the beneficiaries of the privatisation of development assistance programmes of western bilateral and multilateral donors, they have moved from the margins to the frontline of the international community's response to civil wars. Thrust into the battlefield of live conflicts, they have sometimes become 'militarised' while working in tandem with UN peacekeeping forces. Thus, the distinction between protection and relief operations has become so blurred that the two are increasingly organising co-operation in the field (UN Security Council, 2000, 2002). But if the distinction between humanitarian relief and military peacekeeping was already blurred in the 1990s, it is set to become ever more so in the 21st century.

Since 9/11 and the official start of the war on terror, the US-led global security agenda has been dominated by a new operating theory of world order, that sees the world divided between a functioning core of stable globalised trading nations and a periphery of weak and unstable states dubbed the 'non-integrating Gap' by Thomas Barnett (2003; 2004). This periphery is seen as a strategic threat environment, a breeding ground for extremist groups, which justifies external intervention in the internal affairs of domestic regimes. Guided by this perspective, the Bush administration's global security and 'fighting for freedom' agenda step-by-step becomes more pro-active and overtly accepting of an imperial mandate. Witness, for example, a recent Pentagon

document (March, 2005) that goes beyond the 'pre-emptive war doctrine' as spelt out in the PNAC's (Project for the New American Century) Report of September 2000 by advocating the deployment of troops in missions that are directed towards 'changing the world' rather than just responding to specific conflicts and by urging greater military prominence in countries in which the US is *not* at war' (Jaffe, 2005, emphasis added).

This overtly imperial stance also co-opts the international humanitarian community in ever more strident ways. I have already referred to Secretary of State Colin Powell's infamous remarks about NGOs being part of the US combat team (Jaffe, 2005: 2). US AID Administrator, Andrew Natsios (2003), enforced this message by telling humanitarian organisations that they were obligated to show the American flag if they took U.S funding (Barnett M, 2005: *passim*: 2). In practice and on the ground, for example, in Afghanistan, the humanitarian NGO community has become effectively militarised as American military personnel wearing civilian uniforms work alongside them coordinating their joint efforts (Glaser, 2002). Likewise in Iraq, the US government has forced NGO relief organisations to operate under DoD (Department of Defence) jurisdiction (Perry, 2003). This idea of bringing humanitarian assistance into the global security agenda is not just the preserve of the US Administration. There are voices in Europe's foreign policy circles that openly advocate a new liberal (or 'postmodern') imperialism wherein the efficient and well-governed 'export stability and liberty' and open up the 'zone of chaos' to investment and growth and who argue that international NGOs are indispensable 'auxiliaries' to this effort (Cooper, 2002).

Towards a Radical Humanitarianism
It would seem therefore, that the impartiality and neutrality of humanitarian interventions, flawed as they were from the beginning (see Jaffe, 2005: 22), are already giving way to interventions that are burdened with the value intrusions of the world's dominant powers and that 'the hallowed space between humanitarianism and politics … has narrowed and become porous' (Barnett, 2005: 3). So if the gloves are off as it were, maybe it is time to consider counter moves that are likewise emancipated from the stance of political neutrality and to venture into a project of humanitarian assistance that is not afraid to take sides. Such stance should begin by addressing the roots of conflicts and developmental failures. These, we have seen in previous sections of this paper, originate in the exclusion of social groups through interlocking national and international predatory political and economic structures. If, as I have suggested, the operation of the global system is the ultimate well-spring of the new wars, then the starting point for addressing the problem should begin in the heartland of that global system.

Reading some of the 'agony' literature of NGO engagement in the new wars, I am struck by a general failure to connect relief operations overseas with human rights and social justice campaigns at home. I suggest there are at least three immediate linkages. *First*, we cannot stop wars abroad until we stop arming the human rights abusers. In a well-researched book, Martin Curtis (2003) has revealed just how complicit British foreign policy is in massive human rights abuses around the world, not only in its political, and economic support for repressive regimes, but especially through its arms export policies. Other critics have done the same for US policy (Horowitz, 1967; Klare, 1972; Blum, 2000). Curtis (2003) quotes Robin Cook as saying that small arms were the basic method of mass-killing over the past decade, and yet in Cook's own first year as Foreign Secretary under New Labour, the government issued 1,500 small arms export licences (Cook, 2003: 192). Even if many of the conflicts are fought with *illegally* obtained fire-weapons, this still leaves us with the moral imperative to stop manufacturing them altogether. Surely, there can be no justification for allowing manufacturers in Britain to produce ever lighter-weight weapons that end up in the hands of child soldiers? There are of course NGOs on the home front campaigning against the arms trade (for example, CAAT, the Campaign Against the Arms Trade; CND, the Campaign

for Nuclear Disarmament). The point I want to make here is that those NGOs engaged in conflicts overseas should *prioritise* collaboration with the arms-trade campaigns at home.

Second, since oil and other critical resources are known to be a main driving force behind conflicts overseas, agonising NGOs should re-direct their energies to the real culprits, the companies who profit by, and the consumers whose lifestyle depends on, expanding killing fields abroad. We urgently need to take stock of – particularly – our collective addiction to oil, our dependency on its rapacious, blood-soaked procurement in poor countries, and of the alternatives that are technologically feasible, economically viable, and environmentally acutely necessary (Richards, 2003). Here is where I see the main task for international NGOs that really want to make a difference. Campaigns to break the mould should target human rights as an environmental issue. *Third*, the new civil wars result in increased refugee flows, yet the rich nations in the West have not generally reacted to crises as they often did in the past by accepting large numbers of refugees. They have been reluctant to extend the formal definition of 'refugee' to encompass those fleeing from war, anarchy, destitution and famine, as distinct from persecution. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has made the point that keeping large numbers of refugees or internally displaced persons in camps just outside their own homeland, actually perpetuates old conflicts and even triggers new ones (Roberts, 1996: 13). Thus, here too, NGOs eager to engage with conflicts overseas should *begin* by campaigning at home for more generous and enlightened immigration policies. And social work practitioners there need to engage in providing services that meet the needs of asylum seekers and refugees (Khan and Dominelli, 2000). Many people will find the radicalism of these home-targeted policy recommendations irksome. This is not what they want to hear. It is easier to blame the victims and, at some personal level of 'wanting to make a difference', more exciting to think that we can help such victims by changing *their* ways. Put out the fires and start again. Find a new socio-economic model of accommodation with the international system that keeps them out there alive (if only just) and our life-styles intact.

On a personal, pessimistic note, my view is that this cannot be done. On the other hand, I could also argue that even if only as a holding operation, until better times arrive, people should try and make a virtue out of necessity, and explore and imagine, some progressive strategies that might yet break the cycle of conflict and lay the foundation for alternative social structures. Social workers are well-placed to develop such strategies as their role in society is to enhance the well-being of individuals, families and communities (BASW, 2005).

In Search of Alternatives

The new forms of social exclusion arising from the current configuration of globalisation require different paths towards sustainable, equitable, alternative socio-economic structures. For example, in those oil-rich developing countries that suffer the 'paradox of plenty', much can be done by the international community to strengthen democratic structures, and to ensure transparency and accountability of oil contracts and payments. After all, public monies from the rich, minority world are increasingly summoned to subsidise oil and pipeline adventures. International NGOs do have considerable lobbying leverage over the policy directions of the lending international financial institutions. It is quite feasible to insist, as for example, in the recommendations made by Christian Aid (2003: 5) that part of the royalties, transit fees taxation and other dues, accrue in charitable trust-funds, or community funds, for disaffected local communities, and that these monies are received and disbursed in ways that bypass the kleptocracies of the national authorities.

Both Norway and Kuwait have charted an exemplary course by setting up an Oil Fund, sometimes referred to as a 'future generations fund' in outside, 'extra-budgetary' accounts that shield the normal economy from inflationary and other destabilising shocks of sudden oil wealth,

financing needy projects, e.g., developing infrastructures or a national pension plan, while saving current wealth for future needs when the oil runs out. Other oil-exporting countries are trying to follow suit, but questions often remain over the proper degree of separation of fiduciary control over such funds. For example, Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan have both opted for the Social Fund Model, but in both cases, the Fund is overseen by government appointed managers and, given the reputation of these countries for breath-taking corruption, nagging doubts remain over the disbursement policy: whether it will be used for social purposes, hospitals, schools, infrastructure, or national defence and the development of more oilfields (Stern, 2004). These are all areas where international NGOs can properly pitch in to ensure transparent and effective funds. This approach implies breaking the mould of political neutrality and taking sides.

Political Engagement: Taking Sides

At the end of a critical review of the new humanitarian 'quagmire', Andre Le Sage (1998) boldly advocates a radical paradigm that forsakes neutrality in favour of direct political engagement. He argues that the neoliberal approach to intervention has created a false dichotomy between an ethics of *peace* (understood in terms of creating security and the re-establishment of order) and an ethics of *justice*. But peace can only come through justice and justice can only be achieved if we accept that non-violent social relations are not possible without redressing the social processes of domination and marginalisation. How can social workers, particularly those working in community-based organisations and NGOs, do this? Le Sage's radical programme proposes to link up local non-governmental and community-based organisations that have a radical social agenda. Social workers can use NGOs and civil society structures to encourage people to develop locally-based relations of socio-economic reciprocity, and non-violent and non-exploitative, participatory development. Such a socially transfigurative intervention strategy may even require armed guards to defend communities participating in radical programmes (Le Sage, 1998: 47).

Imagining Post-War Reconstruction

Let us run with this scenario, and ask next, what would secure the economic viability and sustainability of such local, communally-based, 'contrast model' protectorates in war-torn countries? Applying this scenario to non-oil rich communities, let me put the proposition that practitioners can make a virtue out of the very conditions that are responsible for the new wars in the first place, namely failed states and social exclusion. Outside the arena of live conflicts and wars, there is a huge and growing literature on the new 'provisioning' practices that are developing in 'transformative spaces' that have been opened up precisely as a result of the exclusionary dynamics of the global system, be they in the economically abandoned districts of advanced industrial countries of the North, or in the castaway slums and rural sectors of the South. NGOs engaged in live conflicts could draw inspiration from the theoretical and practical lessons contained in this literature (Langley and Mellor, 2002).

At the theoretical level there is a body of work that begins by demystifying the ideological and totalising claims of (neo)liberalism which have us believe that what we understand by 'economy' and 'the market' are one and the same thing and one, moreover, which is 'natural', that is, the product of an economic rationality inherent in all human beings. It is one, furthermore, which is conceptualised as 'being a separable entity … a distinct set of (market) relations between persons not in essence political or familial' (Caporaso and Levine, 1992: 28 *cited in* Langley and Mellor, 2002). The critics argue that this commonsense notion of 'economy' is a mystification, and indeed an aberration of the real 'economy' in which reciprocity and collective, collaborative action in material provisioning to meet human needs are embedded in affective, emotional, familial and communal ties. Thus, 'economy' is a multi-layered structure of which the market and market

relations is merely one that sits atop (indeed corrupts and subordinates) other sets of relations, which include socially embedded forms of material provisioning.

The next step in the theoretical argument is the proposition that to the extent that globalising market forces are abandoning whole areas and communities, transformative spaces are opened up in which those living in the castaway slums are able not merely to return to and fall back on minimum subsistence or coping strategies, but actually would have the imagination and freedom to expand and develop a whole range of local non-market, not-for-profit economic activities that elsewhere are subject to relentless commodification (Latouche, 1993; Hoogvelt, 2001: 264). As for the practice of these non-market socio-economic innovations, there are lessons to be learnt from the: numerous studies of vibrant informal sectors in many African cities (Cheru, 1997); self-help 'post-development' communities in Latin American slums (Escobar, 1992); rural household subsistence sector in South Asia (Bennholdt Thompson and Mies, 1999); and re-established local economies in Europe (European Network for Economic Self-help and Local Development, 1996), co-operatives, community businesses, credit unions and Local Exchange Trading Schemes with their own notional currencies are beginning to excite ideas of how, more than being just coping strategies, such local alternatives, might become the vanguard of social movements that will roll-back neoliberal globalisation itself. Even when equipped with 'best practice' knowledge of alternative models that thrive in non-conflict situations, the problem remains of how to make this knowledge productive in war affected communities without running the risk of being perceived as overbearing, 'West knows Best', missionaries. There are no rules here. Anything that is any good has to be discovered in the process of praxis that is guided by a willing suspension of certainty. As an attitudinal referent, Keats' (1818) term, 'negative capability', comes to mind. This is an attitude of mind that is willing to remain in doubt and hesitation, and not expect the outcome of our actions to be a foregone conclusion.

Social workers acting in their role as advocates could apply Freire's (1970) dictum that understanding the positions occupied by poor people and finding ways of raising their consciousness could empower them in taking control of their lives. They could also decide to play key roles in subverting the relations of domination that keep people in their place and thus contribute towards safeguarding poor people's social, cultural and environmental well-being. It is even possible, as Le Sage (1998) points out, that one of the warring parties has a compatible agenda in which case choosing peace may well involve deliberately contributing to their armed struggle. These moral dilemmas have to be faced and choices made. But they have to be made in the light of the failure of other responses, and the awareness, in the light of experience, that what passes for neutrality is always a story that favours an established order that we know to be wrong.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1. For a regularly updated count of major armed conflicts, see www.History.Guy.com, 'New and Recent Conflicts of the World'. Major wars and conflicts are defined as conflicts in which more than a thousand people have died, involve more than one nation (for internal conflicts) or more than two nations (for international conflicts).

2. *Source*: WTO Statistics Database (www.wto.org) downloaded 3 July 2004. The author thanks Dr Tim Beal for help with these calculations. The following definitions have been used:

Subject	Total merchandise trade
Reporters	Regions and countries as indicated
Partner	World (as against EU or extra-regional trade)
Trade flow	Exports and Imports (not separated re-exports)
Unit	US$ at current prices
Year	as indicated
Coverage:	Hong-Kong, China's re-exports are included
Trade regions	(Author's definition)
Old core	North America, Western Europe, Australia, New Zealand
Dynamic Asia	China, Hong Kong, Japan, Korea (Republic of), Malaysia, Singapore, Taiwan ('Chinese Taipei'), Thailand
Marginalised regions	Asia excluding 'Dynamic Asia', Australia and New Zealand; Middle East, Latin America and Caribbean; Africa

3. These are very rough calculations. Will Hutton has argued, as others have done, that in the rich countries there is an emerging social structure of 40–30–30 percent, while the consensus amongst Third World observers is that the proportions there are reversed (Hutton, 1995: 105, ff). The International Labour Organization (2000) has estimated that over 1 billion people, or about one-third of the global work force, are unemployed or underemployed, working substantially less than full-time, or earning less than a living wage. The global workforce is expected to swell by 1.5 billion new job seekers in the next 50 years, almost all living in the developing world, where about one-half of the population is under the age of 25.

4. A quote and estimate from John Reed, once chairman of Citicorp, the biggest of the American banks, *cited in* Sampson (1989: 179).

5. For hard-hitting descriptions of pauperisation and exclusion in the US, see Ehrenreich (2002)

6. Christie, N (1993) *Crime Control as Industry: Towards Gulag, Western Style?* London: Routledge: *Passim:* 115. See http://www.sentencingproject.com accessed 4 May 2005.

7. For examples and a review of the conditions necessary to achieve such upgrading, see UNCTAD (2001: chapter IV).

8. A report in *Time* magazine suggests that Pentagon officials count roughly 20 private companies around the world contracting for security work in combat areas, and that an estimated 30,000 Iraqis and several thousand expats are working for private outfits in Iraq, at the present time. See Michael Duffy, 'When Private Armies Take to the Front Line', *Time*, 12 April 2004.

9. A detailed description of how, for example, President Siaka Stevens managed this stable patrimonial formation in Sierra Leone, may be found in a witness account which I wrote for the *Monthly Review* under a pseudonym at the time. See Frank Ly (1980) 'Sierra Leone: the Paradox of Economic Decline and Political Stability', in *Monthly Review*, 32(2): 10–26.

10. Noam Chomsky, in his foreword to Fitt et al. (1997) describes how three years before the end of WWII in 1942, the US Council of Foreign Relations had already mapped out what was then called *The Grand Area Plan* in which the US was preparing to hold 'unquestioned power' in the post-war world. In respect of the European Recovery Programme, see Maier (1991).

11. from www.globalpolicy.org/security/peacekpg/data/pcekprs1.htm accessed 1 June 2004.

Chapter 3

Discourses Within and About Social Work

IRENE LEVIN

Introduction

Is it possible to gain a fuller understanding of social work by using the concept of discourse? In this chapter I examine social work as a discursive practice. My aim here is to discover whether this kind of discursive framing may add to our understanding of the discipline of social work. Discourse,[1] as I understand it, is a social phenomenon based upon a social and cultural relationship serving as a foundation for making shared assessments (Magnusson 1998). As used here, discourse refers to a more extensive social phenomenon both formed and spread by language and which involves the contributions of many people through time (Magnusson, 1998: 182). When this is related to a discipline such as social work, discourse also involves issues involving competency as linked to a position or status. The term discourse has become a buzzword in recent years and this chapter must not be understood as a blind declaration of love for discourse, discursive formation and related concepts. Nonetheless, I draw on the insights of Kikkan Ustvedt Kristiansen, one of the pioneers of social work in Norway, to expand the discipline by trying out a theory and a perspective that has been little utilised in the social work literature in the Nordic countries.[2]

The use of discourse analysis requires one to shift attention away from a focus on the characteristics of individuals, mechanisms and structures and towards a focus on language, interaction and processes, i.e., the social field *between* the individual and the society. According to Magnusson (1998), it is precisely through discourses that the individual both transforms her experiences into her identity and creates herself in interaction with others. Given this framing, it therefore should be interesting to see how and to what degree social workers shape their practice and with that, their identities, through discourses *of* social work.

At the same time, there exist discourses *about* social work. Here I am thinking specifically about the low status of social work not only within academe, but also within society at large. Most likely, there exists a reciprocal relationship between these two spheres and the often negative attributions attached to social work in the academy and elsewhere. These kinds of assessments are, however, not unequivocal. In many circles and sectors of society, social work represents progressive ideas – especially when the discipline is seen as fighting for the rights of the weakest members of society as well as struggling and demonstrating against injustice, intolerance and other destructive forces in society.

Nonetheless, everyday speech contains numerous examples referring to social workers as 'wishy-washy do-gooders'. In the Norwegian language, it is not at all uncommon to hear social workers referred to as the 'mauve scarf and orthopaedic shoe brigade'. These symbols clearly comprise a form of ridicule as well as a critique of the profession. Often, the terms social work and social worker are used in this way to symbolise something negative. Even when these words are simply said and not expanded upon, it is often unnecessary to ask what is meant by them. It is as if everyone knows what is being referred to and therefore it is not necessary to ask for explanations. Recently, someone writing a letter to the editor in Norway's largest newspaper complained that

the daily newscasts on Norwegian radio were becoming like social workers. It was unnecessary to expand on this since readers could be expected to know that the author of this complaint was indicating something about the superficiality and gullibility of the newscasters. This need not imply that every reader agreed with the writer, but that the writer was framing this letter within a current and commonly accepted discourse about social work and social workers in Norway.

The content of a phenomenon can often be best grasped by looking at its boundaries. The borders of a discourse often provide a clear indication of its connection to power and desire. A discourse is both that which illuminates and conceals desire, while a discourse is also about the object of desire that one struggles to attain. According to Foucault (1993), there are three factors characterising the boundaries of discourse. In the first place, there is the question of who and/or which agents are allowed to speak about any given case. There exist guides for filtering and sorting out who these speakers are to be. Secondly, there exist exclusionary mechanisms in the form of *rules, prohibitions* and *dichotomies*. And thirdly, there exist oppositions between that which is *true* and that which is *false*. In the following I will attempt to examine how these three sorting or classifying elements can have significance for the discipline of social work in relation to discourses *about* social work.

Fahlgren (1999) has raised the question about how items and which persons are excluded from discourse. The answer, as already noted, is through rules and prohibitions (Foucault 1993). These determine what can be said as well as who may speak. Rules can be clearly expressed, but also can assume forms as procedures that more indirectly guide discourse in relation to existing power structures. In the case of social work, the rules are clear as to who is to advance the discipline.[3] These often take the form of open and hidden agendas within academe and more general perceptions found in society about the position of social work. Within the academy, there exist distinct rules about who may express themselves in relation to certain questions as well as who may contribute to disciplinary developments. These are persons in possession of well-defined academic qualifications – preferably doctorates – and whose disciplinary activities primarily involve research. These persons express themselves about the field through direct or indirect discussions as well as contribute to disciplinary development through writings in journals and books.

In Norway, social work has played only a limited role as an actor in this arena. Until recently, graduate degrees were offered at only two institutions, the Norwegian University of Science[4] and Technology and Oslo University College[5] and the number of those who graduated with degrees in social work had not exceeded 200 by 2004. In this respect, Norway differs from the rest of Europe as well as the United States. Social work has long been a graduate discipline at universities in both Sweden and Finland. Only Denmark has a shorter academic tradition for graduate social work than Norway. Yet, common to all the Nordic countries is the fact that social work as an academic discipline has relatively low status and ranks very low in terms of possessing power within university hierarchies.[6]

Exclusion can also occur through what Foucault described as dividing practices involving oppositions and dichotomies. As an example of this, Foucault (1993) used the division Western scientists made between madness and reason. In this division, reason achieved its status and significance through a process by which madness was found to be reprehensible. This example, in turn, can be related to social work's main concern with socially excluded people. In one sense, social work gains its legitimacy thorough a process whereby it becomes the domain of the normal since its clients are defined as being abnormal. By virtue of being the object of social work practice, these clients are thus defined as being outside the so-called normal.[7] Another dichotomising process contributing to the exclusion of social work and serving also to hinder participation in the arena where disciplinary development takes place is the poorly defined relationship between theory and practice in the field. When practice is defined as the opposite of theory, it is assumed that it cannot

be theorised about. Practice then can only be developed through practice. And in this respect, one can only add to the development of practice by a practical theory of practice.

However, if the dichotomy between practice and theory is abolished and one follows John Dewey's well-known dictum that 'nothing is so practical as a good theory', one arrives at another result. The fact that the conceptual pair called 'theory *and* practice' exists in this form suggests an inbuilt opposition. If not, it would not be necessary to mention both. Instead, one could have said 'theory' and included within that 'practice' à la Dewey or one could have said 'practice' and meant theory as well, again according to Dewey (1925, 1939). The question here is whether these concepts are mutually exclusive as in the form of a dichotomy or whether they complement each other.

A third form of exclusionary practice discussed by Foucault involves oppositions between truths and falsehoods. During some periods, that which distinguishes what is true is the correctness or authority of the person producing the discourse, while at other times truth is determined by the content of the discourse. According to Foucault, the 'will' to establish truth[8] has been a major aim of science since the 1600s. Since that time, knowledge has been viewed as something that is both verifiable and useful (Foucault 1993). Today, this discourse about truth has great institutional support and is what authorises and legitimises much of what takes place in our society. Truth has become a question of power.

Social work is dependent in many ways on such truth declarations involving the manner in which clients are diagnosed as criminal, unemployed, schizophrenic and so on. This provides both order and predictability (Levin 1996). This order and predictability may function as an obstacle in the way of further development. Additionally, this contributes to creating a need for knowledge that is focused on ranking, diagnosing and other forms of ordering. In this way, truth-seeking comes to dominate the aforementioned discursive exclusionary practices by taking control of 'forbidden speech' and the discourse on madness.

As Foucault (1993: 14) puts it:

> the will to truth that so long has been forced upon us is such that the truth it seeks cannot avoid disguising this will.

Behind this will, Foucault sees both desire and power. Yet, the will to truth will not acknowledge this. Truth is given legitimacy by power relationships that would be called into question if desire and power were made visible. In this way, power and desire may be understood as the enemies of truth. Similarly, recognition of diversity may be seen as an enemy of the search for absolute truth.

In this chapter, I argue that a discourse *about* social work exists, and that within this discourse is found a 'truth' about social work as a practical, rather than a theoretical, enterprise. Social work is placed and places itself outside what are understood as the academic rules for discussions about disciplinary development. Moreover, those within the field are not regarded as possessing the 'truthful' understanding of social work – this is reserved for others outside the field. This particular discourse has its own life and is maintained through a number of mechanisms. Central among these are those instances where individuals or society-at-large gain experiences casting doubt on dominant discourses about social workers. When this happens, these are defined as exceptions and, thus, it is possible to continue regarding social workers as incompetent. Similarly, when social work is carried out in a competent and beneficial manner, the professional background of the social worker is kept hidden or defined as having no importance. Good social work becomes in this way psychology. On the other hand, when it is carried out poorly, it becomes social work.

The discourse *about* social work must not be misunderstood as only concerning the views of others about social work and its practitioners. Social workers, too, are involved in this discourse. Like members of other oppressed groups, social workers are not immune to internalising society's

largely negative view of themselves and their occupation. It is clear that social workers exhibit this kind of ambivalence about themselves and their profession. The fact that social workers often internalise and integrate such views of themselves can also be related the analyses made about Jewish self-hate by Kurt Lewin (1941) in the 1930s as well as ethnic self-hate made by Jane Addams (1914) several decades earlier. These kinds of phenomena often are expressed by social workers in their ambivalent views and feeling about their profession.

This is often represented when one exhibits only one part of one's concerns at a time. Thus, the social worker Lennart Nygren writes that social work lacks an identity because social work has become an area of knowledge as a result of what it is not:

> it is not psychological work, not pedagogical work, not caring work, not planning work … but then what is it? (Nygren, 1992: 46).

In writing this, Nygren stands outside his own profession to interrogate it. Another example of this externalisation is found in the work of the committee which evaluated social work in Sweden in 1989. Though they arrived at a somewhat different conclusion, their report was written in much the same spirit. The committee maintained that social work ought to be more closely linked to the disciplines of psychology and sociology. Haluk Soydan (1993) claims that sociologists and other social scientists overestimate their abilities to solve theoretical and methodological problems while they underestimate social work's ability to develop its own theoretical and methodological identity. In line with this, Soydan further argues that contrary to popular opinion, social work does not lack traditions involving the history of ideas.

A Study of Social Work

In this section I will try to provide a view of the processes making up social work. This is not a study of what social work *is* (a static view) but rather how social work *is created* through what one *does* (Payne 1991, Levin, 2004). This study employs a social constructionist perspective (Rorty 1997) drawing upon phenomenological and pragmatic theories (Addams 1902; Dewey 1934). As such, this approach takes as its point of departure the social worker's definition of the situation (Thomas and Thomas 1928). The definition of the situation serves as the launching platform for action and provides a frame for understanding and interpreting relationships as well as the other. It is through perceptions and interpretations of the actions of the other that the individual prepares for her/his next action. Framed in this way, it is not so much that interaction is that which occurs between individuals; rather it is what takes place between one's own *perceptions* and *interpretations* of the other and the other's actions. Thus, interaction between people becomes interaction with one's own interpretation of the other. According to Levin and Trost (1996, 2005), this may be called Mead's triadic system. When applied to social work (Strauss, 1978: 163) this means that how the social worker defines the situation will be decisive for how the case will be handled (Parton and O'Byrne, 2000).

Torbjørn Bolstad (1995) found that some social workers working with child protection cases define as 'helpless' those single mothers who come to them seeking 'help' in caring for their children. In other instances, however, social workers define 'help' as 'support'. It is, therefore, rather obvious that the actions performed by social workers will vary to a great degree as a consequence of these differential definitions of a situation. In this connection, it is important to note that feelings and thoughts are also actions. When the social worker gets a feeling or a thought during a meeting with the client, this feeling or thought involves an interaction with the self. By highlighting the analytic part of the social worker's activities, it hopefully may make clearer how the production of

knowledge takes place in social work. In this respect, analysis may be understood as a thorough evaluation of the bases used by the social worker in making decisions and choosing actions to be carried out. Further, interaction occurs within the norms and rules found in what Anselm Strauss (1978) called the 'negotiated order'. For Strauss, this order is constructed upon negotiations that the individual does not regard as negotiations, but rather as a given and natural part of life. This kind of order involves a set of limitations impacting on social workers in a variety of systems.

During the 1980s and 1990s, one began to pose new questions about those categories through which knowledge was supposed to be understood. At that time, it became clear that if such categories were predetermined, this created a situation wherein one failed to see and register other kinds of knowledge. While this view was only infrequently found in studies of social work, it informed a number of studies of other professions and their practitioners. Central in this connection are the studies of nursing and related care conducted by Kari Martinsen (1990), Torunn Hamram (1987), Ingela Josefson (1991), and Kari Wærnes (1984). Their analyses have served as a major contribution to our understanding by providing insights into the deep structures of how the work of caring is conducted. In Norway, similar investigations focused on social work have only recently begun to appear in print. While most of these studies have been graduate theses, it is not only in the academic sphere that analyses of the premises for knowledge in social work have been carried out (Annfelt, 1994; Fossestøl, 1997; Fahlgren, 1999).

A central concern here has been with how actions in practice are based on discretion and judgment (Østerberg, 1978; Schön, 1983). It has been shown that discretionary evaluations found in other professions like law and medicine are not normally associated with such subjective activities (Moseng, 1998; Dahle, 1990). In these arenas, the core of discretionary practices involves a much wider conceptualisation of knowledge than that associated with traditional theoretical knowledge. Thus, knowledge may be understood as something passed on by 'masters' to 'apprentices' through processes involving observation of practice as well as trial and error learning. Knowledge found wherever relational work is being taught and learned is referred to variously as tacit, silent or experientially-based knowledge (Annfelt, 1994; Josefson, 1991; Marthinsen, 1990). This form of knowledge is often extremely difficult to grasp because so few concepts have been developed to deal with its features. In working in this field, it is clear that one is required to abandon more traditional conceptualisations of knowledge and to begin to explore a vast and unmarked territory.

A common denominator for these studies is that these processes are localised in an arena for action where theory and practice are tightly linked. One study differentiates between instrumental and practical actions (Fossestøl, 1997). The instrumental act is goal-means oriented with clearly defined causal relations between cause and effect. Much social work activity is dominated by this kind of thinking. A classic example of this is found in municipal and rural social service agencies (i.e., social offices) where the main task for the social worker is to determine whether the client satisfies criteria for receiving social assistance. The social service agency is not unique in this respect. Western culture is dominated by similar instrumental understandings of action – this includes sociology according to Eriksen (1993). Practical action, on the other hand, is characterised by actions judged by moral norms and standards in the person to person field (Skjervheim, 1976). Actions are characterised by spontaneity, they can have a multiplicity of meanings and their aims can appear to be indeterminate (Østerberg, 1993).

The focus of my study has been two-fold. In part, it directs attention to the question of discourses within social work and in part, it addresses the question of discourses *about* social work. With respect to the former, the study focuses on which tasks are carried out by social workers and what is involved in these tasks. In terms of the latter, the question focuses on the possible effects that discourses *about* social work have on the everyday activities of the social worker.

Methods

In order to locate the kind of knowledge sought by my investigation, it was necessary to conduct a qualitative in-depth study. On the basis of earlier research experiences, I felt that those processes to be examined could best be grasped through qualitative interviews. In addition, I decided to make use of a strategic sample (Trost, 1989; Fog, 1982) through which it would be possible to gain greater variation among theoretically important variables. In this study, the population was the total number of social workers in Norway. The term social worker in this context was applied to both traditionally educated social workers and child protection workers – who share much of the same training and curriculum with social workers.

The sample was comprised of 20 social workers from the Eastern part of Norway. They worked in both street-level bureaucracies and secondary institutions. These social workers were employed in municipal and rural social service agencies, child protection offices, child and adolescent psychiatric institutions, probation offices and adult psychiatric institutions. In total, ten different institutions were represented in the study. All informants had been employed at other work sites earlier. This meant that experiences from a number of other institutions were included in the narratives they related during the interviews. In the course of the interview process, these 20 informants described more than 40 cases.

While some of the informants were relatively recent graduates of social work training institutions and had approximately two years of experience since graduation, other informants had worked as social workers for more than 30 years. Both sexes were represented in the sample in more or less the same proportion as found in the profession, i.e., 75 per cent women and 25 per cent men.

A Good Case and a Bad Case

To grasp how social workers go about reasoning as they work with cases is not a simple matter. They can easily experience questions asked of them as tests as to how clever they are in their professional work. This most probably can be said about studying many occupations. Nonetheless, this may be more problematic in social work since practitioners themselves represented a vulnerable group that has been the target of considerable criticism. Thus, I took as my point of departure each social worker's definition of the situation that they were presented with. Informants were asked to make their own evaluations of working with cases: each being asked to describe what was good as well as what was bad in working with clients. In this way, and in keeping with the theoretical and methodological orientation of the study, the social workers as informants could describe their own work with clients and the reasons why they evaluated as particular piece of work as better than another.

I could have chosen to present a standard story about client work as the focus for the interview because this could have been used to compare how social workers reacted to a common stimulus. But, I rejected this approach because I felt it would then have simply measured what the social worker meant she/he s*hould* have done in client work. For me, proceeding in such a manner would have been an exercise in ideology production. Since my study aimed to examine real-life situations, I chose an approach that would provide social workers with opportunities to relate tales based upon their own experiences of client work. In this way, the basis for data collection was established and anchored in social workers' own narratives. By telling tales about their own practice, beginning with work they considered successful, followed by a description of work they viewed as not so successful, the cases became equivalent, i.e., I could compare their self-assessments and responses in each case on an equivalent basis for each social worker relating these tales.

In this way, the study design was divided into two parts. The first focused on those cases the social workers themselves felt had been successful. The social worker was asked to think of a case that she or he felt had been handled well. Following this, the social worker was encouraged to talk about the case in such a way that the interviewer could take part in learning *who* the client was, *what* the problem concerned was and *how* the social worker felt she or he had contributed to solving the problem. The story was deemed finished once the interviewer felt that a picture of these three factors had been produced. This was then followed by an interview about the case and the informant's tackling of it. Here, the questions were aimed at making the actions as concrete as possible (Trost, 1998). In the course of this process focusing on what in fact was done, the interviewer was provided with a way of grasping the actions involved in working with the case. These, in turn, were then employed as the starting point of the analysis where a central goal was to understand *what* the informants wished to accomplish (the meaning creation aspect of behaviour) as well as the background for *why* they acted in the way they did. Central to this analytic part were questions posed to the informants about what they felt in retrospect had been crucial in making the work successful. In addition, they were asked about the connections between this result and what they did in relation to clients.

Once this had been completed, informants were asked to describe cases where they felt they had been unsuccessful in working with clients. This part of the interview was constructed much like the first part. Initially, the informant was required to find a case illustrating this kind of problem. Then, she or he described who was involved, what the problem was and what attempts had been made to solve it. The interview focused much on what the informant did or did not do in relation to the case. Again, the aim here was to make as concrete as possible what the informants had done (the actions) rather than what they had felt.

Each of the 20 informants provided two cases as well as the interview material drawn from discussion of the cases. These data constituted the point of departure for the analytic portion of the study. A central question here involved what characterised the relation between the analysis and the actions the social worker adjudged as successful. Likewise, a central question involved what characterised the relation between the analysis and the actions the social worker considered unsuccessful. A further question involved differences in the analytic work. If these differences were found, could they be related to other factors? Of special importance in this work was to identify the discourses within social work involved in the narrative descriptions and analyses produced by the informants.

Results

In the following section, I wish to concentrate on different aspects of the social worker's everyday life that emerged in the course of examining the data. All of these findings are significant but are not presented here in any kind of hierarchical order. Initially, these may be understood as providing different dimensions of disciplinary discourses used by social workers. These are: *the differential positioning of social workers, starting where clients are, processes of rejection, the horizon of possibilities and norm conflicts.* These dimensions all constitute discourses *in* social work. In concluding the following discussion, I will focus on the relationship of social workers to contemporary discourses focusing on social work in society, i.e., discourses *about* social work.

The Differential Positioning of the Social Worker
In analysing the data, one of the first things I found involved the different positions social workers had assumed in carrying out their work. Prior to this discovery, I had assumed that social work tasks were carried out in two different arenas. One of these was the bureaucratic casework carried

out by social workers in positions of authority, while the other involved work in therapeutic areas. I further assumed that these two areas of activity were mutually exclusive. In addition, I expected that this division would reflect the worksites employing the social workers. I assumed that case preparation, management and similar activities would take place in the street-level bureaucracies of social service offices and similar front-line institutions, while I assumed that therapeutic activities would occur in child, adolescent and adult psychiatric milieus.[9] The probation services I also assumed would be much like these latter institutions. However, when I began to search through the texts comprising much of the interview materials and tried to find what Eva Magnusson (1998) calls the 'voices' through which the social workers spoke, I found that there were many more categories than that of casework versus therapy.

Stated somewhat differently, it became clear that social workers had a range of subjectivities, positions or roles serving as the bases for their actions. In examining this great diversity, I will sort these into the three roles of *authoritative practitioner*, *therapist* and *pedagogue.* These, in turn, relate to three dominant discourses within social work. In one sense, these three represent classical divisions within social work. Within each of these, power is exercised both vertically and horizontally. What was striking, however, was that these three roles were present in all cases described and analysed by the informants and were independent of whether or not the social worker worked in a front-line institution or not. Thus, social workers working in front-line agencies not only performed case management tasks in the role of authority practitioners but they also carried out various forms of therapy.

A social worker at one social service office told about her work with a client that she regarded as successful because the client, a young man in his 20s, ceased reacting with violence to every situation. In one of her first sessions with this man, she told him what she would do if he became violent with her. Making violence concrete was a constant theme throughout the many sessions where she worked with this young man. As she described it, her work with him that eventually stretched over many years was purely therapeutic.

> He has admitted to himself that his anger is fear and that he has experienced difficulties that put him into these kinds of situations. And then he thinks that his own life has now progressed, even though this has not been registered by those around him.

Her task in relation to him as an authority figure was also very much a part of her work with him even though the work involving his social assistance claims were carried out by others at the agency. She helped him, for example, in applying for social security benefits as well as a dispensation from military service. In this part of the work, the client himself was an important contributor while the social worker assisted him in constructing these applications in a form where his arguments functioned in his own favour. He could not seek dispensation from the military because 'he would knock down the sergeant' as he put it. His reasons for seeking the dispensation had to be put into a context wherein they would be accepted. In working with these applications, the social worker assumed a pedagogic role. This was especially important since the client's seven years of schooling had not equipped him with the written skills necessary to apply to gain all the rights he was entitled to by law.

Another example from a child protection agency involves a drug-abusing boy who stole and was violent. The goal of the agency with this youth was to establish contact with him in order to find out what kind of intervention could be proposed to him. The work towards this goal took place on many levels and the social worker reported using a number of therapeutic techniques in addition to her role as both an authority and a pedagogue. Two social workers were engaged with this case and the agency practiced an extensive form of collegial guidance so that they and others could 'keep going' in their work.

The boy's parents were desperate and this desperation appeared to create considerable ambivalence for them about what should be done with their son. It appeared that an additional factor contributing to this state of affairs was the fact that their son had been adopted from another part of the world. In working with the parent's and their motivation, the social worker acted as a therapist. Her therapeutic work with them, however, was complicated because she did not appear to have sufficient authority. The parents used this, she felt, to undermine her work: they often contacted other agencies who then criticised the social worker's activities. Whether or not this criticism of the social worker's work was valid is only of secondary importance. What is important is that she was carrying out therapeutic work with the parents.

In addition she was trying to engage their son in dialogue. In order to do this, she reported trying out a number of creative and non-traditional ways of establishing contact with the boy. She related that she took walks in order to meet him in his own milieu.

> I said, 'Hi' and told him who I was. 'Do you want to talk?' [I asked] And, of course, he did not want to talk with me.

She reported meeting the boy at a skateboard ramp and making an appointment with him that he did not keep. She came to his home together with a colleague and then asked for a drink of water because 'they had walked so far to get there'. The boy was courteous on that occasion, but this, too, did not contribute to bringing them into closer contact. Her goal with the boy was to discuss different possibilities about his future with him and then to bring reports of these talks to the regional child protection agency deciding what was to be done with him. Her creativity in this work was not therapy but rather involved in working in ways not usually associated with traditional casework and exercising of authority in social work. This work was not instrumental action because she had no one-track goal to be attained. She tried to create a situation where therapy as well as other things could happen. And she tried to become acquainted with this boy and to create a situation where she could see the world from his perspective.

It has long been my impression that non-frontline institutions are the main sites where therapy takes place. And this view was substantiated by the results of the study. For example, one social worker working on a ward with psychotic patients described helping a client to:

> order the chaos … and with what she should do when invaded by all the thoughts … .

The client had visual and auditory hallucinations when she was admitted to the hospital. In conversations with the social worker, she reported:

> loneliness, isolation and not being listened to a home. They had not under-stood and there was all the pressure to get married in another culture.

The social worker tried out different ways to understand this girl. She attempted:

> to get a handle on what she was saying so we have worked with trying to get things connected. It has often been chaotic … but now she is alert, clear and energetic … I believe that she has gained much from our conversations where I have tried to begin there where she is most concerned and then try to help her sort out her thoughts.

In addition to this, the social worker reported carrying out authority activities such as providing help with social security benefits and applications for jobs. In addition, pedagogy was a major activity. On the ward, there was an educational programme for parents of patients focused on teaching about what the illnesses of their children involved. The parents were invited to:

teaching days where they were informed about psychoses, about the stresses involved in being parents of children with psychoses … use of medications with psychotic patients. We also discuss techniques of educating about psychoses or ways of working with children drawing upon good experiences from milieu therapy. This provides the parents with some clues about how we think in psychiatry.

In their work involving exercising of authority, therapeutic and pedagogical work, the informants reported incorporating a good portion of caring work. In addition, their narratives showed that guidance and counselling were also incorporated into the three discourse of exercising authority, therapy and pedagogy.

To Begin Where The Client Is

The phrase – 'begin where the client is' – nearly has the status of a key mantra in social work. If one asks social workers why things worked out well for *that* particular case, they often answer that it was because 'they started where the client was'. In this study, the same pattern emerged.

We seem to prefer this as the basis for social work. Søren Kierkegaard, it seems, was much concerned with a similar situation more than 150 years ago. He maintained that if we really wished to help another person, then it was imperative that one:

> first and foremost be aware of where he was found, where he was and so begin there. This is the secret of all the arts of helping … In order really to help another human being, I must understand more than he does, but first and foremost understand that which he understands (Kierkegaard, 1859).

If I do not do this, it does not help that I possess more knowledge than the other person. Involved in this approach is the notion that by making myself humble in order to understand, I then can help by serving the other rather than commanding over them. He goes on:

> If you do not begin in this way with another person so that he can find relief in talking with you, then you cannot help him. He will shut himself off from you – and you will only be preaching to him (Kierkegaard, 1859).

Writing for social workers, Helen Perlman (1957: 30) spoke of starting where the client is. She felt that even though the social worker may have other ideas about which solutions are the correct ones, it is imperative to listen to what the client says and then to follow her/his lead. One comes no way at all, Perlman maintained, if one does not start there where the client finds herself/himself. Yet, in her presentation, it seems that she believes that the social worker possesses the truth. In Perlman, one finds very little of the humility and humbleness featured in the views of Kirkegaard.

Nancy Bratt claims that 'the social worker must take the client there where he is – not where he logically should be' (Bratt, 1963: 11). In illustrating this, she encourages the social worker to look beneath what the client presents. Bratt is much concerned with underlying feelings. If the client shows he is irritated, condescending, confused or speaks or does not speak without saying anything, it may be anxiety and insecurity underlying his actions. Bratt urges social workers to note that 'It always seems to reduce anxiety if the client notices that one is prepared to accept him as is' (Bratt, 1963: 11).

Informants in this study often replied that the reason that the outcome of client work had been successful was because they had begun where the clients were. In registering these kinds of responses, I noticed that the informants lowered their voices and we (interviewer and informant) concurred in an understanding that 'of course – that is what it is all about'. This concurrence seemed to rule out any further questions. As long as one begins where the client is, then it is clear that one is doing a good job – or is at least on the right path.

But what exactly makes something 'start where the client is'? This seldom is made clear. Sometimes it is replaced with the phrase 'taking the client seriously' as Torhild Farsund Danbolt has suggested (1998) or the phrase 'come in position'. Here too, one wonders what these phrases mean. When one states that it is important to begin where the client is, does this mean where the client is in an emotional sense as Bratt suggests? Does it mean something in a more thematic sense as Perlman indicates? Or does it mean physical proximity?

In many of the cases presented in the study, social workers reported difficulties in attaining what they called 'entry-level contact' with clients. This most likely involves starting where the client is. This implies that much work has to begin *before* starting where the client is. In the foregoing, this is illustrated by the social worker who visits the client at the skateboard ramp, at home or on the street in an attempt to engage him in dialogue. As noted, these attempts to establish contact were unsuccessful.

Similarly, this is presented in the account of another informant in describing work with a drug misusing girl and her parents. After a long time, the social worker suddenly understood that working so actively with the parents was preventing her from seeing the girl:

> We experienced that these parents were quite dominating in relation to this girl. Tried then to find out who exactly this girl was.

After seeing this, the social worker started using a new strategy. She met the girl each week, sometimes two times each week. Their meetings could last from half an hour to an hour and at these, they talked about the girl's school situation, her drug problem and what she did in her free time. In addition, the social worker began taking urine tests of the girl. These meetings did not appear to lead to any concrete results. But then the girl experienced what she called 'a really bad trip so that she became really scared'. This prompted her to visit the social worker where she consented to agree to take part in deliberations as to what should be done with her. The girl may have felt that someone had heard her and wanted the best for her, in other words, that she was taken seriously. Thus, it was here that she turned when she realised something must be done about her situation.

Another social worker who had worked for many years in child and adolescent psychiatry described meeting a client who was both physically and psychically in need. He came to the clinic as a father of two children with whom he did not live.

> There sat a thin, young man on the sofa and the first words used when we began to speak were about the son, it was a 'problem' … 'I have a problem, I need help', he said. He then began to tell about his life with problems – that he had used lots of drugs, he had no money, no job, and was about to lose the place where he lived. And that he had not eaten in a long time. And was very depressed.

The social worker viewed this situation as so precarious that she went directly to the clinic's canteen and bought him some 'giant sandwiches with lots of good things inside' as well as something to drink. 'What was it that made you act that way?' I asked the social worker. She replied:

> It is only when you confront someone who is desperately hungry and who is knocked out by starvation that you have no doubts whatsoever about what you have to do.

She admitted that she had never shown her concern in this way for a client in more than thirty years of working as a social worker. Following this episode, she attempted to have this client referred to adult psychiatry, but the waiting list was so long that this was of little help to him. The only thing offered him was a new period of waiting. She recalled that:

In the meantime, this man was really suffering. And this put me in a totally different situation than I had imagined when I began working with him.

What then happened was that this man began in therapy with the social worker because there simply was no other form of help available for him.

In the course of therapy, the social worker also helped him contact the social service agency office. Her colleagues initiated contact with his two children and their mother and all four began therapy with her. Not long afterwards, the man 'suddenly appeared one day … in work clothes'. He had gotten a job thanks to a friend. He managed to save enough money to take his children on a vacation to Spain. He still uses drugs but not when he is with his children and not so that it affects his work. She added:

> Afterwards I have thought that I would not have gotten such a good start in establishing contact with this man if it had not been for [the sandwiches].

In this case there were many things which seemed to have contributed to bringing about positive results. There were two therapists who shared the tasks. Work was done to promote the mother's abilities to nurture and set limits for the children. And the father was also helped to enhance his parenting skills with Marte Meo methods. In addition, the couple's relationship was worked with alongside the parent-child relationship including such things as visitation rights. In retrospect, it seems clear that the situations of both the mother and the children were dependent upon how the father managed. The fact that the social worker succeeded in starting where the father really was in the true sense of the term seemed decisive in this case. Previously, he had failed to complete treatment with psychologists and physicians because he had no money to pay them or because he dared not show his face after failing to turn up for sessions.

Both these cases are examples of how the social worker starts where the client is. They also demonstrate that this phrase is not simply a mantra. In actuality, to begin working where clients find themselves is a good starting point for effective social work. In the foregoing example, the client's physical needs were first met and then the more thematic problems involving housing and money were dealt with. Contained within both the physical and the thematic are emotional needs which may be kept separate from the others, but which may diffuse and become part of these others in an integrated way.

The notions of 'coming into position' or 'starting where the client is', described by many informants is a precondition for beginning social work of any kind. So, it is not surprising that this was a theme for cases informants described as unsuccessful. After having talked about these cases and then being asked why they believed their work had not produced the desired results, many replied that the reasons for this were that they had 'not managed to get positioned' or 'failed to start where the client was'. Often, they mentioned in these connections that clients were of a different ethnic background.[10] This implied a need for some ethnic sensitivity although the results of this small qualitative study do not warrant grand generalisations. As one social worker went on to say:

> I couldn't stand to get right into the case … I balked … when we say that we don't have the possibility to do something, but we can do such and such. That is seen as evidence that we don't care. I feel that I can't stand getting involved in it.

To start where the client is assumes a very special meaning when this involves persons with an ethnic background other than one's own. In such instances, to understand more than the client, as Kirkegaard says, involves placing oneself in a completely different system of understanding.

Rejection

Initially, one thing that impressed me in the course of the interviewing was the extent to which rejection was part of the social workers' activities. To be rejected by clients seemed to be an everyday occurrence for the social workers in my sample.[11] This was especially true of those who worked in frontline agencies. Among social workers employed in non-frontline agencies, rejection by clients was used to illustrate unsuccessful cases. But even social workers in frontline institutions commonly reported rejection taking place in successful cases.

Rejection assumed many forms. It could be when clients did not keep appointments. To be required to request repeatedly for clients to come to meetings was usual – it was a part of the social worker's everyday experience (Smith, 1987). Rejection could also take the form of contacts with clients who greeted social workers' with such invectives as, 'you damn bitch' or 'every time I hear your voice, I get a bad feeling inside'. A third form of rejection involved lack of response by clients to the interventions by social workers. In all these areas, rejection stemmed from clients. However, the extent to which these acts were experienced as rejections depended upon how the individual social worker defined the situation (Thomas and Thomas, 1928). If she or he defines the situation so that not much can be expected from a particular client, the experience of being rejected does not become a major setback.

One of the informants reported that those cases where she felt successful were those where she had decided that she would *not* let the clients manage to reject her. She told that sometimes she felt a special kind of gut feeling and said to herself:

> damn it, here I'm not going to give up! I'm going to get hold of some of the resources that this person (the client) recognises or manages to keep under wraps. That's going to be my motivator. They aren't going to get rid of me … Now she isn't going to disappear from me.

This experienced social worker knows both herself and the system so well that she is aware of all the pitfalls. And she tells herself that she must be careful to prevent rejection from occurring. She was especially concerned with cases where treatment had to include clear prophylactic elements, for example, if the case involved a mother with small children. By helping the mother, in all probability she also helped the children.

Yet the social workers that I interviewed also reported being rejected by colleagues and other bureaucratic agencies. Here, rejection was of a different sort than that which the social workers experienced in working with clients. In client work, the social worker was the person having power; in contact with colleagues and other agencies, power often lay in the hands of others and rejection then became experienced by social workers as a vertical disparagement. Rejection in these instances was not defined solely by social workers in terms of not receiving approval for all aspects of their work. For example, if a higher authority did not accept the social worker's definition of the situation as presented in the case documents, this was not necessarily perceived as rejection. The fact that social workers did not always experience disapproval of their work by higher authorities as a form of rejection may be related to their acceptance of these authorities and their ability to see their own work through the eyes of these authorities. If a local or provincial authority stated that the background material presented by the social worker was not good enough, this was often accepted as 'not being good enough'. However, sometimes being refused by a higher authority could be experienced as a rejection or a vertical disparagement. One informant recalled:

> We were too scared. I am thinking here of a [child protection] case to be presented to the provincial child protection authority. It should have been presented three years ago when the boy still had a chance. But we waited too long, we used too much time trying out things we knew weren't going to work.

What we believe as a local child protection agency doesn't weigh very much at the provincial level. Our competence doesn't mean very much.

Another example where social workers seem to reflect the views of society-at-large about social work is when they refer clients to psychologists to get a diagnosis for their further work. If the diagnosis arrived at by the psychologist agrees with their own, they are satisfied. The psychologist's diagnosis confirms their own judgments and they need not feel that this confirmation was unnecessary.

We have to bring psychologists in who can then confirm what we already know. This may be wrong and it takes a lot of time.

Social workers are not unaccustomed to being regarded as the lowest rank in the occupational status hierarchy existing among those with whom they have to cooperate. One social worker reported that she had taken a course together with psychologists, but that some doubts had been raised about whether the course could be accredited for any of them because it included a social worker as a participant. This point was expressed as:

Just because one social worker was there means that the professional association of psychologists will not recognise the course. The course was tough, but extremely stimulating. And I can present cases just as well as anyone else ... I feel it was lost on me … I said: Oh, is it because I am here? Some course participants laughed in a nice way, while others just sat there thinking things over. Quite frankly, it was pretty awful. If I am feeling vulnerable, I have trouble dealing with situations like that.

The same social worker had this to say in the beginning of the interview when she presented her workplace as a setting where social workers:

are taken seriously and presented with challenges … I work in a team with a chief physician, an assistant physician, a specialist physician, a psychologist, a psychologist in training and a clinical social worker. We provide guidance and counselling for the ward personnel who carry out milieu therapy.

This account appears to contradict what she later told me about what happened regarding the course she attended. Because she stands for her workplace, she most likely represents the official picture of this place or more precisely, the official discourse about the workplace which is part of 'the truth' about it. Despite the endeavours of this workplace to 'provide challenges for social workers', it is expressed in a form suggesting that this is not natural. Indeed, the expression itself is strongly reminiscent of what is often said about clients. The informant experienced herself as a foreign body on the course. The power structure of the ward contributes to this in that those lowest on the professional hierarchy are on the lowest end of the pecking order. In short, this (social worker) informant tells of being on the bottom end of a vertical ranking order.

Another informant told that she had just finished an article co-authored with a psychiatrist. According to her account, she had carried out most of the research while the psychiatrist had written the major part of the article. Yet, the psychiatrist has recently declared that the social worker is to be the third author and not the second as had been agreed. According to the informant, the psychiatrist said that, 'it is finest to be third author instead of second'. The informant, however, claimed:

Do you know what I think? I think it is because she would rather have a surgeon or a cardiologist listed beside her name (instead of a social worker) because this gives her higher status.

Rejection, however, involves not only actions carried out by someone with whom the social worker has a relationship. Rejection is also a feeling. In addition, it is an expression of a relation involving

power versus impotence in any given situation. To be rejected or disparaged means to have power taken away from oneself. In relation to clients, the social worker possesses power – at least at the start of their meetings. By rejecting the social worker, the client assumes power. Yet, the social worker cannot progress until the client has accepted the social worker as the one in possession of power. Temporarily, at least, the client must relinquish her/his power so that the social worker can use it to aid the client to help herself/himself.

But when rejection takes place in relation to colleagues, the situation for the social worker becomes a different one. Here, one can speak of power versus impotence. In a number of occupational hierarchies, the social worker often is positioned lower than other groups such as, psychologists and psychiatrists. When the social worker is required to get a diagnosis from a psychologist or physician, this reinforces the disciplinary processes of the occupational hierarchy. Often, social workers diagnose, even though their occupational group cannot legitimately do this. The laws and norms do not allow this to be done. The social worker must, therefore, have her or his diagnosis confirmed by a psychologist or physician since this is required by authorities such as the provincial child protection agency.

By being constantly required to accept this arrangement, social workers in child protection and at social service agencies are required also to accept their own subordination. If one does not accept this, one cannot be employed in certain workplaces – and this is an alternative chosen by a good many social workers. On the other hand, one can accept this arrangement with 'a smiling face' as a number of informants described it. As they put it, 'this we do in order to please the system, but we know what we can do it and so we let the others believe that they know best what to do'. Here the rationale described by the informants in much akin to how some women present themselves in relation to their spouses (see, for example, Magnusson, 1998). One learns the rules and norms about who are 'insiders' and who are 'outsiders'. They do not challenge the system, but make it known that they know where its boundaries are.

Thus, when the psychiatrist does not wish to name a social worker as a second author, even though she has done much of the job, this signals that the psychiatrist believes that the social worker does not comprehend the scientific discourse. It also exposes the power relations that are at play in these types of professional interactions.

The Horizon of Possibilities

The social workers in this study seem to live in a situation where work is made meaningful through a process that could be called the horizon of possibilities. These social workers report daily experiencing constant rejection. This rejection involves many disappointments and one adjusts to these by finding out what is possible. Here, one develops sensitivity for attending to those results that are possible in everyday work. It is that which is possible to achieve that becomes the result – those 'tiny' situations one might have overlooked had the work situation been a different one. In those cases informants characterised as successful, it appeared that the signs of success were often what an outsider would regard as a 'small thing'. Some might say that they were happy about the small things. Yet, one could also say, that if a great change is to occur, then a number of small changes first have to take place.

Some might say that partial goals became full goals and in one sense, this may be correct. But, it is important to note that these do not concern deliberate choices leading to deliberate action. Instead, these may be understood as what is experienced as rewarding for the work done. This thus becomes the goal. From my *outsider* perspective, the goals for successful work with a case differed from those presented by the informants. For example, I thought that the goal for working with a drug-abusing client was that she or he would stop using drugs. Or that the goal for an unemployed

person was that she or he would start work. But this was not the case. And the reasons for this were related to the question of what was possible to do in working with clients. The difference between my goal and the goals of those working with clients was the difference between insider and outsider perspectives.

Their goals as seen from the outside were small ones, but realistic. That the man who previously became violent in all situations, no longer uses violence in some of them is not just a small thing for him. In addition, it means that his everyday life becomes more controlled and predictable and he spends less time in jail and with the police. I feel that the social worker is correct in her view that this has been an enormous change for him, but for the world outside it may not seem to be so much.

Another social worker employed in the child protection services presented what she characterised as a successful case. Yet, this case too did not seem to be so at first inspection. The client was a boy who was involved in vandalism and crime as well as using drugs. He refused to come into contact with the child protection services despite many and creative attempts by social workers to reach him in his milieu. During this period, the social worker had experienced many rejections. The boy had threatened to murder the social worker. He cursed at her, 'goddamn it, you bitch, I'm going to kill you!' The social worker reported being frightened when she went home from work – especially in the evenings. But she reported:

> I had been very clear with him. I mean that. I said, 'I know this is difficult for you and it sounds horrible, but that is the way I think and here it is I who decide.

The boy's parents also rejected the social worker, but in another way. During one period, they had filed a lawsuit. But they did not carry through with it because they, too, understood that something had to be done. The father had taken sick leave and his business had gone bankrupt – all because of the boy. The problem for the boy's parents was that they could not manage to be adult figures for the boy and say to him: 'we love you very much, but enough is enough'.

The provisional child protection authorities would not approve the first placements the social worker proposed for the boy and sent the case back to her. This happened twice, but in the end the authorities decided to place the boy in another part of the country. Eventually, the boy accepted this placement following a visit to this institution where he met an old friend who seemed to thrive there. Onboard the airplane returning from this visit, the social worker was left alone with the boy when the policeman accompanying them went to use the toilet. While he was gone, the social worker asked the boy:

> How are things really going for you? Do you feel some pain right now? The boy did not answer. Then I touched his arm and patted his cheek. Then I saw that he liked it – that somebody cared. It was very nice to see how he reacted to this. Earlier, I would not have believed this could happen.

This happening represented an example that despite everything else this case could be characterised as successful. All the work the social worker had done with this boy and all the frustration she had felt in the years of working with him served as the backdrop for understanding how great it was to experience that he finally could accept something from her. At that point in time, she had succeeded in meeting him where he was, but it had taken many years to reach that point. She succeeded in grasping that which an outsider likely would perceive as a tiny thing – that he did not really want to kill her. Seen in the grand scheme of things, it did not seem so very great. But given the history of this case for the social worker what happened really *was* a major event and a sign that she had accomplished something despite everything else.

Conflicts about Norms

Many times when informants were describing successful cases, they mentioned that these cases had taken more time than allowed – than what was acceptable. In other words, they described conflicts about norms they dealt with by breaking the rules of the bureaucracy. In one of the cases presented as an example of an unsuccessful case, the social worker related a story about one year's work with a girl and her parents at a child and adolescent psychiatric institution. In the beginning, the girl was mute, but today she talks like a waterfall. Yet, the social worker attributed the lack of success with this case to the circumstances involving the referral of the girl back to the local treatment apparatus in her home district.

> They were so clever, they readily took the girl in but they forgot the parents. It was so damned shortsighted not to bring in the parents.

As the informant defines this situation, it involves in the first place a psychotic girl who is going to be dealt with by a local treatment apparatus for a long time into the foreseeable future. The girl's parents became upset by much of what happened to their daughter and needed very much to confer with someone. But since the local apparatus works only with the girl and not her parents, this made the informant very uneasy. She feared that what she earlier had accomplished would not last.

> The parents were towed along … they felt that I listened to them which was new to them since earlier they felt that no one listened to them.

At a number of places during the interview, the social worker described the significance of working with parents and how she included them in the cooperative task of focusing on their daughter. Yet, this case is no longer the social worker's. The routines of her institution have required that the girl be transferred back to her home community. The social worker's own institution has dealt with this situation a number of times and has instructed her to leave the case to others. This, however, is her problem and it is reinforced when the girl's parents contact her as they often do. Then the situation becomes problematic for her because she just can't hang up the phone on these parents because the daughter 'belongs to another'. Then, she tells them she:

> has transferred the case and (that) she is very dissatisfied that they (the parents have not received assistance. Especially since they are psychiatric patients, because that is what they are. They both received medical pensions.

When asked whether she had communicated her views to the girl's local treatment apparatus, the social worker answers:

> I have said that many times to them. But when I do that it is like I am telling them something they don't want to know … This is very, very difficult. I become the one who tells them something that is correct.

When the father calls and the social worker does not manage to rebuff him totally, she has relayed this to those responsible for the girl, but she feels that 'it is so wrong that he had to contact me'. The social worker feels she has failed to tackle the situation correctly and wishes that she could control her feelings better because they cause 'a split in the system'. The social worker reports that one reason she reacts this way is because it seems so wasteful that society has used enormous sums of money to help the girl and her parents for more than one year. This resulted in the girl becoming symptom-free:

And then suddenly there is a bang, a break. It seems very peculiar. I tell the parents we count on them (and that) we give guidance to the local apparatus but they don't want it.

This informant is caught up in a conflict about norms. This is because she has not managed to solve these problems in a way satisfactory to the local apparatus, the parents and her own institution. Some social workers might have resolved this conflict by rebuffing the parents more than she did. But since she did not do this, the social worker found herself on a tightrope where she tried to make the local authorities understand this case as well as place it ethically above the bureaucratic rules and regulations governing her work. She did not change her practice even after the local authorities went as far as to file a complaint about her actions with the provincial authorities.

The social worker felt that she had not received sufficient guidance with this case, but she assumed full responsibility for not managing to disengage from it. She felt that what happened may have been connected to her own personality. As she interprets it, her desire to help became so strong as to diminish her logical sense and prevented her from using her knowledge effectively. This knowledge, after all, had helped the girl become symptom-free. Therefore, she listened to her own knowledge and dared to move beyond the boundaries of what could be accepted. Her significant other, she reports, is *not* the bureaucracy of her workplace or of the local treatment apparatus. It is the girl's parents. She views herself as independent and claims not to be worried about whether she is unpopular. This social worker demonstrates what she views as a healthy lack of respect for the norms and presents herself as a rebel.

The Meeting Between Different Discourses

Thus far in this chapter, I have attempted to examine the everyday activities of social workers along five dimensions: the social worker's position; starting where the client is; rejection; the horizon of possibilities; and conflicts about norms. All of these dimensions are present in the social workers' own presentations when they described either successful or unsuccessful cases. Moreover, the social workers demonstrated that they analyse cases and their own work in terms of what they called 'the principles of social work'. As an interviewer, I was often deeply impressed by them and felt humbled and full of respect in their presence.

Many of the informants, especially those newly graduated, reported feeling that their tasks were too large for them to tackle. Often, they wished that they knew more in order to grasp the totalities of the cases with which they worked. They were also much affected by media treatments of social work. In the beginning of the interviewing, I was very enthused to be able to talk with colleagues about cases. I felt like a circus artist smelling sawdust and greasepaint. Fifteen years had passed since I had last seen a client and it was very stimulating for me to interview social workers about their cases.

This did not mean, however, that I did not have ideas different from theirs. Many times I felt that I would not have done what they reported to me. This varied, however, in both positive and negative directions. For instance, sometimes I felt that the social worker had not been sufficiently creative or understanding in their work. Yet, at other times, I thought to myself that I never could have managed that or endured that kind of press. I was often struck by the feeling that the cases described to me sounded much more difficult than those I remember from my time as a social worker doing clinical work. Consequently, I was on the whole very much impressed by the high calibre of the work described by the informants. At the same time, however, I felt saddened by their tales of a reality very much different than what was found in contemporary popular accounts of social work – the discourse *about* social work.

One possibility could have been that the sample of social workers I accessed was comprised of exceptionally competent persons who in no way were representative of practitioners as a group. This, however, did not seem probable since the informants had considerable variation in the years of practice since graduation. But, as the informants themselves had picked out the successful and unsuccessful cases, this could have been a factor influencing the narratives they presented during the interviews. Yet, I realised that it would make my study exceptional to characterise the sample as unique and therefore it would be of little use as a measure of how social workers dealt with their everyday activities. Had I done this and treated the sample as non-representative, I would have contributed to the prevailing discourses about social workers as an occupation group lacking competence in many areas.

Therefore, I chose to consider the sample and the data as representative. Consequently, I possess data showing social workers carrying out creative and analytic work – often in extremely difficult situations. This, however, is tempered by the fact that I realise that all social workers living in society are very aware of the discourse *about* social work. I was grateful that I had decided early on to ask informants whether they had been influenced by the low regard about social work generated by this discourse.

As noted earlier, I saw this analytically as a meeting between two discourses: those *in* social work and those *about* social work. 'How', I asked, 'did social workers deal with these? What did they feel about them?' There were many who said they disliked these discourses about social work but that they did not think too much about them. There were no oppositions between the two. Both were omnipresent. The reasons the informants gave for not thinking about these was that if the discourses *about* social work intruded into their conscious lives this would prevent them from doing good work. In short, in order to be competent practitioners, they had to close their eyes to the many people in society who found few positives and many negatives about the occupational group to which they belonged. Similarly, the informants had to ignore the people who made jokes about them at parties once they declared they were social workers. One informant was married to a lawyer and lawyers 'knew' how social workers were.

Others were much more obtrusive and if they claimed that social workers were incompetent, the informants found themselves using all the techniques they had been schooled in to make people understand that the myth of the dumb and incompetent social worker was false. One informant stated:

> I notice that I get very provoked by all those myths. Yeah, we must take care of foreigners, gypsies. They get cars paid for by the social workers. I try to make them understand. These are myths. People tell stories having no basis in reality about social workers and clients. But they don't want to listen. They choose what they want to talk about and to hear. That is exactly what one does when telling myths. Of course, poor work happens and no one wants that. Why don't gypsies go to school? No, that is a problem. Do you know a good way to get them in school? Many ways have been tried.

It is exceptionally troublesome for those who work as child protection workers. One informant said that: 'it becomes an extra burden' in one's private life. Even if one tries to prevent this work from intruding on one's everyday life, it still manages to exert its influence. As one informant remarked:

> In everyday life I try not to think about it, but it does have consequences.

One informant took up the media's role as a kind of court of appeals. If someone gets a refusal and the media enters the picture, the decision often is repealed. Informants had much to say about the media's role:

it often gets ridiculous. One is dependent upon Mrs. Hansen who goes with her sob story to the press.

The media, too, gets a lot of flak. The hospitals, too. It is not just social work agencies. This will change once the public gets a better idea of what the social work agencies actually do.

If you get close to something, you begin to see that it is different than what you have been told. It's probably true that our clients are never going to give us testimonials. We work with those at the grassroots who often can't stand up and speak for themselves.

Some informants maintained that much of the criticism directed against social work is justified. They felt that often social workers were not doing good enough work, but it is especially the work of others they criticise. Or, they don't get too engaged when social workers complain during meetings about the poor conditions they work under. They view themselves as part of an occupational market and feel that social work is just one of the things they might wish to work with. To be a furniture-maker would provide one with one avenue for other aspects of one's own creativity.

Let me conclude this section with a quote from a young social worker:

I was very proud when I graduated and became a social worker. The title social worker was something I took great pride in. A wonderful education. But there is something operating in the system so that this feeling doesn't last. There is something about pride we lack. I am very much aware that I have to work with myself and not lose the feeling that I can do good work. I have to keep reading and using the literature, the problem is we don't have time to read much literature.

Conclusion

Summarily, this study concerns what takes place *within* the discipline of social work in comparison to representations *about* social work. Stated somewhat differently, this account has analysed discourses *within* social work in relation to discourse *about* social work.

In the beginning, I had planned on carrying out a study with the title 'analyses and actions in social work' (Levin 2001). I wished to expand my understanding of actions carried out by social workers as professionals. My goal was to produce a study within the discipline of social work and my aim was to do this without looking at social work from the outside. I was curious about how social workers presented different types of cases when they were allowed to choose for themselves what they felt illustrated good as well as bad cases. I did not wish to end up sorting social workers along a good-bad axis.

What I discovered were different pictures or dimensions of reality produced by social workers. These dimensions I sorted into the following scheme: *the positions of social work; starting where the client is; rejection; the horizon of possibilities; and norm conflicts.* These dimensions represent some important portions of the dialogue in social work. This does not mean, however, that there are no other dimensions found in this discourse. Nevertheless, as this preliminary analysis of the data suggests, these dimensions are those that I thought worthwhile examining.

When I started this study, I was under the impression that social work tasks could be sorted into two categories: bureaucratic casework and therapy. However, what I discovered was that this dichotomy did not hold. Reality was different than what I had supposed and what took place in social work involved a much greater degree of activity overlapping. For example, social workers dealt with many different subjects both when they worked at street-level in frontline services and in secondary services such as hospitals, clinics and other institutional contexts. While social workers in frontline services, for example, were carrying out case management tasks, they also were working both therapeutically and pedagogically practising with the clients whose cases they

were handling. For these and other informants, their practice consisted of these three roles as well as one involving a considerable degree of client care.

Some of these dimensions are perhaps not as surprising as others. The goal has not necessarily been to 'rediscover the wheel' but rather to point out dilemmas connected to the social worker's position. After having worked with these themes for a time and examining in detail my data, one area especially stands out as a central feature of the social worker's everyday activities. This is the sheer amount of rejection that they must tolerate in the course of their work. Here, the problem is not one involving the fact that clients are seldom going out of their way to compliment social workers acting on their behalf – especially in frontline service agencies. Rather, the problem or problem-complex is one involving those forms of rejection that contribute in many ways to the subordination of social workers. Colleagues from adjacent disciplines play a central role in these processes and are often prime producers of the discourses *about* social work. These persons often represent 'taken for granted' assumptions about social work as well as the practices related to the power of these kinds of 'knowledges' – power often exercised through vertical downgrading of the status, prestige and practice of social workers.

Rejection often could be personally directed toward individual social workers, but it could also be linked to the authority and control functions social workers often represent. In other words, rejection tied to the role of the social worker. This often resulted in clients becoming locked into ambivalent dependency relationships with social workers. The study's results suggest that it is important for social work to expand its understandings of what actually happens when one helps another person – especially in situations where these individuals have not asked for help. Moreover, it is important for social work to understand those mechanisms involved in these helping relationships, particularly those leading to clients' rejection of their social workers.

At the beginning of the study, I felt that would be a correspondence between analysis and action in those cases considered successful by my informants. Conversely, I expected that this connection would be lacking in those presented as unsuccessful. This had been found to be the case in the graduate thesis research conducted by Kronstad (2001) and seemed plausible. Yet, when I began to conduct the interviews and to analyse the data I obtained from them, I could not find this kind of division in my material.[12] I realised that one possibility for this divergence was that my informants had not told me about cases they considered extremely unsuccessful. It may be that these demanded another kind of interviewing method to get at the details of such failures. Yet, given the quality of the information that I collected from the informants about both successful and unsuccessful work, it was possible for me to construct a detailed picture of the dilemmas experienced by social workers in the exercise of their professional practice. This understanding produced in me a deep respect and humility for the difficult situations characterising the social workers' everyday activities.

One of the thoughts that struck me at that time was related to an observation about social work made many years ago by Jesse Taft (1939). She declared that the most difficult thing one person can do is to remove a child from its parents. In line with this, I was struck by the fact that social workers are nearly alone in operating in an arena requiring them to navigate and negotiate between society's demands for control and supervision on the one hand and on the other, its capacity to show solidarity with those in need. This, I found, was especially true of those social workers working in frontline social service agencies and child protection offices.

Coincidental with this, both the informants and I were aware of discourses that were being produced *about* social work. So, I decided to take this observation into account and expand the project accordingly. I began to ask social workers specifically about this discourse. All of them were cognisant of the processes that stigmatised social work and that these created an additional occupational dilemma with which they had to deal.

The informants in the study were also members of Norwegian society. Thus, they both were aware of and had, to some extent, internalised society's views of social work. However, they believed that, on the whole, they did a good job. At the same time, they knew that they were viewed negatively by society. And, to some extent, they had integrated both sets of perceptions in their practice. This meant that social workers had a 'double vision' with respect to their practice. This notion, developed in women's studies and especially well-elaborated in the work of the feminist therapist, Rachel Hare-Mustin (1991), involves assuming a dual gaze of oneself. As earlier noted, this way of looking at oneself using two different lenses is very much a part of life as it is experienced by minorities and other oppressed groups.

What the informants reported in the course of the interviewing is that they must actively select out one set of these perceptions of social work if they were to survive as practitioners. They tell of defining themselves in relation to the norms of the profession as it actually exists in their everyday lives. In so doing, they make a major decision – they quite simply chose not to think about social work in its negative sense. They are very aware of how their profession is disparaged, but in respect to both their clients and their own professional pride, they keep this discourse at a safe distance and try not to let it influence them. This can be understood as displacement or as a 'mastering' strategy. Yet, regardless of what the reasons for this are, the discourse chosen by social workers is the one through which they process their experiences into their identities and in this manner create themselves in the interactive process.

With the client as their prime focus, the social workers still have to accept that in some situations they belong to society's scapegoats. They carry out their work according to the premises laid out for them. And they present themselves within the framing of those rules and the norms governing the types of activities they are to carry out. In solving their dilemmas in this way, they quite simply think and act as if these dilemmas do not exist. In this way, they avoid challenging society's perception both of them and of social work as a discipline. Consequently, the dominant discourse *about* social work can continue undisturbed by social workers who at the same confirm their professional identities as subordinate.

In one way, this coincides with another process operating in the same direction. If others who are not social workers gain experiences contradicting popularly held views about social work, these remain outside the realm of normative experience and are regarded as exceptions. Thus, it is possible for the processes stigmatising social workers and social work to continue unabated. The discourse *about* social work thus lives its own life without being challenged by the experiential knowledge of individuals.

In the history of social work, there has long been a discussion about the power the social worker possesses in relation to that of the client. My focus here has been on power or lack of power possessed by social work as a discourse in relation to what social workers actually do. And in these arenas, the discourses *in* social work are on a collision course with the discourses *about* social work.

Notes

1. Discourse may also be defined as *practices that systematically create the object they speak about* (Foucault, 1969: 49) as well as *statements and practices sharing common values* (Hare-Mustin, 1991: 64).
2. A notable exception was represented in the Siv Fahlgren's (1999) doctoral defence at Umeå University in Sweden.
3. First and foremost, this involves academic social work. The discourses of practical social work are somewhat different, but the academic discourse has influence here as well.

4. The Institute for Social Work, at the then University of Trondheim, introduced a graduate degree in social work in 1977.
5. The then Norwegian National School of Social Work and Public Administration established a graduate programme in social work in 1992.
6. As early as 1960, the social psychologist Harriet Holter characterised social work as a borrower-discipline. By this she meant that social work gathered its knowledge from related disciplinary areas as well as borrowed its teachers from these areas. This view she presented in the inaugural issue of the *Norwegian Journal of Social Research*.
7. It is extremely interesting that psychiatrists who are another group working directly with madness do not experience exclusion to the same degree as social workers. This most probably is due to the fact that they are defined as being within medicine by many in society and that this 'gives' psychiatrists the legitimacy enjoyed by this occupational group. However, among the community of physicians, psychiatrists often experience different forms of exclusion.
8. In this connection, the term truth is not meant to refer to what is singularly valid. Rather, this refers to being true in relation to that about which a consensus exists. As Foucault puts it, discourses create the world – they do not reproduce a truthful world out there.
9. The term caseworker can be understood as referring to one who carries out casework and this implies a person functioning in a position of authority. It also can refer to a person who has responsibility for a 'client case'. In those instances where a person in a non-frontline institution functions as a caseworker, the term applies to the person having responsibility for a case.
10. Yet cases involving persons of different ethnic backgrounds were also represented in the 'successful' group.
11. It should be emphasised here that I asked about one good and one poor case, not about rejection.
12. These unsuccessful cases will be examined in another article.

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The Paradox of Risk Assessment, Child Safety and Empowerment in Child Welfare

MARILYN CALLAHAN and KAREN SWIFT

Introduction

Most social workers enter child welfare practice with the hope that they will help children and their families and prevent harm from coming to them. In the last two decades, administering risk assessments has become a significant part of their practice, at least in many North American jurisdictions where their use is required.[1] Nonetheless, practitioners and parents, those with most experience with risk assessments, have had little opportunity to voice their opinions about the impact of such assessments and whether in fact they improve conditions for children and families. They frequently conclude that completing the risk assessment procedures provides very little, if any, room for resistance. However, some beginning theorising and research efforts provide intriguing insights into empowering activities occurring within the risk assessment process. In this chapter, we intend to examine these suggestions and provide others of our own. We are also interested in making connections between the risk paradigm in child welfare, its ascendancy in other related field and its ties to globalising forces and ideologies.

Our interest in this subject is not an abstract one. In this paper, we provide evidence that the present risk models in child welfare interfere with improving the well-being of children and families and actually add to their misery. Risk assessment is a destabilising process for workers and families and enhances the sense of risk experienced by both. At the same time, we recognise the importance of finding ways to ensure that children are safe and that they and their parents have the resources to develop and prosper. Social workers are leaving child welfare in droves because of their unhappiness with the practices and working conditions that have been exacerbated by the adversarial nature of risk assessments. As former practitioners and now educators, we wish to explore practices of empowerment that might staunch this flood.

Risk and Risk Assessment

Economic globalising tendencies, with their interests in efficiency, productivity and accountability, are closely tied to restructuring of Western welfare states, including those in Canada (Graham et al., 2000). Rose (1996) and Castel (1991) have theorised 'risk' as one of the organising concepts of this shift in governing. As science and technology create at least the hypothetical possibility of accident prediction and solutions to complex risky situations (Beck, 1992), experts and mandated authorities in various fields, including human services, become increasingly accountable when tragedies and 'accidents' occur. They argue that over time government programmes have gradually distanced themselves from providing direct services to individuals such as the mentally ill, the poor, those in trouble with the law and children according to their presumed needs.

Instead, human service professionals focus upon assessing the risk of these individuals either to themselves or others and recommend appropriate action to deal with risk. Should this action fail, professionals are increasingly responsible as individuals. Through this process of formally separating activities of human service professionals from the apparatus of the state, governments can 'govern at a distance', lessen their responsibilities overall and, some suggest, increase their competitive edge in global economic activities. The process of concentrating responsibilities for risk assessment with professionals and technicians also lessens the likelihood that community workers and volunteers, and indeed, 'clients' themselves are considered knowledgeable. The role of community organisations and local citizens becomes one of 'reporting' case by case to professionals, diminishing their capacity to support individuals in stress and further alienating these individuals from community resources. One of many arenas in which this process is occurring is that of child welfare. A central question for social workers, who are the primary deliverers of child protection services, is how this direction fits with traditional professional goals of meeting client need and working toward goals of social justice. A debate on this issue has emerged in social work and in related human service fields (Houston and Griffiths, 2000; Rose, 1999; Dawson and Callahan, 2001).

The concept of risk has been a feature of child welfare legislation for at least two decades. Legislation requiring reporting of risk to children has been introduced in most Canadian provinces over the past two decades, leading to a substantial increase in the numbers of complaints to be investigated by child protection authorities (Swift, 1997; Trocme et al., 2001). Research has demonstrated that most of these complaints do not lead to substantiated cases of child neglect or abuse. In the 1990s prominently reported child deaths and the review of difficult child welfare cases led to the introduction of more policies and procedures governing investigations (Swift, 2001; Swift and Parada, 2004). Formal methods for assessing risk have been recently introduced into Canadian child welfare practice. These 'risk assessment' tools, already widely used in the U.S. and Britain, have been adopted by several Canadian jurisdictions and are being considered by others. The idea, its language of models and checklists has spread rapidly, often becoming the central focus in child protection services as authorities rush to adopt 'something' (DePanfilis, 1996). In some jurisdictions, completing risk assessments has become the central activity of statutory child welfare organisations.

While risk assessments vary in their length and rating criteria, they typically require workers to score parents and children in two particular areas: child specific factors (age of child, number of children in home) and caretaker factors (caretaker abilities, age). Of lesser importance are family characteristics (family type, family coping abilities), environmental factors (home living conditions, community supports) and service related factors (cooperation with agency). The likelihood of risk to children is based upon tallied scores, with some items receiving more weight than others. Administering these tools requires a substantial investment in time of workers, in training workers, in supervision processes. Workers are urged to collect 'objective' data to validate their scores, data which are frequently obtained from files and opinions of other professionals and community workers. They may be completed without the involvement of parents and children. These assessments are filed on computer and become part of the client's permanent record, accessible to managers who can monitor worker compliance with policy.

Thinking about Empowerment

Empowerment is a slippery concept that has appeal for those holding contrary ideological views. It is commonly used as a synonym for 'enabling' where workers and clients come together to find ways to examine problems and make change. For social workers, it has been difficult to establish

the difference between this use of empowerment and the long tradition of social casework based upon fundamental liberal principles of self-determination.

Old Wine in New Bottles

Another use of empowerment includes actions that enable those previously dependent upon government services to go it alone. This definition is frequently used by neoliberal governments attempting to sell cut-backs to social programmes. Thus, 'work for welfare' programmes are touted as giving a hand-up rather than a hand-out. Clients and workers are expected to have time limited relationships focused upon immediate goals to ensure client independence.

Those with more critical perspectives use empowerment to signify actions that help make changes for individuals and alter, sometimes fundamentally, oppressive social structures (Breton 1991; Mullender and Ward 1991; Grant, 1998). Workers are a resource for marginalised groups who come together to take charge of their own situations and challenge the status quo. In recent years, the term 'empowerment' itself has drawn condemnation from critical thinkers who now prefer to use 'anti-oppressive practices' to capture their thinking on the subject. Anti-oppressive practices encompass many approaches to work including the conscientisation processes of Paulo Friere (1993), feminist and ecofeminist consciousness-raising of Vandana Shiva (1993) and many others, First Nations Medicine Wheel thinking and the work of new social movements and civil society groups. Both neoliberal and critical perspectives are founded on a deep suspicion of both professional expertise and the efficacy of state services and thus writers like John McKnight (1995), a well known U.S. community organiser, can paradoxically find favour with both groups.

Critical thinkers also provide an analysis of liberal and neoliberal definitions of empowerment, de-stabilising taken-for-granted truths and raising opportunities for other ways of thinking. For instance, in a recent research project examining the experiences of young mothers who are in the care of government as wards, the authors explored the processes of empowerment as they play out in a child welfare system based upon liberal and neoliberal values. A major goal of such services is to separate the 'deserving' mothers from those deemed 'undeserving'. Deserving mothers are those who appear to workers as if they might break out of what they call 'the cycle of poverty and instability' and raise their children on their own while holding down employment.

Some young women, usually white and better educated, learn how to present themselves as promising and at the same time have absorbed these definitions of what makes for a deserving client and a good mother. Such young women are more likely to get what small benefits are available to young single mothers and will count amongst the 'success stories' of the system. The authors suggest that a few positive outcomes reinforce the present policies and practice by indicating that success is possible for those who try (Strega et al., 2000). The authors point out that the impact of this thinking on the many who are culled out as 'undeserving' and who are 'disempowered' by this empowering process is not considered; nor is the process whereby a few who were previously excluded are admitted into the mainstream fold without it altering in any substantial way.

Our own view of empowerment is embedded in critical thinking. For us, empowerment is a reflexive process between those on the margins and individuals and institutions in the mainstream whereby marginalised people perceive themselves to be gaining control of some aspects of their lives that they have not governed previously, mainstream individuals and institutions are in turn changed and the process continues. There is no assumption that those individuals and institutions in mainstream society will change in a way that ensures ongoing gains for marginalised individuals. Nor is there an assumption of a great divide between mainstream and marginalised but a sense of fluid boundaries that shift according to differing situations. We also believe that empowerment can take place within the briefest of interactions as well as in large public arenas. The process is based on the assumption that power is not a finite commodity resting within formal organisational

structures but a process that moves, expands and contracts throughout all social interactions. We are particularly interested in those processes that do not advantage some marginalised people by disenfranchising others.

The process of empowerment itself is not characterised by clear-cut stages but includes recognition of the value of individual feelings and knowledge, realisation that individual experiences are shared by others, a recognition of the fallibility of ideas and institutions once held to be inviolable, a retooling of skills and a re-thinking of the value of individual and group identity. The role of professionals is to be alert for possible moments and places to prompt empowering processes, support their taking hold with individuals and groups and look for ways to embed them in social processes and institutions. In the next section of our paper, we will focus upon various strategies that have been suggested to empower clients and front line workers in child welfare who operate within a risk paradigm. The strategies were selected from the skimpy literature on the subject. Some authors used the word 'empowerment'; others presented their ideas in terms of resistance and reform.

Opportunities for Empowerment: A Review of the Literature

Opportunities for resistance and transformation for professionals as well as for parents and children within the present risk paradigm exist and are not just the naive dreams of activists and academics. However, we do not underestimate the difficulties in developing such practices, given the pervasive acceptance of risk and its connection to larger, globalising movements. In this section of the paper we will examine and critique approaches to empowerment evident in the literature.

Challenges to Risk Thinking

Ferguson (1997) argues that prior to 1970, child welfare organisations were able to conceal their mistakes and concentrate on the straightforward tasks of making women good mothers and fathers, decent providers. The death of a child could be used to argue for more resources to do more of the same. Professionals were seen to know what they were doing and had public trust. However, risk thinking in the risk society changed all of that, creating fundamental paradoxes that Ferguson believes can be exploited. While accepting the critical appraisals of risk and risk assessment in child welfare, he contends that:

> the same individuals who have become increasingly subject to, and are the subjects of, social regulations simultaneously have become increasing critical and *reflexive* with reference to them (Ferguson, 1997: 222).

He focuses upon people 'actively making themselves the subjects and not just the objects of social processes' (Ferguson, 1997: 222) through a process he terms 'reflexive modernity'. This process refers to the interactions between the public, professionals, policymakers and clients concerning risky situations that reveal the limitations of professional and scientific knowledge and professional practices. As these limitations are made known, often through the media, individuals respond differently to them and in turn professionals and institutions change, which in turn leads to other responses. Reflexive modernity makes public what was previously known only to professionals and those within the system. It further leads to individualisation, as we become aware that we must take charge of our own life project and not expect the experts to do it for us.

Ferguson (1997) notes that the dramatic increase in sexual abuse cases reported in the media and highlighted in formal inquiries in Ireland has provided room for others to make their experiences

known, to have permission to talk where the space to do so did not exist previously. This has led to an increase in sexual abuse reports and the development of activist groups.

We agree with Ferguson, in part. In Canada, as in Ireland, there has been a similarly striking increase in the numbers of people coming forward with complaints of sexual abuse as children. Former First Nations residents of residential schools are now demanding redress from the churches and governments that funded and operated these schools. The Anglican Church recently claimed it was close to bankruptcy because of these claims. A hockey star revealed the sexual abuse of his coach and many other players come forward with similar complaints. These complaints in turn led the general public to feel less trust in the institutions that they funded to care for vulnerable citizens. Problems that were previously swept under the carpet are now discussed more openly.

But Ferguson leaves the argument at this point. The loss of trust in public institutions that results from this reflexiveness can also lead the public to support increased regulation of professionals, building layers of rules and managers while diminishing resources for services overall. Further, it seems to us that while space is created for victims of these offences to challenge authorities, demonisation of perpetrators occurs at the same time, given the media tendency to cast news stories in the narratives of morality plays and the eagerness of institutions to assign blame to one or two amongst their numbers. Paedophiles have become persecuted in this process. Social workers and mothers, particularly young single women, many of colour, who appear not to be caring for their children nor managing their own life project as they should have been equally persecuted.

How to make best use of this space for organising and at the same time ensure that it does not lead to a zero-sum game is a challenge. Ferguson (1997) argues that it can best be addressed by professionals adopting a stance of radical engagement (Giddens, 1990). Essentially, this stance is an admirable one. Social workers are to engage with their organisations, using critical skills to uncover oppressive practices yet adopt a willing and optimistic view that problems must and can be tackled.

This involves an attitude of 'practical contestation towards perceived sources of danger' (Giddens, 1990: 137). It is a stance which holds that, although we are beset by major problems, we can and should mobilise either to reduce their impact or to transcend them. It is an optimistic outlook bound up with contestatory rather than simply a faith in rational analysis, and requires forms of discussion that develop risk consciousness, management systems and public discourses in ways that 'reskill professionals and lay people ... a critical theory of child protection without guarantees' (Ferguson, 1997: 232).

The possibilities of reflexiveness and radical engagement are taken up by others. Parton (1998) while far less sanguine than Ferguson about the impact of risk on child welfare, focuses upon the monolithic thinking surrounding risk and risk assessment and draws upon Foucault's notions of fragility and contingency.

> The ethos is one of a permanent questioning of the present and a commitment to uncertainty, not to establish the limits of thought but to locate the possible places of their transgression and thereby open up novel ways of thinking and acting – of resistance (Parton, 1998: 7).

He suggests that rather than trudge down the path of continually trying to refine and improve risk assessment instruments so that we have got it right, we would be better to acknowledge publicly what we know already: that it is not possible to eliminate risk. We should instead find spaces to rehabilitate the notions of uncertainty and ambiguity. He notes that these concepts used to be at the heart of social work and better describe our expertise. Parton does not propose how this could occur.

We are sympathetic to the suggestion but recognise the difficulties. Major professional re-thinking is required for these ideas about uncertainty, ambiguity and the limits of science to have

resonance even within social work circles. There are practical obstacles to rehabilitating uncertainty. For instance, media reports of child welfare situations gone wrong are given in hindsight, where it is often patently obvious about what should have been done.

A child was murdered by his father after neighbours reported the angry fights in the home, after several child welfare investigations occurred, after the father was removed from the home and the mother cautioned on several occasions that she was to protect her child. Yet, the mother and father re-united and the child was beaten to death. Why in the world didn't the child welfare authorities remove the child from the home in the first place? This question is implicit throughout the reporting of many child deaths and is rarely answered satisfactorily. Explanations provided by child welfare authorities, if they are given at all, often sound like excuses.

How can the uncertainties confounding workers be conveyed in such situations: the deep commitment of the mother to do well by her child, the remorse of the father and his agreement with a court order to stay away, the rallying around of family members and friends, the subsequent loss of the father's job, the worker's transfer to another caseload, the move of the family to another community, all occurring over time, amidst improvements in the child's care, and amongst all of the other factors taking place in the lives of the parents, workers, family members and others. These uncertainties do not appeal to the media or presumably to its customers.

Challenges to Risk Instruments

Empowering strategies concerning risk assessments have emerged from researchers who are challenging modernist notions of the unlimited potential of science. These authors state that although risk assessments appear to be empirical instruments, there is no research-based evidence that they actually predict risk (Camasso and Jagannathan, 1995; Douck et al., 1993; Michalsky et al., 1996; Pecora, 1991; Wald and Woolverton, 1990). Unclear conceptualisation (English and Pecora, 1994), inconsistency of operational definitions (DePanfilis, 1996), debates about appropriate definitions of 'risk events' and inconsistencies among laws, policies, mission and training (Berkowitz, 1991) raise important questions about what is being measured.

Further, questions about whether risk assessment models are effectively and consistently implemented have been raised by Doueck et al., 1993) and Pecora, 1991). Conflicting expectations about what such measures can produce (Cicchinelli, 1989; Starr et al., 1994), use of associated factors rather than causal links (Pecora, 1991) and questionable predictive value, especially concerning the all important issue of child death (Trocme and Lindsey, 1996) all appear in literature of the 1990s.

Moreover, the research problems in testing these instruments are enormous. For instance, each assessment tool may contain many items but trying to isolate how scores on the variables interact in the particular situation is extremely difficult. Does a high score (unfavourable) on alcohol and drug abuse overshadow a low score on child's response to parent? Under what conditions? After a lengthy review of the literature on the most common risk assessment models Lyons et al. (1996: 153) conclude:

> the current level of predictive validity for the models evaluated would not allow for major dependence on them for case decision making.

Challenges from Clients

A few research studies provide further insights from those investigated, into the possibilities of empowerment and practical contestation. One strategy includes dodging child welfare authorities and becomes a badge of accomplishment for those clients who are the usual suspects in child welfare: young, poor women of colour and their children (Brissett-Chapman, 1997). Parents in need of resources and support learn how to avoid or use contact with child welfare in ways that

reduce their chances of being labelled 'parents at risk' and having their children raised in the risky atmosphere of state care (Callahan et al., 1998; Callahan and Lumb, 1995). A young aboriginal woman describes her experience in obtaining help within the paradigm of mandatory reporting and risk assessment:

> That was in 1999 ... that she [my daughter] got apprehended out of my care. And that came about because I, I just got out of a really abusive relationship. And I had no choice but to have him charged. So I had him thrown in jail. And then I was left with just my daughter and I ... And I had no support. I knew nobody here [as I had just moved to this city] ... . My sister was here and I, because of the abusive relationship I was in, I didn't know what to do. I didn't know where to turn to. I knew I needed to talk and get it out and not carry it because I'm already carrying so much. So I went to the community centre and I spoke with a counsellor there. And I showed her my arms. I had some [scars], I had slashed my arms a couple of times because I was angry and I was scared and I didn't know anybody. I wasn't sure if I was going to reach out for help or not. And I did that to my arm because I was so mad and confused, I didn't know what I was going to do ... . I said I need to talk. I'm going through all this shit, I've cut my arm up, I don't know how else to deal with my anger and my feelings, and this is how I do it. I said I'm a single parent now ... new in town and I need some support. I need places to go where my daughter and I can both fit in. You know, where are some other parents here that we could hang out with or meet or … .
>
> And then we didn't really get into where I could go to for help or anything. She just kind of pried more and more information out of me. And then when she called the Mental Health, she said she was going to get me counselling through them. So I was like, yeah, okay, sure, give them a call. And then she was telling him my whole story and then from there I guess he called Ministry of Social Services [child welfare authorities]. And later that day when I was at home, they were ringing my buzzer and telling me they wanted to come up and talk. And I let them come up and they stated their concerns regarding me and my daughter. And the safety issue with my daughter.
>
> I was scared. Like I didn't know what to do. I had two people gunning me down telling me we might have to take my daughter because this is happening and this is happening and this is happening. And I got scared. I grabbed my daughter, I put her in her stroller and I left them in my apartment. And I ran. I ran four blocks. And this guy, this mental health guy chased me for the whole blocks there, until I ran into the McDonalds and I hid. I watched him out the window. He kind of ran, kept running after me. And he looked around and he couldn't find me so he turned around ... . So I can see where I kind of messed up by being a little too open and maybe reaching out for help at the wrong time (interviewee, Young Mothers Project).

Women who have been investigated by child welfare workers for the neglect and abuse of their children have also indicated that passive non-compliance is another strategy for dealing with investigating workers (Rutman et al., 2000). Those who 'blew up' at the workers faced being viewed as hostile and potentially dangerous, unable to control their tempers with the workers and possibly with their children as well. Those who admitted their difficulties could be playing into the hand of workers who would turn these against mothers in court. Better to clam up, agree to anything and get them out of the house. However, avoidance and passive non-compliance frequently fell short as empowering strategies for the women in our research studies as they were frequently investigated and their children removed at some later date.

The study mentioned previously concerning young mothers in the care of government underscored another strategy of empowerment for those clients of child welfare: 'looking promising' (Callahan et al., 2001). This was a difficult task. Although few of the young women had actually been investigated by protection worker, they were, nonetheless, occupied by the omnipresent sense of surveillance. The gaze of child welfare and the general public had been internalised and they felt its scrutiny. Young women described how they positioned themselves with workers to look promising, with the potential to 'break the cycle' of poverty, a tumultuous childhood and adolescence and overcome the poor parenting the state had provided. These young women seemed 'deserving' of help and able to use what the social worker could offer (assistance with launching

tasks, education and child care). Most critically, deserving meant being able to keep your child, deserving to be a mother.

They also realised that they had to separate themselves from other young women in similar circumstances, so that it was clear that they 'weren't one of those'. While they were doing all of this, they had to pretend to be in crisis in order to receive help, a situation that is then recorded on their file, adding to their qualms about asking for help and their overall sense of instability. Risk assessments were used to triage resources, providing help only to those who appeared to be 'at risk'. Thus, looking promising meant appearing capable and needy at the same time. A young woman seeking respite care for her child describes this process:

> They [child welfare worker] told me when I asked for respite [care] they wouldn't give me respite until I was absolutely incapable of taking care of my child. Well, why? Do you want me to get to the point where I don't want him? No. So why not help me now and prevent that problem, right? Well, they wouldn't do anything, and then I had to get the daycare [staff] to phone and talk to them and tell them and explain it that if they don't give me help soon, that I am going to be incapable of taking care of him because I'm not going to have time to take care of myself at all, and how can I take care of him if I can't take care of myself? (interviewee, Young Mothers' Project).

Reflections on Social Work Practice

Krane and Davies (2000) suggest that risk assessment instruments themselves present opportunities for practical contestation. Although they are cloaked in scientific paraphernalia, they have little reliability and validity in research and are, in fact, simply a series of judgments made by professionals based upon values, what evidence can be assembled and how that is, in turn, interpreted. They can be demystified and questioned by practitioners on a daily practice basis. Completing a risk assessment requires workers to make judgments about parents on many variables. For example, one item asks workers to evaluate whether parental expectations are 'realistic', and whether parents use punishment, neglect or support to help children achieve these expectations. Yet, parental expectations and strategies to achieve these are affected by culture, time, class, gender and other variables well known to workers in practice.

Krane and Davies (2000) also suggest that workers and caregivers could collect 'mothering narratives' and place them in the files along side reports from risk assessment instruments. These narratives from those with primary responsibilities for the care of the child in question assemble a story that has been fractured by risk assessment checklists and allow a caregiver, usually a woman, to tell her own tale. In the process of recording and reviewing mothering narratives, workers can question their own views of mothering and place the 'risks' in context.

We add that it may be equally useful for workers to write their own decision-making narratives and share these with caregivers and children as they went along, so that the process of reflexivity could be strengthened within the casework process. A mother experienced with the ways of child welfare workers describes her involvement in a reflexive process with her worker:

> I had a good experience with a social worker. After having 15 to 20 workers in the past 5 years I know what is coming and I think it was a very good thing that I have that worker there. My experience with her is that I expressed to her the first time I saw her that I am a human being and she is a human being and that if she has got any agenda that she should tell me now because I wasn't going to stay and listen. She listened to me and said she understood that. She told me I was pretty blunt. I told her that was my job. She gave me some insights about herself and where she's been with the Ministry and understood that there was lots of deficiencies in the Ministry especially in the children and family services.
>
> Recently I had a good meeting with her. It was pretty intense. She really told me how she felt. Because I wouldn't tell her how I felt until she did because I was afraid it would be used against me. And she told me that she was scared about (my son's safety). It was important for me to know that because it was part

of her agenda ... you know they always hide this agenda and she really opened it up. I was really happy because then I could tell her that I too had feelings (about my son's safety) but I couldn't tell her that before she spoke of it because then she would use it against me. It was one of the best practices that I have experienced (Callahan et al., 1998: p.).

Challenges from Community Practice

Those favouring a community approach to child welfare challenge the definition of child abuse and neglect as individual problems amenable to clinical solutions (Dominelli, 1999; Wharf, 2002). They state that although child welfare has always emphasised the individual approach, mandatory reporting and risk assessment has reified this focus. Instead, they argue for community solutions to the challenges facing families involved with child welfare agencies. For instance, recently the Family and Children's Services of St. Thomas and Elgin Country in South Western Ontario investigated a complaint of child abuse and removed seven children from their parents, members of the Church of God who believe in punishing children with sticks and belts. The situation received national press coverage and reports of the children taken 'kicking and screaming' from their families in front of congregation members were featured (*Maclean's*, 10 September 2001: 18–21). Church of God members living in the small town of Aylmer have reportedly blended well into the community and the local police chief is quoted as saying the congregation is 'close-knit, law abiding and family oriented' (*Maclean's*, 10 September 2001: 20).

While child welfare authorities were within law to investigate and remove children in this situation, the long-term effects on this particular community could be devastating. Instead, it is possible to envision another approach, one where child welfare workers, the families and their leaders and others in the community discuss the problem raised by the members' beliefs, the law relating to child abuse, possible solutions and community monitoring processes, at least as an initial step.

Community advocates suggest several approaches to initiating reform in child welfare: community social work, community organising and community control (Wharf, in press). Community social work (Smale, 1995) includes the practice of locating child protection workers in community facilities where they practice in more open collaborative fashion with community members and resources. Presumably, this is the least difficult to implement in the current system of child welfare delivery. Community organising seeks to change oppressive conditions in neighbourhoods and build community capacity to care for residents (Fuchs, 1995). Community control involves transferring authority for child welfare to community systems. First Nations people have pioneered this approach to child welfare, in spite of difficulties in mounting effective responses in communities devastated by poverty and cultural annihilation (Brown et al., 2002). While community approaches to child welfare have remained on the fringe of practice, even before risk assessment took hold, they have been further marginalised since then. Community work depends upon collaborative efforts between workers and citizens and built upon trust. It requires resources to initiate and sustain.

Reflections on Managing Child Welfare

While risk assessment fits squarely with a managerial approach to child welfare, hidden within risk assessment is a management paradox. The more successfully risk assessments are implemented, the more likely risk will increase to children and to organisations serving children. This paradox is only beginning to receive attention. Essentially, it plays out as follows. The application of risk assessments identifies more children who fit the definition of 'being or likely to be at risk' than the process of worker assessments. One could argue that the assessments are ferreting out risk and improving child welfare. However, once having identified children at risk, agencies must

respond in some fashion. The removal of children has increased since the introduction of these assessments. In one jurisdiction, British Columbia, the removal of children has risen consistently and alarmingly since a major child welfare 'scandal', from 7,000 to over 10,000 in three years. However, more children in care leads to increasingly unsafe conditions as resources struggle to meet demands.

Further, it is clear that risk assessments waste resources that could be properly spent on the few families that require intensive investigation and the many families that require assistance and support. Most complaints to child welfare authorities do not constitute dangerous situations for children. Yet, risk assessments are used routinely to carry out investigations (Swift, 1995; Weller and Wharf, 1996; Sullivan, 1998). A recent Canadian Incidence Study (Trocme et al., 2001) indicates that neglect continues to be the most frequently investigated category of maltreatment (40 per cent of all investigations) and yet only 40 per cent of these are substantiated. Investigations take considerable time and effort to complete. Even when they are substantiated, 60 per cent of these cases of neglect and abuse lead to no further services.

Concluding Remarks: Empowerment within Risk Assessment

Our overall finding from this literature review suggests that there has been little concerted attempt to examine the disabling aspects of risk assessment on clients, workers and child welfare organisations or on attempts to develop empowering strategies. Few people are crying out for reform (exceptions include Parton in the U.K., Swift and Parada in Canada and Pecora in the USA). The notion that risk assessments improve the chances that children will be safe has taken hold. We further note that there has been little work connecting the experiences of risk assessment in child welfare with those in other human service fields and with the analysis of risk and its usefulness as a globalising concept.

However, after examining the modest literature questioning risk as the organising concept in child welfare and risk assessments as the gatekeeper to action and services, we are struck by the paradoxes highlighted in the critiques. The contradictions are wide-ranging, emanating from the analysis of scholars and researchers, the experiences of clients and workers and from management reviews. These are:

- Promising to prevent risk will fail but failures can lead to exposing other abuses
- Preventing risk is an illusion while uncertainty is a fact
- The measures of risk do not measure risk
- Risk assessments purport to be factual but encourage clients to hide the facts
- To get help, parents must appear capable and 'at risk' at the same time
- Risk assessment eliminates the context of daily lives while it is only within that context that risk can be understood
- Risk assessment isolates individuals while dealing with risk can only be done within community
- Discovering risk increases risk

Illuminating contradictions with the possible outcome of destabilising risk-thinking appears to be a consistent theme in the various strands of literature that we have assembled. Beginning the process of empowerment may be like ploughing the proverbial field, making the first round of furrows is the most difficult.

Another finding is that there are few studies that look inside the workings of the agency practising within a risk assessment framework to see how managers, workers and clients actually

deal with the contradictions, how they use them to continue inequalities and how they resist and transform. As Ferguson (1997: 231) states:

> Much more needs to be known about the on-going development of self-identity, professional consciousness and how social workers and other professionals are actually experiencing child protection and welfare work and adapting to what Giddens (1994: 191–192) appropriately calls the 'riskiness of risk'.

Our study in progress[2] attempts to deal with these gaps, using an institutional ethnographic approach to research (Smith, 1987). It examines the practice of risk assessment within child welfare organisations and follows the paths from the transactions between workers and those clients under investigation to the policies, processes and values shaping these transactions. These connections are important to make. They underscore the reasons why flawed policies such as risk assessment are sustained in spite of their limitations. Our study examines the practices of workers and their clients with a view to underscoring their actions and the impact of oppressive systems and philosophies that also confound such actions. Our task includes revealing alternative ways of thinking and acting that occur in daily practice and also in the imaginations of workers, managers and parents in child welfare.

Notes

1. An earlier draft of this paper was presented to the conference, *Revitalising Communities in a Globalising World,* in Southampton, U.K. It was attended by participants from several different countries. Risk assessment has not taken hold in many countries outside Europe and North America. One colleague from India indicated that risk assessment has no meaning in primarily rural parts of her country where most children are at risk from poor water, hygiene and inadequate food on a daily basis.
2. This study is funded by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada entitled Risk and Risk Assessment in Child Welfare.

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Chapter 5

The Road Less Travelled: Reconstruction, Welfare and Social Development in South Africa

MEL GRAY and BILL MITCHELL

Introduction

When South Africa entered the post-apartheid democratic era in 1994, we were there and words like 'restructuring', 'transformation' and 'redistribution' filled most people with excitement and some with fear and trepidation. Involved as we were in the welfare sector, we were expectant about opportunities for much-needed change and immediately voiced support for the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and unfolding developmental welfare system, doing what we could to offer our contribution on what these ideas meant and how to make them work (Gray, 1994, 1996a,b,c, 1997a,b,c, 1998a,b,c, 1999; Gray and Bernstein, 1994; Gray, O'Brien and Mazibuko, 1996; Gray and Simpson, 1998; Neilson and Gray, 1997; Patel, 2003a).

The ideas in this chapter were first presented at the International Association of Schools of Social Work (IASSW) and International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) Joint World Congress in Jerusalem in 1998 when Gray (1998b) asked whether South Africa's developmental social welfare system was attempting too much, reflecting disappointment in the failure of the RDP and the myriad problems that had arisen in implementing the development welfare system and tackling poverty and inequality in South Africa. It seemed that those who had fought long and hard for transformation were on the so-called 'gravy train' and that their ideas had changed once they were on the inside. Even stalwart communists had begun espousing neoliberal policies (see Sparks' chapter, the *Great U-Turn* (2005: 170–201). This was also happening within the social work profession which was being deliberately marginalised to make way for much needed changes (Gray, 2000).

This chapter takes a historical perspective on South Africa's transition to democracy and examines the progress of developmental social welfare. We define social development as a top-down, statist or macro- policy approach to poverty eradication. It might be distinguished from social democratic or welfare state systems where social security and social services represent institutional arrangements to guarantee all people in society a basic income level or standard of living. While these systems represent 'institutional policy approaches' the starting point is an already 'liveable' level in First World countries while in Third World African countries the starting point is abject poverty for the majority of people. Social development in Third World countries aims to address poverty through policies and programmes of a developmental nature. In this sense, 'social adjustment programmes' in Africa during the 1980s and 1990s were social development programmes that enlisted the co-operation of governments in adopting neoliberal economic policies that were thought to be most successful in eradicating poverty through economic growth and the

trickle-down effect. Thus, social development was a complex approach that combines social and economic planning with a 'whole set of government' responses to poverty eradication.

In South Africa, because of its emergence out of the repressive apartheid system, redistribution was an important part of the proposed social development programme to which Mandela committed the country at the World Summit on Social Development in Copenhagen in 1995. When first conceived, South Africa's blueprint for social development, the RDP was meant to provide opportunities for people in poverty to participate in their upliftment through community reconstruction and development. However, as we will show, the RDP was largely replaced by redistribution through Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and social security, free services and land reform. This strange blend of First World social security and service provision combined with the advancement of the middle and upper classes effectively leaves poor people unemployed and marginalised from the mainstream.

This approach is not much different from those taken in other African countries which have found it hard to veer away from the social security and services-based British model of welfare that they inherited from their colonial governments (Sparks, 2003). By way of contrast, social development in India and Asia has a greater grassroots developmental focus than appears to have emerged in Africa generally and in South Africa in particular (See *Social Development Issues 23(1) 2001* for a thorough review of current theory on international social development). In this chapter, we provide a critique of social development with specific reference to South Africa. The developmental welfare model was articulated in the African National Congress' (ANC's) Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and in the government's White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) which was based on RDP principles. Being policies based on defensible moral and political premises, as with social development theory generally, the white papers on the RDP and social welfare were normatively sound but proved immensely difficult to put into practice, especially in a context where welfare was not a major government priority, where a dominant residual view of welfare predominated and where a proportional increase in expenditure on welfare services was highly unlikely. The shift from a 'welfare' to 'developmental' paradigm was evident in the change in name of the Department of Welfare and Population Development to the Department of Social Development in 2000.

The developmental welfare system could not succeed unless the policy of social development was taken seriously by national government. Unless all social sectors worked together, wide-scale social development could not be achieved. The answer to the poverty problem lay in: providing education; increasing adult literacy; generating new jobs; infrastructure; technology; quality controls; combating crime and corruption. Achieving economic growth, security and expanding health, educational and childcare facilities, all of which were much broader than welfare. The effectiveness of empowering developmental programmes that relied heavily on the participation of 'the people' was seriously hampered in a context where development was identified with infra-structural development and economic growth, and the RDP proved incredibly difficult to translate into practice. As Allister Sparks said:

> it was really an election manifesto rather than a systematic set of policy programmes, and even though the new regime in fact achieved a commendable number of these goals and come close on others, the RDP as it was structured was an impossible administrative instrument (Sparks, 2003: 192).

The government soon realised it needed a new growth strategy with a more precise macro-economic framework to guide it. The White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) embraced all the principles of the RDP and attempted to integrate its developmental goals. Therefore, once the RDP had failed as the guiding policy framework of the national government did developmental welfare policy, based on its principles and goals have much chance of success? Its successful

implementation required an efficient government bureaucracy able to coordinate multi-sector development projects at the national, provincial and local levels. Further, it required an enabling socio-economic and political environment, one in which the goals of social development, essentially a top-down planning approach, were taken seriously and where all social sectors worked together to achieve this end. Before wide-scale, sustainable social development could be achieved there was a need to strengthen the civil service, rebuild civil society and engage the private business sector in a tripartite socio-economic development partnership (Fitzgerald et al., 1997).

The demise of the RDP was, in part, due to the lack of a service-delivery infrastructure both within government and in the broader non-governmental service sector, and this remains a challenge (Patel, 2003b). Only an efficient, well-organised civil service had the capacity to manage the complexities of multi-sector development strategies and 'all kinds of co-ordination problems arose' (Sparks, 2003: 192). Disorganisation and mismanagement of the country's financial resources, not least in the provinces, was evidence of the need for capacity building in the civil service. It is important to remember that the ANC inherited a civil service which was totally uninformed about its policies and desperately in need of transformation (see Sparks, 2003: chapter 3). Further, it was attempting to build the capacity of the non-governmental sector to render essential social services while a culture of entitlement prevailed.

Thus, the new government introduced the *Masakhane* or 'fees for services' campaign which sought to restore the concept of *ubunthu* meaning 'a sense of community'. It aimed to build the country through unity and solidarity, encouraging civic responsibility, community participation, social partnership, service delivery, a safe environment, and development. Above all, it sought to encourage people to pay fees for services that they had refused to pay for under the apartheid government and the post-apartheid government has shown extreme patience and tolerance with this non-payment culture.

Social Development and Blueprints for Poverty Alleviation

The democratic government that came into power under Mandela's leadership in 1994 inherited a country weakened by the racial inequalities and social injustices of apartheid. 'The new regime inherited an economic mess … there was simply no money to do what they had planned' (Sparks, 2003: 16). By 1996, the household income of 60 percent of Africans (70 percent of South Africa's population) was lower than 1975; a large percentage of Africans were either unemployed or employed in low-paying jobs as a consequence of low levels of education. 'While one in three Africans was employed formally in 1970, only one in six was thus employed in 1995' (Terreblanche, 2002: 407). Ironically, since 1970:

> South Africa's skewed distribution of income has shifted … from a race-based to a class-based one ... [and] what gives greater cause for concern is the sharp increase in inequality *within* the three black population groups (Terreblanche, 2002: 400).

Post-apartheid society, rather than improving the quality of life for the poor, has seen the rapid 'rise of a black elite' (Terreblanche, 2002: 398). The income of the poorest 80 percent of African households declined substantially from 1975–1996, while that of the top 20 percent increased sharply (Terreblanche, 2002: 414). The interplay of decreasing incomes due to rising unemployment:

> and rising incomes of upwardly mobile, professionals, skilled workers and entrepreneurs … has resulted in a vast increase in the level of inequality of African household income (McGrath and Whiteford, 1994: 18).

At the time of the transition to a developmental welfare system, the 1996 Census revealed that South Africa had an estimated population of 38 million: blacks constituted 87.3 percent, Africans 76.3 percent, *coloureds* 8.5 percent and Indians 2.5 percent and whites only 12.7 percent of the total. Half the population was poor receiving only 11percent of the total income: 61 percent of Africans and 1 percent of whites were poor; 72 percent of poor people lived in rural areas; three in five children lived in poor households; 55.4 percent of the population lived in urban areas; and 9 million people lived in informal or squatter settlements. The monthly expenditure of the poorest 41.4 percent of households (19 million people or half the population) was less than R1000 in 1996 (Terreblanche, 2002: 470). One-fifth of poor people lived in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), the province with the largest population (20.3 percent of the total); 14 percent of households did not earn an income; 33 percent of the population of just over 7.5 million was unemployed; and women who earned a per capita income of R496 (USD99) a month headed 25 percent of households. By 2003, the population had swelled to 41 million (Sparks, 2003: 284).

Two other major problems impacting heavily on poor people are the spread of HIV and AIDS and crime and violence. In 2003, it was estimated that 4.2 million people in South Africa were HIV positive and about 1,700 more were being infected every day. It is projected that by 2010 six million South Africans will have died of AIDS (Sparks, 2003: 284). The effects are 'pushing poor households deeper into poverty, impacting on education as teachers die, on social development and not least on the crime rate as AIDS orphans become street children, turn to petty crime and then get sucked into crime gangs' (Sparks, 2003: 301). The scenario is bleak in light of the projected increase in the number of AIDS orphans to two million by 2010 (Sparks, 2003: 300).

The RDP was ANC's (1994) post-apartheid blueprint for social transformation and its election promise of a better life for all South Africans. As a blueprint for poverty alleviation, the RDP needs to be reviewed against the theory of social development, a statist or top-down, interventionist approach to social policy which requires that the government has a sincere commitment to poverty eradication (Midgley, 1995). As early as 1992, the then future Director-General of Welfare intimated that the transformation of South African society could only be achieved through the adoption of social development policies (Patel, 1992). However, an examination of the theory of social development revealed scepticism about its propensity to address poverty. The social development policy model has been criticised, *inter alia,* for being based on an optimistic belief in the possibility of continued social and economic progress. 'Social development is unworkable ... because large-scale approaches to social welfare are out of touch with contemporary realities' (Midgley, 1997: 201). Interventionist social and economic programmes have not proved successful in this century resulting in a worldwide trend towards reduced state intervention in social and economic affairs. Also the idea of co-operation between the social and economic development sectors is pie-in-the-sky. The dominant view is towards an economic growth model and, in reality society will not give serious consideration to the social development model, although they may pay lip service to it on a moral or political level. Its principles cannot be faulted but it is practically unworkable.

Nevertheless, Midgley (1997), consultant to the Department of Welfare during its transition to social development, believed that:

> while it is true that efforts to implement social development strategies are faced with formidable difficulties, the desperate conditions of poverty and social deprivation that characterise the lives of hundreds of millions of people throughout the world cannot be ignored. Social development is not a magical solution to the world's problems but it does provide a comprehensive, pragmatic and workable approach to social welfare that deserves to be more widely adopted (Midgley, 1997: 202).

The RDP was the embodiment of the ANC government's intent to find a 'comprehensive, pragmatic and workable approach' to social development.

Developmental Blueprints: RDP and GEAR

As the ANC's vision document for the election of 1994, the RDP provided an integrated and sustainable programme of social development, a people-driven process that aimed to: provide peace and security for all; build the nation; link reconstruction and development, and deepen democracy. Five key themes were identified, namely, meeting basic needs, developing human resources, building the economy, democratising the state and society, and implementing new policies. The ANC hoped to achieve these aims once in government. But, having been 'hastily crafted in preparation for the election campaign', the RDP 'was an inadequate and problematic document' (Sparks, 2003: 191) which proved incredibly difficult to translate into practice, possibly because it:

> set ambitious targets: in five years it would redistribute 'a substantial amount of land' to the landless black population, it would build a million houses, provide clean water and sanitation for everyone, electrify 2.5 million houses and provide access for all to education, health care and telecommunication facilities (Sparks, 2003: 191).

In its mid-term report on the RDP (Human Sciences Research Council, 1997), the government stated that the emphasis between 1994 and 1996 had been on planning, but that it would now move to delivery. It claimed that the economy was in a long-term upswing and that a partnership had been forged between government, business and trade unions which would benefit the RDP. The following plans were proposed:

1. Extending the school feeding scheme from three to 5 million pupils;
2. Increasing the Nutrition and Social Development Scheme from 1.3 to l.5 million people
3. Building 200,000 houses for those who qualified for subsidies;
4. Finalising 25 cases pending in the Land Claims Court benefiting about 50,000 people;
5. Expanding the community water supply and sanitation programmeto reach a further 1.7 million people in 1997 and 2 million in 1998;
6. Establishing or upgrading 600 mobile clinics and providing another 100 clinics; and
7. Spending Rl.2bn (approximately US$240mn) to improve crime management (Human Sciences Research Council, 1997).

> Astonishingly ... RDP was consigned to the backseat in less than 2 years

and:

> rapidly became the butt of critiques, snide comments, and jokes ... . Within the media and in Parliament, as well as on (the) community level, voices were soon raised inquiring where RDP delivery could be found in practice' (Munslow and Fitzgerald, 1997: 42).

At grassroots level, RDP was a non-starter. Poor people were not included in the process of consultation and RDP failed to deliver the resources and services it promised, especially in rural areas. Möller (1997: 7), in her quality of life research, found that 'while the political aspirations of the formerly disenfranchised had been fulfilled, material aspirations fuelled by election promises of a better life for all had still to be met'. Nevertheless, free health care at government hospitals and clinics had been introduced for pregnant women and children up to six years old along with a new child support grant. In 1997, the government voted R300 (US$60) million for special poverty alleviation projects and R500 million in 1998. In two years, RDP was assigned to individual government departments and became imbedded

in a more conventional neoliberal economic programme aiming to make South Africa a global player and focus on black economic empowerment. For Mac Maharaj, a veteran of the liberation struggle who became Minister of Transport in the ANC-led government, 'we had to dump our blueprints and start from the beginning' (cited in Sparks, 2003: 16). Initially a Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy formulated by the Reserve Bank and academic economists was proposed. It was a tough structural adjustment programme to correct the wrongs of the past and provide a framework for the future. GEAR failed to fill the huge strategic policy vacuum left by the collapse of RDP. Unlike RDP, with its comprehensive development thrust, GEAR provided:

> a familiar package of global economic orthodoxy: discipline in the fiscus (sic) 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).

According to Möller (1997: 6), GEAR envisaged an average GDP growth rate of 4.2 percent in the five years of 1994–1999, rising to 6.1 by 2000. But, for their first three years in office, the growth rate was only slightly higher than the population growth rate at approximately 2.5 percent. In contrast, private sector estimates were that the South African economy would have to grow at 4.3 percent per annum to maintain the 1975 unemployment level of 4.7 million people and that to eliminate unemployment, an annual economic growth rate of 8.8 percent would be required for the following ten years. These projections cast a shadow over the government's RDP promises. Instead of the economic growth rate of 6–12 percent a year predicted so confidently in the early 1990s, since 1994 economic growth has only averaged 2.7 percent a year (*Business Day*, 6 April 2004; Terreblanche, 2002: 427).

Terreblanche (2002: 431–432) described GEAR as 'the best example of the naïve optimism' of the neoliberal premise that economic growth generates more jobs. GEAR was not acceptable to trade unions who favoured the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) programme that aimed to redress the poor progress of prior strategies in generating jobs for the unemployed. Despite an increasing workforce of between 200,0000–300,000 workers a year, instead of the additional 1.3 million job opportunities which were supposed to be created by 2001, more than 1 million jobs have been destroyed since 1996 (Terreblanche, 2002: 432). In 2000, only 13 percent of the African population were employed in the formal economy as against 34 percent in 1970. About 55 percent of the potential African labour force could not find jobs in the modern, formal economic sector (Terreblanche, 2002: 433). A consequence of moves toward the 'first-world capitalist enclave' (Terreblanche, 2002: 434) was the marginalisation of large numbers of the working class, especially women, to the Third World informal sector.

Problems in the Implementation of Development Goals

Coupled with problems experienced in the implementation of development goals and service delivery, a bleak picture for developmental welfare emerged:

1. *Insufficient government funds*: One of the reasons for the slow progress was the insufficient outflow of government funds that were hard-pressed to meet existing institutional needs and 'while significant foreign exchange did flow into the country during the first year of the new administration, it soon began to tail off' (Sparks, 2003: 192).
2. *Lack of infrastructure*: A second reason for the slow progress was the lack of infrastructure to access and distribute RDP funds. For example, only 6 percent of RDP funding in the

province of KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) had been spent towards the end of 1997 while the unemployment rate continued to grow, the housing backlog increased and crime escalated.

3. *Corruption*: Government departments, not least the Department of Welfare, were plagued with corruption which consumed some 10 percent of the annual funds allocated for social pensions (South Africa Survey, 1996/97).

4. *Problems in provincial government administration*: The administrative load was spread across nine provincial bureaucracies, each of which had its own particular problems and needs. Several of the provinces were in serious financial difficulty at the end of 1997 and the national government faced a R9–10bn shortfall from the provinces by the end of the financial year. Part of the problem was that the provinces were seen by central government merely as implementing structures for national policy. This was problematic when adequate finances were not provided to implement policy changes. Vitus (1997) reported that the implementation of welfare policy at the provincial level was in horrific disarray and that coordinated planning was desperately needed.

5. *Increasing crime*: South Africa has one of the highest rates of violent crime in the world. Crime rose dramatically from 1990–1994 with assault rising by 18 percent and rape by 42 percent (Terreblanche, 2002: 402). The poor were the most affected with 95 percent of rapes involving African women (May, 2000: 254). Despite the R1.2bn National Crime Prevention Strategy, crime continued to escalate with fewer than 10 percent of crimes being prosecuted (Terreblanche, 2002: 469). Part of the problem lay with government's incapacity to deliver a complex and long-range strategy.

Despite slow progress and problems with implementation, since 1994 clean water has been brought to 9 million people, electricity to more than 2 million and telephones to 1.5 million; 30,000 public schools and institutions of higher learning have become racially integrated; the literacy rate of 15–24 year olds has been raised to 95 percent and free health care has been brought to millions of children (Sparks, 2003: 3). However, the government has also:

> acquired a disconcerting record of formulating excellent policies which it then has difficulty implementing. Budget allocations in crucial sectors like health and education often remain underspent, especially at the provincial level where inefficiencies are worst' (Sparks, 2003: 37).

For all that, Sparks (2003: 38) believes that 'the new regime is immeasurably more competent than the old' and Terreblanche (2002: 462) points out that 'non-delivery of service should not be blamed on bureaucratic inefficiency alone, but also on the inadequacy of socio-economic policy and the amounts budgeted for poverty relief and socio-economic upliftment'.

Developmental Social Welfare

One of the first challenges facing the ANC government was to 'provide better social services to 80 percent of the population who had not had them before' (Sparks, 2003: 16). The RDP policy framework set the scene for the transformation of social security and social welfare in the new government's political dispensation and laid the foundations for the developmental social welfare system. The section in the RDP base document (ANC, 1994) on welfare began with a reference to the destructive impact of *apartheid* on family life and drew attention to the piecemeal response of racially divided welfare services which proved ineffective in alleviating the serious social problems confronting them. It declared its aim to transform existing welfare services to ensure that all South Africans, especially the 'historically disadvantaged' (ANC, 1994: 52) would enjoy

basic welfare rights linked to basic needs for 'shelter, food, health care, work, 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). Besides ensuring the attainment of basic rights regardless of race, colour, religion, gender, and physical disability, the goals of the developmental social welfare programme were to:

1. Establish a democratically determined, just and effective welfare system;
2. Redress imbalances through affirmative action in favour of the disadvantaged, especially women, children, young people, disabled people, and people in rural communities and informal settlements;
3. Empower people to participate in the decision-making process relating to their own welfare through local, provincial and national initiatives; and
4. Establish guidelines for mutual cooperation between various social organisations providing welfare services, e.g., religious organisations, NGOs and trade unions.

A comprehensive review of welfare policy was advocated to achieve a unitary, non-racial, democratic welfare system; the National Welfare Act (1978), Social Work Act (1978), legislation for child and family welfare were to be replaced:

> by a new umbrella legislation that provides the framework for a developmentally-oriented social welfare system based on the principles of equality, equity, access, user involvement and empowerment, and public accountability (ANC, 1994: 53).

There would be a complete overhaul of welfare policy and restructuring of the social service delivery system 'in line with international norms and standards' (ANC, 1994: 54). The planning, coordination, regulation, provision, and evaluation of social welfare and community development services would be the responsibility of national and provincial Departments of Social Welfare and Population Development.

Provision was made for a 'negotiated national social security programme' (ANC, 1994: 53) comprising social insurance and social assistance. Social insurance would include compulsory private contributory pension schemes or provident funds for all workers and state social pensions at 60. Social assistance, as in-kind benefits would include work opportunities in public works programmes and provision of health care to the needy. Non-contributory cash benefits would be paid as maintenance; disability and foster care grants according to predetermined criteria. Social security measures would focus on those historically disadvantaged like women, domestic, agricultural, seasonal and disabled workers, homeless people, and families in rural and informal settlements. A comprehensive range of social service programmes in partnership with community-based organisations was proposed. Special mention was made of children's rights and urgent need to remove all children from prisons and police cells. The need to enlarge the existing pool of social service workers and review working conditions was stressed:

> The present number of social workers (approximately 10,166) is inadequate, and their training is often inappropriate. Many social workers must be reoriented and retrained within a developmental approach to social welfare ... . Within a five-year period a minimum of another 3,000 community development workers must be trained' (ANC, 1994: 56–57).

Finally, the RDP claimed that multi-sector units working in areas like mental health, childcare, women, juvenile justice, would be established. In addition, the relationship between different social service sectors, such as health, social welfare, community development, and labour institutions would be improved.

Developmental Social Welfare: Did it Attempt too Much?

Changes to the welfare system were long overdue and there was a great deal of merit in the transformation of welfare advocated by the RDP. Particularly encouraging was its rights-based approach aimed at protecting human dignity and its focus on the most severely disadvantaged who would be given access to free health care, education and child support. It advocated a developmentally oriented approach which would involve, among other things, employment opportunities in public works programmes. Hence, the welfare sector set about its transformation committed to integrating RDP principles into welfare policy despite the demise of the programme and several overwhelming challenges:

1. Welfare was not seen as a mainline function of government and, despite the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997), this view did not change;
2. Welfare planners had to exert a great deal of pressure to ensure that welfare assumed its rightful place within the ANC's base document which was the precursor to RDP policy;
3. The bulk of the welfare budget was spent on pensions and grants (90 percent), with only 10 percent remaining for services (Patel, 2003b);
4. There seemed little chance of a major increase in welfare spending; and
5. For all the talk of development, South Africa's welfare system was essentially residual.

Progress of Transformation in Welfare

National Consultation Process
In 1994, the Department of Welfare embarked on a national consultation process that resulted in the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) and Social Welfare Action Plan (SWAP) (Letsebe, 1997; Patel, 2003b). Among other things, high priority was given to training and re-training personnel, institutional integration and reorganisation of the welfare bureaucracy from head office downwards.

Steps to Rebuild Civil Society
Recognising the importance of cooperation between the state and civil society as embodied in the NGO sector, the Department of Welfare deregulated fundraising in its not-for-profit bill, the Non-Profit Organisations Act No. 71 of 1997, hoping to make it easier for NGOs to raise funds in a vastly competitive market. This deregulation was accompanied by cuts in subsidies to voluntary welfare organisations and a shift in responsibility for welfare funding onto the private sector so as to enable the government to achieve equity in pension payments, which consumed 90 percent of the welfare budget (see Patel, 2003b). An inter-sector National Development Agency, based in the Ministry of Finance, was established with start-up capital of R195-m to channel government funding to NGOs.

Steps to Change Welfare Policy
The Department of Welfare identified the need to rationalise the social security system (Lund Report, 1996) and develop new policies for young people at risk (IMC, 1996). It produced several policy documents including the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997), the Report of the Inter-ministerial Committee for Youth at Risk (1996) and the Lund Report (1996).

Steps to Improve Social Security Provision

In 1996, the Lund Commission was charged with the responsibility of investigating social security and finding ways to rationalise and reduce pension payments to advantaged groups in order to extend coverage to disadvantaged sectors. As a result of its findings, a new Child Support Grant (CSG) of Rl00 per month per child up to the age of six was introduced on 1 April 1998 amid a great deal of controversy. Its goal was to reach nearly three million children by the year 2005, compared to the 203,262 children being reached through the state maintenance grant that it replaced and which was phased out over a three-year period ending in April 2001. It was estimated that the cost of the new grant would double the budget to R2.7 billion by 2005. In March 2003, the government announced that it would extend the CSG to impoverished children up to the age of 9 years in 2004 and 14 years in 2005 (Department of Social Development Fact Sheet, 2003: 2). This was seen as part of the build up to the national election in 2004 and the Summit on Social Development in 2005 where, as a signatory to the 1995 Summit, South Africa would report on its progress in poverty eradication. These developments need to be seen in light of 50 percent of eligible people not receiving social assistance (Terreblanche, 2002: 469). It was hoped that the situation would improve when the National Social Security Agency approved by Cabinet in 2003 took over the administration of social pensions and grants. Even though pensions and grants were low, their wider accessibility pushed expenditure on social security from R10bn in 1994 to R35 billion in 2003. The government appeared to have taken a U-turn in welfare moving from people-centred social development to entitlement-based direct social security payments as important instruments of poverty alleviation and income redistribution. Thus, among jobless people between the ages of 15 and 30, about 75 percent had never worked (*Business Day*, 19 November 2003). Should social security take precedence over job creation, it was highly likely that this situation would perpetuate into the future.

Steps to Transform Social Work Practice

The White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) laid the foundation for a new form of social work practice, namely, developmental social work. Although not clearly defined, it emphasised community development over casework; causes rather than symptoms; community rather than institutionally based services; and empowering over ameliorating approaches. Being broader, the crux of developmental work is the integration of social with economic activity, thereby enhancing self-sufficiency while promoting empowerment and capacity building. A great deal of criticism was levelled against social work mainly for its over-emphasis on individual work and its excessive concern with remedial activities leaving social workers feeling disempowered and uncertain about their roles and responsibilities in developmental welfare provision. Furthermore, the Council for Social and Associated Workers was transformed into the Council for Social Service Professions thus broadening the occupations at the coalface of human service delivery to include, *inter alia*, child care, probation, and community development workers and volunteers (Gray, 2000; Gray and Mazibuko, 2002; Mazibuko and Gray, 2004; Patel, 2003b).

Problems with the Developmental Welfare Approach

The goals of the RDP, embodied in the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997), included integrated sustainable, people-centred development, nation-building, peace and security, reconstruction and development, and democratisation. Yet, the solution to poverty lay, *inter alia*, in education, adult literacy, the provision of jobs and housing, combating crime and corruption, economic growth and the creation of new industries, hospitals, clinics, schools, preschools, and child care facilities, all of which were broader than the scope of social welfare alone. Ideally, the RDP should have been

the welfare programme for the country as it would have provided the comprehensive framework for developmental social welfare policy and assured the populace of the government's commitment to a broad definition of welfare. Without this commitment, the Department of Welfare had a difficult task convincing both the populace and the public sector that welfare was not a remedial concept. It took a bold step in moving towards a developmental welfare model in the absence of a supportive infrastructure. However, people-centred development, with its emphasis on the capacity of communities to care for their own, could not, by itself, eradicate the need for welfare. South Africa is not a society with a strong community ethic and:

> the community is not an agency which can care-it usually means work that is done, unpaid, by women ... rests on the assumption that there is an endless supply of women's unpaid work and that this is not an economic variable. It shifts the costs of caring from the formal to the informal sector. It is much more difficult to 'do the accounting' when this happens … the consensus about the need for welfare to move towards playing a more 'developmental' role should not blind society to the fact that there will be thousands of people who will continue to need ongoing support and assistance (Lund, 1997: 33).

Likewise, Nielson and Gray (1997: 18) pointed out that the developmental model need not preclude remedial and therapeutic services in child welfare. Family-based services included both individual and community based interventions. The challenge was to integrate remedial and developmental interventions in all areas of service provision, including the aged, disability, mental health, and child welfare.

Concerns were expressed about community-based, empowering, developmental, participatory approaches shifting responsibility for care onto families and communities. Lund (1997) pointed to the hidden cost when women who could be more gainfully employed, provided unpaid care. As the benefits of empowerment programmes for women took hold, there would be more economically active women in the labour market and fewer at home and in the community to provide care. As with therapeutic care, there was also a place for residential or institutional care within the developmental welfare model. This was especially true in the absence of community organisations with the capacity to care for seriously incapacitated people, e.g., the terminally ill, and neglected and abandoned children, those with AIDS. Despite the high cost of institutional care, it was the government's responsibility to provide these services. For many impoverished communities, development was synonymous with infra-structural development rather than with empowerment (Travis et al., 1999). Möller (1996), in her study of the differing perceptions of development goals of urban dwellers, rural dwellers and rural black women, showed the extent to which an entitlement culture sidelined community empowerment approaches. Most respondents related development to infra-structural development or some form of government provision. Education was given high priority while community empowerment and the reduction of welfare dependency were very low development priorities. Interestingly for social workers, social security was rated highly along with teenage pregnancy.

The slow progress of reconstruction and development coupled with the government's incapacity to deliver on its policies threatened the viability of developmental welfare. The departments of energy, land and water affairs appeared to make greater strides in achieving the goals of social development than the Department of Social Development. They achieved widespread grassroots participation and involvement in their electrification, sanitation and land redistribution programmes. Why was this? Could it be that development was after all about meeting basic physical needs, that communities were first and foremost interested in infrastructural delivery as Möller (1996) found in her study? Grassroots perceptions of welfare were that needs were not being met. The situation with respect to pension delivery was a case in point. Welfare services were not accessible to the poor. Family violence, child abuse,

rape, and alcoholism were on the increase. Could developmental welfare make a difference? During the first five years of transformation, the Department of Welfare engaged in a national consultation process that drafted new legislation and a social welfare action plan (Letsebe, 1997; Patel, 2003b). High priority was placed on: training and reorienting personnel; institutional integration; and reorganising welfare bureaucracy at all levels; rationalising social security (Lund Report, 1996); and developing new policies for young people at risk (IMC, 1996). Did the answer to the country's welfare needs lie in the priorities identified by the then Department of Welfare and Population Development? Was the 'people-centred' model of service implied in the developmental welfare approach the answer or did it merely transfer responsibility for poverty alleviation onto the poor who were said to need empowering? Where people-centred development showed some degree of success, the state played a supportive role setting in place enabling environments through effective legislation, policies and programmes. While the state had yet to succeed in: implementation and delivery; managing resources and funds for development; and reversing escalating social problems which hampered its development programmes; progress in policy development was achieved.

Developmental welfare required both vertical (national-provincial-local) and horizontal (between various government sectors) integration, and efficiently managed departments to ensure effective and well-coordinated policy implementation. It also involved building the capacity of civil society to dispense needed services and harnessing the private business sector to support social development goals. Blueprints or macro level policies needed to engage with local community initiatives. Without funding for community-based development programmes, policy amounted to nothing more than grand, unworkable schemes. The erosion of the limited, urban-based infrastructure through subsidy cuts to private welfare organisations, old-age homes and residential child care institutions weakened the service-delivery capacity of this sector. It would seem, however, that rather than focusing on delivering developmental welfare services, the government has opted for stronger social security measures and the outsourcing of essential service provision. Does this mark a turn away from social development?

So, Where to Now?

This neoliberal approach to welfare needs to be seen against the nature of the transformation achieved in South Africa since 1994. First it has transformed itself from an apartheid to a non-racial society which involved more than erasing apartheid legislation from the statute books and integrating social life. It also involved redrawing the geo-political map of South Africa into nine completely new provinces. Secondly, it transformed South Africa into a player in the global marketplace and from a primary producing economy based on agriculture and mining to one based on services and exports.

In the decade since Mandela's release, South Africa's manufactured exports increased from 6.7 percent of GDP to 39.7 percent in 2000 while between 1980 and 2000 agriculture's contribution to the GDP shrank from 6 percent to 3.4 percent and mining's share declined from 22 percent to 6 percent in the same period. This economic transformation from one based on cheap, unskilled labour to one requiring a smaller, highly skilled workforce has had a dramatic effect on the uneducated black population. More than 300,000 jobs have been lost in the mining industry and 350,000 in the agricultural sector while 600,000 new workers come into the labour market each year (Sparks, 2003: 16–26).

Several social commentators expressed disappointment in the ANC government's progress on social development and concerns about deepening inequality (Sparks, 2003; Terreblanche, 2002):

> The viability of the new democracy is threatened by bureaucratic incapacity, the inability of the state to make meaningful progress in deracialising the economic system, and … Its ability to implement comprehensive programmes for alleviating poverty and redistributing wealth is clearly constrained by its elite compromises with the corporate sector and its global partners (Terreblanche, 2002: 419).

Consequently, over the past eight years, poverty has increased and become more deeply entrenched. Terreblanche (2002: 419) attributes this to:

> the dysfunctionality of South Africa's version of neoliberal democratic capitalism' where 'individual members of the upper classes (comprising one third of the population) profit handsomely from mainstream economic activity, while the mainly black lumpenproletariat (comprising fifty percent of the population) is increasingly pauperised (Terreblanche, 2002: 423).

Rather than private sector growth to remedy unemployment, Terreblanche (2002: 435) stresses comprehensive labour-intensive development programmes.

The intention of Terreblanche's recommendations is clear. But, a return to *direct* involvement of the state in the economy is what the ANC government seeks to reduce. Governments prior to 1994 had established monopolies in rail transportation (Spoornet), electricity (Eskom), local oil production (Sasol), and telecommunications (Telkom). Apart from establishing industries and services to promote economic growth, an equally crucial aim was job creation through labour intensive employment. Privatisation and labour market reform (albeit halting) has been the present government's chosen path. The purpose is economic development, although more must be done to develop security, market-orientated policies and good governance if it is to be achieved.

Sparks (2003: 44) warns that 'it is in the new class formation that the seeds of discontent lie'. African socialism and fellowship of the oppressed has been replaced by a society of more deeply entrenched class-based inequality where blacks' share of income has increased from 30 percent in 1991 to 36 percent in 2000 and 43 percent of people in the upper income bracket are black. Overall the disposal income of blacks has risen by 2.7 percent, but most remain poor. For Terreblanche (2002: 466), a 'comprehensive policy for redistributing income, property, and opportunities from the rich middle classes to the impoverished lower classes' is needed. In 2000, 20 percent of households (17 percent of the population) received 72.2 percent of the national income and the poorest 40 percent of households (half the population) received only 3.3 percent (Terreblanche, 2002: 442 and 468). A 'second struggle' for equality in which the state plays an interventionist role in creating jobs, alleviating poverty and providing social welfare is advocated. A return to the ANC's redistributive and social ideals is needed, states Terreblanche (2002: 441). In this way, the goals of development would remain much the same as they were when articulated in the RDP: 'state-building and the bureaucratic capacity of the state remain crucially important' (Terreblanche, 2002: 447).

For Terreblanche (2002: 464), state-led development is needed along state-led economic restructuring 'to reverse the strong tendencies towards Anglo-Americanisation, internationalisation, globalisation, and capitalist enclavity'. For him, the governing elite need an ideological 'change of gear' (Terreblanche, 2002: 461). It needs to question the 'advisability of a neoliberal and globalised approach' (Terreblanche, 2002: 462). Economic growth does not equal social welfare. The 2.7 percent growth in the GDP has mainly benefited the top 30 percent of the population. It has not been translated into job creation, poverty alleviation or more equal income distribution (Terreblanche, 2002: 452). On a cautionary note, while Terreblanche's views have been stated as an alternative to the present situation, his stance on redistribution harks back to the Poor White Problem when redistribution was seen as coming from the rich (English) to the poor (Afrikaans) sections of the community. However, the poor whites (300,000) constituted a minority of the population, whereas

the poor black population constitutes a sizeable majority. The distrust of state intervention in the economy has already prompted the largest mining houses and financial services companies to transfer their holdings to what are perceived as safer enclaves overseas. Lack of *confidence* in the (economic) future of the country has in the past and up to the present led to capital flight and loss of skilled manpower through emigration. Upholding sound macro-economic policies has proved insufficient to arrest this trend. Large-scale redistribution cannot be regarded as an option for poverty reduction. Poverty in South Africa is too widespread for that.

To be sure, globalisation's free market policies are making the rich richer and the poor poorer all over the world. In South Africa, 'black empowerment has not increased black employment. The economic imperatives of globalization are colour-blind' (Sparks, 2003: 337). Terreblanche (2002: 467) advocates 'a large transfer of income and property … at the initiative of government through the budget, and through land and property reform measures'. For Sparks (2003: 337), priority needs to be given to State-led public works programmes and the need to build vital infrastructure. He suggests a major development of the rail and road network between South Africa's economic heartland, the Pretoria-Johannesburg-Witwatersrand complex where 65 percent of the GDP is generated, and the coast:

> Why not take 1 percent of our R250 billion budget and engage large numbers of unemployed people for a massive labour-intensive project … and pay these people the equivalent of … the old-age pension … [of] R700 a month (Sparks, 2003: 337)?

The concept of 'empowerment' has come to mean black economic empowerment (BEE), that is, employment equity through training and development, board representation, corporate social investment, and enterprise development and procurement. BEE has benefited the upper echelons of black society. Job creation has not occurred. Rather, affirmative action (employment equity) has enabled those who are employed to advance more rapidly, but it has not facilitated the entry of new job seekers into the market. In large part, unemployment has risen during the past 15 years due to both the public sector and private firms shedding lower level permanent posts on a large scale (*Business Day*, 22 November 2002). While public works programmes as an approach to job creation have been mooted, state grants have received priority. Public works programmes have also been considered against the provision of the basic income grant (BIG). But, public works programmes are temporary and need substantial managerial and organisational skills. This capacity is beyond the local authorities that must sponsor them and they are susceptible to corruption. Also, they are inefficient, whereas grants reach the poor directly.

South Africa offers a compelling example of the unsuitability of one-size-fits-all neoliberal globalisation solutions to contexts where poverty exists amidst plenty. The resultant mix of neoliberal and globalisation policies reveal that the first-world solutions of downsizing and rationalising, impact negatively on local communities. There is a need for state-led interventionist social and infrastructural development. The community cannot care for itself unaided. In its favour, South Africa provides numerous examples of the resilience, resourcefulness and creativity of local communities, not least in the informal sector where 35 percent of South Africa's economically active population earn a living (Lund quoted in Sparks, 2003: 338) and care for those suffering from AIDS and children orphaned by AIDS. Mamphele Ramphele's (2002) book, *Steering by the Stars,* provides a heartwarming account of the resilience of young people growing up in New Crossroads in Cape Town. All over South Africa squatter settlements like this one on the fringes of major cities show local communities responding to the effects of South Africa's neoliberal economic policies, where downsizing and outsourcing is driving more and more people out of the formal economy. This is not in keeping with the mandate given to the ANC by people who voted for its election manifesto, the ill-fated RDP. In time, people will regain their voice and resist

the globalising forces which are robbing them of jobs and a decent quality of life. Or, perhaps in his more confident second term, Thabo Mbeki might seize the reins and lead his government in promoting greater equality and social development.

After being elected in 1994, the ANC government formulated policies to create a new society, not least the RDP and later the GEAR strategy. Successfully implemented, both approaches were programmes that should have resulted in economic growth, including a more equitable (re)distribution of resources. But, both were abandoned after a short time. Both required organisational capacity and bureaucracies capable of delivery which were not in place. Was it unrealistic or idealistic to have attempted implementation given the inexperience of the new government? Were the 'powers that be' so impatient to produce results that little attempt was made in persisting with the implementation of these approaches, that is, in solving the problems these programmes presented on a piecemeal basis, thereby gradually acquiring the necessary bureaucratic leadership and skills?

The RDP, in particular, was a noble concept that was designed to address the needs of post-apartheid society over time. It included the essential components democracy, empowerment, capacity building and would have resulted in project management skills. Instead, the ANC government has opted for empowerment of the elite included in the 30 percent of the country that is becoming wealthier through BEE. The bottom 50 percent are recipients of the social wage (social grants, and the provision of services such as education, health and housing). Transfers to households are already the fastest-growing type of government expenditure. In fact, the proportion of the total population receiving a social wage has more than doubled from 7 percent in 1994 to 15 percent in 2003 *(Business Day,* 19 November 2003). Despite a drop in real income for the poor, more households now receive basic services, such as electricity, water and housing. To some extent, social wage services mean that living conditions have not fallen as fast as household earnings (*Business Day*, 22 November 2002).

These measures are unsustainable and represent an exploitation of short-term interests. Sacrifices are not being made for long-term economic growth. Economic growth remains sluggish, while job creation has lagged behind the large number of job-seekers. From the RDP (and GEAR) that included economic development, social development has played a minor role. The ANC government has opted for empowerment (BEE) and the redistribution of resources through social spending. Infrastructural spending is secondary while social spending and redistribution are receiving priority. There are many roads to transformation. Choices must be made once the daunting economic and social challenges are recognised.

Government intervention has raised living standards of the poor through the extension of social grants, basic services and infrastructure to the poor and rural areas. In doing so, short term interests have superseded job creation (small and micro- enterprises) that will generate sustainable, broad-based development. While much remains to be done, the poor have been patient. Deliverance on the public's aspirations for decent wages and jobs has become urgent. The road ahead is long, may they remain patient.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the challenge that has faced newly independent countries has been the immediate satisfaction of its inhabitants as well as trying to achieve long-term sustainable growth. The former (immediate satisfaction) is achieved through redistribution of resources while the latter (growth) takes place over the longer term. The RDP (and GEAR) gave priority to longer term growth. However, the government re-ordered its priorities. Redistribution through the social wage and transfer of resources through BEE were prioritised. Growth has remained on the agenda (education, training, promotion of small business and the micro-economy) but it is secondary to redistribution.

In so doing, South Africa risks repeating the post-liberation experience of other African countries (notably, but not only, Zimbabwe), namely, new governments lifted living standards substantially by extending basic government services and infrastructure to the poor and rural areas. The economy remained dependent on exporting raw materials, was unable to generate jobs and highly inequitable. In these circumstances, should the country suffer an external shock, the new government services could prove unsustainable.

Gains made at independence would be undermined and the new infrastructure would deteriorate again. Falling revenues cut state support and, since households have stagnant incomes, they, too, cannot afford to pay (*Business Day*, 22 November 2002). In South Africa, present prices of commodities are high and the currency (the Rand) is strong. However, as has happened in the past, this can change rapidly. The lesson to be learned is that the road to sustainable growth is to reduce inequalities in assets and skills. Measures must be introduced to increase access of poor households to assets and skills, including provision of infrastructure and support for small business and the micro-economy. By extension, investment in relatively labour intensive sectors, such as services, agriculture, construction, and light industry, must also be promoted. In short, strategies are needed to ensure the generation of sustainable, broad-based development.

Social Work, Collective Action and Social Movements: Re-Thematising the Local-Global Nexus

CAROLYN NOBLE

Introduction

The impact of globalisation and contemporary conceptualisations of the postmodern condition are having and enormous impact on social work scholarship and practice. The seemingly unprecedented scope and growth of the capitalist economy, almost unassailable economic power of its major players (Ife, 2001; Noble, 2004) and the effect of postmodernism(s) are challenging the social justice, human rights philosophies as bankrupt theoretical projects. In its wake is a move towards more conservative, neoliberal views and a disillusioned left tradition without a critical platform and/or public voice and, as a result, an undermining of the more radical base of social work. As the real impact of the global capital enterprises are uncovered, there is an urgent need to revitalise collective action as a method of understanding and responding to the dictates of global markers and the accompanying ideological changes, and in particular, the impact on individuals and communities.

In this chapter I argue that a re-thematised collective action discourse incorporating current understandings of the local/global and power/knowledge nexus of new social movements within community work may offer the way forward for the renewal of social work's radical/progressive base and re-position social work to influence the global agenda towards its more humane, democratic concerns.

Globalisation, Postmodernity and Collective Action: Context for the Debate

There is general agreement that global influences such as international trade, mass communications, global capital and Western culture is assuming a supernational and transnational authority and, as a result, taking precedence over local and national social, cultural, political and welfare concerns (Adam, 1993; Giddens 1994; Ife, 2002). The move towards the internationalised production of goods and services, the economic integration and interdependence of world economies, the homogenisation of cultures towards an 'Americanisation' norm and the protection of these developments and the interests they support by international and defensive alliances between Western countries are prompting social work scholars to revisit progressive politics as a way of counteracting the negative consequences of these global influences (Leonard, 1997; Mullaly, 1997; Ife, 2001; George and Wilding, 2002).

Social work scholars concerned about the move towards a more globalised world highlight the insidious nature of international capital and its greed for profit and market-share regardless of its impact on escalating levels of poverty and inequality throughout the world, as well as the

exploitation of women and children and the oppression of indigenous peoples and their cultures (Chambon et al., 1994; Mullaly 1997; Ife 1999, 2001). The expansion of capital interests are also criticised for its role in increasing land degradation and the massive over-consumption of natural and renewable resources. In fact, economic globalisation is more than a focal point of detraction, it is seen by its critics as *the* primary cause of the medley of miseries listed above as well as playing a major role in increasing the military-industrial complex, widespread financial instability and economic crisis in many countries, job losses, and social exclusion and divisions (Stokes and Knight, 1997; Ife, 1999, 2001; George and Wilding, 2002). Further, critics of globalisation lament the loss of local and national structures, cultural traditions and local histories and languages that have accompanied the new (a)moral economy and subsequent loss of a legitimate structural analysis to resist these changes (Ife, 1999, 2001; Noble, 2004). In this analysis the emotional burdens all practitioners are currently carrying is linked to the personal and professional demands of working with those who are most affected by these changing conditions (Dominelli, 2002a).

There are others who, while not dismissing this medley of miseries, regard the international awareness of the interconnectedness of individuals and communities that has resulted from globalisation as a positive development. In separating globalisation from internationalism they regard the opening up of international connections as a positive way of increasing public awareness of the social, cultural, political and economic concerns and argue that developing global social policies and an international human rights discourse are the best way to regulate global capital and the social problems that accompany this expansion (Healy, 2001; George and Wilding, 2002; Ife, 2002; Weeks, 2003). And, we see evidence of this happening as many human rights activists and environmental groups link up through the World Wide Web (www) in their fight to save the world from the destructive force of the overuse of the planet's resources and the abuses of people's rights and freedom in the race for capitalist expansion or ideological domination. In addition to www activism, there are many international aid organisations and NGOs (non-governmental organisations) working to minimise social problems associated with this global economic expansion. Current examples are the international health and welfare responses in addressing the HIV/Aids epidemic in Africa and the world's united response for humanitarian relief for the survivors of the tsunamis in the Asia-Pacific region in December 2004/January 2005. The internationalising of social problems is seen as providing a link into activist work at the local, national and international level (Healy, 2001; Ife 2001; Weeks, 2003).

This activist work, or 'counter-hegemonic block' as it is called, is also seen in the work of such organisations as Amnesty International, Greenpeace, Oxfam, International Red Cross, the World Council of Churches, World Vision and many smaller activist groups as they link local, national and international efforts to promote a social justice agenda and agitate for human rights and individual empowerment beyond national borders (Deacon et al., 1997; Ife, 2001). Many of these organisations are seizing the opportunity to rethink a structural analysis in a global context. However, many are struggling to overturn the negative consequences of unbridled economic dominance by super/major powers and socio-political and cultural changes in the new postmodern world.

While the postmodern era is difficult to theorise satisfactorily as many have approached this debate from a variety of disciplines and perspectives, most would argue that the massive move towards globalisation as intrinsically linked to the new postmodern era and the ideological changes that are occurring in the political, social and economic landscape (Irving, 1994: Giddens, 1994; Bauman, 2002). In particular, attention is drawn to the emerging web of transnational political and economic organisations managing global and world-regional affairs such as the EC (European Commission), IMF (International Monetary Fund), WB (World Bank) and UN (United Nations). Ideologically, and paradoxically, postmodernists also talk about contemporary societies breaking

down as a result of being consumed by radical doubt, especially doubt about modernity's notion of development and linear scientific explanations for development and progress. It is argued that the 'grand' predictions of the Enlightenment Project have failed to address issues of freedom, equality, democracy and personal fulfilment (Bauman, 1992; Irving, 1994). This break with the certainties of the modernist project is to be celebrated and life is to be lived in an as yet to be determined 'new order' (Irving, 1994). Free from the structures of the modern condition, individuals and societies are thrown into states of constant mobility and flux with no clear direction for change, suggesting boundless potentiality in reframing core social economic, political and cultural issues (Bauman, 1992, 2002; Irving, 1994; Giddens, 1994).

The more sanguine critics see this period of uncertainty and economic expansion, not as sites for new possibilities, but as providing an additional platform for another insidious period of rapid social change and transformation fuelled by a more sophisticated and revised form of capitalism, imperialism and neo-colonialism, aided by the speedy move towards globalisation and information and communication technological advances (Ife, 1997; Leonard, 1997; Esteva and Prakash, 1998; Dominelli, 2002b; Noble, 2004). I draw attention to the paradoxes of the argument by contending that the idea of creating new possibilities for social and cultural life is really a cover-up hiding more sinister exploitative socio-political relations defined by powerful elites creating new patterns of inequality and social divisions. This social exclusion is most evident in the welfare context, where new inequalities are emerging in the new culture of 'enterprise' and mutual responsibility, and promotion of family, NGOs and private service providers as superior forms of welfare to state intervention and collective responsibility (Powell, 2000; Hugman, 2001).

Likewise, postmodernity's call to individual relativism is seen as radically undermining social work's radical and progressive base where concepts such as the 'social whole' are replaced with notions of a fragmented and highly individualised self, dismissing the state's role in peoples' lives as repressive and restrictive to individual freedoms (Irving, 1994; Noble, 2004). This relativism has also undermined confidence in the emancipatory, human rights and social justice philosophies developed to explain the complexities of social, political, economic and cultural expressions (Ife, 2001). Stripped of the confidence in rational/scientific thought, and the certainty of notions of absolute truth, logic and belief in progress towards emancipatory ends, life, rather than heralding a new order, is experienced as more unequal, more divisive and more inhumane, characterised by vacuous acquisitiveness and self-obsession (Bauman, 1992, 2002; Irving, 1994).

Again, there are paradoxes. The breaking down of structures has provided room for affirmations of differences and the opening up of political, social, economic and cultural spaces for individual voices to speak from their multi-subjective positions (Pease and Fook, 1999; Healy, 2000). Nearly everyone can now claim complex, multiple identities and ever-richer cross-cultural specificities (Healy, 2000; Healy and Leonard, 2000) including those from Black, Jewish, Muslim, old, working-class, women, men, children, indigenous, gay and lesbian, Third World, differently-abled and culturally diverse peoples. A particular man, woman or child could speak to many positions from the above specificities. However, this has also resulted in the breakdown of traditional alliances between and among peoples, as there are no singular connections, only transitional and conditional alliances or groupings between peoples (if at all). There are no longer global concerns but local issues experienced differentially at the local, subjective level.

The situation described above has fostered varied responses from social work academe. I identify two responses from the literature. The first is the move towards an 'affirmative' postmodernism, where scholars call for the celebration of difference and diversity and the freeing-up of discursive spaces previously blocked by modernist dogmas of universal or grand theorising but keeping close

to a re-interpreted structural analysis still steeped in an ongoing commitment to universal human values and human rights discourses (Pease and Fook, 1999; Parton and O'Byrne 2000; Healy and Leonard 2000). The second is the call to revisit collective action and the expression of such action through new social movements concerned with life politics within the discourse of community, suggesting boundless new opportunities to reframe core social issues (Roche, 1995; Leonard, 1997; Powell, 2000). To act politically beyond the call to include them in social work is under-theorised and, therefore, relatively new.

So what does a move to adopt an affirmative postmodernism within the politics of social movement activism within social work actually mean? Is this a new idea or a retreat from the mesmerising early flirtation with postmodernity and the gradual realisation that his flirtation has left social work without a comprehensive political platform for action and mobilisation? Is it a desperate response to counteract the increasing move within social work towards a belief in market forces and entrepreneurial welfare programmes to determine welfare concerns and retreat from the welfare state ideology characteristic of the new conservatism that has seen an increase in exclusion rather than less? Or, is it a re-thematising of the intellectual endeavour arising out of the new economic, political, social and cultural discourses as an attempt to re-politicise the postmodern condition where global practices are either accepted or rejected against more conscious locally and historically-based influences demanding a rethinking of collective action within a more postmodern context? That is, an attempt to actively re-engage with the experiences of individuals and communities as they struggle to rebuild inclusive communities from disparate and individual groupings by making connections with local and global conversations made possible by the new information technologies, including the re-appreciation of the everyday and the local contexts of practice as the new sites of action (Leonard, 1997; Pease and Fook, 1999; Healy, 2000). My view is that it is *all* of the above.

And what are these new social movements (NSMs)? Especially, what are those collectivities whose sites of action and resistance are aimed specifically at addressing current socio-political, economic, welfare and cultural concerns? The women's movement, gay and lesbian movement, the green movement, the anti-nuclear movement, the peace movement, the refugee settlement movement and the anti-corporate movement are indicative of the intersection of the politics of change with the politics of community which 'adds lifestyle and existential security issues to the [new] political agenda' (Powell, 2001: 123). Movements for ecological sustainability, individual social and political rights, ethnic sovereignty and differences and cultural sensitivity are further examples of areas of civil society that are informing the contested politics that characterise new social movements.

It is through the politics of collective action and resistance that individuals draw attention to issues that affect their lives. Located in the personal, local and everyday concerns of people's lives and extended at times to transnational concerns arising out of the changed conditions of the postmodern and post-industrial conditions, the new social movements are regarded as the politics of the future (Touraine, 1985, 1988; Leonard, 1997). These new social movements are regarded as having the potential to: restructure the notion of contemporary citizenship; reorient themselves to the realities of social life, politics and history in the new 21st century (Touraine, 1985, 1988; Roche, 1995; Tarrow, 1998); and provide a ready platform for political action informed by progressive politics. For example, the current gains of new and specific social, political and cultural rights of previously disenfranchised peoples, such as women, gays and lesbians, differently-abled, 'poor' peoples and victims of violence, are already challenging and extending the notion of citizens' rights and responsibilities to people previously excluded from civil society (Roche, 1995; Tarrow, 1998).

The emergence of the Third Way as a philosophical and political movement is another example. The advocates of the Third Way movement want a practical decentralisation of power through constitutional reform and the creation of a society in which wealth is more equitably distributed (Harrington and Morrison, 2001). Third Way advocates are arguing for democratic socio-economic reform and inclusive nationalism with co-operative internationalism and ecological awareness and the right to genuine self-determination for all peoples throughout the world (Harrington and Morrison, 2001). These developments, have, I would argue, much to offer social work's collective action/community work approach in its search to revitalise its relevance and usefulness to a radical/ progressive practice base as a response to the conditions of the current globalised, postmodern world.

Globalisation, Collective Action and Social Movements

While social work is just beginning to take notice of the new politics of international action seriously, sociologists have been debating the politics and praxis of the NSMs for some time and remind us that global action is not new. For centuries, social movements have dominated world politics from pre-industrial trade routes to present day transnational political, economic and military alliances (Giddens, 1994; Maheu, 1995; Roche, 1995). Social and cultural movements have also been present from the anti-slavery debates to the abolition movement as well as cross-cultural linkages and 'world' religions to the working-class internationalisms and the women's suffragette movements which have united peoples in their common search for an explanation and action base to understand and resist their lived oppressions. Anti-imperialist and anti-colonial movements have yielded international struggles that evoked transnational networks and solidarities from the turn of the 20th and cultural internationalism developed rapidly after World War I (Maheu, 1995). So, we can see that transnational actions have long preceded the Internet and World Wide Web, even before the present increase in the availability of mass media and contemporary technologies. International action is, then, an historical project – and its platform for resistance and change depends on one's perspective in selecting an appropriate analysis from the à la carte menu provided by the strategists, and the political, social, economic and cultural analysts of the time (Cohen and Kennedy, 2000). It must be noted that there is no assumption that collective action in itself is always motivated by 'progressive' politics. There are 'ugly' movements, ones that oppress, kill, exploit or render rights to small elites of powerful interests groups such as militant Islamic and Catholic movements and ethnic nationalist movements in Rwanda, Algeria and Afghanistan just to mention a few (Tarrow, 1998).

In this chapter, I explore those movements that share an ideological commitment to social citizenry and social justice and are able to accommodate a range of social identities and interests, even those that exist in contradiction to each other. That is, those movements that are concerned with citizen's rights, including work, income, education, health, environmental concerns, lifestyle politics and the safety and protection of citizen's rights which aim to address and change the oppressive social arrangements that exclude people without power from accessing resources or participating in public policy debates and political decisions that affect their lives (Roche, 1995; Leonard, 1997).

There are differences between the 'old' movements and the 'new' ones. The old movements, more specifically those involving the mass politics of the Left, such as the international working-class movements associated with Socialist politics and the trade union movements of workers are seen as an oxymoron within the new politics of postmodernity. No longer can activists make confident claims to act for all subordinate peoples under the notion of a universal subject such as a worker, welfare recipient or woman. NSMs identify a space for new thinking on collective action;

a space that focuses on the different, the local, the specific need, but which also draws attention to and highlights its own political limitations in confronting large scale injustices stemming from the global exploitation of labour, dehumanising production and the grossly unjust and unequal distribution of economic social and cultural resources (Leonard, 1997: 140–141). But there is also a connection in that new social movements act globally as their successes and actions are dependent on the global connection of actors, ideas, images and resources (Della Porta and Diani, 1999; Lustiger-Thaler et al., 2001).

New social movements referred to in this chapter as progressive movements acknowledge both the oppression and inequality in everyone's lives while at the same time finding inspiration in the celebration of diversity and acknowledgement of differences that provide motivating interests and targets to fight division and social exclusion. That is, those collective activities which work outside the apparatus of the state and cross-national boundaries while at the same time pressure societies to reconstruct their national domains to include the highly particularist and sub-national politics of place, subject, difference, diversity and citizenship (Mellucci, 1989). The new social movements begin in diversity and specificity, but they are compelled to recognise that they act in the same material world as each other, providing a link with the local and global forces and interests. While avoiding the utopian grand claims of old movements, the new social movements mostly include an analysis of class, gender, ethnicity and power not in distant or abstract terms but as material conditions that reproduce social, political and economic inequalities in individuals' lives that the NSMs struggle against. More specifically, the NSMs focus on the insurrection of subjugated knowledges (Touraine, 1985, 1988) and, as Adam states, are 'a low cost, relative effective, decentralised method of outflanking a centralised, extraordinarily expensive high-tech adversary' (Adam, 1993: 328).

The NSMs or global social movements (GSMs) as some analysts are renaming them are concerned with global responses to local/global issues as virtual communities are created through cyberspace, connecting a broader range of peoples across a broader constituency and more extensive social, cultural and political issues, such as life-style and environmental needs (Cohen and Kennedy, 2000; Lustiger-Thaler et al., 2001). They do this by constantly wrestling with the compromises of the past and are thus persistently challenging these compromises to invent new norms, institutions and practices in order to generate new meaning, spirituality and solidarity in the lives of individuals. Many see social movements as the collective voice of disaffected individuals acting defensively and offensively in protesting against defined concerns and asserting control for themselves by demanding solutions and protective legislation (Roche, 1995; Esteva and Prakash, 1998). At the same time, these collective actions combine a range of social identities from young, old, men, women, children, gay and lesbian, differently-abled, and culturally diverse peoples and form an important part of an insurgence resistance to identified forms of social control by apparently powerless groups becoming conscious of their oppressed or disadvantaged situation and recognising their power in undertaking collective action to change society or some aspect of it that affects their lives.

This insurgent consciousness emerges when personal troubles are defined as political issues attributed to situational or social structural factors (Crossley, 2002). As mentioned earlier, global actions include the anti-nuclear movements, urban renewal movements, anti-capitalist movements, indigenous land and cultural rights movements and many other groups of individuals' concern with a proactive claim to citizen's rights, public policy and environmental sustainability. By influencing public opinion towards their oppositional goals, social movement activists can move government policy or the actions of vested powerful groups towards more temperate positions regarding the redistribution of resources or overcoming unwarranted bureaucratic obstacles or resistances to individual life-style choices imposed by vested interest groups (Crossley, 2002). Individuals,

although shaped by the social structure they are embedded within, are also recognised as capable of changing it. Individual campaigns form key activities to bring about specific societal change outside mainstream political channels and institutions. They are populist movements of concerned, yet disparate peoples addressing the problems of politics in the post-national era faster and more accessibly as a result of increased geographical mobility, cultural interaction and access to the world media and global conversations via www, cyberspace and new mass communication technologies. In contrast with the 'old' movements, their identities with particular movements changes according to peoples shifting awareness of their subjective positions and needs.

Social Work and Collective Action

I note that collective action is not a new concept in social work practice. Theoretical and practice concepts are easily found in the community work/activist social work paradigm. Indeed, collective action approaches to social work are evident from the 1960s and were built on a critique of orthodox social work to expose the inherently repressive nature of social work, particularly its role in the process of social control and in maintaining the systemic domination of the oppressed, not the individuals who receive the results of these defective arrangements (Mullaly, 1997). Consciousness-raising, critical reflection on, and social advocacy directed against dominant ideologies such as capitalism, patriarchy and colonialism were deemed essential precursors to community, social action work (Weeks et al., 2003). Through self-conscientisation and collective action, individuals were encouraged to identify and name the ways in which social structures shaped their experience of disadvantage and the way that orthodox social work was complicit in the process.

Informed by the critical social science literature, activist social work practitioners sought to develop more equitable relations with clients where social change strategies were to be directed at four levels of action. The first was the substructural level, i.e., where the dominant ideology was to be challenged by raising the consciousness of people with respect to the alienating and oppressive nature of the existing patriarchal-monocultural-capitalist system. Second, the social systems and social arrangements had to be challenged so that their social control functions were minimised and their liberating features maximised. Third, social relations had to be explored to enable individuals to reflect on the ways that oppression is reproduced in everyday activities (Mullaly, 1997: 134). And fourth, all of the above must reflect a sustained critique of the transnational effect of capitalist expansion, especially the increasing flow of capital, labour, culture and knowledge production between and among regions on individuals, groups and communities (Dominelli, 2002b). In brief, collective action is about recognising the multi-layered community of local, national, regional and global interconnections and shifting societal power away form vested interests to all community groups and the individuals who make up these community groups (Dominelli, 2002b).

This ideal is a society free from all forms of domination and oppression and one where all groups of people have collective voices to express and determine social arrangements that meet their true needs and vision of a just society (Popple, 2002; Leadbetter, 2002). The degree of change and the role of social work in this change process vary between reformist and revolutionary activist practice but are united on the following features for collective action:

1. the prioritisation of the social structure in the analysis of social problems;
2. a shift from a focus on individual pathology to concentration on oppression and its many forms and sites;
3. the development of egalitarian practices;
4. the adoption of practice strategies that recognise and challenge the structures of oppression;

5. the conscious exploration of the role of the social worker in activist practice (points 1–5, Healy, 2000: 240); and

6. a practice that includes a global and local analysis (Dominelli, 2002b).

Although activist work is located in social work's progressive base, especially in community work with its history of social action and change, little attention has been given to including NSMs as integral to its praxis. In the main, community work and social action were more focussed on changing the state from within and relied heavily on the work of self-help and advocacy groups, 'progressive' NGOs and welfare rights groups for this activity. Although there are a small number of community and political groups developing websites, email and internet networking and international strategic lobbying, there is little evidence that demonstrates their effectiveness in the current climate (Weeks et al., 2003).

Although social solidarity was deemed essential for the advancement of the community work and social action, there are few examples where social work practitioners actively formed communities of activism outside of the welfare apparatus of the state. In fact, community work has been in decline as the professionally-based individual change focus that is assuming more ascendency and the fact that there are very few jobs that pay workers to challenge state power and control, let alone international interests and concealed political influences. Individual social workers are now compelled to explore and experiment with moralistic, individualistic and market-based solutions to capitalism's problems of poverty, unemployment and increasing welfare needs (Hugman, 1998, 2001) and there is serious doubt about individual change doing anything more than stop-gap solutions to broader social inequalities. Now the state has almost deserted its citizens and its welfare responsibilities, it is imperative that community work and social action explore new spaces for action.

Re-thematising Social Work, Collective Action and Social Movements

Connecting with new social movements in a proactive way is an important concept for reclaiming collective action more generally. NSMs historical activism and successes adds value to considering social movements as crucial vehicles for resistance to the inertia associated with the negative effects of globalisation. They offer an effective praxis for challenging the dominance of economic globalisation and its role in the current financial instability, economic crises in many developing countries, and the global inequalities that have deepened poverty, social exclusion and disparities between the rich North and poor South (Lustiger-Thaler et al., 2001). NSMs also provide direction for deconstructing the de-politisation of collective action associated with postmodernism's critiques of the evils of grand theories and the death of the universal subject (Irving, 1994).

However, linking collective action with local and global social movements as a form of social work practice has taken a rather pick and mix approach even before the effects of individualised welfare and marketisation took hold. Calls for its incorporation have always fallen short of a full integration into social work's practice base. Content with its ad hoc connection with community work or with international social work, collective action in the form of broad reaching social movements operating outside of the state and state-based partnerships are mostly seen as outside social work praxis. Participation in social movements has been encouraged but mostly as a way of meeting with other professionals and activists (often in your own time and expense) who share similar values such as concerns for social justice, human rights, peace and environmental and cultural protection (Ife, 1997, 2001). Many social workers march in protests with activists in various movements and work in trade unions, political parties and action groups concerned with human rights and world peace (Ife, 2001) outside the workplace. However, the climate has changed

and it is time for social workers to become more active on behalf of individuals and communities hurting from the massive social, political and economic changes attributable to the negative aspects of globalisation and the new postmodern world (Leonard, 1997; Ife, 2002; Noble, 2004).

Social work activists now know that marketisation and commercial welfare programmes have undermined state welfare support bringing more social divisions than ever. We also know that the concentration on the micro-analysis suggested by postmodernist theorists has left social work ontologically devoid of a structural framework for analysis to resist exclusive state practices and the expansion of capital with its increasingly high cost to human rights and the loss of the notion of an equitable and ethical civil society (Noble, 2004).

My argument is that rather than take defensive actions against perceived and real threats of negative global pressures pertaining to the new globalised economy, the neo-conservative political system, interventionist and pre-emptive foreign policies, militarism and capitalist adventurism by addressing the social problems associated with these developments by individual case examples, social work needs to understand the ways that the NSMs can forge such collective resistance must be conscious of not replicating imperialist relationships and lapsing into the fallacy of the unified perspective, characteristic of 'old' social movements.

Examples such as campaigns to prevent international child trafficking, women's fight for paid maternity leave, local cooperatives like the Borderlands in Australia, small movements of the urban poor in the US, local campaigns against sex tourism in South East Asia such as ECPAT (End Child Prostitution and Pornography in Asian Tourism), open community schools in Zambia and other developing countries in Africa, local urban renewal projects in communities across the world and the re-emergence of local co-operatives and female-led small businesses are current examples of local concerns spreading to global issues and actions. Working from local concerns to global issues and actions, many of these campaigns give hope that dominant economic preoccupation does not quell citizen's determination to fight for their self-defined concepts of social and redistributive justice (Weeks et al., 2003). It is also about bringing the global home and taking the home to the global in order to forge any kind of oppositional politics.

If social work is to explore a practice of collective action, which would include an analysis of the new social movements' theories and practice, what would it look like? For those social work practitioners and academics looking for a way of resisting the changes associated with the new economy and current economic globalising activities that undermine equitable social discourses then Weeks et al. (2003: 12) provide a beginning framework for global community action. It is one that places its praxis clearly within the new social movements at the same time keeping true to the values of local development and control and the desire for indigenous sovereignty and decolonised space to rebuild communities. Briefly, their praxis includes linking local issues to global and regional analysis; working with international human rights instruments; developing transnational civil society, regional networks and coalitions for advocacy and action by maximising cyberspace; and developing alternatives to globalisation. They are keen to see a re-imaging of local communities and action towards democratisation of local economic relations (Weeks, et al., 2003: 13–14).

Rather than only viewing globalising activities with the negative focus associated with the hegemonic and corporate forces driven by the desire to make (massive) profits from capitalist exchanges and enterprises we miss the tangential globalising efforts of those groups and individuals working to reverse this trend or their role as more moderating influences against the more extreme effects or collateral damage on peoples, cultures, and environment that emerge. These progressive new social movements have become stronger as a result of globalisation, the internet and www as they are dependent on globalising forces for its action. The actions and movements mentioned and the communities of individual that comprise them have been and/or are vigorously involved in determining the kind of globalisation they want to be a part of and conversely the type of global

process they want to resist, e.g., the trans-corporatisation of world economies by the IMF and World Bank, the military-industrial complex and environmental destructions of land and cultures in the search for fuel and energy sources and the many and varied struggles for human rights/social justice concepts and resistances to colonial expansion. Local campaigns of urban development and co-operatives and anti-nuclear reactor resistance are further examples of the local/global connection. There are other campaigns involved in (re)activating local and national campaigns concerned with violence, disability and health rights as well as indigenous struggles. The increasing public profile of these resistances have been made possible as a result of the growth in information and communication technologies and the global village conversations that have emerged as a result of this widespread international connection and analysis. Consequently, a new generation of social rights and citizen's responsibilities such as rights to employment, and/or income, clean food and water, democratic citizenship, social rights and obligations are emerging as a counteraction to the negative exploitative effect of global capitalism (Roche, 1995).

Conclusion

The conclusion that can be drawn from this argument is that re-thematising collective action within the expression of social movement practice goes a long way towards addressing the concerns raised in this chapter. The NSMs address many of the concerns that a progressive social work theory and practice have to deal with in this globalised and postmodern world. I have argued for the embracing of global collective action as a way of reorienting radical social work and provide some direction for the politics of hope that are much called for in the current literature (Leonard, 1997; Pease and Fook, 1999; Ife, 2001, 2002; Noble, 2004).

PART 2
Practice in Changing Communities

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Feminist, Anti-Racist Community Development: Critical Alliance, Local to Global

MARGARET LEDWITH and PAULA ASGILL

Introduction

Radical community development calls for an integrated praxis of critical reflection and collective action for social change. Its practice happens in the heart of people's lives in community, but has a global reach. The process is one of informal critical education, starting in people's lived experience, but rooted in a vision of participatory democracy, equality and social justice. It is the emphasis on collective action that preoccupies us here, most particularly because the collective analysis has changed in recent decades from one defined by class politics to that of a politics of difference. At the same time, the context is now shaped by capitalism's restructuring: globalisation presents us with complex challenges for anti-discriminatory, emancipatory practice. Our challenge is to redefine our practice to deal with this changing context, and ensure that community development's vision of a more fair and just world remains a possibility.

The concept of alliance is central to community development inasmuch as it extends the potential of collective action as a strategy for change. Our own experience suggests that in practice women constitute the prime collective force in communities in moving towards this vision. For many years, the two of us have, independently, worked as activists and community workers with women at grassroots level, and it is our belief that 'race' and racism have been crucial markers in blocking sustainable collective action between Black and White women.

As an African-Caribbean woman and a White British woman who are community educators, our prime concern is the way in which women organise for social change and the changing socio-political context in which this takes place. Our research is based on our own reflections on practice, and builds on dialogue with other practitioners who have chosen to join us in this inquiry. Our argument is that the feminist and anti-racist identity necessary for collective action is achievable, can be named, and charted from women's experience. Furthermore, this can be used to inform the feminist and anti-racist practice of Black and White women forming autonomous and collective organisations for social change.[1]

This research emerged from our unfolding awareness of our own identities in relation to each other, and developed in the context of our separate experiences in community work over the years. It is committed to the notion of *critical alliance*, that is a conscious coming together based on insight, as a vital concept in the process of collective action for social justice. We term these *alliances of difference* as an acknowledgement of the horizontal, reciprocal nature of the relating. However, our concern is that despite the fact that women are the prime collective force in communities, and although there is evidence that at times they come together in alliance across difference, this is not sustained. We propose that *critical alliances* are not happening spontaneously, but they are an

essential development from the identity politics of the 1980s towards the global alliances needed to act against the injustices of globalisation.

The link between personal identity and collective action is key to our thinking. Personal identities are shaped by the complex nature of power which permeates our personal lives in a complex system of interlinking, overlapping oppressions. Insight into the nature of this process gave rise to *the personal is political* slogan of second-wave feminism. The intellectual challenge of postmodern thinking expanded our understanding of power in relation to social difference. Gradually, our perceptions began to move from dichotomous rankings of oppression, towards multi-dimensional models which include personal to global levels, as well as context (e.g., workplace, community) and difference (e.g., gender, age) and which grapple with the complex interaction between all possible interfaces (Ledwith, 2001). However, postmodernism also created a paradox: class solidarity, the basis of collective action, was fragmented in this way of seeing the world. So, as the reductionism of class politics was replaced by a more sophisticated analysis, collective action needed to be equally matched in its scope. The notion of critical alliances across difference offers the potential strength for transformative change by embracing all struggles as important ones in the move to a more just and equal world.

In this paper, we address the significance of identity politics to collective action for social change. We also explain the ways in which our thinking is shaped by Freirean-feminist theory, which in turn informs our research methodology. We outline stages of a process which offers insight into the nature of sustainable alliances, and use this as a structure for examining the ways in which our initial research has led to new directions of exploring the evolution of alliance on an international or global level. This wider perspective illuminates the extent to which our evolving model of the process remains relevant. Finally, we conclude that our research appropriately poses questions of levels of alliance and the potential for work of this kind to inform and shape critical education in a community development context.

Identity

Identity politics' was initially defined by and for the new social movements that came to public consciousness from the late 1960s: the black movement, feminism, lesbian and gay liberation and so on … Issues of identity are now, however, at the centre of modern politics (Weeks, 1990: 88).

We are living in complex times, which have forged complex identities. Yet, the significance of people's sense of 'who they are' is central to political and cultural analysis. Identity is not only about belonging, about commonality, and about difference; it is also about our social relationships and our 'complex involvement with others' (Weeks, 1990: 88). However, in our emerging awareness of our multiple identities and those of others, we find ourselves ill-equipped to handle this complexity within the limitations of Western consciousness. And so, the challenge in the quest for understanding and integrity is for us to widen our perspectives, to think in new ways and to develop new visions and new forms of practice (Ledwith, 1997).

Western consciousness is characterised by dichotomous thought, that way of seeing the world which simply allocates everything, including identity, to either/or categories. If 'it' is not one thing, 'it' is the other. This was forcibly exposed by the Black feminist critique of early second-wave feminism, challenging the naive male-female analysis on which it was based. Further insights into the complexity of identity have followed from the emergence of postmodernism and new social movements. Indeed, this was the problem encountered by women on the international stage when

they struggled with the inclusion of women in the human rights debates of the last two decades. The norms were those that applied to men, and women were always either invisible or an exception (Bunch, 1990, 1995).

Gradually the myth of simplistic, one-dimensional notions of identity has been exploded, forcing us to seize the challenge to wrestle with our individual and collective identities:

> Critical self-evaluation is a necessary prerequisite for all of us engaged in political struggle if there is to be any movement away from intransigent political positions to tentative new formulations (Parmar, 1990/98: 106).

In this way, our growing understanding of the complexity of our own identities has formed the basis of our shared search. For us, it became increasingly obvious that fixed definitions of identity deny the centrality of our separate, yet connected, histories and cultures. Once we recognise the ways in which our everyday encounters are shaped by socio-political and economic relations – past and present – then we just begin to touch the edges of a complexity which is intellectually and politically limited by the constraints of dichotomous analysis. This has helped us to step with insight beyond the boundaries of our individual identities into a terrain that locates us, in all our difference, alongside each other, understanding that our personal struggles have a deeply political significance.

Freirean-Feminist Pedagogy

Coming together as community development educators, we both emerged from many years of grassroots community work practice, having spent much of that time working, in our separate identities, with Black women for Paula and with White women for Margaret. In this sense, we shared a common experience of working in community from a feminist perspective, which was deeply influenced by Freirean pedagogy.

In the field of community development, Paulo Freire is considered by many throughout the world as the most important radical influence for the last thirty years. Freire's approach is, according to Allman and Wallis, an:

> indivisible totality based on assumptions and principles which are inter-related and coherent … we cannot take hints from Freire or use bits of Freire; we must embrace the philosophy as an integral whole and attempt to apply it accordingly (Allman and Wallis, 1997: 113).

In the USA, his work has become synonymous with *critical pedagogy* (Shor, 1992; McLaren and Leonard, 1993; McLaren and Lankshear, 1994; McLaren, 1995). Yet, whilst feminist educators have cited Freire's pedagogy as profound in its influence on feminist consciousness from a perspective of identity (hooks, 1993), feminists in general have criticised its dualism, its emphasis on a universal truth (Weiler, 1994).

We are committed to the development of a Freirean-feminist model of community work which would lend itself to an integrated praxis that has at its core an alternative practice. Such a model takes the potential of Freirean pedagogy as an emancipatory praxis but engages with a critique of patriarchy as an ontologically and epistemologically mature way of being in the world. This would extend the contribution of Freire into a postmodern possibility, in which what bell hooks referred to as his 'blind spot' to questions of gender and other aspects of difference would be addressed (hooks, 1993). bell hooks, as a Black American woman, challenges feminists thinkers who separate feminist pedagogy from Freirean pedagogy:

for me these two experiences converge … I have taken threads of Paulo's work and woven it into that version of feminist pedagogy I believe my work as a writer and teacher embodies (1993: 150).

Our thinking has been inspired by Kathleen Weiler (1994: 16), who calls for a 'critical re-reading of Freire [which] points to the way in which the project of Freirean (like that of feminist) pedagogy can be enriched and envisioned'. In offering three key areas of analysis:

- the role and authority of the educator;
- experience and feeling as sources of knowledge; and
- the question of 'difference'.

Weiler (1994) locates a feminist springboard for the development of a Freirean-feminist pedagogy (Ledwith, 1997; Ledwith and Asgill, 1998).

Feminist and Freirean pedagogy converge in their fundamental assumption that dominant ways of knowing need challenging and that all people have a basic human right to be valued and active in their world. Feminist pedagogy diverges, however, in its challenge to patriarchy as a fundamental oppressive structure which echoes through women's lives, shaped by difference. In a world defined by violence, power and competition, brought into sharp definition by recent major events, the challenge remains – to find a way forward to countering injustice with a process of informed critical action in which education is the key. As informal educators, community workers provide a context for exploring the self: examining a socially, culturally and politically defined identity from a critical perspective.

Weiler (1994), in emphasising the role and authority of the educator, draws our attention to the importance of understanding our own power and status in relation to those with whom we work. The insidious nature of power leads us to overlook the ways in which its comfortable protection can disempower those around us, and thus control rather than liberate. In 2001, Weiler offered a further critical re-reading of Freire, emphasising that, in addition, we need to pay attention more closely to the gendered nature of accepted knowledge and the epistemological source of knowledge and truth claims of men and women, including the dominance of a Western worldview. She also warns of the dangers of discourse which rests on social and cultural definitions of men's and women's nature as some given truth. The essence of her message is that by concentrating on women's knowledge as defined only by emotion, we fall into the trap of subscribing to Western patriarchy's dichotomy of men's rationality and women's nurturance that denies women's capacity to think in rational and abstract ways. This takes us nearer to the cutting edge of feminisms in a postmodern world and closer to an effective pedagogy of difference.

Thinking has become passé. The gradual emergence of a language of education that displaces ideas and questioning with skills and training obscures its own controlling tendencies to reproduce social divisions in ever more complex forms. It is a trend which counters critical education by emphasising *doing* at the expense of *thinking*, a trap which community workers constantly fall into under the multiple pressures of the job, thus reducing their potential to *thoughtless action* (Johnston cited in Shaw, 2004: 26).

Weiler (1994) stresses the feminist project of claiming feeling and experience as legitimate knowledge. This is an epistemological shift which challenges us to become more fully human and engaged in our world. It locates knowing with experience. Power and control exist at the expense of autonomy, and yet it is our belief that autonomy is the basis of action for liberation.

A non-violent world has a unity of purpose, what Kincheloe (1993: 42) refers to as 'the epistemological sophistication of the indigenous paradigm which recognizes a unity in all things and a connected spiritual energy embedded in both human and natural elements'. Gramsci called

this the 'intellectual's error'; the assumption that knowing can be divorced from feeling (Kincheloe, 1993: 42). Feeling and experience, together with difference, form an epistemological possibility for a world defined by peace, co-operation and purpose.

Our position is one of locating community development at the heart of education for liberation by integrating its praxis and, in doing so, defining its critical potential. As many have stressed for far too long, community development has rendered itself vulnerable by failing to synthesise its theory and practice.

> Critical pedagogy has failed to articulate a vision for self-empowerment and social transformation; consequently, the term 'critical pedagogy' needs to have its meaning specified in more precise terms (McLaren, 1995: 34).

To us, critical pedagogy is the process of naming, reflecting and critically analysing, and, as a consequence, of critically acting in the world. It is a form of education which is defined by reciprocity rather than dominance. Thus, the educator role is interchangeable with the learner role. For us, the feminist challenge is that by a process of democratisation – equality of participants, democratic decision-making, mutual accountability and collective action – the potential of *alliances of difference* can transform hierarchical institutions that entrench prejudice, discrimination and exploitation.

Freirean–Feminist Research Methodology

So, as committed Freirean pedagogues, we were very much aware that what Allman and Wallis (1997: 113) refer to as the 'indivisible totality' of Freire meant that, to approach authenticity, we had to identify an ideologically compatible research methodology. Traditional research is characterised by positivism, which suggests that, in the interests of objectivity, it is acceptable to exploit, or even control.

> Research as praxis is a phrase designed to respond to Gramsci's call to intellectuals to develop a 'praxis of the present' by aiding developing progressive groups to become increasingly conscious of their situations in the world (quoted in Salamini, 1981: 73). At the center of an emancipatory social science is the dialectical, reciprocal shaping of both practice and praxis-oriented research and the development of emancipatory theory. In praxis-oriented inquiry, reciprocally educative process is more important than product as empowering methods contribute to consciousness-raising and transformative social action through dialogue and reflexivity, design, data and theory emerge, with data being recognized as generated from people in a relationship (Lather, 1995: 295).

The collaborative aspects of researching *with* people rather than *on* people leads us to the margins, rather than replicating the values of the dominant ideology. It overtly aims to move people beyond dominant ideas towards a knowledge system based on their indigenous culture and needs, to produce knowledge and action for people in their communities (Reason and Rowan, 1981). An integrated praxis is formed through a process of research, critical education and community action. It is a process of *conscientisation* through *dialogue* (Freire, 1972). However, Widdicombe (1995: 124) warns that we must not overlook individual integrity in the quest for collective political identification, 'by not attending to the ways that people portray the significance of their own identities, researchers do a social injustice to those people who they claim are the objects of their concern'.

Feminist epistemology and Freirean pedagogy share much in common, e.g., the Freirean notion that education can never be neutral allies and the focus of feminist social research on lived

experience. By challenging the claimed neutrality of traditional research, feminists have exposed the ways in which research has been used to reinforce the structures of subordination by rendering the experience of women invisible. Extending this even further, Stanley (1990) argues that a deeper knowing comes from the acknowledged political commitment of the researcher. And going deeper still, we would argue for a feminist epistemology which not only focuses on human experience and holism, but which places harmony between the human world and the natural world as central to its notion of being whole in the world. Such a fully integrated praxis calls for more fully evolved research methodologies.

A methodology which reaches towards such a co-operative view of the world would be defined by us as an emancipatory action research methodology, that form of action research that clearly states its transformative intention within its process. Such a methodology is not only consonant with the values and vision of community work, but we would suggest is a necessary but often missing component of community work praxis. It not only critiques and pushes at the boundaries of 'knowing' to challenge patriarchal, Western assumptions, but also introduces a dynamic into the community development process which keeps it at the cutting edge of its potential in a dramatically changing world. Dualism is exposed as naïve and controlling as an analysis when the complexity of difference extends the personal into the political and cultural, and the local is understood in relation to its global reach.

Reason and Bradbury (2001) suggest that different ways of knowing result in different/new ways of acting in the world. They call for rigorous inquiry and present a model which addresses questions for validity and quality as part of the methodology. For us, some of those questions are:

- Can this be a work of true co-research in order that we should aim for congruence between our theory and practice?
- Has our research got the potential to generate theory which helps us to re-conceptualise our world; to see in new ways?
- Is this work worthy of our attention? Has it the potential to make a difference in the world?

'Feminist research is that which produces unalienated knowledge' not only proposing a different kind of knowing, but more particularly locating itself in 'the relation between epistemology and ontology'. Thus, it is:

> the experience of and acting against perceived oppression that gives rise to a distinctive feminist ontology; and it is the analytic exploration of the parameters of this in the research process that gives expression to a distinctive feminist epistemology (Stanley, 1990: 14).

Within this, we must be diligent in addressing the question of how a feminist epistemology embraces an anti-racist epistemology as a holistic way of knowing. As we are all too well aware, feminist research in its mission to expose the patriarchal interests of traditional methodologies has often 'reproduced its racist paradigms' (Marshall, 1994: 108). Fine et al. (1997) consider that critical gender and 'race' theory, in concentrating its attention on the margins, has given a voice to those who have been silenced, but, in doing so, has unwittingly continued to exercise the power of Whiteness to avoid scrutiny.

This assumes Whiteness as the 'unmarked, unraced, unspoken norm' (Ellsworth in Fine et al., 1997: 265). So, as Kinchloe, et al. (1998) stress, if we are to get inside the way in which power is differently racialised between White and non-White people, then we have to concentrate on different forms of knowledge construction and the making of meaning in our differently constructed lives. In this way, we can extend Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* by constructing a 'pedagogy of the privileged' (Reason and Bradbury, 2001: 10) to effectively move critical pedagogy into a

postmodern world by developing the confidence and strength in people's identities sufficiently for us to act together in sustained alliance.

So, we are stressing here that a radically transformed way of acting in the world calls not only for theory which is critical and self-critical, but also altered ways of investigating the world. For instance, as we constructed our initial research, we were looking out there somewhere for answers to our questions. As we increasingly experienced deep emotional responses to our own encounters with each other, we slowly began to realise that the answers to our questions were embedded within our own identities and interactions. The cultural and political formation of our difference, which kept us at a distance from each other, contained, we suspected, the reasons for Black and White women resisting sustainable alliances, despite the fact that they share similar visions.

Research Design

As we submerged ourselves in our research, we recognised the courage and determination needed to move through the emotions engendered by our difference. Truly engaging with forms of knowledge that embrace feeling and experience demands more of the researcher than that which claims to be neutral and keeps the researcher detached from the process. Many times we felt that we did not want to re-engage. Moustakas (1990) describes this form of heuristic research as an internal search involving self-search, dialogue and self-discovery until insight is found. The starting point is a question of personal challenge in relation to oneself and the world. It 'requires a passionate, disciplined commitment to remain with a question intensely and continuously until it is illuminated or answered' (Moustakas, 1990: 15). This is the nature of the research that we embarked upon.

The second phase involved the co-operation of 15 Black women and White women who were or had been involved in community action for social justice. This took the form of dialogical interviews undertaken by a White, Danish woman researcher who worked with our shared Freirean values. The third stage will move more clearly towards a fuller co-operative inquiry, a coming together in group dialogue across difference, where ownership of the research process and control of the analysis and results will be mutual for all involved. This is empowerment through the validity of human experience and what Heron (1996) calls *epistemic* participation, political participation which acknowledges that people have the right to be involved in decisions at every stage of a research process which formulates knowledge or decisions about them. Finally, Heron (1996) suggests that there is a fundamental difference between participatory action research and co-operative inquiry. In the former, the initiating researcher wants to use the power of their role to transform the plight of oppressed people, whereas co-operative inquirers also see their own privilege as a central part of the problem and in need of transformation. We have tried to embrace this understanding as we struggle to evolve a Freirean-feminist model of praxis-oriented research.

The Cycle Model: A Model Adapted for Our Research

John Rowan's (1981) cycle model has been useful to us in our community work practice. It helped to give us a structure for the stages of the community development process and the way in which research is integral to that process. We are familiar with its inner and outer flows, and have adapted its structure in a very different way here as a means of highlighting the dialectical process of engaging with the world (Ledwith and Asgill, 2000). This structure, we believe, offers insight into the ways in which we can engage with and across difference. It has five distinct stages: being, seeking, separateness, autonomy and critical alliance:

Being reaches a point of dissonance where personal experience is questioned. It is no longer possible to accept explanations that rest on an essentialised view of self in relation to others. There is recognition of aspects of one's alienation, and also the realisation of *difference.*

Seeking is an inner stage, a quest for understanding, for a new way of seeing oneself in relation to one's world. Altered perceptions may be triggered by a negative experience (such as racism or sexism) or a positive experience (an encounter with new ideas). This stage can be solitary or collective. It is a process of 'adding and combining the new information in unfamiliar relationships' (Rowan, 1981: 98), a stage where contact is made with people and groups in order to explore these thoughts.

Separateness is an outward movement; it is a withdrawal from mainstream society because there is a need to explore and challenge hegemonic ways of making sense of personal experience. This stage can be characterised as:

> every once in a while there is the need for people to … bar the doors … and say 'Humph, inside this place the only thing we are going to deal with is X or Y or Z'. And so only the Xs or the Ys or Zs get to come in … most of the time when people do that, they do it because of the heat of trying to live in this society where being an X or Y or Z is very difficult to say the least … . It gets too hard to stay out in society all the time. …You come together to see what you can do about shouldering up all your energies so that you and your kind can survive … that space should be nurturing space where you sift out what people are saying about you and decide who you are (Reagon, 1983: 357–358).

Autonomy is the stage at which we are able to 'define and empower [ourselves]' (Lorde, 1981). The sense of identity is powerful and does not fear dilution. This unfolding highlights the intra- as well as the inter-psychic nature of identity (Ledwith and Asgill, 1998). Those who have co-operated in our research identify this as the process of noticing aspects of our social identities and unlearning internalised oppression, as well as those aspects of superiority which we learn in relation to our *others* (Pheterson, 1990).

Critical alliance emerges as a possibility out of the strengthened identity that is gained from *autonomy*. In dialogue with others, there is a reaching out to understand difference not as division but as strength – a way of moving forward collectively in commitment to a more fair and just society:

> to open one's sensibilities out to the oppression of others, the exploitation of others, the injustices and inequalities meted out to others – and to act on them, making an individual/local case into an issue, turning issues into causes and causes into movements and building in the process, a new political culture, new communities of resistance that will take on power and capital and class (Sivanandan cited by Cooke, 1996: 22).

This is the possibility that our model seeks to identify and test. We believe that the potential of new social movements – a new political culture and social transformation – will only be realised when *critical alliance* becomes an integral part of tackling the complex and fractured nature of identity and experience.

Our belief is that, if we understand the process more clearly, this could lead us into sustainable critical alliances across difference. We believe that the collective sharing of experience is the key to the knowledge of our socially and politically-given identities, and is the process by which we discover our power as subjects in active creative process in our world.

Research in Progress

From our own dialogue, it became evident that being able to create *critical alliance* depended on the ability of White and Black women to understand and name the complexity of their experience and identity. *Critical alliance* can be characterised as a state of knowing, having respect for, and commitment between persons who are different, but whose interest in social justice is similar. Developing alliance is a painful process in that it strikes at the existential. To overcome the avoidance of painful experiences we need to identify them, and in the naming of them expose them as integral components of change.

Our research is a contribution to naming the process that marks the development of autonomy which, in turn, may lead to increased possibilities of alliance. This stage of our research is very much in progress. To share our exploration, we invited 15 women to have one-to-one dialogue with our researcher in this initial stage. These women are established community-based professionals working in different regions of England. For the purposes of this paper, we draw more specifically on the contributions of seven of these women. Two are Asian women, Nina and Uma, one is African-Caribbean, Dorothy, and the other four women are White, Vera, Sheila, Katrina and Anne. In keeping with research ethics and the right to anonymity, these names are fictitious.

The dialogue with all seven women was focused around the fundamental principle that identities are complex and always in process. In addition, the researcher introduced the five stages of our model outlined above – *being, seeking, separateness, autonomy,* and *critical alliance*. We use the women's words to highlight and challenge the usefulness of this structure as a descriptive and analytical tool.

Identity

The women all saw themselves as complex individuals and largely believed that the complexity of these identities shaped their social experiences. Sheila, Katrina and Vera identified themselves as women, White and middle class, and Anne added that she is able-bodied and heterosexual. They all spoke of aspects of their personalities that they perceived as significant. Katrina talked of being 'complicated, difficult to know, private … but able to listen to others'. For Katrina it is also important that she is Irish as well as Northern English, as she migrated to England as a child. This, she felt, sets her apart from what she considers stereotypically English. Vera is disabled, on occasions she uses sticks to help her to walk, and of this she says:

> If I'm obviously disabled, because of the sticks, people probably see them rather than anything else. But, when they see me getting off my bike, they will think I am non-disabled.

She also reveals that her power as a White middle-class woman is mediated at moments when she is perceived as 'obviously disabled'.

Perhaps significantly, Nina, one of the two Asian women in the group, spoke much less about her personality and focused almost exclusively on her gender and 'race' identity. In tandem, she discussed her professional role extensively, suggesting that it is in the professional arena that her political identity is shaped. She identifies herself as an 'Asian woman working and living in Britain [and as a] British community development worker'. Uma describes herself as an 'Asian woman, but born and brought up in Africa'. They, in common with Dorothy and Katrina, experienced migration to England which was formative in the re-shaping of their identities. For instance, Dorothy says:

> I was born in Jamaica so I came to this country as a Jamaican. When we went to school we realised that teachers don't know who is a Jamaican from who is a Barbadian because they labelled us 'Black' – a

little bit meaningless, because I had never heard the word 'Black' in the context that it's meant here. So it didn't have a meaning. Being Jamaican had a meaning [in the Caribbean], but then when I came here I realised that being Jamaican had no meaning. Being Black had a meaning [here], so then being Jamaican became a background thing. It was about the colour of my skin, and the colour of my skin happened to be Black, so hence that's how I embraced the label 'Black' originally. It was something I had to do. The White education system created that distinction, that there are some of you that are Black, and some of you that are White.

Presumably this also came with different expectations.

From her discussion, Nina's early experience in the British educational system was shaped by her gender, 'race' and class. Thus, she brings more explicitly into the dialogue the situational and socially constructed nature of identity (Allen, 1998). In asserting a British identity, she raises the notion of *hybridity*, the state of being neither simply Asian nor British, but at one and the same time, both. As Dorothy states:

It's not how it's evolved; it's the stage that you've reached of accepting it because you start moving away from imposed labels of being West Indian … it's like moving away from being coloured to Black. And now we're saying African because that's where we originated from, and we're European. So, African, about that original state, that centre, and then we've all dispersed elsewhere. So no matter where we travel, no matter what labels we attach to ourselves, the label of being African is fundamental to that Self.

In attempting to identify themselves and explain their motivations, the women all demonstrate a reflexive awareness of the social embeddedness of their identity and their complexity. Their descriptions are not just in their minds, but are a combination of 'thoughts and feelings, presuppositions of the enquirer's expectations and our relative statuses' (Allen, 1998). We suspect that this is borne out by Nina's tendency not to share personal information with a White researcher.

In relation to *being,* the dialogues produced rich narratives which indicated that social experience is an important factor in initiating a re-interpretation of identity. Nina described her young adulthood as significant in what she did in her later professional life: 'I wanted to be a teacher, but was told that I couldn't do GCSEs. I had to do CSEs'. She was subsequently encouraged to study for a nursery nurse qualification by a White career adviser. This generated her determination to succeed in higher education and become involved in Asian organisations. This led to her politicisation, in that she was able to name racism and patriarchy, identify inequality and challenge racism and gender oppression through anti-deportation campaigns and the Asian Youth Movement. She says:

We set up a women's section of the Asian Youth Movement in Manchester. I think this was the only city in which this happened. This may have been because in Manchester there were more women involved, and we came from a range of backgrounds. We were students, community activists, community workers and were wanting to be active.

Similarly, Dorothy talks about the way in which Saturday schools, led by the Pan-African Movement, provided supplementary education for Black children and young people in Manchester. This helped her to crystallise what she means by the term Black:

We don't mean Asian. We don't mean anything else. We mean us when we use the term Black. When I use that term I use it specifically in relation to African people. Schools were telling us we can't achieve. The message that the Pan-African Movement gave us is that we have a responsibility to achieve: 'If you are going to make a contribution to the community and to yourself then you need to also achieve'. I just got on with it! As long as you have a belief in it then you can do it. It's a message that's stayed with me.

The four White women also experienced a gradual process of identifying hegemonic forces in their own lives, and made important shifts in their identity. Vera had early experiences of inequality. She says:

> My mum would be quite a strong influence, she certainly is a strong believer in equality. But I was also aware of the battles that my parents had to fight for me over education, to be able to take exams, that sort of stuff. Oh, being a working-class kid in a grammar school wasn't exactly the best combination.

She goes on to indicate that this was actually complex, but may have been mainly about class. As a girl at grammar school she was expected to 'get through and into university'. She was 'bolshy' and would not conform, so it was both a 'class-based issue' and one of what was appropriate for girls.

Alliance

As the women gained more autonomy around their social identity as Black or White women in Britain they began to make more links with the global context. It is to this issue that we now turn our attention.

Vera's awareness of racism came when she moved to the Midlands. Her experience as a White woman in the anti-apartheid movement led her to question the specific experience of women under apartheid – as a group of mainly White women they had gone on to organise around this. Conflicts did arise in the group, and one of the main issues was about whether they could 'tackle apartheid without tackling racism'. She could not remember her own perspective at the time, but suspected that she:

> probably then had a much more simplistic view of what was going on. Probably to do with the type of writing that was around. It was [a] separatist, straightforward view of the world, really. [But] I think now I would see them [racism and apartheid] as incredibly interlinked. I think the experience of racism is different in different countries and for different groups. But it is basically still about power, and about who controls and the power imbalances that work within any oppressed groups, whether it's Black or White, or class and gender and sexuality and other things that overlay it.

Here she raises the intra- and inter-psychic relation of internalised oppression and superiority (Pheterson, 1990); interestingly, not in relation to herself but in relation to oppressed groups in general. Anne, addressing this issue in some detail, says, 'We, as White people, need to recognise the kind of privilege we have and the power, and how we're perceived by other people – and then do something about that', an issue also addressed by Fine, et al., (1997) and Kincheloe, et al., (2000).

A number of the women describe their reasons for *seeking* out others as precipitated by experience of injustice in childhood and adult life. We feel that further inquiry into understanding the factors that lead to action for justice in this way are worthy of consideration. Nina and Vera, albeit for very different reasons, specify that their realisation of injustice led not only to thinking but also to acting in political movements. This also links with Dorothy and her lucid expression of what it meant to be Jamaican in a White British education system when she came to the UK at the age of twelve. The experience of migration led her to face life in the UK with an altered Self, 'What was surprising when I landed here was that people didn't think that we had any education, or we didn't know any English, or we came from jungles if you like'. With Sheila and Katrina, there is more of a general dis-ease, the force of which led Sheila to explore her spiritual self within a women's group, where only then does her gender become cause for reflection.

On the other hand, Katrina is shunted into a process of discovering reasons for the gendered nature of her experience through the breakdown of her marriage and her Irish family's reaction to this. Her response is more focused on developing a professional practice that increasingly reflects her changing sense of self in relation to the world. Certainly, she makes insightful comments about her emerging relationships with Black women and her quest to understand Whiteness as it relates to her identity and her relationships with others.

From discussing their experiences of growing up in Britain and their political activities, two of the women, Dorothy and Vera, make explicit reference to issues of globalisation and the local context. Vera's comments on the anti-apartheid movement also indicate her interest in global issues. Dorothy comments on the reality of picking up the 'fall-out' of increased migration in an increasingly conflict-ridden world:

> For example, we did deportation cases, deportees, usually Black women, Black women with children, and whilst we spearheaded the campaign, White women also became involved and joined in, but I think we came from different perspectives.

Using concrete experiences, these women reflect on globalisation and its creation of new forms of exploitation and domination as capitalism reforms. They illustrate an understanding of the potential and problems of alliance in the process of transformative change. Community development's challenge in this context is to pay attention to its radical potential. Too often, it fails to move beyond the personal and local to the collective and global, settling for the neighbourhood project rather than becoming involved in the collective movement for change. We are interested in the way in which *critical alliances* can offer community development a collective force for social justice which reaches from local to global to its full transformative possibility.

In this sense, we see *critical alliances* as alliances across difference which unite and sustain diverse identity groups by honouring the strength of those different identities, and not subsuming them in the name of collectivity. Our point is that this will not happen without local groupwork on identity politics which offers the confidence and self-esteem to move into a collective force, uniting across difference in the name of social justice and human rights. Community development then moves into a new era from the class politics which previously informed its collective action, into one which embraces difference in a more equal way, truly striving from local to global.

Our model, particularly in relation to *separateness* as a prerequisite for autonomous engagement with the world, is supported by the experience of these women. But, the expectation that *separateness* is the only option, as implied in our model, is not borne out by all of the women's experiences. In Nina's and Vera's experience, it was much more about *(stet)* and co-operation in mixed group activity. They give examples of *uncritical alliances* in the peace movement, the anti-apartheid movement, the Asian Association and the Asian youth movement. We argue 'uncritical', simply because the basis of organising together was not the focus of reflection. However, the international scene is different, as articulated by Bunch (1995) and Friedman (1995). Bunch argues that the:

> transformation of human rights from a feminist perspective is crucial to addressing global challenges to human rights in the twenty-first century … demonstrating that women's issues are not separate but are neglected aspects of these global agendas (Bunch, 1995: 11).

But, more than that, her point is that the continued neglect of women's experience of and perspective on life diminishes the world's chances for finding common solutions for a more fair and just future.

When women-only groups were set up within new social movements throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the focus was on why women-only space was necessary. The break with *separation* as a reaction to primacy in social movements, be these class, gender, sexuality, *dis*ability, 'race' or any other forms of identity, has muddled difference and reduced its strength. In terms of *critical alliance*, the evidence indicates that this is occurring at the micro-level. Vera discusses her alliances with Black women as:

> Good friendships, spending time with each other and consciously making friends with Black people … not being frightened of the differences that will come, but using them quite positively, accepting that you will have lots to debate and lots of things to do. I think I also have a view that where I can open doors and where I can use my power usefully then I will do that to support Black women, particularly Black colleagues of mine.

Katrina argues:

> Dealing with 'race' and racism is my responsibility as a White woman. I am aware that I have to approach Black women … and in talking with individual Black women friendships have emerged. Not many people are looking at it this way. I have to talk about my self-identify, where I am now, relating to my past and to the future. I have found approaching individuals to be most effective. People can work on a professional level, but it needs to go deeper. In seeking [*critical alliance*] with Black groups, I am available, but I don't assume they need me. I cannot impose myself, but I can consult.

Dorothy reminded us that this stage needs to emerge from *autonomy* because:

> It's like getting rooted. Without being rooted your reaching out could be somewhat superficial'. But she goes on to identify her process: 'I have really shocked myself in the sense that I have two White, female supervisors, and five years ago there is no way I would have seen myself in this position. We're very tentatively making progress. I also have to make them safe with my position. Somehow barriers are put up when Black and White women try to establish rapport because there is a fear that, 'Here we go again. Black women are going to attack us, and Black women [are] not going to listen to us'. To speak with our own voice, especially as Black women, has meant punching our way through, and so it's always been very difficult to speak with our own voice.

She refers back to when she worked at Abasindi Women's Cooperative, formed by women to promote the educational, cultural and economic needs of Black women of African descent:

> We took the deliberate decision that we wouldn't take any funding from the state simply because we wanted the opportunity to explore the directions we wanted to go in and to give voice to issues that funding would prevent. In taking up deportation cases, we didn't have to worry about what funders would say. During the riots in Moss Side the building remained open for use by the community, without fear of reprisal from the City Council. It gave us the space to operate as we felt, as women and in response to the community needs. During the course of that organisation, when we did deportation cases White women became involved and joined in. It wasn't a conscious decision about Black and White women coming together. We came from different perspectives. Some came from a socialist perspective, some came from a racial perspective – it was different perspectives to achieve a common goal. The deportation cases brought us together for different reasons which we never really explored. So, at a superficial glance, it would look as if Black and White women were working effectively together. That happened, but for various reasons. We sought support from any group that was sympathetic. In this situation our differences as African women, Asian women, White women were put aside and the issue that the woman is faced with becomes the priority. But at the end of it, we just went our way. We just came together quite naturally, got

on very well over those issues, and at the end of the case we had a celebration – and then we went back to our own!

However, our research intention would argue that these are important victories. Where Dorothy is correct in her matter-of-fact approach is that the success was never analysed.

From a White woman's perspective, Anne says, 'You can't do anything from niceness. You have to educate yourself'. She talks about some years ago when moving to a multicultural community in Bristol, how she was faced with the reality of difference. 'I hadn't got a clue really. I had goodwill!' She faces us with the limitations of academic understanding, 'I had the politics, but I didn't have the direct engagement with it. I had to adjust how I listened as well. I had to learn a lot about their culture so that I could understand and listen properly'. She mentions how important the Freirean concept of dialogue is in this process, as does Uma.

The importance of emotion and experience as knowledge is crucial to an emerging Freirean-feminist pedagogy, as Kathleen Weiler (1994) emphasises. Anne, having highlighted the relevance of experience in the process of critical alliance, goes on to say:

> There were a lot of times when I was very nervous; when it would have been easier to back off, back away from the conflict or disagreement. Things weren't easy because there were genuine differences in philosophy, strategies, priorities, that could be seen as racialised, but weren't necessarily so. One of my strengths is to disagree, but not disappear. I feel hurt, I feel scared, I feel all those things, betrayed, but it doesn't stop me. I had to learn to shrug my shoulders and carry on, but say, 'In the long term this is a good strategy, and we will get somewhere in the end!'

At the international level, this engagement provides evidence of the way in which shifts in understanding lead to concrete action and the politicisation of women's organisation. The last twenty years has seen a struggle over ideas to evaluate and press for changes in women's conditions over the same period. For instance, the issue of violence against women has been fundamental in opening up the gendered nature of human rights discourse. Violence can be seen to be evident in all the rights that the instruments are deemed to claim as 'indivisible', yet violence against women has remained outside the debates until the last decade. This has been the case for two reasons. In the main the perpetrators were 'private agents' – members of women's communities and not 'government agents'.

Secondly, even when women are raped in situations of war, this was not seen as human rights abuse until feminists made the case. This has been of crucial importance for women. The rapid development of analysis of women's human rights, and the subsequent forcing of governments to be accountable for what happens to women in both the public and privates spheres, is testimony to the success of constructing alliances among women in both the developed and developing world. 'Race', class and nationality remain markers in this dialogue. Starting from women organising in their locality around their common issues, and then moving to regional and national levels, leading to the international or global, indicates the key role of identity as a precursor to sustainable alliances.

One example of collective action on a global level that we could examine in this context is the Beijing Conference of 1995 which brought women from all over the world together to contribute to the Platform for Action. This, of course, is directly linked to the development of the women's human rights movement, and the preparation for Beijing was accompanied by campaigns to publicise human rights abuses against women at the coming conference. There were two parallel conferences in Beijing, in 1995. Whereas, the non-governmental organisations' meeting in previous conferences had been known as the NGO Forum, in Beijing this forum took on the status of a second conference. It was here that women across age, nationality, ethnicity,

'race', ability and sexuality dialogued and strategised to influence the outcome of the final recommendations.

The Platform for Action is significant in its scope. It requires a system of reporting on a five-yearly basis. The first follow-up conference, 'Five Years on from Beijing' occurred in New York in 2000. The remit that national governments have signed up to represents the interests of women around the world and points to the specific ways in which globalisation impacts on women. The issues on which reporting is required is as follows: health, education, participation, stereotyping and lack of access to the media, the girl child (including harmful cultural practices), violence against women, trafficking in women and sexual and reproductive health. Armed conflict and a commitment to non-discrimination on the basis of 'race', age, language, ethnicity, culture, religion, disability or indigeneity are also addressed (www.1.umn.edu.humanrts/instree/beijing3.htm).

Whilst we would not deny the achievement and inspiration that was Beijing, it is our contention that this process will not inevitably be effective without an underpinning analysis of strategies for working in *critical alliance.* We suggest that women will not be sustained in collective movement for change without creating the grassroots context for women to explore their own identities and to develop confidence and belonging in 'who they are', addressing the specifics of 'race', ethnicity, ability, sexuality, age and class. It is our firm belief that identity groups in community, a place of safety and separateness where women can explore their distinct lived reality and identify the structural forces that construct that experience, are essential to the process of sustained collective action. These are the spaces in which we develop a sense of our own autonomy, and in doing so are able to reach out in confidence and consciousness to form more critical alliances. In a postmodern world, we cannot afford to operate from the shadows of reductionism. It is vital that we strategically create the context for exploring the strength of our distinct identities which, in turn, allows us to develop a stronger base from which to unite across difference in *critical alliance* for forms of global action which have the capacity to transform women's human rights.

Common experiences, such as violence against women, cannot be understood from universal claims, but must be rooted in the specific experiences of the women who seek to shift oppressive paradigms:

> Our movement is not about making each woman the same. It is about recognizing and appreciating women's diversity, and about treating each individual fairly. This principle is the magnet that has brought us together across the boundaries of ethnicity and vocation, generation and power (8 June 2000, UN General Assembly).

In the current context, there are many inspiring examples of local action committed to ending the endemic violence against women that permeates all societies and is perpetuated in many forms. There are encouraging signs of a strengthening local-global dynamic. For example, the United Nations' Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) demands that all states that signed up are legally required to protect women from violence, but the evidence is that violent practices continue. Local projects, from the ADVANCE Advocacy Project in West London to the Centre for Social Research in Delhi support local women against domestic violence, as do the many other groups that operate at grassroots level in local communities (Dustin, 2004). The missing link is the support needed to gather collective strength from local to global, and in this sense the awareness of the role of local groups by bodies with a global reach, like Amnesty International in their campaign on violence against women, will do much to facilitate the local-global reach of community action. It is our contention, however, that without grassroots attention paid to the confidence and self-esteem that come from

exploring identity, and lead to critical autonomy, sustained action involving alliances will not readily happen.

Conclusion

Community development is failing to achieve its collective potential for transformative change for a more just, equal and sustainable world. Our concern for this particular research arose out of our reflections on our own community development practice, and the mutual realisation that alliances between Black and White women in any sustained form are an assumption rather than a reality. This is compounded by the ideology of our times, which has absorbed the notion of individualism propounded by the New Right thinkers of the 1980s in favour of the collective. Community development praxis falters somewhere between the local and the global. Local issues are taken on as group concerns and developed into important projects within communities, but we do not stride as readily outside our neighbourhoods and so fail to sustain our collective potential for movements for change. The relevance of our research, we feel, is in the way it identifies local practice as a precursor of global action. Our collaboration with Black and White women begins to delve into the deeply personal feelings and experience that form identity in gendered and racialised ways. It is our belief that this is the foundation of the autonomy needed to reach out across difference in sustainable alliance towards a common vision, extending from the local to the global, from the Self to the collective.

Acknowledgements

Note

1. In this chapter, we use the terms Black and White as political shorthand. Specifically, Black includes African-Caribbean and Asian women who may or may not also identify as British. White refers to English and Irish women, who may also identify as British.

Community Participation: A Critical Appraisal of the Role of 'Community' in Urban Policy

GARY PATTISON

Introduction

Community participation continues to fly high in British social policy. It forms a core part of everything from the Beacon Council Programme through to New Deal and the new planning system announced in the Planning and Compulsory Purchase Bill that passed into legislation in 2004. Urban policy from the 1980s onwards has assumed that neighbourhoods are lived in by groups of people who hold in common a shared identity. This notion has had an impact on policy formulation and has led to difficulties which are apparent today in how communities engage with each other in many neighbourhoods. The idea of community has been applied with a minimum of concern for existing power relations within neighbourhoods and between residents and other actors from public institutions, private providers and voluntary agencies. This paper looks specifically at how the practice of community empowerment has failed in the British context, a lesson of relevance elsewhere.

The main focus of this chapter is on participation in Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) Programmes. Examples are drawn from interviews with participants in the Elephant and Castle and Stockwell SRB programmes in South London, and Wecock and Rowner, Heart of Portsmouth, Paulsgrove and Wymering SRB Programmes in Portsmouth and West Itchen in Southampton. This work provides a wide variety of insights because it covers different localities and social problems.

The interview material is drawn from interviews and focus groups with residents and participants in these programmes and observations of the process in action at partnership board and associated meetings. For the purposes of this study, issues around participation or engagement remain more or less compatible with the external pressures faced by residents in their own specific localities. The problematic I pursue focuses more on the notion of community engagement than on specific area-based issues.

In this chapter, I examine the impact that ideas about community have had on policy formulation and some of the difficulties that I have discerned in its usage in specific localities. I first look at the history of community engagement in recent policy initiatives, consider the impact on the ground of the introduction of these programmes in the areas described above, and conclude by raising some of the practical and conceptual difficulties surrounding the idea of community participation in contemporary policy agendas, as these are explicated in the UK.

Community and the Policy Agenda in Area-Based Initiatives

Community involvement initiatives in Britain ran from the late 1960s to the SRB programmes at the end of the 20th century. The key programme begun in the late 1960s was that of the Community Development Projects which played a leading role in community participation and empowerment

initiatives (Loney, 1983). From the late 1970s, area-based initiatives started to empower inner city communities suffering from multiple deprivation and initiate economic regeneration. Following the election of the Conservative Government in 1979, the focus shifted towards property-led physical regeneration and a fragmentation of urban policy.

With the 1989 Audit Commission Report, the approach turned to the development of partnership models and engagement of community at the point of delivery. The Single Regeneration Budget was to become the main tool for bringing these fragmented approaches together in one single pot of resources. The SRB is the main focus of this chapter despite the rapidly approaching the end of the SRB 6 programme – the last and final round of SRB, because the difficulties that have occurred in realising community participation within SRB programmes can be seen most clearly at this stage. SRB is also worthy of attention as a core policy to influence subsequent Government initiatives on community engagement.

Single Regeneration Budget Programmes

The role of community came to prominence in area based regeneration initiatives during 1990s. The Community Development Programme of the 1970s had some involvement in it, but the 1980s gave greater emphasis to property-led development (Healey, et al., 1992). Area-based initiatives have assumed that community is something that exists and can be engaged in the process of policy production and implementation. Community was an integral part of the City Challenge Partnerships in 1991 without having the same degree of emphasis accorded to Single Regeneration Budget Programmes from 1994 onwards. Community was important to the Single Regeneration Budget from Round One. Its Bidding Guidance stated that:

> At the local level, there are many public and private partnerships, involving local authorities, TECs, business and others with a stake in regeneration, which bring public and private resources to bear on needs and priorities in a coherent and responsive way, taking full advantage of the talents and expertise of local communities (Department of the Environment, 1993: 4)

The various policy initiatives the government formulated had different forms of community involvement embedded within them. Consultation dominated these until more recent programmes encouraged some form of direct participation.

By round three, the Bidding Guidance for SRB recommended that:

> Bids should harness the talents and resources of the voluntary sector and volunteers and involve local communities, including ethnic minority communities, both in the preparation and implementation of bids (DETR, 1996: 2).

The Round 3 Bidding Guidance provides 'Advice on how to strengthen the capacity of local communities' (p. 3). In 1997, the Report, *Involving Communities in Urban and Rural Regeneration*, was published (DETR, 1997a) to provide a detailed guide to good practice in community involvement. It identified the need to involve the community in three specific programmes: the Single Regeneration Budget Challenge Fund; Regional Challenge; and Rural Challenge. At the same time, it recognised that community involvement had already been important for City Challenge, Task Forces and Housing Action Trusts. The Report (DETR, 1997a: 7) explores the nature of community to define its characteristics as:

- 'personal attributes (such as age, gender, ethnicity and kinship);
- beliefs (stemming from religious, cultural or political values);

- economic position (occupational or employment status, income, wealth or housing tenure);
- skills (educational experience, professional qualifications);
- relationship to local services (tenants, patients, carers, providers); and
- place (attachment to neighbourhood, village, city or nation)'.

This list was in turn extracted from work by the Local Government Management Board in 1994. Such a broad approach may fit well with policy agendas, but it provides little understanding about the wider dynamics of community involvement. Further into the Report arguments are presented around the theme of why the community should be involved in such initiatives. Two clear sets of arguments are presented. The first is that community has a right to be involved in policy decisions. The second is that community involvement enhances effectiveness by drawing on local knowledge. The Government's definition of community remained wide and impractical. Again in 1998 its view was clearly set down in the working paper, *Community-Based Regeneration Initiatives*:

> any group of people with a common bond above the family unit and below the first stage of municipal administration (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 1998:1).

These are basic ideas that informed the notion of community that was emphasised in SRB Rounds 5 and 6 (DETR, 1998b, 1999b).

Partnership

SRB was also based on the notion of partnership. Again, this was another theme carried forward from City Challenge. Community involvement was never envisaged as clear-cut community leadership but always as engaged with a wide variety of other partnership organisations. Business, the voluntary sector and numerous other potentially external organisations were brought directly into the sphere of policy production (Bailey, 1995; Parkinson, 1997; Hall and Mawson, 1999). While the SRB Round 4 Bidding Guidance talked about partnerships including community organisations, it was clear from early on that the community could not have the same level of strategic organisation as others in a partnership. The lack of serious analysis given to the notion of community could be seen to have further weakened the role of community involvement.

Neighbourhood

Bringing Britain Together, launched in 1998, provided a national strategy for neighbourhood renewal and was the third report that was produced by the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) on the subject. It aimed to target resources more effectively to meet the needs of the most deprived communities through community involvement and the identification of needs (SEU, 1998). While it maintained the notion of community, the language had clearly moved on to discussion about neighbourhood, another weakly defined idea. Neighbourhood tends to be used inter-changeably with community in a lot of policy documentation.

The New Deal Programmes were introduced in parallel with the government's neighbourhood renewal programme. These programmes continued to see 'community participation' as an essential part of policy delivery. These put a strong emphasis on the production and delivery of locally-based policies and their interconnection with the wider policy arena. These gave even more emphasis to the notion of community involvement and the wider value of participation.

The Regional Framework

In outlining the role of successor schemes to SRB, New Labour stated that from April 2002, schemes would have to be consistent with objectives set by Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) and that these should directly involve 'as appropriate, regional and local partners and local community' (*Single Regeneration Budget Guidance to Regional Agencies on Approval of Successor Schemes to the SRB in 2001–2002*, DETR, 2001: 1).

This Report stressed community development strategies and reducing 'confusion and consultation fatigue by rationalising partnership working and prioritising action' (DETR, 2001: 3). Sub-regional and regional level community networks were encouraged to develop in conjunction with sub-regional and regional voluntary sector organisations. The scope of community participation and involvement extended from the neighbourhood to the sub-regional and regional levels.

City-Wide Strategy and Partnership: Local Strategic Partnership

A more recent focus for community engagement is the Local Strategic Partnerships (ODPM, 2000). The purpose of this partnership is to develop a 'Community Strategy' (ODPM, 2000), primarily of mainstream public service provision. Community strategies are produced at municipal level (ODPM, 2000). A locality draws resources from the Community Empowerment Fund to encourage community and voluntary group involvement and Community Chest, a small pot from which community groups can bid for more 'general activities' (Home Office, 2001).

Larger projects are funded from the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund. Neighbourhood Renewal funds are available only to the 88 most deprived local authority areas in the UK (Social Exclusion Unit, 2000). Funding allocation has moved into developing Area Investment Frameworks (AIF), shaped by a partnership derived from the Local Strategic Partnership, with representation from the community, voluntary, public and business sectors and local authority. The AIF is produced at the behest of the Regional Development Agency.

The language in the newly initiated policy documents has retreated from community involvement to the utilisation of community groups. This symbolises a significant policy shift away from involvement to using community networks created at all levels. It assumes that '*community groups*' can act as mechanisms for accessing wider community opinion.

A community group differs from a voluntary organisation in being locality-based and fully run by volunteers. A voluntary organisation is generally larger. It may have a volunteer board or employ professional paid staff. Regardless, there is no exploration of issues of representation, legitimacy and who is able or has the time to be involved. The production of a community strategy is defined as local people having the opportunity to express their views. It assumes that people will become involved to produce results that benefit the community as a whole.

Power relations and rationale are not considered. There are potential difficulties relating to the continuity of existing structures. Pre-existing partnerships, such as SRB Boards, are seen as having done a good job and expected to be maintained to feed into new structures wherever viable. This refers to bodies like the SRB Partnership Boards because this is the level that maintains most of the activities and continuities in membership. These organisations often have limited 'community' inputs, regardless of the ideas laid down in policy documentation.

Community involvement is taken-for-granted. In practice it operates with indifference towards how representative participants are and is not the only problem with the present system. Participation is assumed to mean community empowerment, when the opposite could be the case. The notion of community or bottom-up participation is not so much a tool for empowering localities but empowering the system. The core theme that local people know what is best for their localities

lends legitimacy to those holding formal power. Furthermore, individuals and communities are ultimately held responsibility if local policy does not reach stated ends. Wider government is, therefore, able to push responsibility onto the 'community' and a range of voluntary and public sector agencies.

Complexity

Another issue surrounds the complexity of delivery systems. The SBR originally aimed to simplify urban regeneration by unifying a wide range of funding pots into one. The present system is very complicated. From long experience of working in deprived localities, I realise that few local residents have a clear idea of the community regeneration structures, how they could influence policy outcomes or go about participating in the process. This sense of confusion can be a powerful tool in the state's regulatory powers. This is likely to occur in the new governance structures based on the Local Strategic Partnerships that produce Community Strategies and Local Development Frameworks.

   This development fails to take account of other strategies and plans at local and regional levels that claim to have either direct community inputs or influence other policy community representation initiatives. Examples of these include: cultural strategies, health strategies (e.g., those focusing on teenage pregnancies), arts strategies, 'crime and disorder' strategies, strategies and plans having locations with environmental or conservation designations. Illustrations at regional level include approximately 80 different plans and other strategic documents that have to be considered in producing a Regional Spatial Strategy.

   These are only a fraction of documents to be taken into account in developing local policies. The majority of these will be the output of a 'partnership' that may include local councillors but is mainly made up of unelected agency and voluntary sector workers whose location in these partnerships remains unclear and unaccountable. Few, if any, community residents will have been involved in the production of these documents.

   This section addresses the complexity of delivery systems and the few residents in a specific locality aware of the complexity of the structures of governance that they are expected to participate in. Knowledge of how to get their voices heard or represent a specific constituency is beyond the reach of most residents. It is difficult to imagine what the overall structure of governance and connected-up policy would look like if residents were to become fully engaged in these initiatives.

Community Instability

The 'community' does not provide a stable structure. This is especially true of deprived communities where high levels of geographic mobility act against the development of strong, knowledgeable and assertive groups. Rapid turnover of key players devastates residents' organisational capacity. It also detracts from their ability to maintain clear stands against the more stable inputs of relatively well-paid professionals from outside.

   Instability runs through the practice of community involvement. Many participants remain active for relatively short periods and do not see projects through to the end. Residents who get a job or improve their educational standing often 'get off the estate'.

   Turnover is problematic for volunteers. 'Whole families move on' (interviewee, HoP,F,50,R). 'One of the biggest difficulties is the change of people involved in community activities and groups. There has been a continual change of people involved with the centre' (interviewee, R&W,M,40,R). Also, if an area gains a bad reputation people are reluctant to be associated with

it. People from the peripheries align themselves with other areas. There is no communal view about many localities due to community fragmentation and the sense of disassociation from localities.

Professional representatives from agencies are less complimentary about the issue of disassociation. One belief expressed by a professional, from a housing association was that 'a lot of people that end up here tend to be those with lower education, mental or physical problems' (interviewee, R&W,F,50, Housing Association Official). This opinion was echoed by those involved in adult education and training agencies. As those capable of getting out leave, the net residue is the least capable members (interviewee, R&W,F,35, F E College Lecturer).

Structural Constraints

Constraints to participation can be hinged on two interconnected axis. The first involves power structures: who is involved; how they interact; how involved participants are in policy development; and how included in participation processes (Hoggett, 1997b). The second concern is how everyday structures limit the capacity of individuals to participate.

There are several structural constraints that impact on the reasons why residents in deprived neighbourhoods do not participate in the process of policy development and implementation. Residents in a specific locality are not equally capable of finding time to participate. Residents in full-time employment do not have the same amount of free time as retired residents. So, community participation favours some groups over others.

Transportation can exclude local residents, because the frequency and costs of public transport are not conducive for those who are too time and income poor to participate. These tangible barriers block participation and the development of the confidence needed to become involved. One resident in an area receiving SRB funds, geographically removed from the centre of town, tied it together well by stating, 'There is no infrastructure, no transport and no community' (interviewee, R&W,F,30,R).

This paper is not about the structural difficulties faced by communities, as this has been covered by Taylor (1998), Steward (2000) and others. Nor is it an attempt to sidetrack real problems about power relations and the perceptions of different actors on the ground. Policy has tended to ignore structural constraints while turning responsibility back onto people in localities by arguing that they lack the capacity to participate and need capacity-building initiatives to give them a full role in their communities.

The Concept of Community

Government documentation takes community as a homogeneous social construct. It is not only taken favourably; but the term as used in policy documentation rarely, if ever, reflects the way social relations within localities actually operate. Sociologically, the notion is fraught with difficulties (Crow and Allan, 1994). It is either idealised as a rational means of social organisation or deemed downright oppressive (Young, 1990). These tensions have never been fully explored in the light of urban policy and community engagement in the UK.

Residents whose expectations and hopes have been shattered for years lose any belief of being listened to or being able to exert any influence over policy decisions. In all the SRB programmes I considered, residents seriously mistrusted and disbelieved their capacity to influence change. This was not based on a need for capacity building in community involvement, but rather signified their realistic assessment of the possible outcomes based on long-term experience of past involvement.

Residents Experience of Participation

Residents may share some of the concerns held by agency and voluntary sector professionals, but they rarely have a forum for expressing these. This is partly due to the professional distance imposed on community relations by agency and voluntary workers who lack clearly specified grounds for co-operation. Even if issues overlap, deep-seated cynicism is present on both sides.

Several points of joint concern existed in the localities examined. What residents termed 'youth nuisance' is compatible with much of the critique of youth identified by agency workers. Some professionals, including the police, could be more liberal in explaining the position of youth. Likewise, the issue of geographic mobility was a concern for residents who stated that, 'People move out when they can' and 'People move in and out on a daily basis' (interviewee, R&W,M,45,R).

Key differences occur in the areas of governance and influence. Considerable cynicism exists about area regeneration programmes and how welcome residents' inputs actually are. One resident explained that:

> Residents wanted CCTV. I spoke to numerous people and was laughed out. Unless I say 1,000 single mothers or 1,000 youth, they would not take it straight. I went to every single meeting and felt palmed off (interviewee, R&W,F,45,R).

Another expressed it in the following terms:

> I went to a SRB meeting with some friends. The bid was for a tall ship. It's nothing to do with here so we did not go again. People need help with basic things. We felt that it was a waste of our time. We want help with day-to-day things. People are not interested in a youth centre. The majority would not care if the youth were shot. The councillor could not relate to this, he's been a councillor for years and could not understand the problem up here with youth, I walked out. A lot feel trapped, cut out and would not get involved whatever. No one on the Community Forum has to live here (interviewee, R&W,F,60,R).

In the above instance, the 'Community Forum' was in effect a gathering of professionals from public agencies and the voluntary sector that had represented or was representing organisations that had work-related involvement in the locality. The Chair of the Community Forum, a local vicar, was Chair of a Local Economic Regeneration Partnership, and lived a short distance outside of the SRB area. He explained:

> [the agency] is a service providers' organisation; now some residents and local councillors attend. Residents were invited because of the SRB programme. At its height it had about 40 people from various agencies (interviewee, R&W,M,60,R).

In reality it was rare for local residents to attend, although on occasion one or two turned up. Thus, the agencies filled a vacuum left by a lack of involvement by local residents. Residents were cynical about the workings of the local authority and police, although the police were seen as more helpful than the local authority as is illustrated by this extract:

> There was a car full of dirty syringes abandoned. I phoned up the council, they said to set fire to it because they could not move it if it was full. The Beat Officer said that we could be charged with arson but he would put a ticket on it if it was towed onto a main road. Cllr.......got news of it and a team of contractors were sent out by the council but would not go anywhere near it when they saw the syringes. Later arsonists did set fire to it. It went on for months. It's impossible to get even the smallest of things done around here. They've abandoned the place, they don't want to know it exists (interviewee, R&W,F,70,R).

The police do not always escape without criticism. One resident in another area argued that:

> There is no point in reporting anything to the police. Never feel you can go and talk to the police, they are always in cars. Police don't treat you with respect, they don't care if they know you are from Rowner, they treat you bad. They are nice to girls. Even if you do phone them they will not do anything without proof (interviewee, R&W,M,40,R).

Another resident explained that:

> The police jumped on me to go to court and testify. There is key names on the estate, some are away at the moment. If you do things it's not really worth it (interviewee, WI,F,50,R).

There are also issues around meeting times. In the following explanation precedence is always given to the professionals:

> I do not go to Forum meetings anymore. They are [held] in the day to please the professionals, if you have a full-time job you are cut out (interviewee, R&W,F,50,R).

Whatever happened to local government and its commitment to involving local people? These comments suggest that public opinion in many deprived localities no longer has faith or believes in existing governance structures. This is apparent not only through dwindling turnouts at elections but also in the attitudes of people on the ground.

Residents very often do not to even know who their councillors are:

> Who is our councillor? The council would not listen to us, they should come and visit us (interviewee, WI,M,40,R).

> Don't know the local councillors (interviewee, S,F,25,R).

When councillors are known and approached they are not always helpful or sympathetic. It can be difficult to balance the enthusiasm and work carried out by residents on the ground with the reception they receive from councillors. One group who drew up a petition and gathered a substantial number of signatures was dismayed to find that work that had taken weeks to amass was dismissed by councillors in five minutes:

> Our petition against the new road near nature reserve gathered 150 names, the councillors listened to our case why it should not go ahead for five minutes and then voted for it to go ahead (interviewees, R&W,F,60,R).

This negative attitude extends to council officers:

> Council officers don't listen. They do if you are private, but not if you are in council property. There are too many people to go through, they pass the buck, no one sorts things out. They don't help, they simply leave you feeling frustrated and that you are wasting their time (interviewee, E&C,F,45,R).

These examples may seem dramatic but they represent typical responses on the estates covered by the research. It is not just that the existing system of representative government is in rapid decline. The new governance structures elicit similar responses: a deep underlying assertion that nothing ever changes regardless of proposals, promises, the type of agencies or actors involved; and disregard of evidence demanding action:

> Seeing nothing happen, people feel abandoned (interviewee, E&C,M,35,R).

> The only thing that has changed since all of the reports on ... is the new housing. It's all the same problems, people are sick of initiatives and nothing ever happens (interviewee, R&W,M,55,R).

In one area allegedly benefiting from several years of SRB funding:

> It's the same after 10 years (interviewee, WI,M,55,R).

This sense of disillusionment also has an impact on survey-based research carried out in deprived localities. Most deprived localities have had research carried out on them since the mid-1980s, usually to fulfil the needs of a wide array of area-based initiatives and programmes. Even if work has been carried out by local people it has been regulated by private, public or voluntary facilitators. These people are outside the immediate environment. The sense of 'nothing ever changes' soon defines research as a waste of resources or is experienced as something that utilises locally allocated funds, feeds affluent outsiders and contributes nothing in terms of material outcomes to local residents. As one resident said:

> There are about eighteen reports but still nothing happens, they will lynch the next researcher (interviewee, R&W,F,60,R).

Localities often become dumping grounds where certain groups are abandoned. Voluntary sector organisations that are involved usually work with crime, young people and families with young children. There is: little input in most instances from organisations that deal with the direct results of social deprivation on a day-to-day basis. The Citizens Advice Bureau, for example, has little concern for older people, environmental interests, or any number of other voluntary sector concerns.

Agency Workers

Agency workers cover professionals from a wide range of organisations. They constituted the dominant group in all six SRB programmes. They represent clear constituencies or interests and are usually capable of considerable organisational capacity in defence of their interests. This group includes representatives from both the public and private sectors. Where large-scale redevelopment is involved in a programme, developers will be represented. Other members of the group may be in the managerial levels of health related bodies, e.g., Primary Health Care Trusts, drug agencies, and bodies working with family and childcare.

Local Economic Regeneration Agencies, often private sector led, are also important. In larger programmes, local business organisations are represented but large firms rarely show an overt interest in the proceedings. Some areas appear not to have the time to make a clear commitment. Local schools and employment services provide examples of this although there are variations between programmes.

The groups that win out in this process are those that can provide staff committed to attending meetings and fully conscious of formal and informal processes associated with community participation procedures. The social capacity of community amounts to being able to play the game as laid down by the powers that be. It amounts to meetings, agendas usually determined by others, and a range of other formalities that dictate the nature and structure of what constitutes legitimate practice. This is not necessarily the approach that would be adopted by residents. In this sense, social capacity can mean the adoption of an approach of those more privileged or powerful, often non-residents from outside the locality.

Community representatives are rarely backed up by the financial power that other sectors, including the voluntary sector, can draw upon. This can be a point of constant irritation for some participants. It suggests that their time is not as important as that of agency workers. There is an in-built assumption that local residents should act in the collective interest of their community without any thought of remuneration or valuing of the time they spend on these projects. This is further exacerbated in deprived areas where agency workers from outside may appear relatively affluent. There is also a secondary position where participation from residents may feel out of place in meetings dominated by paid staff.

On top of the actual difficulties that the residents face in attempting to gain meaningful involvement, agency workers often assume a self-righteous position based on their perceptions of what is problematic. Many of the positions that they take follow a moralistic explanation of the locality. The behaviour of local youth was explained as 'males have a lack of positive role models' (interviewee, HoP,F,55,R). Pathological explanations are thus favoured over structural analyses of events.

A lot of provision is overwhelmingly focused on women. In several of the localities considered, educational provision focused almost exclusively on women. A member of the teaching staff from a local college running outreach classes in a community centre explained that:

> the courses are very much related to females, and females contact me looking for courses. The only male input that I have is a couple on the art course (interviewee, HoP,F,50, Adult Education Worker).

> In another area women-only courses were run [These were] aimed at social skills and parenting with the aim of promoting teamwork and building self-esteem (interviewee, R&W,F,45, Adult Education Worker).

A voluntary sector representative argued that 'people need house-keeping and parenting skills' (interviewee, S,F,35,Health Agency Worker). Young people, ostensibly young males, can end up even more excluded if banned en-mass from using local community centres and other facilities in two of the locations that this paper is based on. In one area a local police officer sympathetic to the plight of youth argued that:

> Young people are becoming victims because they are offenders (interviewee, P&W,M,40, Police Officer).

A youth worker argued that:

> crime here is very much related to young people having nothing to do. There is a culture, the way the place is built, it's very run down (interviewee, HoP,M,40, Youth Worker).

Area-based initiatives may contribute to tensions and inequalities. And a lot of area-based policy is divisive. Rather than addressing inequalities it identifies and stigmatises areas. This can lead to greater divisions and tensions within localities, or create new ones. 'There is bitterness from homeowners that the rented sector has brought values down' (HoP,M,35, Housing Officer).

Few people turn out to vote at local elections, agency workers put this down to 'a lot of apathy. They feel let down and neglected' (interviewee, P&W,M,35, Housing Association Officer). 'Apart from being surveyed out, there is a lot of talk and perceptions of nothing delivered' (interviewee, R&W,F,40, Community Worker). A more developed approach was to argue alongside residents that 'It is not a lack of self esteem, it's a trust thing' (interviewee, E&C,M,40, Community Worker/R). This is a commonly echoed belief and one that captures the failure of community initiatives to begin where the residents are at.

There are few reasons why residents should trust participants in area regeneration partnership structures. When it comes to self-organisation, there is little interest. Housing associations found that tenants had little interest in organising tenants' panels. An attempt to establish a community forum in one area led one keen resident delivering a leaflet to every house in the area, only to find that one person besides himself turned up for the inaugural meeting. One agency worker argued that:

> Residents' views are a major problem, there are a lot of professionals running around saying what they need and want. At the same time, few professionals have adequate connections with residents. There is a huge potential for the misrepresentation of needs (interviewee, R&W,F,55, Community Centre Manager/ R).

Residents recognised that most representatives of public and voluntary sector agencies and private sector representatives involved in area regeneration initiatives were paid for their inputs. If residents' inputs were wanted, 'You have to offer people something, what do they get out of it?' (interviewee, R&W,F,45, Community Worker). The role of agency workers in contributing to negative external perceptions and images of localities is crucial. As one resident said:

> How much do the agencies back up the image, if not actively subconsciously, and it is useful to the agency workers that the place remains as it is at present (interviewee, S,F,60,R).

The majority of agencies from both public and voluntary sectors are forced to compete for resources. To achieve their objectives, professionals have to demonstrate a problematic sufficiently worthy of receiving funding. In this sense, it is in the interests of many agency workers that a neighbourhood is seen to be deprived and in urgent need of assistance and support. SRB programme managers work closely with agencies under pressure to spend SRB monies and meet spending targets.

Concluding Remarks

In SRB, the professional middle-classes usually win. People who live outside the immediate deprived areas and able to earn what residents describe as a 'comfortable living' at their expense. Staffing is the major part of revenue spending in any particular SRB bid. It is difficult for local people to see why they should be volunteering when outside parties get paid substantial incomes, relative to their own position, from regulating or managing their activities. This group includes not only agency and paid voluntary sector workers but also a wide range of consultants and researchers producing baseline reports and evaluating programmes. These workers have been employed to produce policy-driven work for other organisations associated with the programmes.

Programmes and projects can produce jobs for local residents. These are usually tied to a specific funding regime and based on short-term contracts, poor pay and are often part-time (E&C, various interviewees). It should come as no surprise that residents in many deprived localities are opposed to research, do not see it as valuable and often describe it as a complete waste of resources that makes no contribution towards the well-being of their community.

Many programmes that come into being are distinctly out of sink with local opinion (R & W, various interviewees). These tensions can be especially difficult around issues such as crime and youth, where residents see professionals as not understanding the problems that they have to live with on an everyday basis. These outsiders can come up with solutions that are very different, often more liberal, than those that residents would otherwise propose.

It is virtually impossible for the majority of residents in an area of high social deprivation to participate in or influence the processes of policy development, articulation and implementation in

practice. It is about 'breaking into the club', a goal whose realisation is not easy for a majority of residents who lack the resources necessary for doing so. Consequently, policy decisions are very often taken by small, unknown elites.

For these elites, representation is back to the agencies from which they are selected. Thus, community governance is about professionally-led structures, making the notion of a bottom-up approach to local governance and its ambitions of drawing upon community views and inside knowledge of deprived communities unrealistic within the current organisation and constraints of the system.

Community participation has not empowered communities. Rather, it has *dis*empowered them in many localities by bringing into play a stream of unaccountable and vaguely understood actors. Instead of leading to a bottom-up approach to policy articulation, it has produced deep misunderstanding and resentment because it has resulted in situations that few residents understand. They do not know who, why and how many actors are in a position of influence over their lives, and more worryingly from their point of view, they do not know what rights of recourse they have to challenge policy decisions taken by small groups of outsiders.

What might possibly be experienced as the greatest insult of all is that it is commonplace to hold meetings in the localities concerned without local residents being present. This amounts to relatively more affluent and more confident outsiders travelling into a deprived locality to pontificate on the value of their work for local residents. The overall outcome of such a system in many, but not all areas, is a greater not lesser sense powerlessness and exclusion. There is no reason to believe that the new approaches to governance through community engagement, as articulated in the new planning system (ODPM, 2004) will prove to be any different from the experience of community engagement in urban regeneration programmes over the last decade and a half.

The failure of policy and the intention to continue and expand a policy based on community engagement bring forward the question of 'why continue with this process'? It cannot be on account of the stated value of bottom-up governance as this is not what the system is currently delivering. The present arrangements have the opposite effect. Through complexity, exclusion and non-delivery of locality-based participation, the system has become an almost unfathomable and unquestionable structure of control devoid of any sense of democratic accountability. Community participation in practice has thus rolled-back rather than extended democracy in Britain. As community involvement is a practice in many countries, I hope the lessons derived from this chapter will help others avoid similar disappointments in communities elsewhere.

Notes

1. *Interview Source, Approach and Selection*
   The interview material used in this paper is extracted from interviews carried out for a number of SRB projects. Work in Elephant and Castle was carried out in the main as part of a baseline study for a large SRB 5 programme. The Stockwell notes were based on work for an interim evaluation of the programme run by a housing association. In both cases, reports were published through the Local Economy Policy Unit at South Bank University (Pattison, 2001 and North, Gray, Pattison, Hedderman, Winter and Tavsanoglu, 2002). Further material was gathered for academic purposes from the West Itchen Programme in Southampton. The two Portsmouth programmes, Heart of Portsmouth and Paulsgrove and Wymering were studied for academic purposes under the auspices of the Centre for International Social and Community Development (CISCODEV) at the University of Southampton that contributed to a working paper providing a more detailed approach to this work (Pattison, 2003). Finally, material on the Rowner and Wecock Programme was based on access through carrying out a baseline study for a local housing association responsible for the delivery of the programme (Pattison, 2002), also under the auspices of CISCODEV.

The work in all these projects took place between 1999 and 2003. Many of the quotations are based on recording interviews included as part of the policy-led research.

The work in West Itchen and the two London programmes were set in areas with large ethnic minority populations. However, this did not have any clear impact on attitudes towards the programmes.

Quotations were selected that provided a vivid illustration of the issues and attitudes encountered in the localities and where they best represented views and opinions that were expressed by a number of those interviewed.

2. *Key to Interviews*

Quotations are recorded according to the brackets in the text:

Programme:	*Shorthand used*
Elephant and Castle (South London), SRB 5	(E&P)
Stockwell (South London), SRB 5,	(S)
Paulsgrove and Wymering (Portsmouth), SRB 6	(P&W)
Heart of Portsmouth, SRB 5,	(HoP)
Rowner and Wecock (Portsmouth/Havant/Gosport), SRB 6	(R&W)
West Itchen (Southampton), SRB 2	(WI)
Female/Male	(F)/(M)
Approximate Age (in brackets)	
Resident	(R)

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Community Development Strategies in the UK

KEITH POPPLE

Introduction

Community development as practice is evident in both industrialising and industrialised countries, but it is a contentious term. I have written elsewhere that 'there is no universally agreed meaning … the fluidity in its definition presents particular problems and challenges' (Popple, 1995: 4). Community development practice is open to debate and misunderstanding but I limit this exploration to its enactment in the UK. A definition given by the Community Work Assessment Consortium for the North East of England (CWACNEE) provides some clarity by stating that the purpose of community development work is to bring about social change and justice (www.cwacnee.org.uk, 2005). Further, the National Occupational Standards in Community Development Work (www.fcdl.org.uk, 2005) consist of six key roles for practitioners. These are to:

- develop working relationships with communities and organisations;
- encourage people to work with and learn from each other;
- work with people in communities to plan for change and take collective action;
- work with people in communities to develop and use frameworks for evaluation;
- develop community organisations; and
- reflect on and develop own practice.

Community development in the UK is then concerned with issues of powerlessness and disadvantage. It is an intervention that is intended to assist communities in achieving a greater sense of control over the conditions that affect their lives. Funded mainly by the state, community development has become a popular strategy for addressing issues of social inclusion, poverty, quality of life, and the needs of specific groups such as children and young people, older people, those with disabilities, minority ethnic groups and individuals, and women. In this sense, community development has been employed to engage local communities in addressing issues that effect them by using forms of self-help in order to improve governance and address New Labour's concern that has become termed the 'democratic deficit'. The 'democratic deficit' describes the growing divide between what people want and what our existing democratic institutions can deliver.

Whilst state funded community development receives the most attention in the community development arena, there are other forms of the activity that receive little or no state funding. These are projects and campaigns that challenge the impact of detrimental change in communities and which are a direct result of local authorities under pressure to implement New Labour's modernisation programme. As we will discover later in this chapter, these modernisation programmes have been established as a result of the New Labour government's adherence to neoliberal economics and the impact of globalisation. Local groups responding to this are utilising social and community development theory and practice to defend their communities and offer alterative visions for their residents.

This chapter will examine the tension presented by these approaches by first considering the impact of globalisation and the neoliberal agenda on community developments in the UK. Consideration is then given to the role that the UK government has played in encouraging the employment of community development strategies in areas of economic deprivation in order to meet key goals and targets. The second section of this chapter will address challenges to globalisation and will consider how two communities in the UK have attempted to resist the effects of an economic order that has upheld the principle of market supremacy, and where local people's real needs have been brushed aside.

Globalisation and Neoliberalism

Globalisation – What is It?

One key way of conceptualising globalisation is to view it as the rapid increases in international economic exchanges that have opened up the world economy. Arguably, national economies are now more 'global' than 'national'. To increase investment and competitiveness, governments have encouraged and rewarded activities that loosen economic restrictions and liberate its people from unnecessary bureaucracy, 'a rolling back of the state'. The outcome of these rapid and seemingly unstoppable developments are major strides towards what some argue is an enormous single international economy which will herald productive, market and financial integration throughout the world. The main driving force behind globalisation is the technological revolution of the last 20 years. This is aptly described by Wriston's comments that:

> Our new international financial regime differs radically from its precursors in that it was not built by politicians, economists, central bankers or finance ministers … It was built by technology … [by] men and women who interconnected the planet with telecommunications and computers (Wriston, 1998/1999: 71).

Later, he remarks that markets 'are no longer geographical locations, but data on a screen transmitted from anywhere in the world' (Wriston, 1998/1999: 72). He continues by commenting that this state of affairs is now permanent. Wriston and other technological commentators argue that the technological and economic aspects are primary factors and have in turn influenced the social and political landscape. This is at variance to Marxist writers (Robinson, 1996; Sivanandan, 1998/1999) who believe that a global capitalist class drives the globalisation project, thereby impacting on community development initiatives everywhere as Hoogvelt argues in Chapter 2 of this book.

These are the heads of the major trans-national corporations (TNCs), pivotal and influential political leaders, and the heads of key international organisations such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). The dominant feature in the development of globalisation has been the influence and power of the US enterprise economy, together with pressure exerted by the government in Washington in redrawing and consolidating the international map through its ideological and economic leadership.

The consequences of globalisation can be noted in the UK through the tension between the central and local state and multinational capital. A key role of the Thatcher, Major and Blair governments has been to attract and maintain inward investment to the UK. To encourage and support this investment the Thatcher, Major and Blair regimes have deregulated certain key services and offered advantageous terms to large corporations for financing new or expanding projects (Sklair, 1995). These are underpinned with a beneficial tax regime. At the same time,

multinational capital demands that labour costs are 'competitive', the sub-text of which is low wages and reduced benefits for a substantial number of workers.

To assist this process, New Labour has introduced a minimum wage that is considerably below both the average and mean industrial and commercial wage. Whilst the minimum wage has lifted a sizeable number of workers out of dependency on state benefits, company profits have been maintained and improved.

Central government simultaneously requires local government (which receives the bulk of its funding from central government) to assist the former in its drive to maintain the conditions of capital accumulation and preserve labour discipline. Local government has further roles demanded and regulated by central government including improving the employability of students leaving schools and tertiary colleges through a centralised education curriculum and the meeting of required standards; maintaining and improving public and private transport systems; and, with local police authorities, addressing crime and disorder.

An influential advocate of globalisation is Martin Wolf, the chief economic commentator of *The Financial Times,* who argues that the move to a single global market will benefit consumers through lower tariffs and by creating even greater capacity to produce and distribute goods and services. Through the marshalling of selective economic data Wolf (2004) shows that trade and foreign investment can both assist wealth-creation and tackle poverty, creating a win-win situation.

He argues that poorer countries prosper from globalisation especially when joining the project on the right terms and offers the example of China as a country that opened itself to western corporations and gained economically and socially. Wolf claims that rather than exploiting the Chinese, these corporations pay better wages than local companies and their investment has fostered benefits for everyone. He points to the dramatic fall in infant mortality, rising numeric and literacy rates, and food consumption.

The Neoliberal Agenda

For globalisation to be effective, national governments around the world have to adopt a neoliberal agenda. Neoliberalism emerged as a modern political ideology in the early 1980s and was associated with the 'New Right' in the UK under the governments led by Margaret Thatcher and from 1990, John Major, and in the US under the stewardship of President Ronald Reagan and the Republicans. The central argument of the neoliberal philosophy is that as many decisions as possible should transferred to the market therefore maximising choice and extending democracy. In effect, it has involved fixed budgets, low taxation and minimalist welfare (Hutton, 2002).

Neoliberalism opposes the position of what Jay (1994) has termed the *'radical participationists',* or the 'New Left' who have called for wider participation for citizens, in particular groups and communities such as ethnic minorities, gays, and women who had been marginalised by the political process. The 'New Left' has also been associated with participation at the local level, in particular schools, the workplace, and local neighbourhoods. Often employing community action techniques, one of its influential slogans, drawn from the feminist movement, has been the 'personal is political' highlighting the integration of all spheres of life, whether public or private.

Neoliberalism, however, has an opposing view of society and argues that the main problem for modern democracy is that *too much* participation, not *less*, can produce a state of un-governability. The 'New Right' argues that the electorate has expected too much from government with the resultant outcome that serious economic and social problems:

including the accelerating growth of public expenditure and inflation, and rising taxes – arose from excessive expectations on the part of democratic electorates, uncontrolled expansion in the public bureaucracy, and the capacity of organised groups, not least the trade unions, to hold governments to ransom. Industrial squabbles and strident competitive demands upon the public purse proved able to drive government economic policies off course (Jay, 2004: 148).

In the UK, the Thatcher and Major governments from 1979 to 1997 argued that the way to address these fundamental problems was to engage in a process of de-politicisation in which voters' expectations were to be dampened. The private and voluntary sectors would be encouraged and rewarded to take over some aspects of the state activities, with the market-place replacing collectivism. This radical agenda commenced in the UK during 1979 when the newly elected Thatcher government embarked on a programme to 'modernise' the state, economy and civil society, whilst promoting the enterprise culture. In doing so, the Thatcher government broke with the post-war consensus on welfare and the economy that had been built on a compromise between labour and capital.

By exploiting a substantial parliamentary majority and growing electoral disenchantment with the socialist arguments presented by Labour, the Conservative government right up to its defeat by New Labour in 1997 was able to combine an authoritarian populist project, a strong central state, and a neoliberal economic strategy. Nevertheless, the outcome of this period was greater inequality, restricted trade union rights, increased social exclusion, and weak and compliant regulatory regimes. It is noticeable for example that while the adequacy of regulatory regimes has become increasingly important in the public sector there has been a similar deregulation of the private sector (Dominelli and Hoogvelt, 1996a, b).

The election of New Labour in 1997 offered the prospect of reversing inroads made by the Conservatives and reinstating a socialist agenda. The Blair government declined this opportunity and instead continued to push ahead with the neoliberal agenda, attempting to transform social democracy into a particular form of free market neoliberalism. Instead of attempting to establish wider goals for the corporate world it has further deregulated labour and specific markets, continued with restrictive trade union legislation, sold off valuable public assets, ineffectively dealt with disproportionate rewards for corporate executive directors, and allowed the corporate world privileged access to policy making forums in order to secure and maintain favour with key players in the business world. This is clearly described by Stuart Hall when he states that:

> New Labour has adapted the fundamental neoliberal programme to suit its conditions of governance – that of a social democratic government trying to govern in a neoliberal direction while maintaining its traditional working-class and public sector middle-class support. It has modified the anti-statist stance of American-style neoliberalism by a 'reinvention of active government'. 'Entrepreneurial governance', its advocates advise, promotes competition between service providers, favours the shift from bureaucracy to 'community', focuses not on inputs but on outcomes, redefines clients as consumers and prefers market mechanisms to administrative ones (Hall, 2003: 2).

One of the key outcomes is that New Labour has replaced the Conservatives as 'the party of the City, the big transnational corporations and the Foreign Office – the overseas lobby' (Ramsay, 1998: 115).

Monbiot (2000) has similarly highlighted this when he states that:

> New Labour, its leaders often remind us, is 'the party of business', which aims to establish 'the most business friendly environment in the world'. There is, Tony Blair told the Confederation of British Industry, 'great commitment and enthusiasm, right across the government, for forging links with the business community' (Monbiot, 2000: 7).

Since Hall, Ramsay and Monbiot made their observations, membership of the Labour Party has slipped to its lowest level since the 1930's whilst donations from wealthy business people have doubled (Kilfoyle, 2004).

The Role of Community Development

When New Labour was elected to Government it continued and extended the Thatcher/Major project of radically modernising the UK state, and it's economic and social policies. The reason for this lies in the four successive general election defeats the Labour Party suffered between 1979 and 1992. During this period the Party re-thought its relationship with the welfare state. Its previous position was the pursuit of public spaces in which non-market values could be fostered and enhanced. The Labour Party could point to key achievements when it was in Government including the establishment of the National Health Service, the creation of the Open University, and the implementation of a non-contributory income support system.

However, the election defeats led to a major rethink of its social democratic values in which social justice was delivered though collective welfare and distribution, and where a number of aspects of the market were seen as serving the state. New Labour argued these values were out-dated and if it were to win a General Election it needed to recognise a new terrain where globalisation and the US backed neoliberal agenda was likely to dominate international capitalism.

Nonetheless, when New Labour was elected to Government in 1997 it did not fully continue the Thatcher/Major project. The main difference, although arguably not major departure, from the approaches advocated by Conservative neoliberalism was New Labour's tilt towards a more socially hegemonic position, in particular, addressing the deleterious fall-out of serious levels of poverty in a developed economy, and the plight of those on welfare benefits.

By adopting this position, which resonates with the central values of the established labour movement, New Labour was able to claim its role as speaking and acting for the most vulnerable people in society, whilst recognising the 'benefits' of globalisation and the neoliberal agenda. In doing so, New Labour has acknowledged the limitations of the individualist approaches favoured by neoliberalism, and the need to re-organise market forces as part of a socially cohesive approach to social problems.

To do this, the Blair government has embarked on a populist 'One Nation' project which is aimed at reducing social exclusion whilst maintaining and extending the population's confidence in market forces. The Blair government has also been sensitive to the impact of negative tabloid newspaper reports that reflect New Labour as *un*sympathetic towards the values of 'Middle England' and has used its populist authoritarian approach to demonstrate its resolution and decisiveness towards criminals and asylum seekers, and those that the majority of the population may consider to be a 'drain' on the UK's resources.

Whilst New Labour does not openly acknowledge that social exclusion is the result of pursuing the neoliberal agenda it is aware that failure to address the outcome of these policies will alienate sizable numbers of its natural electoral power base, what Hall (2003) above calls its 'traditional working-class and public sector middle-class support'. In practice addressing the problems associated with social exclusion is a central feature of the Government's 'joined up-thinking' and therefore a factor in all its social policies, however the one key central government department charged with the responsibility of increasing social inclusion is the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM).

The ODPM and the New Deal

Soon after New Labour was elected to government in 1997 it established the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) under the direction of the Prime Minister, Tony Blair. Influenced by the thinking of Etzioni (1993, 1995, 1998) and Giddens (1998), Blair has been keen to create the 'stakeholding society', support 'communitarianism' and establish the 'Third Way' in order to distinguish New Labour from Conservative's neoliberalism.

The establishment of the SEU was an important development in this new direction. Since May 2002 the SEU has been located in the newly formed cross-cutting ODPM which brings together heads of operations and strategic planning in a number of areas where according to its website the Government is attempting to:

> achieve social justice and the quality of life for everyone – such as the neighbourhood Renewal Unit, the Homeless Directorate and central leads on local government and regional policy. The SEU continues to work with colleagues in departments right across Government to find solutions to some of the most intractable social problems and act as a catalyst for change at the heart of Government (Social Exclusion Unit, 2004: 1).

Now reporting to the Prime Minister through the Deputy Prime Minister, the SEU is seen as indispensable in the New Labour government's strategic approach to tackling social exclusion. Using the drivers of social inclusion, social cohesion and community involvement the Unit focuses on unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown as signifiers of social exclusion.

New Labour has recognised that issues facing people who are classified as socially excluded are complex and interconnected and in particular has accepted the role unemployment can play as a precursor to social exclusion. So whilst the Government has adopted a strategy for a 'knowledge driven economy' (DTI, 1998) signified by the vast expansion the UK economy has made in areas such at the music industry, films, fashion and advertising as well as its continued strength in computing, information technology and financial services, an average of 2,500 manufacturing jobs are lost every week in the UK (www.themanufacturer.com/alliance/news/html accessed 07 June 2005).

To deal with this major economic challenge New Labour has driven through the policy of 'Welfare to Work'. As the newly elected Prime Minister at the time, Tony Blair launched this policy claiming that:

> the greatest challenge to any democratic government is to refashion our institutions to bring [the] workless class back into society and into useful work (Tony Blair's Speech, Aylesbury Estate, Southwark, 2 June 1997).

A month later the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gordon Brown, explained the Government's commitment to 'rebuild the welfare state around the work ethic' (*The Guardian*, 26 July 1997). However, perhaps the most telling view is that of Peter Mandelson, then a Cabinet Minister. He said that a 'permanently excluded underclass [in the labour market] actually hinders flexibility' (Mandelson, 1997: 17).

The outcome of this has been the 'New Deal' for the unemployed. Launched in New Labour's first budget (July 1997) with funds of £5.2bn (almost wholly financed from a windfall tax on the profits of the utilities privatised by the Conservative Government), its aim has been to ensure that those who are unemployed are promptly integrated into the labour market. To achieve this goal, unemployed people are compulsorily required to participate in the scheme or are threatened with reduced levels of benefit.

New Labour policy and practice has involved the private sector in the New Deal, working in partnership with central and local government, trade unions, and voluntary and community organisations. Alongside the New Deal, the Government introduced a statutory minimum wage, linked to an employee's age, and the Working Families Tax Credit, all of which have removed the disincentive that living on welfare benefit is more advantageous than working for wages.

However, as Polly Toynbee (2003) demonstrates in her compelling and vivid account of life on the wrong side of the tracks, the service sector in which many of the low paid are now employed, is run by distinctly unsavoury agencies which exploit workers and offer them little job security or prospects. Toynbee argues that despite Blair's optimism that the New Deal is delivering higher living standards, the reality is that the poorest paid earn less in relative terms than they did thirty years ago.

With the economic side of the equation being addressed by the debatable New Deal, and the lamentably low statutory minimum wage (£4.85 per hour in October 2004 – there is also a National Minimum Development rate which applies to 18 to 21 year olds, and to people who are 22 and over if they receive accredited training for six months after they start work with an employer – £4.10 per hour in October 2004 – the rate for 16 and 17 year olds is presently £3.00 per hour), the focus of the SEU is on the social issues facing the socially excluded. The principle area of the Government's endeavours that relates to community development is the programme of Neighbourhood Renewal.

Neighbourhood Renewal

The Government is proud of its work in Neighbourhood Renewal and presently has 105 commitments which they proclaim will mean that:

> the Government will move towards its 10-to-20 year vision – of creating a society where no-one is disadvantaged by where they live. To have lower worklessness, better skills, less crime, better health and better housing and physical environment in all the poorest neighbourhoods and to narrow the gap between England's most deprived neighbourhoods and the rest of the country (Social Exclusion Unit, 2001: 61).

The Neighbourhood Renewal Unit (NRU), like the SEU is now based in the ODPM. In 2001, the NRU produced its National Strategy Action Plan (SEU, 2001), a highly significant report that not only lists the commitments noted above (105 in total), but also provides a boost for the employment of community development strategies and practitioners. The Plan states there are three main drivers of change at local and community and level: local strategic partnerships; neighbourhood management; and support for community groups and social entrepreneurs.

All these bring substantial funds to a 'depressed area', some of which are used to employ and resource community development workers. For example, the Government has created the £800 million Neighbourhood Renewal Fund, available to the 88 most deprived local authorities. In addition, the Government is providing £400,000 over three years from a Community Empowerment Fund (over £35 million in total) for communities in each of these areas, specifically for community involvement in Local Strategic Partnerships.

Further, the Government has set aside £50 million to be spent over three years to provide small grants for community organisations in deprived areas. All these will be utilising the skills of community development. Interestingly too, and in line with its policy on globalisation and its adherence to neoliberal economics, is the emphasis in the National Strategy Action Plan on engaging business in neighbourhood renewal. For example, its third commitment (out of 105) is to provide a 'seamless service to large employers wanting to set up large-scale local enterprise' and the fourth commitment is to 'increase economic performance of every region'.

Neighbourhood Renewal is however not without its critics who have pointed out that it has become increasingly difficult to make sense of the whole array of schemes aimed at regenerating 'poor' communities (Toynbee and Walker, 2001), whilst Dominelli (2004b: 207) has pointed that renewal programmes are limited in nature and based upon the principle of people's own abilities to tackle disadvantage.

Tackling Health Inequalities at the Neighbourhood Level

One of the key indicators of social exclusion is poor health and whereas the Conservative Government can be criticised for disputing and then ignoring the important report from Sir Douglas Black (1980) (and also the second one in 1990), the present Department of Health has established a programme for tackling inequalities of health at neighbourhood level (Department of Health, 1995, 1998, 1999, 2003). Elsewhere, Anne Quinney and I have offered a case study (Popple and Quinney, 2002) of how a health improvement project in Boscombe, England called ACHIEVE tackled issues of health inequalities.

According to the Department of Environment's Index of Local Conditions, Boscombe, an area of Bournemouth on the south coast of England was the 52nd (out of 8,604) poorest area in the UK in 1999. Funded by the local Heath Authority the ACHIEVE project focused on empowerment, community development, and social inclusion and targeted areas for improvement including mental health, family health, the needs of children, 'at-risk' young people and adults, and coronary heart disease. The case study describes the positive impact that the ACHIEVE project had on individuals and groups in Boscombe but raised serious issues of a wider nature. To quote:

> The key feature of the projects is that people 'own' the work that takes place in their neighbourhood and develop systems that strengthen and locate responsibility and control with individuals and groups. This arrangement may appear to underline the way in which the government is relocating the solutions for the problems with the neighbourhoods themselves and emphasis on the need for communities to 'pull their socks up'. This is part of the government's Third Way in which communities and voluntary organisations take on roles previously occupied by local authorities. Our concern is that these schemes may have the potential to exploit local people and to undermine local authorities and their workforces. Local people appear to be vulnerable to exploitation and to lack empowerment because of the targets they are expected to meet in order to maintain their income stream. This burden is compounded by the problems associated with short term funding and the inability of communities to sustain the projects beyond the initial start up period (Popple and Quinney, 2002: 82).

To support and encourage the use of community development techniques to tackle problems associated with poor health, the former Health Development Agency (HDA) (HDA, 2004) produced an introductory course for people employing community development approaches to improve health and tackle health inequalities. Funded by the Department of Health until it was absorbed into the National Institute for Health and Clinical Excellence (NICE), the HAD was the national agency providing information on what worked to improve people's health and practice and reduce health inequalities in England. The HDA gathered evidence and produced advice for policy makers, professionals and practitioners, working alongside them to 'get evidence into practice'.

Co-authored by Paul Henderson, Sylvia Summer and Thara Raj, *Developing Healthier Communities*, is a foundation course book for practitioners who are in direct contact with communities and have some responsibility for improving a community's health and wellbeing. The authors argue that by using community development techniques, it is possible to set goals such as combating social exclusion, promoting participation, and encouraging people to acquire new skills.

To achieve these goals the authors argue that it is important to establish values and commitments and quotes the Standing Conference for Community Development's (SCCD) statement that:

> Community development is about building active and sustainable communities based on social justice and mutual respect. It is about changing power structures to remove the barriers that prevent people from participating in the issues that affect their lives (SCCD, 2001: 5).

The SCCD lists a number of values that inform community development workers practice including social justice, participation, equality, learning, cooperation; and commitments that include challenging discrimination, developing practice and policy that protects the environment, encouraging networking and connections, ensuring access and choice for all groups, and influencing policy and programmes. These are commendable values and commitments that resonate with the social democratic themes espoused by New Labour.

However, it would be incorrect to conclude therefore that community development practitioners and New Labour necessarily share the same ideological base. As we have seen, New Labour's agenda is to make the neoliberal and the globalisation project work more effectively than any other political party and therefore to remain in political office, and maintain and create as many regional Labour strongholds as it can. To do this, government agencies have to work successfully with those that are socially excluded and bring them closer into mainstream society.

A specific aim of New Labour is to reduce what it believes is a 'democratic-deficit'. As we have noted above, this is the growing divide between what people want and what our existing democratic institutions can deliver. This growing frustration and impotency has been translated into a smaller number of people voting at elections. For example, at the 2001 General Election fewer people voted than at any time since the 1922 General Election. Local elections are also noted for their poor turnouts and there is concern that many young people are becoming separated from the political system. Wintour and Hall (2004) for example, writing in *The Guardian* state that government:

> officials are worried by the long-term indications that working-class people are and abandoning civic life and that the decline in political engagement is happening disproportionately in lower income groups.

The fact that people are not voting in the numbers they did in previous decades is a moot point. One factor must be the powerlessness people feel in a world that appears to be controlled by major corporations over which governments appear impotent to deal with; an outcome of neoliberal economic strategies. Therefore, involving people in their local communities is viewed by New Labour as an acceptable way of getting more people to 'own' the neoliberal agenda, to make their particular form of social democracy work, and to enhance social cohesion. The key agency for encouraging the development of *active communities* is the Home Office which through its Active Community Unit (ACU). Established in 1998, the ACU is developing new methods of promoting community self-help, community involvement, participation and volunteering.

Supported by a budget of £120 million its goal has been to encourage 'community transformation' through self-help. The buzzwords used by the ACU are 'active citizenship', 'urban renaissance' and 'civic renewal' which are linked together (Chanan, 2003; Imrie and Raco, 2003; Rogers, 1997). According to David Blunkett, the Home Secretary at the time these goals were articulated, this will 'build strong, empowered and active communities' (Blunkett, 2003). This view was also identified in a report written by Val Woodward (2004) on 'active learning hubs' that provide education to encourage active citizenship in the voluntary and community sectors.

Rather than 'rolling back the state', New Labour has effectively rolled the state forward to target specific communities and particular areas. Community development workers may share

the Government's view that engaging local communities in helping to define and address their own problems is a positive one. Many would say also this is long overdue, and that until the election of New Labour 'poor' neighbourhoods and communities had been left to stagnate and disintegrate. However, many practitioners will point to the selective nature of the attempts made by the Government.

Encouraging 'community transformation' is going ahead in some but not in all 'poor' communities. Community development workers will also part company with New Labour if the articulation for community development is not met with real attempts to effectively deal with the growing gap between the poor and the wealthy in the UK.

Contrary to those who advocate globalisation and neoliberal economics, including the powerful elites found in organisations such as the Group of Eight, the World Bank, World Trade Organisation and International Monetary Fund, the 'New Order' produces severe inequalities in the wealth and income of populations. David Held, Professor of Political Science at the London School of Economics, argues this clearly in his seminal work (Held, 2004). This view is shared by Bradshaw and Wallace (1996) and Oxfam (2002).

Despite Blair's statements that his government is tackling poverty, the latest data shows that whilst average real incomes are rising, the richest people in the UK have continued to get richer. The richest 1 percent of the population has increased its share of national income from around 6 percent in 1980 to 13 percent in 1999. Wealth distribution is more unequal than income distribution, and has continued to become more unequal in the decade from 1990 to 2000 with the percentage of wealth held by the wealthiest 10 percent of the population increasing from 47 percent to 54 percent (Paxton and Dixon, 2004).

This confirms earlier work by Bennington and Donnison (1999) and McLaughlin (2001). These figures, which clearly demonstrate the widening gap in income and wealth between the social classes, highlight a central contradiction that lies at the heart of New Labour's policy and which has not been satisfactorily addressed. That is the pursuit of the neoliberal agenda produces, and indeed requires, a widening of social and economic inequality.

In view of this, it can be argued that regeneration policies and community development strategies are token pragmatic attempts to address the worst excesses of neoliberalism whilst shaping the governance of poor communities. Further, questions need to be asked as to whether New Labour's neighbourhood strategies have an important role in providing surveillance and tracking of people located in 'problem estates' and who are considered 'difficult'.

Another central criticism of New Labour's use of community development in addressing issues that face communities is that the government is depoliticising the sources of the problems these encounter. As discussed earlier, a central feature of the neoliberal agenda is the message that governments have given the electorate, namely that they should expect less of what the state can undertake and consider what the private, voluntary and independent sectors can deliver. To achieve this goal, the state has encouraged and rewarded projects that prioritise self-help and self-advancement. So, the state will invest in regeneration, but it does so for motives that are not necessarily in the best interests of local communities.

In summary, we have discovered that community development is being used to assist New Labour in meeting the targets that will address what it considers is the 'democratic-deficit', improving governance and assisting in the effective working of its neoliberal economic agenda. Community development workers have always held passionately the values of equal opportunities, social justice and social inclusion. But working on the state-led projects outlined above does not prevent them from trying to achieve these goals.

However, community development workers need to be aware of the contradictions they are facing at a time when the Government is engaging in regressive national and global agendas that

are based on the poverty of many people and the prosperity of few of them. This approach, I would argue is effectively unsustainable in the 21st century when environmental degradation is apparent and increasing rapidly to the detriment of all.

I now move to consider community development that is taking place outside of the New Labour agenda for communities. And, as we will see, it has effectively challenged the schema presented by the current government.

Challenging the Globalisation Agenda

We have observed how community development techniques have been deployed to meet New Labour's social goals, which are important in shoring up its support for globalisation and it's commitment to improve the workings of the adopted neoliberal economics. We have also seen the New Labour Government embrace the previous Conservative administration's insistence of the centrality of the enterprise culture, the supremacy of the market over the public, and the increasing role of the voluntary and community sectors in replacing the role of the local and central state. It would, however, be a mistake to think that communities are necessarily accepting this new world. The case of a neighbourhood actively contesting the closure of a swimming pool in Govanhill in Glasgow, and the efforts of a community to prevent the building of a marina in Whitby, Yorkshire provide evidence of the limits to New Labour's acceptance of what constitutes active citizenship, urban renaissance and community participation and involvement.

Resistance to the Closure of the Govanhill Pool

Govanhill is a mainly working-class area of Glasgow, Scotland with an unemployment rate of 13.1 percent and therefore higher than the Scottish and UK averages (Mooney and Fyfe, 2004: 8). According to the 2001 census, 30 percent of the area's population is from black and ethnic minority backgrounds. An area that has attracted attention for its rising use of drugs and a significant increase in drug related deaths, the Scottish Council Foundation (2000) classified Govanhill as a community of deteriorating social and economic health and where future prospects are poor. The absence of nursery education and facilities for young people, together with the closure of the local social work office, a breast-screening and x-ray unit, and the threat of closure of the local library and the nearby Victoria Infirmary add to the picture of a community under pressure and under threat.

The closure of the pool in Govanhill, the Calder Street Baths, was for many in the area the 'last straw'. An Edwardian Baroque structure, the Baths were comprised of a large pool, a smaller pool and a teaching pool, often used by four different special needs schools. Overall, the Baths were a popular local facility. However, the case to close the Baths was made by Glasgow City Council (GCC) after a 'best value' review of local services and as part of a programme to upgrade the city's sports facilities. The decision to close the Govanhill pool was made in January 2001, giving the local community 14 working days to respond, with a closure date set for March of that year.

Within a short period local people had launched a 'Save our Pool Campaign'. After drawing wide-spread support from the different communities within Govanhill, GCC responded by employing an international consultancy firm at a cost of £30,000, to undertake a study of the pool and to make proposals for its future use. The report which followed this study concluded that within 5 years the pool could become viable and self-financing if a modernisation programme of £3.6 million was instigated. This new proposal was based on the closure of the main swimming pool and its substitution with a dry sports facility. The Campaign group however undertook their own study and challenged the GCC funded study which they stated was:

seriously flawed and that the figures produced were both inaccurate and misrepresented the possibility of public funding for the pool being secured from other sources (Mooney and Fyfe, 2004: 13).

The decision to close the Baths was upheld by the GCC and local people occupied the building for several months to demonstrate their frustration and anger at the removal of yet another important public facility from their neighbourhood. The building was placed under surveillance by the police and was patrolled by a private security firm at the cost of £10,000 per week. In August 2001, the occupation was forcibly ended when the police and representatives of GCC entered the building and ejected the campaigners and boarded-up the Baths.

The protest to save the Calder Street Baths took place alongside other protests in Glasgow including opposition to the proposed transfer of the entire local authority housing stock to a 'not for profit' housing association, and resistance to Glasgow's secondary school system being handed over to new management operated by a consortium of national and multinational firm, '3ed'.

The case of the Govanhill campaign provides evidence of a community, which despite the financial poverty of its residents had a fund of richness in terms of community participation and cohesion. On all accounts, Govanhill represented a community that was undertaking what New Labour has been encouraging 'deprived' neighbourhoods to do – actively participate in their local affairs. However, the action adopted by the inhabitants of Govanhill, against what they considered to be incursions into their communities, appears not to be approved of by New Labour. The message here is that certain kinds of protest (and possibly all kinds of protest) are not acceptable in New Labour's push to regenerate communities, renew cities and open up the path of globalisation.

The case to close the Baths was an economic one. The arguments made by the local community that the pool was a part of the fabric of the community, and although recognised as in a poor state of repair (which was not the residents fault), and an important facility for those who used it and relied on it for their recreation. The loss of other public services and facilities both in Govanhill and the city generally highlights the pressure on local authorities to become increasingly entrepreneurial, further evidence of the operation of neoliberal economics.

Stop the Marina Action Group

Whitby is a visually impressive historic holiday resort, small container port and fishing town in North Yorkshire, England. The town's skyline is dominated by the ruins of the dramatic Gothic St. Hilda's Abbey, whilst the parish church of St Mary is claimed to be one of the finest examples of Anglo-Saxon churches in England and whose church yard in the 1890s gave Bram Stoker the inspiration to write the novel *Dracula*. Whitby is also noted as the birth place of Captain James Cook, the 18th century explorer and voyager. The beauty of the town, coupled with its notable history has led local people to request UNESCO to consider designating Whitby as a world heritage site. However, in recent years the residents of Whitby have also been involved in a high profile campaign of opposition to a £25 million local council-backed plan to develop a marina and yacht club and erect 200 housing units in the town. The proposal includes plans for restaurants and bars, shops and craft workshops. The majority of Whitby's residents oppose this and have established the 'Stop the Whitby Marina Action Group' which claims that the development:

> completely changes the nature of Whitby, taking away our greatest asset – that we have almost no unsympathetic modern development spoiling our beautiful, traditional town … local traders are concerned that the proposed shops … will take away trade from existing shopping (www.johnfreemanstudio.co.uk/stop-the-whitby-marina-development.htm, accessed 9 August 2004).

The Whitby Action Group accepts that there is a need to improve facilities for marina users but argues that the proposal, if implemented, will bring a range of problems to the town and will not offer any significant advantages for boat owners or visitors. The local authority, Scarborough Borough Council (SBC), have promised that they will only approve the scheme if local people wish it to. However, the residents claim that SBC has used bullying tactics to try to drive through the proposal which they claim is the tip of the iceberg in relation to other projects including plans to establish a 'Cook's World' theme park in the town. According to Peios (2004), residents are consequently mistrustful of SBCs intentions. Peios also reports that local people have expressed concern that if the local authority does not adhere to the wishes of the people (and visitors) of Whitby, there is something fundamentally 'wrong with the democratic system'.

Like the case of the Save our Pool Campaign in Govanhill, the Action Group in Whitby represents local people being actively involved in the affairs of their community, which they argue is under threat from commercialisation. Local authorities like SBC are under pressure from New Labour to 'modernise' their facilities and encourage and assist in the utilisation of corporate finance to fund and derive profit from developments created in the name of improving the quality of life for residents. These exemplify the impact of the forces of global capitalism at the local level. However, the Whitby community remains unconvinced of the benefits of the proposals to develop the town and believe a much smaller amount of finance (under £100,000) could be used by the Council to upgrade moorings for yachts. According to the Action Group, the local community is participating in the campaign and is united in its opposition to the proposals. Whether New Labour accepts this form of protest as legitimate is a debatable point. Evidence would indicate otherwise and unless local people are working towards Government targets and goals they must as a consequence fall outside normative or standard and established notions of participation.

Conclusion

Community development in the UK has a long well documented history (Shaw, 2004) revolving around two approaches: a state-funded one and a community generated liberationist one. There have always been tensions between these two different approaches. Community development as a state funded form of practice aims to deliver pluralist or pragmatic outcomes, within a framework of a general opposition to ideological politics. Initiatives based on this have defined outcomes that meet with specified policy objectives. The emancipatory or transformatory approach seeks to help liberate disadvantaged communities, groups and individuals (Popple, 1995, Ledwith, 2005). These approaches are evident elsewhere as the chapters by Sewpaul and Hölscher and Gray and Mitchell reveal.

In the UK, community development practitioners presently employed by, or funded through government agencies, are employed to use the first of these approaches and consequently need to be aware of the agenda employed by New Labour.

The Government appears wedded to the assumption that global capitalism and a neoliberal agenda are given, and have shaped and delivered social policies, including the use of community development, accordingly. This places practitioners in a difficult position and one they may wish to challenge. The implications for the training of social workers and community development workers are clear. Students need to be made aware of the wider forces in the world they are engaged in and critically reflect on how they can use their practice to deal with some of the consequences and contradictions between policies and practice that they face daily. In the meantime, there are communities that are challenging the impact of globalisation and are raising fundamental issues

of the collective, the public and the need to transform the ground that they and the state occupy. Although this chapter focuses on experiences in the UK, the issues presented here are often encountered in other countries. This suggests a need for community workers to begin to form alliances with others who share their concerns.

Globalised Microfinance: Economic Empowerment or Just Debt?

INGRID BURKETT

Introduction

Microfinance is the provision of small loans, acceptance of small savings deposits, provision of insurance and other financial services such as 'bill-payment and money-transfer facilities, (and) financial literacy training' to which poor people do not readily have access (Rogaly and Fisher, 1999: 1). Microfinance has grown out of the realisation that:

- people on low incomes are often excluded from access to financial services;
- the debt cycle is often endemically linked to the maintenance of household poverty;
- people in poverty can and do save; and do not necessarily represent a higher credit risk; and
- small savings and loans can significantly contribute to the economic well-being of individuals and households.

In many ways microfinance has become an umbrella term that now covers notions of 'microcredit', 'microbanking', 'microinsurance' and 'microenterprise', and represents less integrated approaches with a similar intent. That is, it provides access to various financial services for people who otherwise have little access to these services through mainstream commercial banks and institutions. Interestingly, however, it is one of these more narrow notions, that of micro*credit*, rather than the umbrella term which has received most attention in recent years.

    This chapter critically explores the globalisation of microfinance as an approach to alleviating poverty, and then examines the expressions of microfinance in a particular context – Australia. The chapter starts by examining how microfinance is one of the many 'new' approaches to community based poverty alleviation that 'install the issue of economic performance at the heart of today's social project' (Walters, in Burkett, forthcoming). In effect, what is suggested is that microfinance could be seen as an expression of neoliberal welfare reforms which seek to approach poverty alleviation by: engaging notions of 'active individualism' that evoke empowerment and entrepreneurial endeavours and 'economic citizenship' that promotes the means for building people's capacity to participate in economic activities and create 'social capital'; and de-emphasising structural analysis and collective responses. The chapter then explores how one often asserted outcome of microfinance – economic empowerment, could be more complexly understood, and links this to current expressions of microfinance in Australia.

The Globalisation of Microfinance

In recent years there has been a veritable explosion of interest in microfinance, or perhaps more accurately, microcredit, as a 'new anti-poverty formulae' (Rogaly, 1996), not just in the

global South, but increasingly in the global North as well. Models, approaches and ideas about microfinance have spread globally over this time, with the most well-known model, that of the Grameen Bank, which was developed in Bangladesh by Economics Professor Mohamed Yunus, being 'replicated' endlessly around the world with varying degrees of success.

Microfinance has attracted massive and ever-growing donor funding in international development efforts in the past decade, and the enthusiasm has also seeped into welfare-states undergoing reform such that microfinance has become increasingly popular in, for example, Australia, Britain, and the United States. Thus, in a somewhat ironic twist to the dominant direction in which models of international development have flowed over the past half century, models of microfinance which have been developed in the global South have been exported to the North.

This has been accompanied by arguments that through the globalisation of poverty, models such as this, which have been deemed successful in the South, could work equally well in alleviating poverty in the so-called 'developed' world. Given the disastrous legacies which have been left behind when 'development' models are uncritically exported from the North to alleviate poverty in the South, any uncritical replication of microfinance initiatives in itself needs careful exploration. Indeed, a number of commentators have cautioned that there is an almost evangelical flavour to some reports of the potential impacts of microfinance (Rogaly, 1996), and that much of the current knowledge about its actual impacts are 'story book in character' and the uncritical enthusiasm of many 'converts' are reminiscent of 'missionary zeal' (Remenyi, 2000: 30).

The globalisation of microfinance could be seen to be due, at least in part, to the relatively easy alignment of the idea of microfinance with neoliberal political and neoconservative economic agendas, which emphasise more market-oriented approaches to social problems. The popularity of microfinance schemes has been heightened as moves have been made from state-led to market-led approaches to poverty alleviation, and from social strategies to those which emphasise the individual as a responsible agent of development (Rankin, 2001).

The 'self-help' feature of microfinance, whereby people who access credit and other financial services help themselves move out of poverty is attractive to an ideological position that emphasises the engagement of individuals' responsibility in becoming active economic citizens as central to 'development' (Burkett, forthcoming). Not surprisingly, microfinance has also received broad support from many in the corporate sector – and many corporations have engaged in large-scale funding of microfinance, particularly those initiatives which are linked to enterprise development.

There are, however, also positives in the globalisation of microfinance. Perhaps more than any other approach to 'development' in the last half century, microfinance has put the financial needs of economically poor people on the agenda. Further, microfinance often advocates a 'strengths-based' approach to working with people in poverty, emphasising the capacities of poor people rather than presenting them as hapless victims or incompetent beneficiaries. However, there are also dangers in uncritical broad-scale adoptions of such approaches, with fervent critics posing the possibility that the globalisation of microfinance will result in community organisations and NGOs becoming 'debt collectors' and, less dramatically, that through approaches such as microfinance, dependence will merely shift from the state to the market, under the guise of empowering people to become independent (McDonald and Marston, 2002: 5). In much of the microfinance literature one can already see that the focus of attention has moved away from addressing the structural causes of poverty and towards 'helping' individuals to help themselves out of poverty.

The MicroCredit Summit: A Platform for Realising the Globalisation of Microfinance

A turning point in the globalisation of microfinance initiatives occurred in 1997, the year of the MicroCredit Summit. Through this summit and lead up to it, two dominant themes emerged. These have shaped the ideological and methodological emphasis in the global spread of such initiatives.

The first of these themes related to making micro*credit* rather than micro*finance* the conceptual basis for the Summit and subsequent campaigns. Wright (2000: 111) recalls an effort to avoid 'microcredit' becoming the key concept during preparations for the Summit:

> Speaker after speaker noted that the very name of the 'MicroCredit Summit' would send the wrong message, and that with microcredit as the rallying cry, division could be more simply stated as 'driving 100 million poor women into debt by the year 2005'. Others noted that the astronomical projections for the amount of capital required from donors to fund the effort could be raised, in substantial part, through providing appropriate savings services. Almost all concluded that the name should be changed to 'Microfinance Summit' or perhaps 'Microenterprise Summit' – but <u>not</u> 'MicroCredit Summit.

This decision was based on the popularity of the Grameen model which emphasised a credit-only approach and which gained widespread credibility due to publicity generated by its founder, Mohammed Yunus. Since this point, 'credit' has been emphasised and though other dimensions of microfinance have been recognised and acknowledged as important, the title of MicroCredit inherently de-emphasised these other dimensions in the global campaigning of the Summit secretariat. Indeed, the United Nations has declared the year 2005 as the 'International Year of Microcredit', with the goal developed at the Summit in 1997 being for microcredit to reach 100 million poor people by 2005.

The focus on credit is interesting ideologically and historically for the acceptability of credit. Widespread access to credit within the framework of poverty alleviation and development is a relatively new phenomenon. Prior to World War II, savings (both national savings and personal) were considered a means out of poverty, and credit at this time was referred to more frequently in the negative, that is, debt, was much less readily available, in addition to being much less socially acceptable. Since this time, levels of national debt and personal debt have skyrocketed, and an about-face has occurred, whereby credit is interpreted as a means to address poverty, and saving is much less emphasised (if it is emphasised at all).

Second, in emphasising microcredit as its goal orientation, the Summit supported entrepreneurialism and enterprise development. Interestingly, neoliberal reforms associated with labour markets which are aimed at reducing the burden of social security have also intensified the fervour of entrepreneurialism within microfinance schemes. This in turn, denotes a shift away from entitlement, to responsibility as far as both 'development' and 'welfare' are concerned – as one recent commentator has pointed out:

> Embedded in the 'business' approach to poverty lending is a social identity through which to accomplish the desired restructuring – that of the self-maximising entrepreneur … . When poor women are constructed as responsible clients in this way, the onus for development falls squarely on their shoulders, and their citizenship manifests not through entitlement but through the 'free' exercise of individual choice (Miller and Rose, in Rankin, 2001:28-29).

Women and other recipients of microfinance are constructed as responsible for 'pulling themselves out of poverty', and microfinance is portrayed as the tool which 'empowers' them towards this end. From this perspective, microfinance is interpreted as 'a powerful instrument for self-empowerment by enabling the poor, especially women, to become economic agents of change' (see CGAP website at http://www.cgap.org/html/mi_faq.html#3).

The Microcredit Summit also fuelled a 'quick fix' mentality, whereby a push to spread microcredit as widely as possible, to as many people as possible, within the timeframe nominated by the Summit organisers, overtook a more developmental approach to broadening the base of microcredit. Thus, replication of certain models of microcredit became the easiest and fastest way to spread the approach, and the Grameen Bank model represented the most pervasive of the models replicated. Innovation, experimentation and indigenisation in the development of microfinance models were replaced by replication and a 'toolbox' approach in which the models were implemented across a great diversity of contexts (Hulme and Mosley, 1996: 135). It is the case that much effort has been put into broadening notions of microfinance and avoiding simple replication since the initial post-Summit enthusiasm. However, these emphases and orientations have left a lasting legacy in terms of how they have shaped dominant visions of microfinance. This legacy can be seen through an examination of claims made in relation to the success of microfinance.

Microfinance and Empowerment

Many of the claims regarding the successes of microfinance in alleviating poverty are centred on how the approach 'empowers' recipients and enables them to 'help themselves' out of poverty and become active economic citizens. In other words, the ways in which microfinance is said to 'empower' people is much more linked to notions of 'self-help' and individual betterment than 'older' interpretations of empowerment, which are more aligned with structural analyses of poverty and citizenship informed by notions of conscientisation and collective mobilisation. Empowerment, in the context of microfinance, then, is very much shaped by neoliberal visions of welfare and poverty alleviation, in which the individual is the locus of control and the focus of the 'problem'.

Much has been written and said about the empowering potential of microfinance – particularly for women. With access to credit for the purposes of starting small enterprises, and through saving small amounts of their income, women are said to be able to move themselves and their families out of poverty. Quite grand claims are often made about the potential for microfinance to empower women. Yet, what this notion of empowerment actually means is frequently left quite vague and undefined, with relatively little research having been undertaken in relation to empowerment questions (Mayoux, 1999: 3). Furthermore, indicators of empowerment have been under-explored, with many programme evaluators using 'high take-up and repayment levels' as indicators of positive, and therefore empowering, impacts on women (Mayoux, 1997: 2).

In addition, a rather narrow conceptualisation of what constitutes empowerment dominates much of the programme literature, with *access* to microfinance services often constructed as the dominant catalyst for empowerment. That is, there is still often a relatively simplistic underlying assumption made that women are automatically 'empowered' if they have access to financial services. Such an assumption indicates that the basis on which empowerment is defined in relation to microfinance is based on economics, and not on broader political and social understandings.

A review of broader empowerment literature reveals the multidimensional nature of this concept, and the need to develop definitions that are contextual rather than universal. It is, however, possible to identify basic features of empowerment which are regularly mentioned across the literature. This can be summarised as follows:

- *Access* to information, services, basic resources;
- *Freedom* to express needs and interests;
- *Awareness of rights;*
- *Participation* in processes, decision-making, defining directions;
- *Choice and self-determination* – individual and collective;

- *Decision-making power*;
- *Capacity to challenge decisions, structures and processes*;
- *Hope*;
- *Confidence*;
- *Connection and relationship*; and
- *Autonomy and control.*

This list is skeletal and the relevance of each dimension of empowerment has to be decided by people in relation to their specific context. The list indicates that 'access' is only one of many dimensions. Further, even if access is more closely examined in terms of its direct potential to alleviate poverty, it is not in and of itself, necessarily a simple indicator of poverty alleviation – as is illustrated in the following example:

> Workers noticed that though women were lending to engage in microenterprises, there were broader factors involved which meant that these enterprises were frequently not cost effective, efficient or even sustainable. For example, women lent money for chick raising enterprises – but because of the limited availability of quality chicken stock, and the lack of facilities for vaccination, these women still had to face high mortality rates and low productivity rates. Further, even if the chicks survived, the feed which was available was poor quality, and the market for eggs was limited (as there was a lack of transport beyond the village). So just because a woman had access to money to start a chick raising enterprise did not automatically mean that she moved out of poverty , indeed, she could move further into debt (Ingrid Burkett, Bangladesh Research Notes, 2000).

This example illustrates that even if people are given access to credit, the link between this and any changes in their levels of poverty is dependent on many other factors besides access alone. Similarly, in recent years, there have been a growing number of studies that have examined the 'actual' impacts of microfinance particularly for women that have also concluded that access to microfinance services in and of itself is not an accurate indicator of empowerment. These studies have further highlighted the complexity of empowerment in relation to microfinance – with the following areas regularly referred to as representing those which require consideration in the determination of empowerment:

- Who controls the loans? Numbers of studies have suggested that women may be the borrowers, but that men often control the loans without taking responsibility for repayments.
- What levels of participation are involved? Studies have shown that increased participation in the microfinance organisation increases confidence, enhances participation in household decision-making, increases awareness of social and political issues, and increases cross-generational educational investment, particularly for girl children.
- What are the holistic financial impacts of debt? There is some evidence that pressures to repay microcredit debts has led to borrowers lending from moneylenders in order to pay back debts from NGO microfinance initiatives.
- What is the potential for financial independence under conditions of microfinance? There is increasing evidence that savings through which people build up resources which can be used to support themselves and/or can be used to support internally sustainable collective loans programmes, and insurance programmes are essential elements for promoting financial independence, and therefore for enhancing possibilities for empowerment.
- What are the broader developmental and social objectives of microfinance? Though the evidence is somewhat mixed, there are good indications that purely 'service oriented' microfinance initiatives in which women are constructed as 'passive recipients of the service' has much less potential to engage multiple dimensions of empowerment (Oxaal and Baden,

1997: 14), than processes in which microfinance is only a part of a broader developmental engagement with people.

Despite the complex relationship that many studies have demonstrated between microfinance and empowerment, many assumptions underpinning programme designs and evaluations that do not take into account complexity, and indeed assume a simple link between access to services and empowerment. It is in this context, that I begin to explore the various models of microfinance which are appearing in the Australian context.

Microfinance in Australia

In the Australian context, microfinance is a new phenomenon in name only. Credit unions and friendly societies have engaged in microfinance-type services throughout their histories (though these were never referred to as 'microfinance'). In the past five years or so, however, direct references to microfinance have been made in the contexts of poverty alleviation, welfare services, Indigenous economic policy, and enterprise development. Further, there are a growing number of expressions of microfinance which are not necessarily explicitly named as such, but which certainly 'fit' definitions of microfinance. Until recently (see Burkett, 2003), exploration of microfinance in the Australian context was relatively undeveloped when compared with recent research and reports in the British and American contexts (Rogaly et al., 1999; Schreiner and Morduch, 2001).

The Australian Context

According to a recent report (Healey, 2002), the proportion of people living in poverty in Australia has increased by 30 percent since 1973, and approximately one in five Australians are now represented in what has come to be known as the 'working poor'. The increase in poverty has meant that more people are now seeking 'short-term cash for survival' (Field, 2002: 36). Household debt in Australia has more than doubled since 1990. Reserve Bank of Australia figures suggest that household debt has been growing at 14 percent annually over recent years, with credit card debt increasing by over 25 percent even in the past year, with bankruptcies in the year 2001 being the highest on record. The last decade has seen a greatly increased accessibility to credit from mainstream financial institutions and 'newer' players in financial services such as utilities and large supermarket chains (particularly through credit cards).

Further, according to Field (2002: 36), a number of other factors have exacerbated the needs of poor people in recent years: the growth of the gambling industry, the rise of 'punitive measures' which disadvantage the poor, e.g., late payments for bills; the impact of the GST, and the growth of exploitative credit operations targeting the poor such as payday lending, cheque cashing and pawnbroking.

Given this context public debates on debt, the relationship between debt and poverty and financial exclusion of poor people from mainstream services, and research and funding have been relatively subdued. This contrasts with the greater levels of attention that personal and household debt has received in Britain and the United States. Financial exclusion of people from mainstream financial services remains a much-neglected topic in Australia, despite a number of inquiries and reports. One of the few comprehensive reviews of financial exclusion in Australia (Connolly and Hajaj, 2001: 20–22) suggests that the following groups face particular difficulties in accessing affordable financial services there:

- regional and remote communities;
- urban depressed communities;
- people on low incomes;
- older people;
- people whose primary language is not English;
- people with disabilities;
- people with literacy difficulties (general and financial literacy); and
- Indigenous people.

According to Connolly and Hajaj (2001), Australia does not appear to have the large populations of 'unbanked' people, i.e., people without any kind of bank accounts that are evident in Britain and the US. There are questions of access to credit in Australia for people on fixed incomes, i.e., those receiving payments from Centrelink, the Australian Government's social welfare department, who are almost totally excluded from borrowing from mainstream institutions. Further, many of Australia's access issues centre on the affordability of financial services, with high costs of banking often being directed away from wealthier customers towards those who have low incomes and tend to make smaller deposits, larger numbers of smaller withdrawals, and maintain low rates of sustained savings (Connolly and Hajaj, 2001). A recent report on financial literacy in Australia, the ANZ Survey of Adult Financial Literacy that was released in May 2003 supports the above findings. It also identifies a strong association between low socio-economic status and low levels of financial literacy.

Community organisations and welfare agencies in Australia have become increasingly aware of the relationship between debt and poverty, and the effects of financial exclusion. Many of these organisations are currently exploring ways in which to address the financial needs of these constituents. This has led to new schemes aimed at addressing their needs, e.g., No Interest Loan Schemes (NILS); savings and loan circles; financial distress funds; savings incentive programmes similar to the Individual Development Accounts in the United States; partnerships between banks and welfare organisations; and a renewed interest in the role of credit unions and friendly societies in the provision of financial services to those on low income. Furthermore, there has been an increasing interest in the possibilities for replicating microfinance and microenterprise initiatives developed in the global South in Australian indigenous communities.[1]

Alongside the need to address financial exclusion in Australia, the welfare state, which has characterised the governmental approach to poverty in the country, has undergone the most radical reforms since its inception during the past ten years. What is now emerging in the Australian context (as elsewhere) is the growth of a neoliberal welfare regime which is characterised by an emphasis on market-based approaches to poverty alleviation; harsher regulation of people experiencing poverty; tighter control of welfare service delivery organisations through various technologies associated with 'managerialism' and a focus on individualised welfare service delivery. Thus, it is hardly surprising that approaches like microfinance which align well with neoliberalism are increasingly popular.

Approaches to Microfinance in the Australian Context

An examination of the range and scope of microfinance initiatives currently operating in Australia reveals three major foci or types of approaches:

- Initiatives focused on enhancing the welfare of people in poverty, both those receiving welfare payments, and the 'working poor', through the delivery of microfinance services such as credit and savings;

- Initiatives based on mutual principles, whereby developmental processes support the formation of voluntary groups who then engage in developing systems of mutual aid; and
- Initiatives centred on developing financial systems which will support people in poverty, especially if they are unemployed, to initiate microenterprises as a means of altering their economic circumstances.

Table 10.1 opposite outlines the major features of each of these approaches to microfinance. In it, I do not imply that these approaches are entirely separate, nor that any one of them represents the only or better form for microfinance in the Australian context. However, certain of these approaches are more aligned with current welfare reforms than others.

The first set of approaches – those stemming from a welfare orientation, is certainly the most numerous of the microfinance initiatives in Australia. These have been initiated primarily by large social service organisations, though increasingly it is being done in partnership with major banks. Given the regulatory requirements that surround financial services in Australia, such partnerships overcome some of the difficulties that these organisations would face were they to act alone. Whilst this opens up the access to financial services of people on low incomes, as discussed above, such action does not of itself address people's poverty. Thus, whilst there is a great deal of support for this approach, there is an increasing movement within social policy in Australia to explore the third approach – that of microfinance for microenterprise (also referred to as social enterprise, social entrepreneurship, and social business) development.

In much of the literature that has been written about social enterprises in Australia, Remenyi's (2000: 30) case of 'missionary zeal' dominates in favour of demonstrable examples of empowerment or poverty alleviation. Further, the economic and commercial potential of such initiatives, i.e., their productivity and profit is often privileged above their social, political and cultural potentials. In the Australian context, this privileging raises some interesting questions in relation to whether such approaches will actually result in poverty alleviation, or contribute to the further exclusion of already marginalised people (see Langdon and Burkett, forthcoming).

Firstly, for those people whose primary income is a government welfare payment, that is, a means tested (very) basic income for people who are unemployed or unable to participate in the employment market, income generation initiatives either need to remain below the cut-off point at which such payments are effected, or be high enough to ensure that income is above the rate of welfare payments including additional benefits such as pharmaceutical allowances.

Any microenterprises in Australia face the difficulties of operating in a tightly controlled arena in which the success rates of microenterprises and small businesses are relatively low, particularly given that these enterprises need to invest not only in their business, but also offer long-term support for their workers. The incomes derived from such enterprises according to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) are also low and can be sporadic. This makes it a difficult prospect for people who: have been unemployed for long periods of time; have few 'marketable' skills; have relatively limited social supports; and/or have limited confidence in their own skills (Langdon and Burkett, forthcoming).

The least well-explored of the approaches is the second one which is concerned with developing mutual aid models of microfinance. Given the current development of neoliberal welfare regimes, this should not be surprising. From its very origins, mutual aid has been interpreted as representing a threat to government. In the eighteenth and nineteenth century, first the British, and then the Australian governments ensured that mutual organisations such as friendly societies were tightly defined, regulated, limited and confined to activities that did not threaten or undermine the state, particularly those activities which sought to organise labour in opposition to capital.

Table 10.1   Types of Microfinance Models in the Australian Context

Foci/Type of Model	Explanation of model	Emphasis of model	Strengths and Limitations
Mutuality For example: Savings and Loans Circles	Engagement of people who have no access to financial services but organise this access through voluntary cooperation, mutual aid.	Developmental approaches to working with people, i.e., by the people, for the people. Sustainability based on developing people's own resource base.	*Strengths*: Internally sustainable – not dependent on external funding; Builds capacity that extends beyond financial needs Builds relationships between people and extends social capital Control of processes and outcomes lies with participants, not external agencies. *Weaknesses*: Takes longer to establish and so not useful for short-term emergency relief.
Welfare For example: No Interest Loan Schemes Individual Development Accounts Financial Distress Funds	Provision of financial services to people lacking access Focus on distress funds, asset development, consumption assistance. Accompanied by other services, e.g., financial counselling	Service delivery; Accessing financial services to alleviate poverty	*Strengths*: Access to non-exploitative financial services directed at poverty alleviation poverty, not profit generation More sustainable than emergency relief as community organisations can 'recycle' financial assistance. *Weaknesses*: Unable to alleviate long-term poverty for individuals Dependence on welfare providers Community organisations act as debt collectors requires large externally funded start-up grants.
Enterprise Least developed – exemplified by individual microenterprise and cooperative microenterprises	Provision of financial services Encouraging and supporting self-employment and micro- enterprise.	Enterprise development and a transfer of business and commercial skills to community and social sectors	*Strengths*: Long-term poverty alleviation by enhancing income generating capacity of poor people. *Weaknesses*: Development of micro enterprises in difficult and highly regulated environments High rate of small business failure Moving 'too fast' for users Pushing people into 'working poor' category.

The welfare state centralised the sorts of roles that were previously played by mutual aid organisations and activities, and thereby centralised control of the mechanisms of poverty and relief. State-based institutions provided vehicles for controlled needs assessment and service delivery. Now, under neoliberal welfare reforms, the state is withdrawing from this role and is suggesting that these roles be (once again) taken up by 'community' organisations. Paradoxically, they have erased the spaces that once existed for many of the 'old' structures of mutual aid. For example, it is virtually impossible for people to initiate credit unions, friendly societies or the like due to regulatory requirements. The tight net of regulation that has been created throughout the era of the welfare state means that as this is dismantled, regulations will ensure that the state maintains a high level of control over any mutual aid microfinance initiatives which emerge. There is a sense in which the picture that is emerging of the relationship between the state and 'community' under neoliberalism is one which is centred on maximising control, and minimising state responsibility (for further discussion see Burkett, forthcoming).

Conclusion

Models, approaches and strategies of microfinance have much to offer in terms of addressing *certain issues* of poverty in both the global South, and the global North. However, proposing that microfinance will potentially eradicate global poverty is akin to the sort of now famously ridiculed promise made by a former Australian prime-minister that 'by 1990, no Australian child will be living in poverty'. The reality is that there are no panaceas for poverty; no single method will eradicate poverty.

The challenge for those interested in developing futures for microfinance, is to look more closely at the strengths and weaknesses inherent in all models, and rather than looking for definitive, universal approaches, to start from the unique characteristics of the social and organisational contexts in which the initiatives are to be based, and work on experimenting, innovating and indigenising models which suit the participants in that context. Further, there is a very definite need to critically examine how neoliberal welfare regimes privilege certain approaches to microfinance (and other 'tools' said to potentially 'eradicate' poverty), and to understand how this potentially draws attention away from the structural causes of poverty, and sidelines the redistributive and social justice foci which have traditionally formed the heart of social policy and community-based practices. Without such critical examination I fear that microfinance will merely become another tool of:

> the nacent model of welfare, (in which) access to the labour market and varying forms of 'social participation', rather than distribution of material resources, are privileged as the principal pathways out of social exclusion (MacDonald and Marston, 2002: 6).

Note

1. The interest in microfinance and microenterprise initiatives in Australia's Indigenous communities (and here I am referring both to interest shown by the communities themselves and by policy personnel), is an area which warrants much further attention. It is beyond the scope of this paper to address the issues which this interest raises in anything but a cursory way. There have been a number of key studies and policy evaluations carried out in relation to this issue, for example, McDonnell, 1999), that are currently being responded to by the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission. I hope to explore this area further in future research.

Community Development in Contemporary Croatia: Globalisation, Neoliberalisation and NGO-isation

PAUL STUBBS

Introduction

'Community development' or 'community empowerment' is often presented as having two faces, as a progressive strategy for deepening democracy from below, on the one hand, and a conservative strategy for placing greater responsibility on communities in the context of a reduction of welfare state services, on the other (cf. Mayo and Craig, 1995: 1). This chapter focuses on the role of NGOs and social movements in community development in Croatia, emerging in the last decade from state socialism, war, and ethnicised nationalism. In the context of globalisation and neoliberalism, the chapter will show how this dichotomy is not always helpful in understanding complex processes in specific countries.

The case study suggests that, alongside concepts of globalisation and neoliberalisation, a third process, that of NGOisation, needs to be addressed. Utilised, particularly, by feminist researchers in Western Europe (Lang, 1997), in Latin America (Alvarez, 1998), and in the Arab countries (Jad, 2003), the concept of NGOisation refers to the transformation of social movements into organisations and the increasing dominance of 'modern' NGOs which emphasise 'issue-specific interventions and pragmatic strategies with a strong employment focus, rather than the establishment of a new democratic counter-culture' (Bagić, 2004: 222). Whereas many writers have emphasised the relationship between these new NGOs and the state, Bagić and others, writing in the context of the post-Yugoslav countries, have emphasised the way in which 'pressure from donors has changed the working style of many organisations' (Bagić, 2004: 222).

Whilst much has been written on globalisation and neoliberalisation, it is important to stress that, in this text, we consider the two as separate and separable, and as processes (the suffix – isation denotes precisely this) rather than causal structures. Whilst an early definition sees globalisation as a 'process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware they are receding' (Waters, 1995: 3), it is important not to understate the economic dimensions of this (cf. Hoogvelt, 2001: ch 6), nor the role of politicised resistance. Above all, studying 'grounded globalisations' emphasises the diverse, often unexpected, local manifestations of 'global forces, connections and imaginings' (Burawoy, 2000).

We also share Tickell and Peck's concern with neoliberalisation as a process, the outcomes of which are 'contingent and geographically specific – since they are working themselves out in a non-necessary fashion across an uneven institutional landscape' (Tickell and Peck, 2003). Indeed, taking this further, John Clarke has recently focused on 'uneven neoliberalisms', varying in space and time, and able to enter 'national-popular formations' only in and through alliances, 'assemblages of political discourses' which inevitably change shape, and produce 'hybrids, paradoxes, tensions and

incompatibilities' rather than 'coherent implementation of a unified discourse and plan' (Clarke, 2004: 93–94).

Building on Tickell and Peck's work, it is possible to see Croatia in the context of a revised and hybridised 'roll out' neoliberalism, very different from the 'roll back' neoliberalism of the early phase of Thatcher and Reagan's prescriptions for the United Kingdom and United States, in which some aspects of the advice and programming priorities of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and USAID, in particular, find common ground with emerging liberal 'think-tanks' and with some politicians and policy makers, particularly those close to the Ministry of Finance. Those who argue that rather than 'blaming 'neoliberalism' for 'mistakes in the last decade', one needs to recognise that 'liberal economic policy was never given a trial in a consistent manner' and that 'the liberal programme did not fail during the first decade of the transition – it has yet to be tried' (Šonje and Vujčić, 2003: 245–6), should simply alert us to the increasing 'radical' nature of the neoliberal critique.

The complexities of the construction of a new common-sense of the importance of competitiveness and of reducing 'non-productive social expenditures' are, perhaps, less important than the way in which all external assistance programmes tend to be framed in terms of the strictures of the 'new public management' which has been, accurately, described as the 'little brother of the neoliberal economic ideology, originating from the same intellectual and ideological roots' (Voipio, 2003: 360). In addition, the 'silence' regarding the anti-social nature of various forms of neoliberalism by diverse kinds of NGOs in Croatia, including those focused on anti-war, feminist and human rights' activities, is particularly relevant, framed as it is within global, regional post-communist, and specifically Croatian experiences.

This chapter will, first, sketch the most important social, political and economic dimensions of contemporary Croatian society, and ask how far these promote or impede progressive approaches to community development. Second, in historical perspective, this chapter will outline some of the origins of community development in Croatia. Third, the chapter will outline trends in donor activities and will attempt to analyse the problems and possibilities of recent emphases on community development. Fourth, the nature of activities in Croatian civil society will be addressed, including the role of diverse NGOs and social movements in relation to community development as a whole and specific themes and policy and practice issues. Finally, I draw some conclusions and outline a series of possible steps that could enhance the progressive quality of NGOs' contribution to community development in contemporary Croatia.

The chapter is written by me, a UK-born sociologist, who has lived and worked in Croatia for around twelve years, combining activism, research and consultancy. As such, I do not pretend to give an 'objective' account based on an external evaluation of the Croatian community development scene but, rather, base it on active involvement in many of the processes under study, and strong advocacy, within public policy, for community development approaches. In particular, I borrow from action research undertaken by MAP Savjetovanja, and funded by the C S Mott Foundation, into aspects of community development and mobilisation in contemporary Croatia (cf. http://www.map.hr).

The conceptual overview of this project borrows heavily from the 'radical' positions taken by authors such as Saul Alinsky (Alinsky, 1972) and, in particular Paulo Freire, whose seminal work *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire, 1993) has now been translated into the Croatian language, as well as from James Ife's holistic conception of community development (Ife, 2002). Hence, I define community development and mobilisation as processes, strategies and practices that promote sustainable, people-centred development, equal opportunities and social justice and establish or re-establish structures of human community within which new ways of organising social life become possible. Community development, in its progressive sense promotes equalities of access, voice,

agency and opportunity within localities as well as in and between communities defined in terms of identities and interests. This definition has to be explored in diverse contexts and in terms of the growth of various kinds of 'fused discourses' (cf. Kenny, 2001). Nevertheless, it acts as the basis for exploring structural constraints, state forms, historical legacies, donor priorities, and NGO activities.

Croatia: An Overview of Structural and Institutional Constraints to Community Development

Key Socio-economic Trends

Space precludes an adequate overview of the wider structural context of Croatian society. But, the combination of war, physical destruction, mass population displacement, authoritarian nationalism, 'repatriarchalisation', economic and social crises and transition, have all played a role in defining the shape of community development interventions. Subsequently, with increased stability, a more democratic political scene, and aspirations towards membership of the European Union, a new conjuncture has emerged, although the movement towards 'deep democracy' is still in process rather than fully achieved.

Croatia applied for membership of the European Union on 21 February 2003. Following a positive *avis* in April 2004, Croatia obtained official candidate status in June 2004. However, at the European Council meeting on 16 March 2005, the start of formal negotiations, due the next day, were postponed, pending full co-operation by Croatia with the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in The Hague. Negotiations proper began in October 2005 and November 2005, the retired General indicted by the ICTY was captured and sent to The Hague for trail. In addition to continuing concerns regarding the failure to catch and deliver to The Hague another ex-Croatian General, there are also concerns about general blockages and problems in the judicial process in Croatia.

The war in Croatia between 1991 and 1995, seen most dramatically internationally in the shelling of Dubrovnik and siege of Vukovar in late 1991, which overall affected 56 percent of the territory with, at one time, 26 percent of the land under occupation, led to the deaths of 13,583 people. Croatian Government figures estimate war damages to be in excess of US$20 billion (Bošnjak et al., 2002: 7). At its height, the crisis of forced migration meant that some 10 percent of the Croatian population were refugees or displaced persons. Following military actions in May and August 1995, which re-took all occupied territory, some 300,000 ethnic Serbs fled Croatia, only 98,000 of whom had returned by February 2003 (Škrabalo, 2003). Some 150,000 ethnic Croats, mainly from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia, have obtained Croatian citizenship since 1991.

The changed demographic structure of Croatia is shown most clearly by comparing the 1991 and 2001 censuses. In this time, Croatia's population declined by 7.25 percent from 4,784,265 to 4,437,460 with the ethnic composition also changing considerably, ethnic Serbs in particular declining from 12.16 percent in 1991 to 4.54 percent in 2001 (Croatian Bureau of Statistics, 2004).

Given increasing regional inequalities and differential growth prospects, with the gap between the 'war-affected areas', most of which were in decline before the war, and the big cities, particularly Zagreb, aggregates of income and wealth can be misleading. Nevertheless, Croatia with a per capita GDP in 2001 of US$4,625, and a Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) GDP per capita of US$9,170, is ranked 47th in the UNDP Human Development Index, exhibiting many of the features of a classic middle-income country (UNDP, 2003). GDP has, however, still not recovered to its 1990 peak of US$9,313 per capita PPP.

Unemployment has remained consistently high despite sustained macro-economic stability, with registered unemployment of almost 320,000 persons, an unemployment rate of 18.9 percent (Croatian Employment Bureau, 2004). Youth unemployment (for persons aged 15–24) is double this and the highest in all the transition countries (Starc, 2003: 47). Women, especially those with higher education, are also over-represented amongst unemployed people. International financial agencies have continued to urge restraint in public spending as Croatia has a high current account deficit (around 7.3 percent in 2003), foreign debt (81.9 percent of GDP in 2003) and budget deficit (around 4.5 percent in 2004) (cf. Ott, 2005: 7).

Data on poverty and inequality reveal a mixed picture, with low rates of absolute poverty – 4.8 percent according to the international standard of US$4.3 per person per day, and 10 percent according to the national poverty line, although subjective poverty, at 80 percent, is exceptionally high (Starc, 2003: 11). Based on the European Union standard measurement of 60 percent of median income, Croatia's relative poverty stood at 21 percent higher than 24 of the EU member states and equal to that of Ireland (Šućur, 2004: 443). Overall inequality as measured by the Gini coefficient stood at 0.31 in 2001, above the average of the EU 25 of 0.28, but well below rates in Portugal, Spain, Estonia and Greece (Šućur, 2004: 448).

As already noted, there is considerable, and widening, regional gaps between the affluent, largely urban, areas including Zagreb and Rijeka, and many of the war-affected areas, now designated as 'areas of special state concern' marked by high unemployment, low human capital, an ageing population, and tensions between settler, returnee, and domicile groups. The war affected areas have experienced a 40 percent decline in population between 1991 and 2001; have unemployment rates over twice the national average, with unemployment growing faster than employment; whilst accounting for only 8 percent of the Croatian population, they account for 21.7 percent of all social welfare recipients; and, excluding welfare benefits, have only 51.8 percent of the average personal per capita income of Croatia (Škrabalo, 2003). Recent work on regional GDP per capita, on educational inequalities and on regional unemployment suggest that the gap between Zagreb and some of the poorer counties is considerable with the city of Zagreb having per capita GDP of 156 percent of the national figure and an unemployment rate of 13.43 percent. The poorest county is that of Zagreb, surrounding the capital, with only 67 percent of national GDP. The highest rate of unemployment, at 41.35 percent is found in the war-affected Vukovar-Srijem County in the east of Croatia bordering Serbia (cf. Lovrinčević, Mikulić and Budak, 2004; Kordej De-Villa et al., 2004).

Roma, officially numbering 9,463 according to the 2001 census, but with real numbers estimated at around 40,000, face discrimination in terms of citizenship, policing, housing and, above all, education (cf. Mehmedi and Papa, 2001). The National Programme for Roma adopted in 2003 also notes Roma, less than 1 percent of the population, represented 13.56 percent of all social assistance benefit claimants.

The impact of rapid urbanisation, followed by de-industrialisation and the shifting fortunes of tourism have created wider developmental problems, particularly on the Croatian coast and islands, with many of the smaller islands, in particular, experiencing massive population reduction, although the Islands Law has been seen as one of the few pieces of development legislation which has had a positive impact (cf. Starc, 2000: ch 5). Whilst difficult to capture empirically, Croatian society has experienced a decline in both generalised trust and trust by the population in particular institutions, linked with an observed strong value dissensus (Starc, 2003: ch 2).

Whilst not approaching the scale of some CEE countries such as Bulgaria and Romania, Croatia has rather high numbers of persons in institutional care of one kind or another, many isolated from centres of population (Stubbs and Warwick, 2003) as well as a prison population which, whilst low by international standards, rose from 20 per 100,000 population in 1991 to 55 per 100,000 in 1996

(Walmeseley, 1998). Whilst funding for these institutions is not yet at crisis point, and physical conditions tend to be satisfactory, it is not uncommon for children to spend all their childhood in residential care, and for adults with disabilities to spend all their lives in an institution, often remote from centres of population, with resources or facilities devoted to leaving care, after care or rehabilitation into the community very scarce for all groups.

Strategies Abound

Institutional forces and configurations are crucial in shaping and constraining the potential for community development and empowerment in contemporary Croatia. The strategic direction of development policy in Croatia is, to say the least, confusing. As an excellent text in the 2001 Human Development Report puts it:

> In the second half of the 1990s ... an inclination (some would call it a fascination) with strategies became prominent (such that) Croatia was teeming with decisions and intentions about drafting strategies (Starc et al., 2002: 49).

Alongside this went a proliferation of Agencies, Institutes, Commissions, Committees, and such like, all charged with developing and overseeing such strategies and programmes with overlapping, competing and multiple mandates, akin to an 'institutional jungle' (Hauser, 2002). Any attempt to trace a rational or logical sense of ownership or steering of any particular issue is almost bound to end in failure amidst this proliferation of bodies and actors, often themselves complexly relating to more permanent bodies and more ephemeral networks and groups. Marina's Škrabalo's recent discussion of the policy context for peace-building in Croatia can also be applied to community development and mobilisation:

> There is an immediate need to take advantage of existing opportunities for enriching and entwining different, currently disconnected, legislative, institutional and programmatic frameworks … with a special focus on the accumulation of social capital … and citizens' participation in the local and national policy making processes (Škrabalo, 2003: 2–3).

The disconnect between 'top-down' policy making and development strategies and 'bottom up' community development and mobilisation initiatives is crucial here. Perhaps the most important constraint on 'progressive' community development and empowerment in contemporary Croatia is not so much 'the new social stratification of Croatian society, accompanied by a significant redistribution of social wealth, social power and social esteem' (Malenica, 2003: 342), as the deeper meta-level crisis in values and trust which can be seen as both a cause and effect of this redistribution. One of the most influential of contemporary Croatian sociologists, Josip Županov, who died in 2004, has described this as a process of semi-modernism, driven by a new political elite, and containing elements of 'modernising' and 'traditionalising' discourses and practices (Županov, 2001). He suggests that this semi-modernism is a mixture of 3 elements: re-traditionalisation, de-industrialisation, and de-scientisation.

It is possible to trace the contours of state forms in Croatia, with ten years of nationalist rule, divided between the time of war (1991–1995); the time of reinforced authoritarianism searching for the enemy within (1996–1998) and the beginnings of democratic transformation (1998–2000), culminating in the election, in January 2000, of a left of centre coalition. The reformed nationalist party (HDZ) which came back into power in the elections of November 2003 continued to espouse a more European orientation. Crucially, throughout the last fifteen years, there has been an immense implicit and, at times, explicit, centralisation of political power and authority in the capital Zagreb.

In part, this has been an adjunct to authoritarian nationalism and the fear of regional separatist movements developing (particularly in Istria with a large Italian population).

The proliferation of local government units and failure to distinguish between a small municipality unable to raise revenues locally to be sustainable and a large city, has meant that decentralisation is increasingly spoken of rhetorically but rarely pursued in practice. Conversely, and somewhat paradoxically, there is still a sense that in some war-affected areas, the processes of democratisation are not as advanced as centrally, with a degree of clientelism, informal power and influence brokerage, in which a coalition of charismatic politicians and local war-veteran activist groups continue to hold sway. When one adds to this the massive demographic changes in the last decade, it is clear that it is difficult to generalise about 'Croatian society' much less to suggest, in one-dimensional terms, an openness or resistance to community development.

An Historical Excavation of Community Development in Croatia

Eight years ago, Nino Žganec, the leading Croatian scholar of community development and, from 2000 to mid-2005, an Assistant Minister (later State Secretary) for Social Welfare, stated that the 'domestic literature' on 'community organising methods' taught to social work students in Zagreb was 'really poor – only one book and a few articles' so that 'most of the knowledge that students learn are from the other countries of Europe and the USA' (Žganec, 1997). A work of recovery is needed, therefore, to excavate traces of a theory and practice of community development in Croatia, without over-stating the case so that the label of 'community development' is found everywhere and forced onto too wide a range of historical phenomena. Such a project is beyond the scope of this chapter. It is also the case that, since 1997 when Žganec wrote the above, there has been much more attention to this theme within Croatia and, whilst not an 'explosion' of texts, there are now a number of theoretical, case study, and practical handbook texts in the field.

Two different historical starting points could be taken for this 'excavation'. The first would be the first half of the twentieth century during the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Pioneering ethnographic studies of rural communities, such as *Kako živi narod/How the people live* (Bićanić, 1936) can be linked with notions of agrarianism and, in particular, the role of co-operatives (*zadruge*), as profoundly social and cultural institutions as well as economic ones. This configuration should be seen not as a set of anti-modernising forces and ideas but as representing an alternative path to modernisation. Few authors have examined the *zadruge* movement as a particular kind of community organising which, insofar as it continues to exist today, represents a profound, if almost completely hidden, continuity in terms of community development and mobilisation. The second starting point would be Croatia in socialist Yugoslavia, particularly after Tito's break with Stalin in 1948. The explicitly 'modernising', industrialising and urbanising elements of the first wave of the Yugoslav experiment was something of a totalising, 'top down' project, although initial moves towards worker's self-management are, perhaps, relevant to community development, and forms of work action and work brigades (*radna akcija*) were also important social and cultural practices.

The later phase of decentralisation and full-scale implementation of self-management socialism, following the 1974 Constitution, is of much greater interest. Without ever questioning the leading role of the Communist Party or the importance of central or Republic-based state functions, the creation of self-management communities of interest (*SIZ*), work-based, professional, service-based, and at local community level, alongside local wards (*MZ*), is of immense interest as an experiment in 'participatory socialism', albeit of a somewhat paternalistic, formalistic, if not even compulsory, kind. The impact of this in terms of the creation of a new public sphere along with tokenistic, notions of client feedback and choice in health and social services (cf. Parmalee, 1982; Saric and

Rodwin, n.d.) is crucial here. In this period, longer-standing women's and youth organisations also began to take on a more autonomous role. They were active at the local community level, as were the Red Cross, Caritas and the children's organisation *Naša Djeca* (Our Children) and utilised networks of volunteers. There were linked academic developments as the humanistic and social sciences sought to explore and explain the practices and attitudes of diverse communities, cultures and subcultures.

The 1980s

In the 1980s, a series of initiatives and movements emerged which represented the creation of a genuinely autonomous public sphere. In neighbouring Slovenia, many of these explicitly articulated a concern with the development of 'civil society' and 'new social movements', even influencing the discourse of the League of Communists of Slovenia (Mastnak, 1994; 100). Activists in and around the University of Ljubljana engaged in and learnt from, a range of community actions, often explicitly influenced by Freire, including: community art and music; alternative mental health movements; work with young people labelled as 'at risk'; work with drug users; and so on. In the latter part of the 1980s, a fusion of anti-militaristic and peace groups, women's groups, and environmental activists, represented a coherent critique of the communist system.

In Croatia, and particularly in Zagreb, a similar range of initiatives developed. The component elements of these movements and initiatives, when listed, appear similar to those in Slovenia, and certainly there were mutual influences, but their content and meaning was somewhat different. There were a number of highly innovative and progressive media initiatives, notably the weekly *Start*, the student newspaper *Studentski List*, the periodical *Polet*, and, in the latter part of the 1980s, Zagreb's *Radio 101*, later to become national President Tuđman's *bete noir*. In addition, ecological movements were established, notably *Svarun*, an ecological and peace group formed in 1986, an antecedent to the current *Zelena Akcija* (Green Action) formed in 1987 in Split and in 1989 in Zagreb (Green Action, 2000: 86).

Perhaps the most important, and certainly the longest established, strand was the development of a range of women's organisations and neo-feminist activism beginning, perhaps, with the 'Women and Society' section of the Croatian Sociological Society founded in 1978 (Feldman 1999: 8), continuing with a strong presence in both academic and popular publishing, notably through the work of Lydia Sklevicky, Slavenka Drakulić and Vesna Kesić, and, in the late 1980s, leading to the establishment of an SOS telephone hotline for women, victims of violence, in Zagreb (cf. Stubbs, 2003: 153–4).

The 1990s

In the context of the development of political pluralism, emerging authoritarian nationalism, and war destruction and mass forced migration in the early 1990s, the entire landscape for community development changed in Croatia. An emergency-based international response to the effects of war tended to develop in two, interlinked, directions. The first involved work with, and promotion of, an emerging group of Croatian non-governmental organisations in a dominant 'psycho-social' approach, emphasising individual, family and group-based therapeutic interventions. The critique of this as 'medicalising the social effects of war' in retrospect seems somewhat overstated (cf. Stubbs and Soroya, 1996), and some texts did give some consideration to community factors as contributing to psychological well-being (cf. Agger et al., 1995; Mimica and Stubbs, 1996). Nevertheless, there remained a relative under-emphasis on community development, not least

because of limited space, at a time of national mobilisation and authoritarianism, for any perceived radical political intervention (cf. Stubbs, 1997a).

The second involved a response framed in terms of immediate relief of suffering and the delivery of humanitarian aid. Leading roles in this were played by religious-based organisations, particularly the Catholic charity Caritas and the Muslim charity Merhamet, as well as a group of new local NGOs some of which promoted, or were based on, self-organisation, particularly of refugees and displaced persons. In areas directly affected by war, new kinds of social mobilisation occurred, often involving close links between formal and informal leaders, schools, artists, and so on.

More radical initiatives, many based around the network of groups and organisations associated with the Anti-war Campaign, Croatia, represented both a real and symbolic continuation of some of the 1980s activism, albeit in changed circumstances. These initiatives were strongly influenced by general theories of 'civil society' and, in particular, by concepts of 'non-violent conflict resolution' (cf. Stubbs, 1996a). Whilst many of the initiatives combined advocacy and lobbying with practical actions supporting individuals and groups adversely affected by the war and by authoritarian nationalism, there was, again, little explicit connection with concepts of community development and mobilisation.

From 1996 onwards, in the context of a degree of relative stability and absence of direct conflict in Croatia, considerably greater emphasis was placed on community development and mobilisation, often framed in terms of 'social reconstruction' (cf. Stubbs, 1996b; Ajduković, 2003) and 'community building'. In retrospect, the impetus for this came from external (foreign) assistance organisations, albeit with increasing input from a core group of Croatian practitioners, activists and professionals, some of whom worked within or close to these international agencies, at least for a time. The complex formal and informal links between overlapping networks in Croatia at this time is beyond the scope of this chapter, but it is worth noting that many of the most important community development organisations in Croatia were formed in this period.

Few texts record these activities: lack of space and resources making it difficult for activists to write. One important text, *I Choose Life* (Kruhonja, 2001), looks at the work of peace teams from the Osijek Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights in six communities in Eastern Slavonia. It focuses on 'listening' to communities. The book, *Activists*, chronicles the experiences of women in civil initiatives in Croatia from the 1980s and explores and questions the inter-relationship between activist engagement and theoretical concepts with explicit reference to a women's community (*ženska zajednica*) (Barilar, et al., 2001: 70–75). A text of papers and reflections from ten years of the Centre for Women War Victims seeks to 'revive the gender dimension in the public memory of women's participation in war protests and other political activity' (Kesić, 2003: 12). The recently published edited text, *The Social Reconstruction of Communities* (Ajduković, 2003), based on the work of the Society for Psychological Assistance, provides a valuable social-psychological perspective on community development and offers theoretical and practical suggestions for work in war-torn communities. A manual produced by the local NGO *Odraz*, the title an abbreviation of the Croatian language words for 'sustainable development', contains a range of practical tools for work in communities (Laginja and Pavić, 2001).

The EU Context

The European Union context is becoming most important in structuring development policy in Croatia and follows a long period in which the World Bank, USAID and a host of other bilateral donors, held sway. The significance of donor priorities is discussed more fully in the next section. Here, it suffices to note that Croatia is some way from a situation of 'cognitive Europeanisation'

in terms of a community empowerment that incorporates 'the EU discourse ... into national ... discourse, preferences and aspirations' (Guillén and Álvarez, 2004: 298). In particular, despite the EU concept of subsidiarity, there has been little or no criticism of the centralising tendencies of the Croatian state in EU reviews of Croatia's progress to fulfilling criteria for membership. Even more importantly, there has been little attempt to incorporate Croatian initiatives into wider European community development networks.

Reflecting Donor Priorities

As already noted, it is not only internal structural conditions that have hindered the development of community empowerment in Croatia. Without wishing to indulge in the practice of 'donor bashing' (cf. Sampson, 2002), the shifting, often fickle, nature of the priorities of external actors, particularly donors, has skewed local ones and created a certain 'false positive' in which a range of local actors follow the rhetoric and language of current trends. Themes and foci have tended to be narrowly defined with few connections drawn between questions of economic development; refugee return; Roma; youth; persons with disabilities; and so on. Whilst gender issues, human rights more generally and general democratisation initiatives in the context of organising around elections have been highly topical, these tend to be framed in terms of 'big ideas' and centralised, rather than being integrated into programmes of local strategic development.

As a rough periodisation of donor interventions, including the dominance of different implementing agencies, Table 11.1, derived from two workshops as part of the recent 'Community Development and Mobilisation' action research project, captures some of the key shifts over time.[1] The implications of the initial phase of 'humanitarian relief' had longer-lasting consequences and contributed to a parallel structure of INGOs and their local 'partners', bypassing, explicitly or implicitly, networks of state institutions including Centres for Social Work, which are important, but remain highly bureaucratised and stigmatising statutory social welfare institutions. There was a degree of expectation of significant cash injections for community infrastructure generated at this time. This fomented a dependency culture with high expectations of both government and international community. Many international actors later subsumed development programmes within a broader democratisation discourse by supporting a pluralistic development regime including a role for 'civil society' and an uneven pattern of backing for different political configurations at national, regional and local levels.

In addition, there is an often remarked upon lack of co-ordination and complementarity of effort between international agencies and instead more competition and confusion. This relates to the complexities of the interests and value-base of diverse agencies, with distinctions between 'neoliberal', 'Keynesian' and a hybrid, technocratic, approach reproduced between and within them. The imposition of 'new public management' rules that highlight particular organisational structures, including a US-style management hierarchy, structures of efficiency, effectiveness and measurable results, has distorted and inhibited grassroots innovative practices. This creates the danger of 'projectisation' or 'technocratisation' of community development, in terms of a 'toolkit' or 'transplanting' approach, and a race to show results, that involves cutting corners, not learning lessons, and utilising informal networks of influence. Ironically, these contribute to a lack of transparency in projects that were set up to challenge this. An alternative approach, emphasising processes, feedback loops, mutual learning, and a recognition of problems and failures, runs counter to the 'success culture' of external assistance programmes.

A complex role in many local development projects is being played by 'new intermediaries' often with power but no legitimacy, able to facilitate communication and action between levels. In addition, external actors provide opportunities for new vertical alliances in which certain

Table 11.1   Key Shifts in Community Development in Croatia

Pre–1991 Socialist Self-management	1991–1995 War and Crisis	1996–1998 Authoritarian nationalism	1998–2000 Transitioning Democratisation	2000– Consolidating Democratisation towards EU
Participation in self-management Financial crises (indebtedness)	Trauma (psycho-social intervention) Humanitarian relief and Aid	Reconstruction and Reconciliation Human/ minority rights Gender/ Domestic violence Civil society	Minority reintegration Youth Democrati-sation Elections	Good governance Economic development/ SMEs Community development Inter-sectoral cooperation Philanthropy/ Corporate responsibility
Non-aligned Movement UN Agencies IFIs	UNHCR ECTF Embassies Red Cross Caritas INGOs	OSCE USAID UNHCR Embassies European/US Feminist groups INGOs OSI	OSCE USAID IOM DFID Embassies OSI World Bank INGOs	EU USAID World Bank UNDP Embassies OSI OSCE INGOs/ICCs

discourses lacking national or local credibility can become favoured because of their amplification internationally. The distortions here are compounded by the fact that those who work for international agencies tend to be young professionals, especially valued are those who speak English, and that salaries are much higher than in the public sector. This can also be the case for those funded by international agencies and working in the local NGO sector.

Conversely, voluntarism has also been emphasised by the state and by international donors. The importing of the concept of voluntarism, most famously in the quote by one Croatian activist in a radio interview hoping that 'Croatia becomes more like the United States, where voluntary work is compulsory', bears little resemblance to a longer tradition of community and voluntary work. Moreover, in the context of freezes or reductions in public expenditure, it can represent an attempt to place more of the burdens for community development on an unpaid workforce, mainly of women.[2] In a sense, then, donor priorities were, initially, skewed against the promotion of community development in Croatia. Increasingly, in later years, the concept has been increasingly used, but this is a classic transplanting of a 'foreign' concept with little or no understanding of the long-standing tradition of community development in Croatia. Moreover, international donors have tended to technocratise community development and to create and strengthen a hierarchy of large national bodies steering smaller localised initiatives.

The Politics of NGOs in Croatia

Croatia has over 20,000 registered associations of citizens, a ratio of 4.5 per 1,000 citizens, close to levels in Hungary, with 18,000 of these registered at the local level (Starc , 2002). This represents an increase of almost 5,000 since 1999 although there are suggestions that, excluding sports clubs and cultural associations, only between 1,000 and 1,500 are active. For much of the 1990s, in the context of authoritarian nationalism, relationships between the Government of Croatia and leading NGOs, many funded from abroad, was strained and the 1997 Law on Associations was widely seen as highly problematic and restrictive of associational activity (Stubbs, 1997b).

Subsequently, the creation of a Governmental Office for Co-Operation with NGOs (UzU); an annual grants competition, dispersing 28 million HRK (about 2.5 million GBP) in 1999 and 17 million HRK (1.6 million GBP) in 2002; a more progressive Law on Associations passed in 2001; the creation of a new National Foundation for Civil Society Development; and the 'Programme of Co-operation between the Government of Croatia and the Non-Governmental and Not-for-Profit Sector' in 2000, have all contributed to a more positive enabling environment. External support for the Croatian NGO sector has been extensive and is ongoing, with the establishment, mainly through USAID-funded programmes, of a network of Regional Resource Centres and a group of training and capacity building organisations. This assistance has become more focused on developmental rather than relief-based concerns, and has increasingly seen community development and mobilisation as a priority albeit, as noted above, in a way divorced from local realities.

Patterns of NGO development are geographically uneven, with a concentration in urban areas. There is also a widespread perception that 'elite', professional NGOs tailor their work according to the interests of donors, thematically and geographically. Importantly, levels of 'mistrust' amongst different NGOs and between NGOs and other actors, militates against cohesive approaches to local development. In addition, many strategies and 'top down' plans fail to engage with groups in civil society, much less to adopt more than a tokenistic approach to consultation, partnership and voice. Many have seen multi-sectoral working as a panacea for many of the problems of Croatian society, including blockages to local development, sometimes seemingly oblivious to the deep routed nature of mistrust and complexity of interests and power relations involved. It is still the case that there are still relatively few examples of long-term, consistent, multi-sectoral

partnerships for community development in Croatia, between local governments, associations and NGOs, and businesses, amongst other stakeholders. A recent pioneering report on Corporate Social Responsibility in Croatia points out a number of positive examples of business-NGO collaboration, however (Bagić et al., 2004: 53).

Perhaps the most important trend is the growth of what have been termed 'meta-NGOs' 'whose primary purpose is to provide information and assistance to other NGOs' (Bach and Stark, 2001: 15) but which, therefore, rely on hierarchical relations and can, all too easily exhibit a superiority and end up 'governing' other NGOs and smaller community-based initiatives. The inverse law of NGOs, namely that NGOs are concentrated where they are needed least (Stubbs, 1997b), is now matched by a huge disjunction between the larger, more successful, but increasingly bureaucratised or rhetorical meta-NGOs, and emerging, under-funded, localised initiatives which are true sources of contemporary 'social energy' (cf. Hirschmann, 1984) in Croatia, alongside informal community leaders, including teachers, priests and local activists.

The institutional context for community development is certainly also affected by the absence of a formal organisational field given the fact that there are no formal higher education or professional courses or even generally recognised and accredited training programmes; no formal Association for Community Development linked with international bodies; no widely recognised network of practitioners; no real or virtual resource centre for practice exchange. Moves to force such developments could be counter-productive, furthering mistrust between the diverse components of an emerging community development sector in Croatia. In addition, the relative flux and permeable boundaries of the sector is conducive to a diversity of approaches, and the absence of rigid hierarchies too often found in more institutionalised fields.

On the other hand, this lack places community development in an inferior position relative to other, more formally validated, approaches, and can put such work at a disadvantage in terms of legitimacy and, indeed, access to resources, in what remains a highly professionalised society. Moreover, informal hierarchies of dominant and subordinate approaches still exist within the sector, with a kind of implicit elitism developing not sanctioned according to any open, transparent, criteria.

Our own action research on community development and mobilisation in Croatia (www.map.hr) has focused on the shifting relationship between state support and donor priorities, on the one hand, and the development of grassroots citizens' initiatives as opposed to 'meta-NGOs' as sources of social energy, on the other. Crucially, it has tended to confirm that there is little connection between community development based on notions of geographically limited spatial communities, prone to technicism, economism and a nostalgic conservatism for a (mythical) age when all interests were reconcilable, and work on interest-based or identity communities, such as gender, Roma, Serb returnees, persons with disabilities, each of which is also disconnected, one from another. Work with a range of marginalised and oppressed groups tends to be based on a deficit model or even on a notion of cultural pathology, with little attention to rights-based approaches as opposed to the delivery of remedial services.[3] In this sense, there is little focus on self-empowerment and self-help initiatives. Rather, professionalised or semi-professionalised NGOs still dominate. In a complex way, community work is either over-politicised, with charismatic political leaders using informal power and mobilising communities for their own interests, or under-politicised, with too little emphasis on the politicised transformation of private issue and spaces into public concerns.

What is to be Done? Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter has attempted to show the realities of community development in contemporary Croatia, in the context of an exploration of structural constraints, state forms, historical legacies,

donor priorities, and NGO and grassroots citizens' activities. In the end, it can be seen that Croatia exhibits some of the tendencies associated with globalisation and neoliberalisation, but also some specificities, in part a product of the complex configuration of civil society activity in the early post-communist, war years.

In seeking to draw policy recommendations, it is important to stress that there are no institutional or practice models from elsewhere that can be transplanted in Croatia as a kind of panacea promoting community development. Rather, what is needed is the creation of networks, arenas and spaces, locally, nationally, and internationally, for exchanges of experiences and elaborations of good practice, not as set formulae but as attempts that grapple with why certain initiatives appear to have had positive effects and others less so. In a global professional culture of standards and benchmarking, it is perhaps more important to create this space for mutual learning across specific themes and issues, whilst also stressing the importance of theory and politics.

Above all, donor policies, including the state (which, through the National Foundation for Civil Society, is now the biggest funder of NGOs in Croatia) and international donors, need to recognise that the 'hot spots' of social energy in community development in Croatia are far removed from their implicit, and sometimes, explicit, support of moribund 'meta-NGOs'. There is evidence of changing practices, with a number of donors willing, now, to fund smaller unregistered groups. The recent controversy when so-called leading (i.e. Zagreb-based, previously largely foreign-funded) NGOs complained because core funding from the Foundation was given to some NGOs they had never heard of is illustrative, too. In part, it suggests a recognition of shifting emphases, away from supporting politicised, albeit rhetorically more than really active, organisations in favour more of solid service-delivery organisations with the ability to mobilise volunteers. Going beyond this, to fund more fluid movements, campaigns and *ad hoc* initiatives, may be too much to expect from, essentially, a technocratic state body.

There has been increasing emphasis, in recent years, in Croatia on local social compacts, community-based partnerships and community foundations, reflecting Anglo-American influence in the entire post-communist region. Thankfully, given a strong tradition of public provision, there have been only very limited introductions of Social Funds, utilising the rhetoric of demand-driven development but, in reality, further eroding welfare provision. The key issue is, of course, to ensure that policy proposals are thoroughly discussed and debated in terms of their longer-term social impacts and, in particular, in terms of how they affect power relations. In the end, a coalition for changing dominant perceptions of community development, building an active welfare society alongside good quality public provision, is the only guarantee of challenging processes of neoliberalisation in Croatia. It is to be regretted that the most active high-profile NGOs are more concerned with their own survival than with this wider cause.

Overall, then, this chapter has argued for a more nuanced understanding of, and approach to, community development in contemporary Croatia recognising the historical legacies, as well as addressing contemporary responses in the context of international development programmes and neoliberalism. Any comparisons with other countries in transition or the developing world are beyond the scope of this text. Others (cf. Mayo and Craig, 1995) have noted the strong historical links between community development and colonial government. It may be, in the context of the redefining of Europe's, and the European Union's borders, that the international emphasis on community development is a form of 'neocolonialism' which exports and extends governmentalities beyond its borders. Böröcz has argued this most persuasively in terms of the idea that:

> the specific histories of colonialism and empire, with their deeply coded and set patterns of inequality, hierarchy, exclusion and power – and especially their techniques pertaining to the projection of that power to the outside world – are reflected in a deep and systematic form in the socio-cultural pattern of the governmentality of the EU (Böröcz, 2001: 14).

Yet, as this chapter his shown, like the global neoliberal project, it always faces specific local and national forces and conditions which adapt and resist such that, in the end, the study of community development in Croatia takes its place as one amongst many studies of what Burawoy has termed 'grounded globalisations' which:

> tries to understand not only the experience of globalisation but also how that experience is produced in specific localities and how that political process is contingent (Burawoy, 2000: 344).

Notes

1. The author acknowledges the work of Aida Bagić, Mirna Karzen, Marina Škrabalo and Nataša Škrbić in the development of this typology.
2. The concept derives from unpublished work by Aida Bagić.
3. The author is grateful to Jadranka Mimica for this insight.

ACRONYMS USED IN TEXT

CEE	Central and Eastern Europe
DFID	UK Department for International Development
ECTF	European Community Task Force
EU	European Union
GBP	Pounds Sterling
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HDZ	Croatian Democratic Union (Political Party)
HRK	Croatian Kuna (1 GBP = 10.8 HRK on 06 April 2005)
ICCs	International Consultancy Companies
IFIs	International Financial Institutions
INGOs	International Non-Governmental Organisations
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe
OSI	Open Society Institute (Soros)
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
SMEs	Small and Medium Enterprises
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USD	United States Dollars

Learning Through Our Children, Healing For Our Children: Best Practice In First Nations Communities

JACQUIE GREEN and ROBINA THOMAS

Introduction

> I arranged a trip to Manitoba so these children could meet their biological family. I took three weeks to prepare these children. I found out some words in Cree, so I wrote them down and I took a video and videoed these two children; a nine and ten year old. I had to talk 'hello auntie' and all those Cree words and say what we were doing, where they lived, how they do in school etc. I send the video back so that the family had an idea about who their little nieces and nephews are prior to the visit. Initially, I had hoped I could match up a placement with their own community. It didn't work out that way, but something marvellous came out of it. These two children who have no family out here and have always been yearning for that family, now know they have a family back East. And there are phone calls, there are letters, there are pictures going back and forth now (Interviewee, 2001, 1:2:4).[1]

First Nations children are the children of the Indigenous peoples of Canada. They are over-represented in the child protection system. Child welfare in this country is delegated to the provinces, and so each of the eleven provinces has its own legislation and system of child welfare and protection services. In addition, this complexity is layered with the unique position of First Nations or Canada's indigenous peoples. First Nations' growth and development has been deleteriously affected by centuries of colonial rule and disenfranchisement. Reservations were specifically developed to ensure colonial control of First Nations peoples. For centuries, First Nations children were forcibly taken into residential schools where they were physically and sexually abused. Through the residential school system, children were systematically denied access to their families, language and culture (Haig-Brown, 1988). This historical legacy has recently been exposed by courageous First Nations Elders and professionals who have sought to develop culturally competent forms of practice and living that will enable First Nations children, families and communities to heal and prosper within their own milieu and under their own direction (Walmsley, 2004).

To meet their objective of gaining control over the socialisation of their children and helping them to heal and prosper, First Nations peoples have demanded that the provinces cede control of the child welfare system pertaining to First Nations children to them. Provinces can accede to this demand if they so wish. This has occurred in the province of British Columbia (BC) where we, as two First Nations women, are based. In this chapter, we focus on best practices with children in First Nations communities by describing a research project that we undertook into this. In the process of discussing this work, we will consider how First Nations culture has affected this research – how we conceived it; how we carried it out; and how we analysed it. We invite you to share this journey with us.

Contextualising First Nations Services for Children

In Canada, most provinces have the authority to delegate child welfare services to specific groups. In BC, delegation happens under the auspices of the Child Family and Community Service Act, 1996 (CFCSA or 'the Act'). Legal authority for BC to enter into protective delegation agreements is found in section 90 of CFSA, which states:

For purposes of this Act, the Minister may make an agreement with any of the following:

a. an Indian band or a legal entity representing an Aboriginal community;
b. the government of Canada, the government of a province of Canada, or the government of a jurisdiction outside Canada, or an official agency of any of these governments; and
c. any person, or group of persons (CFSA, 1996).

Currently in British Columbia, there are 28 First Nations agencies that provide services on and off-reserve and are delegated by the Ministry of Children and Family Development (MCFD) under the Child, Family and Community Services Act (CFCSA). These are available on the internet at (http://www.mcaws.gov.bc.ca/aboriginal_dir/guide.htm accessed 20 February 2005). For social workers to be employed in the provincial child welfare services, the Director of the MCFD must delegate practitioners for this purpose. To become delegated, social workers must participate in Ministry training for delegated services and write a final examination. Having successfully completed this, a person is designated as a Ministry Child Protection Worker and employed by the Ministry. With the development of First Nations Child Welfare Agencies it became apparent the current Provincial Ministry training was not appropriate for First Nations Child Welfare Workers because it did not include a historical analysis or decolonising social work practices that would benefit First Nations families. Also, Ministry trainers were not of First Nations origins and could not effectively train First Nations social workers for the delegated services. Thus, the First Nations Child Welfare Agencies recommended that the government develop appropriate training for First Nations Child Welfare Practice.

In 1994 the Ministry initiated training that would be developed and implemented by First Nations professionals for First Nations social workers. The organisation that evolved to provide training for First Nations agencies that are delegated by the province was the Caring for First Nations Children Society (CFNCS) (See appendix B). In line with mainstream training within the Ministry for Children and Families, training for First Nations agency social workers is now provided through CFNCS. Workers wishing to work within delegated First Nations agencies must pass a delegation examination to provide child welfare services in First Nations communities.

Doing Research in First Nations Communities

Conducting the Research

We gave considerable thought to how we would approach our research and the questions that would provide the focus for our work. From this, we determined that our research objective was to ask, 'What are the best child welfare practices in First Nations communities?' Our selection process was implicated by funding for our research and due to this we chose First Nations agencies within a limited proximity that matched our budget restraints. Our selection consisted of four First Nations child welfare agencies. Three were on-reserve and provided up to level 15 services. The other agency was off-reserve and provided up to level 13 services. Each of these First Nations agencies hold child welfare delegation from the Ministry of Children and Family Development (MCFD)

between levels 12 to15 (See Appendix A – Delegation Matrix). It is unclear why the delegation matrix begins at level 12, however, to acquire full delegation and be authorised to provide child protection services, both agencies and workers must be delegated to level 15.

We had the opportunity to visit four First Nations agencies for our research. In each of these, we interviewed one supervisor and three social workers individually for a total of 16 interviews from all agencies. In our planning for potential interviewees, we wanted to ensure that our analysis included a range of delegated services to First Nations communities. Additionally, we wanted to include social workers that worked within the complex politics of these communities at the supervisory level as well as those working at the practice delivery level.

We began communicating with the selected agencies through their Directors. We initially spoke with the Director of each agency who recommended the supervisor and social workers that we could interview. Therefore, our dialogues with interviewees were based on agency selection from the Director as to who could provide the most effective information for best practices for First Nations children. Overall, the agencies selected were interested in participating in our research project. The interviewees felt that it was important to share their knowledge, expertise and their challenges with the public. They were receptive to having their stories published because they all felt there is not enough documentation and literature that addresses the interests of First Nations Child Welfare, nor tell the stories of their successes and challenges. Moreover, they stated there is a great demand for Indigenous literature that illustrates best practices that are decolonising. By decolonising, we mean those practices that address our historical legacy and find ways of transcending the damage that it has done to our peoples.

Each interview usually lasted from one to two hours. Normally, we visited each agency for a day to undertake the research. By spending a day with the agency we were not only privileged by accounts within the agency, but also by meeting the entire agency staff and gaining some knowledge of their community. We were also blessed with tours of agencies, introduction to other staff and lunch. Through dialogue with other staff members, Elders and board members we saw that agencies had formed natural entities of their own families. Relationships between different departments and advisories were close and more so, department workers and advisories worked closely with their communities, i.e., with people both on and off-reserve.

Analysing the Research

We will utilise teaching philosophies of the Medicine Wheel to analyse and share our research findings. The Medicine Wheel is an ancient teaching tool. It has no beginning and no end and teaches us that all things are interrelated. The circularity of the Wheel we are utilising is comprised of quadrants that represent all living things (see Figure 12.1). There are many diverse teaching, principles and philosophies of the Medicine Wheel. Our teachings come from our Anishnabe friend and mentor, Gale Cyr. She is from the East of Turtle Island, otherwise known as Quebec, Canada. In First Nations' teachings, Turtle Island is what the Europeans call North America.

As emerging scholars we have come to know and understand this borrowed tool as a model not only for writing, but also for living. We have utilised the Medicine Wheel teachings for course development, workshop presentations, writing papers and balancing our lives. For the purposes of this paper, we will use this philosophy to guide how we write our research themes.

It is important to note that, when we utilise the philosophies of the Wheel, each quadrant interrelates with each of the others. For example in the Eastern direction, our spiritual being is also a part of our physical being. No quadrant is worth more than another. All aspects of our being and place are of equal importance. Moreover, once you have journeyed around the Wheel, you
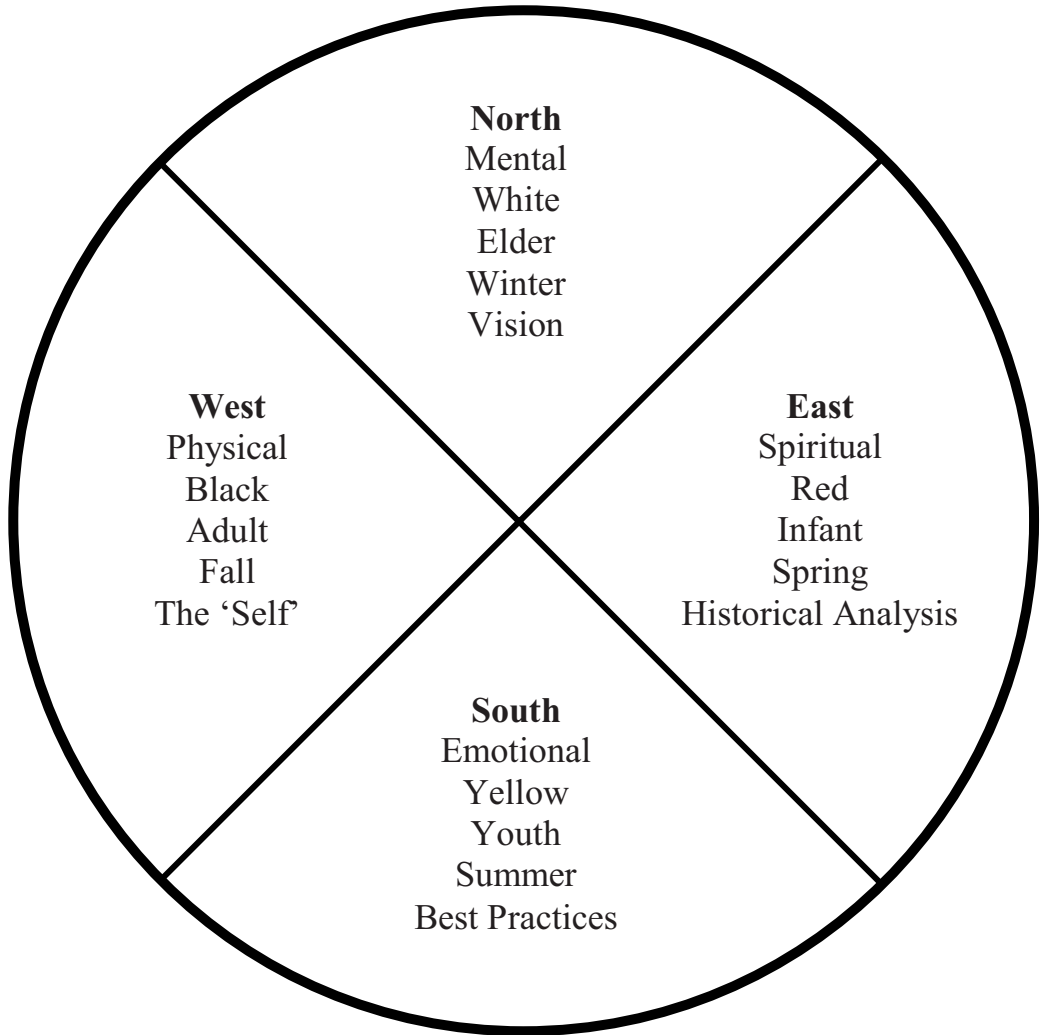
Figure 12.1   Medicine Wheel

learn from your experience and journey around the Wheel once again, this time learning from your mistakes. If we remember the challenges, our next journey can be different and more effective.

Starting at the East and working clockwise around the Wheel, we have the four components of all human beings – the spiritual, emotional, physical, and mental (Bopp et al., 1989: 12; Saulis, 2003: 294). The Wheel has four colours to represent all the races of Mother Earth: red, yellow, black and white; the four stages of the lifecycle – infant, youth, adult and elder; and the four seasons – spring, summer, fall and winter (Hart, 2002b, c). Our teaching was that you always begin in the East because this is the direction of spirituality, the colour red, the life stage of the infant and springtime. This is the direction of new beginnings, of daybreak, and the sunrise. In the East we will examine the history of Indigenous peoples in Canada and the impact of colonisation. The South is the direction of our emotional beings, the colour yellow and the life stage of youth. This

is the direction of summer, a time for lots of activity. For youth, this is the time where they are learning much. This is also the place where we recognise and honour the teachings of our Elders and spiritual leaders. In this direction we will share 'Best Practices' with you.

In the West, we have the direction of our physical being, the colour black, the life stage of the adult and the fall or autumn season. This is the direction when we do the work. For example, here is where social workers share their knowledge and work within our communities to help strengthen our children and families. The North is the direction of our mental being, the colour white, the life stage of an elder and wintertime. We are reminded when we reach the North to revisit our work. This is the time to see what changes we need to make to our lives; a time to re-think. For social work practice in First Nations communities, this is the direction of vision. This is the time to dream of a life where all our families are healthy and strong, where residential schools and child welfare systems are a thing of the past. The northern direction is the time where our language, culture and tradition are revived and become a part of our day-to-day lives.

In the East – Historical Analysis

A historical analysis is located in the East because this is the area where our spirits were nearly broken. For First Nations, a historical analysis involves looking at issues of residential schools, the removal of children, loss and relocation of land, loss of culture, tradition and language. Our interviews revealed that many of the current concerns that families have to address stem from the impact of residential schools and the mainstream child welfare systems upon their lives. As one worker states:

> anyone who's working in this area has to have a very clear idea about the historical context and the oppression of Aboriginal people … in order to understand how we are at a place where high percentages of removals are happening (Interviewee, 2001, 1:1:5).

As we explained above, we know North America as Turtle Island. For the purposes of this paper, we will refer to Turtle Island and traditional territorial place names. We will also include Canadian place names for readers who are not familiar with Canadian history alongside our traditional place names. First Nations Peoples of the territory that is known to many as Canada, inherently define themselves as either First Peoples of the Land and/or by their traditional territorial names. Moreover, there are many diverse ways that First Nations people identify themselves and their communities. For example, within the Canadian context our people are often referred to as Aboriginal people. Within the context of the *Indian Act*, our people are referred to as Indians. Many First Nations Communities will identify as First Nations Peoples, while others yet will identify as Indigenous Peoples. Identity becomes even more complicated because many of our people reside outside of their traditional territories. They are often referred to as urban aboriginals or urban Indians. In this paper, we will use the terms First Nations, Aboriginal and Indigenous interchangeably.

Historically, prior to contact with European peoples, Indigenous Peoples resided within territories that enriched their livelihood and sustained a prosperous way of life. Prosperity was possible through engagement with many diverse Indigenous peoples. Indigenous peoples knew the land intimately and were able not only to prosper off the land, but also survive through the hardships they encountered. Indigenous children at one time were seen as precious gifts to their people and it was the responsibility of entire communities to raise and protect children. Because children were seen as precious gifts to their respective communities, child rearing was unique and key to community resilience. Because Indigenous communities were and are so diverse, traditional teachings vary from community to community.

Despite contact with Europeans in 1492, Indigenous value and belief systems persevered. These values and beliefs were originally shared with the European settlers. However, with the continuous influx of European settlers, Indigenous values and belief systems began to weaken. Colonial policies and philosophies were aimed at assimilating and controlling Indigenous peoples and their traditional territories. In 1763, the Royal Proclamation of the British stated that the Queen would protect Aboriginal peoples and their lands. However, in 1867 when the Dominion of Canada was formed, the *Indian Act* was promulgated. This gave the federal government of Canada control over 'Indians and Lands Reserved for Indians'. Within this *Act*, the term Indian was strictly defined and more so, reserves for Indians became legal and jurisdictional entities that are still present in Indian policies today. Within the *Indian Act*, laws and policies that pertain to 'Indians and lands reserved for Indians' fall within federal jurisdiction. But, if an Indigenous person resides off their reserve lands, provincial jurisdictional policies pertain to them.

Regardless of the many laws, policies and revisions of the *Indian Act*, child welfare laws were not included within its jurisdiction. Within the Canadian constitution, child welfare legislation is primarily the responsibility of provincial governments. Because Indians were placed in lands allotted for Indians (reserves) the provinces did not provide services to Indians as this was seen as a federal responsibility. However, in 1951, Section 88 of the *Indian Act* gave the provincial governments in Canada delegated powers to provide child welfare for on-reserve peoples. Presently in British Columbia, many First Nations communities have reclaimed their right to be responsible for their own Child Welfare Services. However, this is done through a delegation model. First Nations child welfare agencies on-reserve must negotiate with the provincial government to receive this delegation from the Minister of Children and Family Services to provide protection services for on-reserve children and families. This negotiating process includes three levels of governance: the federal, provincial and First Nations. The federal government that provides funding to First Nations Child and Family service agencies on-reserve. The current funding policy administered by the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA), directive 20–1, is known as the Indian Child and Family Services Management Regime (Ormiston, 2002: 12).

Due to historical atrocities that First Nations have faced, some communities have chosen not to provide level 15 delegated services (protection and removal). Communities that opt out of this level do not want to be in the position of continuing to remove children from their homes. Communities that are not providing protective services (level 15) provide guardianship and resource (level 12 and 13) services that are predominantly comprised of preventative and intervention services. On the other hand, there are other First Nations communities who would rather have autonomy over removal rather than permitting the provincial government to have control over the removal of First Nations children from their families. Communities that provide protective services also provide resource and guardianship services.

Historical Implications for First Nations Child Welfare

As well as the child welfare legislations discussed extensively above, the 1920 *Indian Act* legislated for the mandatory removal of First Nations children from their families and communities by requiring that children between the ages of 5 and 15 attend Indian Residential Schools. Consequently, generations of our people have grown up in institutions that more closely reflect concentration camps than schools. Parents who had attended residential school and later had children of their own, lost the ability to nurture relationships with their children, community and extended families (White and Jacobs, 1992: 19). As we look historically at First Nations families who attended residential schools, we see that many repeated the cycle of abuse and neglect that had been perpetrated against them with their own children. Workers

who were interviewed indicated that 90 percent of the child welfare issues stem from neglect not abuse.

By the time residential schools were closing, the provincial child welfare system was given the responsibility of providing these services on Indian reserves. Prior to 1951, the percentage of First Nations children in care was about 4 percent. By 1963, the percentage of First Nations children had increased to 34.2 percent and reached as high as 70 percent in some northern communities (Union of BC Chiefs, 2002: 11). This era became known as the 'sixties scoop' because the number of children who were taken into care was so large (White and Jacobs, 1992). In actuality, more First Nations children are in care today than in 1963. This development indicates that mainstream child welfare services are not benefiting our families (Reid, 2002).

It is necessary to discuss the various policies and legislation that have impacted upon the lives of First Nations children and families to highlight the historical implications that particular policies have had on the relationships between government social workers and First Nations social workers. In addition, we would like to show how this situation affects the work that is undertaken with Aboriginal children and families today. Many Aboriginal families do not trust or want to talk with non-Aboriginal social workers because they fear their children will be removed (Monture-Angus, 1995: 199).

Over the last 25 years, Aboriginal child welfare services have been emerging within Aboriginal communities. Slowly, Aboriginal communities are being given the autonomy to provide effective and appropriate services for their peoples. This raises demand for Aboriginal social workers as more and more services are delivered on- and off-reserve by Aboriginal social workers. Our research shows that the increase in the number of Aboriginal social workers in First Nations communities has enabled Aboriginal families to begin addressing the issues that stem from the experience of being in residential schools and healing themselves. This, in turn, enables the development of healthy visions for the future and dreams for their children.

Another historical piece identified by the First Nations social workers we interviewed was the importance of determining how much information families had regarding their families and communities. Countless First Nations' children had been removed from their families and communities and placed in non-Native homes in other provinces and even other countries. Many of the children who grew up in non-Native foster homes and/or adoptive homes lost the values and beliefs of their communities, the teachings from their Elders, and a sense of what a First Nations community is comprised of. These children grew up and became parents without the traditional skills of First Nations families or knowledge about how they once were (White and Jacobs, 1992: 19). One worker identified this situation as:

> We need to go back to family as community and understand what our people have gone through and what has been stolen from our people … family services for First Nations families has been historical cycles of abuse and as workers we need to work together to break this cycle (Interviewee, 2001, 2:1:4).

In addition to dealing with issues of neglect, parents long for knowledge of their identities, their cultures and their ceremonies. Thus, there is confusion, frustration and a need to revive the ceremony within each person. The workers identified ways to address historical issues and how to break the cycles of neglect and abuse. Many First Nations children who were forced to attend residential schools or apprehended and raised as wards of the Provincial government felt abandoned by their families and communities. For them, consistency is very important. Families needed to know that workers would not abandon them as well. Social workers in First Nations agencies strive to maintain their case loads with as few changes as possible.

Social workers stated that it was critical to work very closely with children and their families. They believed it was critical to make decisions alongside families they worked with. Often these

decisions were made with the support of Elders, grandparents, parents, aunties and uncles. Workers saw that having as many family members as possible involved enhanced their commitment to the plan, and as such contributed to successful family planning.

Another mechanism used to overcome historical issues and break the cycles of abuse was to celebrate 'families' in their communities. In one community, workers revealed that they have celebrations for fathers, and in another community there are celebrations when a new baby is born. By having community celebrations, First Nations get reconnected with their identities, families and communities. Families have an opportunity to re-learn what was stolen from them by colonisation while healing from their own difficulties and connecting their visions with their children.

First Nations workers also identified the need to focus on their own historical family issues. For example workers stated that if you had not dealt with your own issues, these would be triggered when you were working with a family in a similar circumstance to your past. Often these triggers raise very emotional responses. Workers really believed that you must do your own healing before you can attempt to help and support others. As such, social workers discussed the need to constantly maintain wellness in their own lives.

Numerous workers discussed the importance of understanding the political climate of their leadership and governance structures, i.e., Chief and Council, Tribal Councils. The workers felt they needed to be aware of the composition of the Council leadership, their mandates, and their beliefs about children and families. This was important for a number of reasons. First, the child welfare governance systems as we know them today were not traditionally a part of our communities. As well, most leaders, in one way or another, have personally felt the impact of these foreign governance systems. Residential schools and child welfare systems have impacted upon nearly every First Nations person in one way or another. As such, our leadership is often very sceptical of child welfare. As we continue to gain more autonomy and govern our own child welfare systems, these attitudes are slowly changing.

In the South – 'Best Practice'

Travelling to the South, we have 'best practice'. The most important thing workers identified around 'best practice' was that for every child or family, practice must change to best meet the diversity of a particular Aboriginal family. As we stated above, some of our families have not been raised with strong cultural and traditional ties, others were raised in very traditional ways. Each of these situations, and there are many more, require working from a different place. This meant that sometimes workers supported families in their homes or at community cultural ceremonies. At other times, workers accompanied families to doctors, counsellors, parole officers and to court.

Common principles and themes were evident throughout our discussion, but each agency held its own unique style of practice that was/is pertinent to their traditional community. 'Best practice' for workers entails an ability to have a sound knowledge of the history of Aboriginal peoples and to pay particular attention to the history of the area each one is working in. 'Best practices' are based on building and nurturing relationships with children, families, communities, co-workers, leaders and outside resource workers.

Workers constantly addressed the importance of working with families' strengths. Throughout our research interviews, almost all of the social workers discussed how their practice was family-centered, to walk with families and to collectively make decisions.

> Our workers include as much as we can family, community and anyone the child feels connected to … because once we have community, once we have family, they have control, and that's were it belongs, with the family, not with us (Interviewee, 2001, 3:3:1).

Every worker claimed that building trusting relationships with the community was key to 'best practice.' One said that she approaches all relationships as if they will be lifelong relationships. She believed that you must always take the necessary time to get to know families so that if you see them in the community, which you probably will, you know that you both will be okay seeing each other. Building lifelong relationships requires commitment and time, which are necessary when practising in First Nations communities.

A good example of why these relationships are important is the complication of working in very isolated communities. One agency involved in our research services communities up and down the West Coast of Vancouver Island. Many of these communities were very isolated and only accessible by boat or water plane. Workers from this agency stated that if they did not have intimate relationships with many community members, they would be ineffective in their ability to protect children. In these situations, workers have to rely on other community members to attend to the crises and ensure that the child/children were protected. If the children were in need of protection, the worker would ask one of the identified members to either stay in the home with the children, or bring the children to their home until the social worker could gain access to the community. This exemplifies the importance of knowing the community one works in, knowing the families, and knowing the community resources – building lifelong relationships.

Workers also stressed the reality that some children will need to be removed for protection reasons. Yet, 'best practice' meant that wherever possible workers must strive to place children with other family members, in their own communities, connected with their families and extended families:

> And so children in care regardless of how dysfunctional their parents are and how much of a risk the parents are to the children's safety, were going to have to come up with a plan where they can still have access to their parents safely (Interviewee, 2001, 3:2:3).

Workers went out of their way to keep children connected to their families and communities. If for whatever reason, children were in another province and regular interaction with family was not feasible, workers should strive to find ways of helping the children get to know their family and community. As one social worker said:

> I take great interest in finding out where the child is from, what their practices are, their rituals, and I contact Band representatives, social development workers to discuss the child in care … I always try to ensure that the child gets newsletters from their community, or look into finding a mentor from the child's community in our town that we can utilise, and finally I always keep foster parents informed of events that are happening so they could take the children (Interviewee, 2001, 1:1:2).

For children-in-care, identity is often an issue. They know that they are First Nations, but they do not really know what this means. Helping children to see the strength in culture and tradition is a valuable self-esteem building block. Community members can help workers identify a 'head of the family' who can support them to connect children to their culture and tradition:

> You know you want to talk about culture, start with your family. Start with roles. Start with the Elders and the wisdom and the teachers in your community, the aunties and the uncle – who are also called the disciplinarians in some areas. Children never overwhelm them; never overload them (Interviewee, 2001, 1:2:3).

Workers often talked about connecting children and families to Elders. They also stressed the importance of maintaining relationships with their own Elders, aunties and uncles. This is often easier said than done. Ensuring that we create time for work and family is a fine balance. Workers

identified some ethical issues that arise when working in their own communities. For example, workers could refuse to work with their direct family members. But, sometimes workers would be on-call and not have the opportunity to contact another worker. In this case, workers would make the first visit and then immediately transfer the case over to another worker. Workers also discussed feeling like they were the social worker twenty-four hours a day because everyone in the community knew them:

> People will expect you to be available 24 hours a day (Interviewee, 2001, 3:1:9).

> We make ourselves far more available to our clients. We go out of our way (Interviewee, 2001, 4:1:5).

Often children and families knew the worker's immediate family, phone numbers and where they lived. The workers shared how even when they were with their own family, at a grocery store, a ceremony, or a school event, they would be viewed as the social worker and often approached by individuals to discuss their concerns. Depending on the situations that they identified, workers would either address their issues or tell the family to contact them when they are working or call the crisis line. This exemplifies the need for workers to clearly set boundaries for themselves – to know when to 'work' and when not to. As we stated above, workers were often known by virtually everyone in the community. In this situation, issues of confidentiality and conflict of interest were inevitable. This is especially true for agencies that are on-reserve in confined areas. It is impossible not to be seen as the social worker when you drive up to a home, in a recognised vehicle, to visit a family. What became most critical for these workers was to maintain the confidentiality of the interaction between the worker and the family.

Social workers that work for First Nations child welfare agencies are role models. They are constantly under surveillance and expected to behave in an exemplary manner. This is not an easy role for workers, many see themselves as community members, as equals, not any better than anyone else. They long for the same things that everyone in the community does – for healthy children, families, communities and nations.

In the West – The 'Self'

As we continue around the wheel to the West, we have the 'self'. The workers that we interviewed were quick to acknowledge that they loved what they did, but also that the work was really hard. One worker stated:

> It's really a rewarding career … but I think it's really important that you keep your spirits high and you really strive to keep connected, find your balance. You need balance (Interviewee, 2001, 3:3:6).

This worker went on to say that, 'There's a reason why the Creator puts us everywhere' (Interviewee, 2001, 3:3:6). Having said this, workers also easily identified the role of the 'self' in best practice. First Nations workers who are working within their own communities specifically identified the necessity of really knowing the 'self'. One worker talked about always having to remember where she was from and why she was doing this work. It was the personal commitment to her community that kept her strong and wanting to do social work, but also remembering that she was, at the same time, a social worker and a First Nations person. She always had to remember the historical issues that have impacted our people while at the same time remember our traditional ways. When asked what advice these workers had for future First Nations social workers, they shared the following views with us:

I would recommend that they really try to deal with their own issues first before going out there. I mean things are still going to happen that will trigger things for them, that will happen to everybody no matter how much you work out your own stuff (Interviewee, 2001, 3:1:10).

You have to know yourself, who you are, work with yourself, be comfortable with your own self and always, always take care of yourself. Be balanced at all times … You are never too old to learn (Interviewee, 2001, 1:3:9).

You better do your own work, your own personal work, if possible, with your family. And do a lot of things to develop yourself cognitively, spiritually, and all kinds of ways. Culturally, because our people are really asking for a lot of knowledge and lots of experience (Interviewee, 2001, 1:3:5).

Culture and tradition were also identified as strengths when working in First Nations communities. Traditionally, First Nations people took care of our children in our communities. Workers talked about knowing the traditional roles and rules of the various communities. Elders, moms and dads, they all had their roles. One worker talked about a warrior society. The Elders in the community chose the members of this Warrior society and their job was to protect the children in the community. Through the legacy of colonisation and the historical issues mentioned above, children have been removed from our communities and mainstream services have taken over. However, culture and tradition combined with 'academic education' can be an incredibly strong combination that benefits our children, families and communities. Our communities need educated social workers to return home and help in healing our children and families. This is not enough. Workers must work with Elders to ensure that we maintain balance between academia and culture and tradition. A worker discussed how important it is that we learn our dances and songs and be role models for the families we work with:

I do my best using a lot of my own cultural teachings and background (Interviewee, 2001, 1:3:2).

Some workers discussed how having knowledge and practicing cultural ways opened the doors for them that otherwise would not have been opened. They knew that if they needed the advice or guidance of Elders, that their cultural and traditional teachings would more easily allow them access to the Elders and other leaders in their communities. One worker believed that it would be the traditional teachings that would assist in stopping the abuse and violence in our communities. Sometimes culture, tradition and teachings from the Elders help us understand issues that do not apparently make sense:

I had a child out there and this child was put in this home as a toddler. He is still in this home. But every time his caregiver went to have a picture taken of that child, nothing developed. Nothing would happen. It would be like a 3D effect. She would be holding this baby with her biological mother and the film would develop but the child would never expose … . She went to a professional and had a picture taken but his camera blew up. Eventually, as he went to school and grew older the pictures would start to come forth and start to develop. I found that very strange … . Why would this happen? So I turned around and we had an Elders' gathering on one occasion. During the break I marched in and introduced myself and said, 'I have come here to ask your opinion, to see if there is anything you can offer me in regards to one of my children out there'. And I told them this story and they all sat there and looked at one another as I was telling this story. One of them said to me, 'I would not mind meeting this child one day. Right now I am very busy but it sounds to me like this child was not ready to have his image or picture out there at this point' (Interviewee, 2001, 1:2:3).

After years of wondering, this story now makes sense to this worker. She believed what the Elders told her and now she has her answers – at the time when the pictures were not developing, the boy

did not want his face 'exposed'. One worker remembers working with two young children in care. These children were quite ashamed of being First Nations.

> The little girl had beautiful hair. And she wanted to cut it because she did not want it dirty. The little guy was in the tub and they came in one night and he had a green scouring pad, just trying to wash his skin away because he is quite dark and he did not want to be an Indian because Indians are dirty or drunks or things like that. And it just broke my heart (Interviewee, 2001, 2:1:4).

The worker knew that these children had internalised their racism and worked with the caregiver to connect these children to cultural events and people who would help them see the value of their culture. As workers, we need to be open to see the issues behind haircuts and scouring pads if we really want to support these children. We need to be able to see when children have internalised racism and help them heal. This is very painful for workers to see, but equally as painful to address with the children:

> You're going to make some tough decisions, but if you follow your heart and teachings you will make good decisions (Interviewee, 2001, 2:1:7).

For all helpers, self-care is crucial:

> People's lives are going to go on without me. I'm not the be all and the end all, therefore, it is better to be helpful in the best way you can (Interviewee, 2001, 4:1:14).

For workers working within their own communities, being the best you can be is very complex. Self-care requires taking care of your spiritual, emotional, physical and mental aspects. Workers strongly believed that helpers must have a self-care plan. This plan must include identifying who your support people are and contemplating other questions that include, 'what role does the agency that you work within play in self-care? When speaking of an agency, one worker commented that:

> The support and the relationships that we have with one another are very strong and I don't think that I could do this work without it. Especially from a management level … . I never lack for support from them for direction, for advice, for compassion, for whatever. They really take care of our needs – personal, professional, whatever (Interviewee, 2001, 4:1:16).

The social workers in this agency talked about the importance of having support from each other in this line of work. They also discussed the commitment to support each other:

> We take the time that we need to sit with each other or listen to each other (Interviewee, 2001, 4:1:16).

Flowers, saying 'thank you' and food go a long way in supporting workers in the field. Another absolute necessity that the agencies identified was humour. Each worker talked about how important laughter and fun is when the work that they do is so intense. Finally, workers stressed the importance of asking yourself, 'Why do you want to get into this field (of work)? and 'How do you define success?' Success must be the 'acknowledgment of little baby steps' (Interviewee, 2001, 3:4:2) because this line of work can be a very heartbreaking experience. If something doesn't work out and you consider it, or yourself, a failure, life becomes complicated. One worker indicated that 'I think that contributes to some of the stresses and burnout rate' (Interviewee, 2001, 3:1:10). Another worker believed that, 'we have got to open up our hearts and our minds and have that open spirit willing to look at the good' in every situation (Interviewee, 2001, 3:4:2). We must believe in, as well as look for success if this is what we want.

When the people you are being helpful with are your family and friends, looking for success is not an easy task. The impact of working with family cannot be downplayed. There are many positive and wonderful things about working with our own family members. For example, we know the community, the kinships, the history, the culture. These connections help us in establishing powerful helping relationships. However, having all this information and knowing that we are a part of the people we are trying to support can be painful. For example, we might have to go into a family member's home to 'protect' a child and are met with rage. This anger is not easy to overlook. And then, we have to know that we have done everything right when we walk in our communities and face the rest of the family and community. This is when the importance of building 'relationships' is critical – the stronger the relationship, the more able we are as workers to work through the anger. One worker also stated that it is imperative to remember that behind the anger is fear, and once we can speak to the fear, change can begin. Healing can begin when we see that change is necessary.

In the North – Vision

In the North, we look at vision. Here we will combine some of the marvellous work that is happening in 'Indian Country' with some of the vision and dreams that the workers identified. We would be remiss not to discuss some of the creative initiatives that these agencies are undertaking. One worker nicely summed up the vision of our work:

> It's to deal with the problems of the families and the children … that's what we're here for (Interviewee, 2001, 3:1:9).

We think that by always remembering why we are social workers and believing in the work that we do, we will keep ourselves strong. We have to believe in the welfare of our children and their children, and the yet to come unborn children. Workers discussed the dream of having Aboriginal Family Centres in every neighbourhood. These Centres would provide culture, support, healing and respite – a holistic family centre for First Nations families. One agency that we visited had an Elders' Advisory Committee. The Elders met and as a group decided what they thought was in the best interests of the child. This Committee had the power to make recommendations that were brought forward by the social workers to a judge when workers went to court. Elders' Advisory Committees are becoming the vogue these days. However, we have also realised that some of these Committees have been put in place to 'appear' more cultural and traditional when in fact, the Elders in them had no real power. The particular Elders' Committee that we discussed above did have the power it deserved.

Agencies are being very creative with community events that they host. These events focus on the positive things that are happening in our communities, while at the same time provide an opportunity for workers to reinforce the importance of children. One agency hosts an annual 'Child' honouring day. This day acknowledges the importance of children in our communities and it focuses on children's activities. It is also a way to honour children, while at the same time begin to break the cycles of abuse.

Many workers also discussed the importance of establishing an *Indian Child Welfare Act*. This Act would be administered by an Aboriginal Director of Indian Child Welfare, and would be specific to doing work with First Nations children, families and communities. Part of this dream or vision included securing block or global funding. This would allow agencies to do what they knew needed to be done for their people rather than be dictated to by the federal and provincial governments. At present, most agencies are funded on the basis of the number of children-in-care,

which is in direct conflict with our goal of having no children in care. Block funding would allow agencies to undertake a lot more prevention and less reactive work.

There are many issues that get in the way of 'best practice'. One issue focused on the justice system. The Canadian court system is very adversarial and many of our people do not understand the whole process. A particular concern that the workers identified was one that involved childcare proceedings when children were already in care and the Ministry intended to seek a continuing care order. Many parents had no idea what this really was, nor what their rights as parents were. Further, workers believed that some lawyers failed to give families sound legal advice.

The limitation of time within the existing *Child, Family and Community Services Act* in British Columbia was also identified as a barrier to 'best practice':

> A lot of the families we are dealing with, there is no way the issues they are facing are going to be dealt with in a year (Interviewee, 2001, 4:2:7).

Healing does not and will not occur overnight. Many of our people have faced decades of trauma through residential schools and child welfare systems. Now when they have trouble parenting, they are given one year to heal and address all their parenting issues because once children have been in care for one year, workers are forced to go for a continuing custody order. A continuing custody order permanently removes custody of the children from their parents. Social workers working within First Nations agencies are then faced with the ethical dilemma of reinforcing the cycle of First Nations families and communities losing their children.

The issue of time limitations becomes further complicated when family members who came to family meetings 'refuse to really address the concerns or admit that they are concerned' (Interviewee, 2001, 3:1:4). This worker went on to explain that this was probably a trust issue due to the negative history of social workers' involvement with First Nations people. However, we must continue to work with these families and hope that eventually they will be able to see and address the protection issues that their children face. We hope that as healing continues within our communities, this issue will dissipate and the interests of the children will prevail.

The entire foster care system was identified as a barrier to 'best practice'. A number of issues were mentioned in this regard. One was that 'finding homes is very, very difficult' (Interviewee, 2001, 4:1:3). This worker went on to say that their community was 'in crisis with its resources'. One solution that was considered was to look at building stronger relationships within the community and then educating the community about the various programmes that either are, or can be offered. Foster parenting is not an easy task. Being a foster parent involves not only dealing with the children and agency, but also the biological parents and their extended family members. In small communities, this can mean dealing with your own family as well. Also, restrictive foster care rules and regulations that must be adhered to in order to qualify for parenting status provide barriers for many families who would like to foster children. Workers discussed issues such as the number of children in a home. Eligibility to foster is limited by the number of family members living in the home as well as the number of bedrooms. Our families may have many children, but for the most part, there is always room in our homes for family members. However, with the rigidity of the fostering regulations, sibling groups end up being separated because there are not enough bedrooms in a home. This is not 'best practice'. Siblings, when they must be removed from their homes, should be kept together as much as possible.

Another concern regarding foster care is that some family members are reluctant to undergo criminal record checks because they have a past criminal record. Even if this record

is irrelevant to their parenting capacities or happened many years ago they refuse to submit to the process of becoming foster parents and thus not have a criminal record check run on them. Workers do understand the necessity of rules, regulations and policy but felt that policies can be far too restrictive and inflexible on too many occasions. Flexibility would allow workers to place children in appropriate homes, while at the same time not adhere to each and every rule. Flexibility would also speak to the belief in our workers and their professionalism:

> We are not in this business to see our children hurt, [and the] bottom line is that you are working for these children, it's not your life, and it's theirs (Interviewee, 2001, 4:1:11).

Workers discussed the need to not only work in the moment, but also see the bigger picture and where it is we want to be as individuals, families, communities and First Nations. And, we have to believe that people know what they want and need. One worker discusses her experience of working in the East side of Vancouver with a group of women:

> Just doing storytelling, letting people tell their stories about who they are and where they are from and what they are about. There was so much dignity to them. So much grace despite their experiences. And some of them were under the influence but they still had dignity. They all knew what they wanted to do. Because I said, 'what vision do you have for yourself? What is your dream? What dreams do you have for yourself? What vision do you have for yourself?' All of them wanted to finish school. They wanted to do their job. So it's not like they didn't know (Interviewee, 2001, 1:3:11).

These women have dreams and vision, not only for themselves, but also for their families. The community is learning through our children and healing for our children.

> Although the work is difficult and I've really changed my idea of what success is from where I started to where I am today, it's very relative – there are many levels of success. I can see so many successes every day, successes that I would have never been able to see before ... . It's just about being open to seeing it that gets you through everything else (Interviewee, 2001, 4:1:10).

Conclusion

When we began our inquiries in addition to being interested in 'best practices', we wanted to find out how the agencies we selected for our research would speak to Anti-Oppressive Practice (AOP) within a First Nations context. After our first interview with an agency we quickly recognised that how we as scholars understand AOP is very similar to First Nations agencies' practice. Let us go further. First Nations practitioners recognise the importance of acknowledging colonial history. Secondly, First Nations workers believe in the importance of self-healing, as well as modelling and visioning anti-oppressive living. By hearing attributes that are key to their practice we began to recognise that their principles are very similar to principles that are important to how we apply anti-oppressive practice within our own work. Throughout this research, social workers described, in their own words, what we have come to know as anti-oppressive practice. Over the years in academia and through our social work experiences we began to identify some key elements of anti-oppressive. These include:

- Practice must be rooted in a historical perspective/analysis
- Practice must always include critical self-reflection
- Practice must be skill and knowledge based
- Must be forward thinking and have a vision of anti-oppressive living

The aforementioned principles are not an exhaustive list, but a constantly evolving one because as practitioners we each begin from our various locations and commence a process of deconstructing and reconstructing how we know what we know. Similarly, First Nations social workers stated that their healing and practice stems from their place of knowing, especially how they have decolonised their practice and their lives. Furthermore, AOP insists that practitioners recognise how socialisation and the internalisation of their worldviews inform various practices and politics. This is particularly important so that we can see how colonisation has impacted upon practice, community, families and child rearing among Indigenous peoples.

Anti-oppressive practice is necessarily complicated and uncomfortable because practising anti-oppression requires us to engage with peoples' lives. Additionally, at its core, anti-oppressive practice includes an analysis of power and strives to work across difference. As such, anti-oppressive practice forces us to continually analyse the 'self' and explore our personal assumptions. Just as the First Nations social workers have stated in our dialogue with them, it is important to always be transparent in their practice. This includes transparency within the agency and in the community where they are working. Furthermore, First Nations workers stated that self-healing was vital to work effectively with people and especially to work with the diversity of identities among Indigenous peoples within their territories. Having stated this, our research identified four elements as key to 'best practice' in First Nations communities, which are very similar to the key elements that we have identified. These elements include:

- Practice must be rooted in a First Nations' historical analysis
- Practice must begin by building solid relationships with First Nations individuals, families and communities
- Workers must always strive to reach their full potential for practice in First Nations communities, which can only be done by critical self-reflection and by intimately knowing themselves, the families and communities within which they practice
- Practice must focus on a vision – a dream of a way of life for First Nations Children and Families that can and will be.

The key components to 'best practice' identified by the workers in First Nations agencies through our research cover the key elements that we had originally defined as constituting AOP. But our research findings went further by teaching us how this work can be implemented as effective practice within First Nations communities. Throughout our research we have also come to understand that AOP work is not simply about practice, but about a way of living. bell hooks, in her article, *Beloved Community*, discusses how anti-racism must become a way of living, not a way of practising. We all know that if we focus on practice, as opposed to living, we might one day forget to practice and not work in a good way. As for living, we will all live, and if this is in an anti-oppressive/anti-racist way, all children and families would benefit. As researchers, we are honoured to have received so many gifts from these workers, particularly their wisdom. We found ourselves shedding tears as workers shared their stories, work ethics, professionalism and dreams with us. We were taken back by the commitment, passion and dedication of these social workers to the children. It was abundantly clear that these workers were 'child'-centred. In our work as educators we are often asked, 'How is anti-oppressive work possible in child protection?' It is obvious from this research that that the answer is 'Yes, child protection work can be anti-oppressive'. Furthermore, these workers would probably argue that not only is anti-oppressive practice possible, it is necessary when working with First Nations children and families.

Acknowledgements

Note

1. These quotes are from interviews that took place in 2001 and are taken from the relevant transcripts and include the interview number, page, paragraph and line.

Appendix A

Delegation Matrix – Ministry of Children and Family Development (MCFD)

Level 12 – Resource Development

- Support Services for families
- Voluntary care agreements for children, including temporary in-home care
- Special needs agreements, including for children in care on no fixed term
- Resource Development – foster home recruitment, home studies and approval

Level 13 – Guardianship

- Includes all of the services covered in level 12 and
- Guardianship of continuing custody wards
- Development of comprehensive plans of care
- Legal documentation
- Permanency planning for children in care
- Preparation for older children for independence

Level 15 – Full Child Protection Delegation

- Includes all services covered in Level 12 and 13 and
- Receiving, assessing and, as required, investigating reports of child abuse and neglect
- Deciding the most appropriate course of action if a child is deemed in need of protection
- Where necessary, removing the child and placing the child in care
- Obtaining court orders or taking other measures to ensure the ongoing safety and well-being of the child

Appendix B

Caring For First Nations Children Society (CFNCS)

The mission of the Caring for First Nations Children Society (CFNCS or the agency) is 'to provide professional development, research and liaison services to First Nations who protect and promote the well-being of First Nations children and families'. This mission is achieved by respecting and reaffirming traditional values and beliefs, encouraging innovative and quality child and family service delivery, and empowering the voices of First Nations peoples. Caring for First Nations Children Society, formerly known as the First Nations Family and Child Care Workers, was formed on an informal basis in the spring of 1982. At that time the purpose of the agency was to act as a professional association and professional development body for persons employed or active in the field of aboriginal child and family services.

The society was incorporated in 1994 and worked on a variety of short-term projects including:

- Indian child welfare standards
- governance project
- publication of a newsletter

In 1999, the agency hired full time staff to develop professional support services for First Nations child and family service programs in British Columbia under a contract with the then Ministry for Children and Families. Over the next year an eight-week professional development programme was developed for social workers employed by delegated First Nations child and family service programmes.

Currently, CFNCS has two contracts with the Ministry of Children and Family Development (the Ministry or MCFD). The first contract, the Policy Analyst Contract, provides funding for the development of First Nations policy related to children and families. With funding from the Policy Analyst Contract and other sources, CFNCS has completed a number of policy related projects including proposal development, research, drafting protocol templates, and working on the National Policy Review. The second, the Aboriginal Social Worker Training (ASW) contract, provides funding for curriculum development and the provision of training. To date, CFNCS has provided training to over one hundred social workers employed by 18 Aboriginal child and family service agencies throughout the province.

Against the Odds: Community-Based Interventions for Children in Difficult Circumstances in Post-Apartheid South Africa

VISHANTHIE SEWPAUL and DOROTHEE HÖLSCHER

Introduction

Political rhetoric sits badly alongside reflexive practice in working with children in difficult circumstances. This chapter details selected models of community based interventions for children in difficult circumstances that were presented at a series of four conferences in South Africa. The papers presented there were assessed against the principles of the White Paper for Social Welfare (the White Paper) (Department of Welfare and Population Development, 1997) and the Inter-ministerial Committee on Young People at Risk (IMC), (Department of Welfare and Population Development, 1996). We might ask why the need to re-visit these principles, especially as they seem to have become commonplace in post-apartheid South Africa. A key reason for doing so is to distinguish between political rhetoric and reflexive practice. Constant examination and re-examination of daily professional practice *vis-a-vis* overtly enunciated principles assists in becoming and remaining morally active and reflective practitioners (Husband, 1995).

A critical examination of self, in relation to national development objectives is vital to the reflexive process. Wars, mass genocides and gross violations of human rights across the globe have their beginnings in the hearts and minds of people whose endeavours evolve into particular forms of discourses embedded in prejudice and discrimination that facilitate the process of *othering* (Leonard, 1997), paving the way for acts of terror, hatred and violence. Perhaps, most befitting the theme of the conference, a Grade 11 learner of Sandown High School, Leila Cassim (1999), reflected the micro-foundation for development thinking and practice as she asserted:

> The awakening of the world begins with the awakening of the continent, which begins with the awakening of the country, which begins with the awakening of the community, which begins with the awakening of the family – and instrumental to all this, the core without which no global awakening can occur – the individual.

It is crucial that we advocate for and work toward changes in the socio-political, economic and patriarchal structures of society that keep people in marginalised, oppressed and disempowered positions (Mullaly, 1993; Ife, 1997; Dominelli, 2004a; Sewpaul and Hölscher, 2004; Sewpaul, 2005). This takes on added significance when we view the principles of the White Paper and IMC within a historical context in South Africa. These principles need to be seen against an oligarchy (part of which comprises the welfare sector) that fosters values and practices totally antithetical to those of the new policy documents. Speaking about the history and background of extreme polarisation against which young people are expected to treat each other as equals and jointly contribute to the creation of a new social order, Leila Cassim (1999) argued that:

In order for us to perform this 'miracle' together, we need to create an environment that presents challenging and thought-provoking opportunities for us to redefine ourselves, restore our self-concepts and experiment with new alternatives. The present generation of South African youth has been largely ignored. We do have a story to tell – a role to play – a place to earn in the making of our own history.

The series of conferences gave voice to children who actively participated in the proceedings. Welfare, like many other sectors in the past in South Africa maintained the status quo and preserved Afrikaner Nationalism. Acknowledging this history (as in the welfare sector's submission to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission) was an important step toward reconciliation and healing and, hopefully, toward new ways of knowing and doing – not simply to comply with national imperatives and mandates, but because it is intrinsically the right thing to do. These 'right things' are listed as practice principles in the White Paper and the IMC and summarised in Table 13.1.

Table 13.1   Principles of the White Paper for Social Welfare and the Interministerial Committee (IMC) on Youth at Risk

WHITE PAPER FOR SOCIAL WELFARES	INTERMINISTERIAL COMMITTEE
Securing basic welfare rights	Accountability
Equity	Empowerment
Non-discrimination	Participation
Democracy	Family-centred
Improved quality of life	Continuum of care
Human rights	Integration (Intersectoral and interdisciplinary focus)
People-centred policies	Continuity of care
Investment in human capital	Normalisation (as opposed to institutionalisation)
Sustainability	Effective and efficient
Partnership	Child-centred (focus on THIS child)
Intersectoral collaboration	Rights of young people
Decentralisation of service delivery	Restorative justice (as opposed to retributive justice)
Quality services	Appropriateness
Accessibility	Family preservation
Appropriateness	Permanency planning (links to life-long relationships)
Ubuntu	Community centred
	African renaissance

The vision in the *White Paper for Social Welfare* aims to create:

> A welfare system which facilitates the development of human capacity and self-reliance within a caring and enabling socio-economic environment.

Paradigm shifts from a residual pathology-based model to a developmental one as suggested by the IMC are indicated in Table 13.2.

Table 13.2   Paradigm Shifts in Service Delivery Indicated by the IMC

Shift 1	From a pathology and specialisation focus	To a development focus and service methodology
Shift 2	From too few resources (human and financial) allocated to and focused on prevention and early intervention strategies	To an emphasis on prevention and early intervention strategies, even when services are located at level 4 of the system of service delivery
Shift 3	From most services located at Level 4, yet poorly resourced and generally ineffective	To least services at this level, but well resourced and highly affective
Shift 4	From fragmented services across specialised areas and various sectors	To integrated services, including special development areas (such as disability, HIV/AIDS and substance abuse across sectors.
Shift 5	Dislocation or isolation from social assistance	To linkages and where possible integration with social assistance components (Such as combining child support grant with a range of integrated services)
Shift 6	From inequality	To conscious targeting of inequality with a strong anti-poverty focus throughout all services
Shift 7	From viewing residential care as institutions	To re-framing and transforming them into 'one-stop' services
Shift 8	From services directed at addressing a particular pathology or problem area	To services addressing the needs of children, youth and families, and/or women and older persons.

The four levels of service delivery – prevention, early intervention, statutory process, continuum of care and developmental services, are:

> *Level 1, Prevention* – includes any strategy or programme which strengthens and builds capacity in and self-reliance of families, communities, children, youth, women and older persons.
> *Level 2, Early intervention* – targets children, young people, families, women, older persons and communities identified (through a developmental risk assessment) as vulnerable or at risk and ensures, through strengths-based developmental and therapeutic programmes that they do not have to experience statutory intervention.
> *Level 3, Statutory process* – includes individuals who have entered the statutory process until the finalisation of court proceedings. Services at this level should be provided on a crisis level

and the opportunities generally provided by crises should be used to strengthen individuals, families and communities.

Level 4, Continuum of care and developmental services – is where services range from community-based care like day care, foster care, probation supervision, home visitors to shelters, day treatment centres, weekend care centres to restricted environments such as prisons, secure care for youth people, rehabilitation centres and various forms of residential care. Services should focus on early intervention and prevention, on maximising development and well-being and on the integration of the individual with the family and community as soon as possible.

It is unfortunate that subsequent welfare policies have latched on to the development of self-reliance, rather than focus on the creation of an enabling socio-economic environment that facilitates it. The draft national Family Policy (Department of Social Development, 2005) produced in January 2005 is one such example. Given the centrality of the family to children's well-being, we have included a brief critique of the draft National Family Policy (the Policy) to highlight the effects of neoliberal thinking on current policy developments in South Africa.

Critique of the Draft National Family Policy

The Policy is filled with ideological inconsistencies reminiscent of an apartheid era residual, albeit a non-racialised ideology, as detailed by Sewpaul (2005). The Policy fails to take cognisance of developments post-1994 and how South Africa is creating a mainly class-based unequal society, where the majority of poor people are still Black Africans. This is consequent largely upon South Africa's adoption of a neoliberal economic policy (see Hart, 2002a; Terreblanche, 2002; Bond, 2004, 2005; Sewpaul and Hölscher, 2004; Sewpaul, 2004, 2005 for details on the consequences of neoliberal capitalism in South Africa). The majority of poor people comprise of African women and children who under apartheid were subject to the double jeopardy of racism and sexism, relegated to the bottom of a socially stratified system and suffered the greatest onslaught of poverty. There are over 40 million people in South Africa: 42 percent are children between the ages of 0–18 years (Census, 1996 cited in Cassiem et al., 2000). These authors claim that there were 3.24 million poor children under the age of five and 10.28 million poor children between the ages of 0 and 18 in South Africa.

The Policy begins with a situational analysis that adopts a conservative, morally judgemental and residual approach to family living:

In the second decade of democracy, South Africans continue to suffer the ravages of an oppressive and exploitative legacy. The long-term effects of apartheid, migrant labour land displacement, rapid urbanisation, and poor rural development, amongst others, may require no less than a generation to redress.

Add to this widespread poverty, escalating incidences of HIV infection and AIDS, rampant domestic violence and rape, growing sexual abuse of children, and increasing crime and drug trafficking, and hope for the future becomes even bleaker' (Department of Social Development, 2005: 6).

The above paragraphs are immediately followed by:

In all of this *the Family remains the crux* of how South Africans cope – or fail to cope – in a society challenged with *rebuilding the moral fibre within individuals and amongst communities* (Department of Social Development, 2005: 6, emphasis ours).

Sewpaul (2005) pointed out that there are two obvious problems with this approach. Firstly, the burden of coping with South Africa's huge problems is reduced to the level of individuals and families without recognition of the structural sources of unemployment, economic oppression and exclusion, inequality and poverty on people's lives and the profound roles that society and State play in how families cope. Secondly, *rebuilding the moral fibre of individuals and communities* appears to be the panacea for all of the problems mentioned. The document also makes ten additional calls for the moral regeneration of the family and society (See Sewpaul 2005 for details). Given the discursive formations in the National Family Policy, social problems like poverty, unemployment and HIV/AIDS are associated with moral degeneration of individuals, families and communities. The sub-text reads that morally corrupt families lead to morally corrupt societies and yields the corollary argument that: *rebuilding the moral fibre within individuals and communities* will ensure the *restoration of the moral fibre of society*. Such a personal-deficiency approach escapes even the more liberally oriented ecological-systems approach to policy formulation that takes cognisance of reciprocity, mutually reinforcing influences of families and larger socio-political, economic and cultural systems that surround them.

The document pays cursory attention to the impact of environmental factors on family life, but more often than not it stresses 'the family as a powerful agent for political, economic, cultural and social change'. Families are *subject to* the powerful influences of socio-political, cultural and economic factors. Barbarin and Richter (2001: 198) assert that:

> poverty influences the functioning of parents, family and community, and these in turn impact the social, psychological and academic development of children. The multiple sequelae of poverty impact on the family's and parent's exposure to unanticipated life stressors as daily hassles. The high level of stress in daily living directly impacts upon parental well-being, and through its effects on parents, impairs the psychosocial development of young children.

The Policy does not call for empowerment-based practices such as consciousness-raising and reflection-in-action that facilitate families and communities understanding of external sources of unemployment, economic exclusion, and poverty (Freire, 1970; 1973; Mullaly, 1993; Ife, 1997). Neither does it call for lobbying, advocacy and social action to confront and challenge social and economic injustices. Given current rates of illiteracy, unemployment, poverty, dependency and the kinds of helplessness that families are steeped in, it is unlikely that without such empowerment-based practices families would become 'powerful agent(s) for political, economic, cultural and social change'. There is also, undeniably, a very powerful state apparatus, that controls the oppressed and sways public opinion in favour of state policies – structures designed to conceal rather than reveal truths (Gramsci, 1971; Mullaly, 1993).

Such ideological hegemony contributes to people internalising societal oppression and blaming themselves for their problems contributing to withdrawal, fatalism, self-depreciation, helplessness or engagement in self-destructive behaviour. This, in turn, contributes to societal rejection which reinforces the already low image that oppressed peoples have of themselves. Loving the oppressor and an unexplained attraction to the oppressor is another characteristic among some oppressed people (Fanon, 1970; Mullaly, 1993). This dynamic, which might be linked to the lure of the power of the oppressor, might contribute to the legitimisation of oppression. The policy does not call for macro-level structural factors to be dealt with. The Policy is based on research commissioned by the Department of Social Development and conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). However, its key recommendations ignored the HSRC Report (see Amoateng et al., 2004). The Policy constantly speaks to the need for 'self-reliance' (a language often used to abdicate state responsibility towards its people) while the HSRC report (Amoateng et al., 2004) boldly asserts that the majority of families in South Africa are currently *not self-reliant* on account

of external constraints. If external socio-economic, political and cultural factors are maintaining families in poor, dispossessed and helpless positions, how are such families expected to move toward independence and self-reliance within the same structural constraints?

It is within such conflicting and competing policy paradigms that practitioners in the welfare sector have to work. On the one hand, the White Paper and the IMC spell out idealistic people-centred developmental welfare principles while others with potential for more immediate effects such as the Family Policy favour a more residual and conservative approach. It is against the inspirations and hopes of our new democracy in 1994 and the odds engendered in welfare by our country's adoption of a neoliberal capitalist economic framework in 1996, that welfare practitioners began to initiate the exceptionally creative community-based models that we describe below. It seems that the paradox of hope and despair served as the catalyst for creative change and development. This chapter aims to provide descriptive accounts of some of these models to facilitate replication if necessary.

Innovative Practice Models in Post-Apartheid South Africa

The majority of conference presentations were very creative. With the inclusion of children, volunteers, service users, puppet shows, skits, poetry, drama, dance, audience participation, poster displays and video presentations, it is very difficult to capture the richness of content and presentations within a static form of communication such as writing. We do not have the scope to report on all of the presentations. So, we have selected the following key models/programmes for inclusion here. The models we describe relate to: family preservation; alternative community care; the Eye on the Children Project; intervention with youth offenders and children in trouble with the law and children affected by HIV/AIDS.

Family Preservation

Some elements of family preservation were evident in several of the presentations, for example the projects Isolabantwana/'Eye on the Children' described by Shamiela Ryklief (1999) of Cape Town Child Welfare Society and the Childline Safe House Project described by Jackie Chesler (1999) in Gauteng. There were two papers – both IMC funded projects – that dealt specifically with family preservation. These were the Inanda Family Preservation Programme (Durban) presented by Gugu Mtembu (1999) and the Helenvale Family Preservation Programme (Port Elizabeth) presented by Valmai Bubb and her team (1999). Family preservation is defined as an approach that is based on the belief that children and young people need a family in which to grow up and develop in, and it is based on the following practice principles:

- It is voluntary in nature – families are not forced to participate;
- It is of limited duration; the average duration is approximately 12 weeks;
- Services are offered to families around the clock so staff has to be available 24 hours whenever families need them;
- Services are delivered at home. Workers go to the homes of families and provide practical help when necessary, e.g., help with child-care and cleaning up; and
- Services are intensive with not less than 10 hours per week per family.

At the Helenvale Programme presentation the Weitz family testified to the approach and work of the social worker, the social auxiliary worker and the community facilitator (who make up what is called the radical team) in preserving their family. Gugu Mtembu presented pictures and

testimonies of some beneficiaries of the programme. One of these was Mr Cele, a father of five children, one of whom was blind. The family was under severe stress and on the verge of breaking up on account of Mrs Cele's drinking problem. The family described the case management over a two and half month period, with full family participation in decision-making, the use of the strengths-based approach and networking with relevant resources. In the words of Mr Cele:

> My wife is getting treatment and counselling and there has been visible improvement. In fact, she has stopped drinking. She is back to her old self, regained her weight and looks absolutely beautiful … Our blind child now goes to a crèche, she is communicating with other children who are blind. She is a happy child … . As a man I have regained my self-respect. It is hard to have a disability and difficult family problems. I had become a laughing stock of the neighbourhood because as a man, my wife used to abuse me after her drinking spells … Now, that is behind us. Now, my neighbours respect me more for bringing my family together. In fact, I have always been a respected citizen in my community. I applied for water tap in my premises. The tap now supplies the whole neighbourhood. These are the very people who buy chickens and goats from me.

Mr Cele's tap now supplying the neighbourhood with water is, perhaps, an example of reciprocal development. For development to be sustainable, it is important that beneficiaries pass on strengths and tangible gains onto the community. There was general consensus during small group discussions that while the projects were very relevant to the South African context and reflected all the principles of the White Paper and IMC, their success lay in the fact they were IMC funded projects. These projects were extremely labour intensive and costly and, therefore, difficult to replicate. In the IMC projects community facilitators, who lived and worked in the community on a 24 hour basis, were paid. This poses a problem for affordability and replication. Recruiting, training and retaining of volunteers in impoverished communities are salient problems that welfare organisations are confronted with (Guest, 2001).

The models, however, allowed communities to experience social workers differently – as facilitators who were willing to give up control, work together and really become part of the community. If one considers that the programmes were intensive but time-limited, perhaps the gains secured in the long-run are far more important than the costs. Child welfare organisations typically carry many cases, with ad hoc and piecemeal casework approaches for lengthy and sometimes indefinite periods with little or no visible results. There needs to be an acceptance on the part of the Department of Social Development that for children, families and communities in difficult circumstances the investment (both human and financial) is very high. As human service providers we are acutely aware of the inter-generational effects of poverty and family dysfunctions. Costs need to be considered not only in terms of money but from a human point of view as well. What might the inter-generational spin-offs for the Weitz and Cele families be? Can these be quantified? Might the family preservation programme stop what Bowen called the family projection process (Bowen cited in Sewpaul, 1993) and the cycles of abuse, neglect and substance abuse?

The Inanda Project also incorporated a Youth Mentor Programme and Family Group Conference Method. The Helenvale team used:

- Family Group Conferences in their preventive and re-unification work;
- the Youth at Risk Assessment and Mentor Services Programme (linking the young person at risk to a trained youth mentor who was part of the community and who provided a 24 hour service);
- Neighbourhood Friends and Safe House Programme where 30 volunteers provided services during crises such as divorce, death, imprisonment or natural disasters. Safe houses in the community accommodated children during emergencies and after hours;

- uBuntu Play Group – where 24 women were trained to run programmes with children;
- An After School Development Centre for Primary School Children aged 6–12 years of age was in the planning phase; and
- Community and Neighbourhood capacity building – with a focus on capacity building of Committees, crèches and schools and the dissemination of information.

The Helenvale Programme was holistically conceived and aimed to provide comprehensive services to a localised, fairly homogenous community. The work was born out of the realisation that the two area social workers had several cases with similar problems, with little positive outcomes. This awareness, together with a survey of 250 families (via home-visits by the social workers) in the area heralded the beginning of this holistic, comprehensive multi-pronged community approach.

Alternative Community Care Models

As can be seen from the previous section on family preservation, the official policy position in South Africa is that the ideal is to allow children to remain with their families of origin, a view that is contested by some (see for example James (2002) and D'Agostino (2002) who argued that home-based care is failing and that in circumstances of severe deprivation and poverty, institutional care might be a better and a more ethical option). Family preservation is often jeopardised and traditional residential care facilities are insufficient to meet the growing numbers of children in need of alternate care in South Africa. McKay (2002) pointed out that in 2002 the Child Welfare Societies in Pinetown, Durban and Pietermaritzburg had 1,300; 3,000; and 650 orphans respectively on their case-loads. These were insufficient, for as Dorothy Nielson (1999) of Durban Children's Society highlighted, there were approximately 1,600 Children's Home places in Greater Durban but the required number was around 5,000. Despite efforts to reduce the numbers of children in care, the impact of HIV/AIDS on the numbers of orphans in society means that there will be greater calls for alternative care. This scenario, together with the IMC's call for least restrictive forms of care and the high costs of residential care, contributed to the development of alternative forms of community family care by child welfare organisations.

Durban Children's Society had two community-family care centres while Phoenix Child Welfare had one called the Rainbow Cottage. These centres had six children each (the maximum number allowed for by legislation) on foster care orders being taken care of by a 'community parent' who received a monthly allowance plus free accommodation and board. The community parent managed the home and fulfilled the role of the parent, with supervision and support from the social worker. It is a model of care that has been found to be extremely cost-effective and met the following objectives: providing children with a family life experience in a racial, cultural and social context similar to that of their community; catering for the overall development – physical, psychological, moral, educational and social of the children in care; and ensuring stability and continuity of care.

Isolabantwana/Eye on the Children Project

The Isolabantwana Project, reported by Shamiela Ryklief (1999) at the conference and by Ebrahim (2000) in Children FIRST, was an outstanding example of the creative and constructive use of volunteers. This project which was previously documented by Sewpaul (2001) is one of the most outstanding locally produced models in South Africa. Initiated by Cape Town Child Welfare Society, it provided a 24 hour child protection service and operated in six under-resourced communities in the Western Cape. This project was initiated in response to the needs of these communities given

the limited resources in the organisation, high caseloads and unavailability of social workers after hours. A social worker provided the training, supervision and support for volunteers. A task team functioned as the Management Committee that increasingly took on the roles of the social worker. The Management Committee assumed responsibility for the overall management of the project, including supervising the 'eyes' (volunteers) and the place of safety caregivers and liaising with the Child Welfare Society with regard to service delivery (Ebrahim, 2000). The 'eyes' dealt with reported cases of abuse and were authorised by the Commissioner of Child Welfare to remove children when necessary. Safe houses were provided by community members where children were removed after hours and over weekends by the 'eyes'.

Ryklief (1999) described the procedures as: preparation, recruitment and screening, and training and testing. In the preparation phase, a target area was determined and discussions then held with service organisations and community members about child abuse and the 'Eye on the Children' Project. Securing the support of the Commissioner of Child Welfare was vital to the success of the Project. After the recruitment and screening of volunteers, a profile of each one was submitted to the Commissioner. Each volunteer then underwent a ten session training programme, the content of which included: identification of abuse and neglect, interviewing and assessment with regard to domestic violence and substance abuse, parenting skills, the services of the Child Protection Unit and South African Police Services, management skills, safe homes, the Child Care Act and how to complete a Form 4 and other statutory requirements in the removal of children. A test written by volunteers was sent to the Commissioner of Child Welfare for marking and approval. The commissioner issued certificates to volunteers who had successfully completed their training.

Volunteers worked in shifts, investigating cases that were referred to them on a 24 hour basis. A child may be removed three times by the volunteer without being referred to the social worker, depending on the severity of the case. Volunteers maintained case records and where a Form 4 (authorising removal of a child) was filled, a copy was submitted to the social worker. Volunteers were reimbursed for costs incurred in the performance of their duties and supervision took place once a week with volunteers. When they were comfortable with the work, supervision was reduced to once per month. The model is cost-effective and relevant to the South African context. It provides a 24 hour service, when services are most needed after regular working hours and over weekends; involves community participation and capacity-building of volunteers. As part of the community, volunteers are in more strategic positions to detect abuse than social workers. The model accords with the principles of the IMC – with early intervention efforts while the removal of children is a last option (Sewpaul, 2001). This model has been replicated in 15 other sites in South Africa with very positive results. Steps are currently underway for the Department of Social Development to support a comprehensive roll-out plan for widespread implementation across the country.

This programme, like others presented at the conference, relied heavily on volunteers. As with other volunteer programmes challenges included: high investment on the part of social workers (especially where individual supervision was provided); over-involvement and burn-out on the part of some volunteers; lack of commitment; high volunteer turnover; seeing training and skills development as job-creation opportunities that volunteers left after training; and resistance to the use of volunteers among some professionals. Issues raised in small group discussions that might render such efforts replicable, viable and cost-effective were: developing mechanisms to ensure that codes of conduct were developed and adhered to by volunteers; addressing the visible lack of men in such programmes by having social workers actively target men to become volunteers; using group rather than individual supervision with volunteers; establishing volunteer support groups; exploring the possibility of volunteers paying for training costs; clarifying the government's role in financially supporting volunteer programmes; and finding incentives (both tangible and non-tangible) that would retain volunteers in programmes.

Models of Intervention with Young Offenders and Children in Trouble with the Law

The presentations in this section were located within the National Crime Prevention Strategy, Section 28 of the South African Constitution, the Child Justice Bill, the recommendations of the IMC and Section 29 of the Correctional Services Amendment Act that prohibits a child under the age of 18 years from being detained for more than 24 hours. Five papers each reflecting the principles of the IMC (within Levels 2–4) and the philosophy of restorative justice were presented: *Stepping Stones Youth Justice Centre* (Scheepers, 1999); *Diversion: The NICRO Alternative* (Lalla, 1999); *The Family Group Conference* (Marais, 1999); *Structures for the Management of Children in Trouble with the Law* (de Smidt, 1999) and *Management, Assessment and Treatment of the Adolescent Sexual Offender* (Dhabicharan, 1999). The differences between retributive and restorative justice are presented in the following table, Table 13.3.

Table 13.3   Differences between Retributive and Restorative Justice

RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE	RESTORATIVE JUSTICE
Crime violates the state and its laws	Crime violates people and relationships
Focus on punishment and guilt	Focus on making the wrong right
Justice is sought between the state and offender	Justice is sought between victims, offenders and communities
State is the victim	People are the victim
Authorisation, technical and Impersonal	Participatory, dialogue and mutual Agreement
Orientated to past and guilt	Orientated to future and responsibility

De Smidt (1999) discussed the Arrest, Reception and Referral Centre (Assessment Centre) of Wynberg. Since its inception 16 other Assessment Centres have been established in the Western Cape. These aim to provide early intervention services to children arrested within these magisterial districts. Probation officers and social workers are available after hours to: assess children, assist in locating their parents and families, consider diversion programmes, consider conversion to a children's court enquiry and make recommendations to the prosecutor and magistrate on the placement of the child. About 1,000 children are assessed each month on the individualisation of cases and consideration of the child within the family and community context in accordance with the ecological-system paradigm. As a result, fewer children have been taken through the criminal justice system, raising the major concerns that we discuss below.

After finalising its pilot period, Stepping Stones served as one of the country's 'Make a Difference' models. Stepping Stones is a one-stop youth justice centre, with a police charge office, a youth court (both exclusively for children), a welfare component staffed by probation officers (who are actually social workers) and child and youth care workers. They are available 24 hours a day and the youth court also operates over weekends. When a child enters the Centre the first priority is to provide care in a secure environment, food, clothing or blankets and emotional support. The second priority is to contact the family or guardian as the child may not remain in police detention

for more than 24 hours. If a child has not appeared in court for a detention order to be made within this period, he/she has to be released. As with the Assessment Centres the Probation Officer, may recommend the following in a pre-trail assessment report: normal court procedures, conversion to the children's court or diversion programmes.

Diversion programmes are provided by the National Institute for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of the Offender (NICRO). The aims of diversion programmes are to:

- Make offenders responsible and accountable for their actions;
- Provide an opportunity for reparation and restoration;
- Identify factors that contributed to the offending behaviour;
- Prevent most first or petty offenders from receiving a criminal record and being labelled as criminals;
- Provide educational and rehabilitative programmes to the benefit of all parties concerned; and
- Lessen the case-load of the formal justice system.

The models adopted by the Assessment Centre, the one-stop youth justice system and programme offered by NICRO are appropriate to the South African context. The focus is on needed secondary prevention in the arena of crime amongst youth. Given the atrocities inflicted by apartheid and the inequities inherent in the criminal justice system, new paradigms and practice shifts are definitely called for. However, as with the welfare sector more broadly, we seem to be 'throwing out the baby with the bath water'. The tendency to adopt a dualistic either/or type of thinking, and to dichotomise issues with polarities like remedial or developmental; retributive or restorative, does nor augur well for the enfoldment of democracy and coherent and harmonious systems of governance. Concerns were expressed at the Cape Town conference that the rates of crime among children and youth have increased since the launch of Project Go and the emphasis on restorative justice.

According to Scheepers (1999) about a quarter of South Africa's crime is committed by children. While the National Department of Welfare reports the successes of the number of children getting out of the criminal justice system with Project Go, the high numbers of children getting into the system have been over-looked. In the Western Cape, the numbers of children who have entered the criminal justice system since Project Go has trebled. Concerns were raised that 'we are being too soft on crime'. The new legislation that does not allow a child to be held in detention for more than 24 hours, and with its emphasis on restorative justice, the following possibilities exist: adults using children to commit crimes in the belief that they would get away with it; and children receiving the message that they will not be punished for offending. The new legislation also makes it very difficult to deal with recidivism. de Smidt (1999) cited an example where an 18 year old youth has been charged more than 69 times, but could not be detained by the police. In one area about 80 percent of house-breaking crimes have been caused by one child. When this child was arrested the rate of house-breaking decreased dramatically.

One of the models, that highlighted remedial and developmental objectives that need not be antithetical to each other, was on the Management, Assessment and Treatment of the Adolescent Sexual Offender. This is a costly and highly specialised service, requiring skilled therapists schooled within the frameworks of the humanistic, client-centred and dynamic insight-oriented therapies. The following assumptions underlie the assessment and treatment programme described by Dhabicharan (1999):

- Providing therapy to the offender saves a number of potential victims;
- Treating offenders in groups saves time and increases the impact of the programme;

- Developing participation from community members and motivation and participation from other professionals and sectors in the child care field such as the South African Police Services, criminal justice personnel, doctors, teachers, NGOs, and correctional services enhances the effectiveness of the programme;
- The formal establishment of treatment facilities in communities acknowledges sexual abuse and removes taboo; and
- Secrecy is to the detriment of the young offender as it allows aberrant behaviour.

One should perhaps add to the above that secrecy is detrimental to society at large. The programme fulfilled all the practice principles of the IMC. Institutionalisation is seen to be detrimental. The programme provided the least restrictive option: being child, family and community-centred and contributing to family preservation. Treatment was preceded by a detailed holistic and lengthy assessment phase that took about 12 weeks. Assessment and treatment were not mutually exclusive, as part of the assessment was directed at confronting the offender about the offensive behaviour and working through defences such as minimisation, denial, rationalisation and claims to being seduced. Even during the assessment phase the aim was to establish a delicate balance between the need to help the adolescent offender while protecting the right of the community. The presenters highlighted that contrary to that of most treatments, the overriding goal in the treatment of the adolescent sexual offender was the protection of society from further sexually abusive behaviour rather than the comfortable adjustment of the youth. While it is a secondary preventive model, its goal was primary prevention as well as preventing other young people from being sexually abused and hurt.

The high costs, from a financial and human point of view of such therapeutic programmes, need to be weighed against outcomes and the capacity of the programme to prevent re-offending. If these treatment groups could evolve into self-help groups, such as Alcoholics Anonymous or Gamblers Anonymous, where offenders use their life experiences and restoration to educate children and youth not to offend, the programme could then reach more people and achieve more developmental objectives.

Models of Intervention for Children Living with HIV/AIDS

The escalating numbers of adults and children with HIV/AIDS have enormous implications for the welfare sector, thus a number of presentations directly or indirectly addressed HIV/AIDS. HIV-positive people need to be affirmed and validated through appropriate and humane Government responses, if we expect them to promote 'responsible living' (Osei-Hwedie, 1994: 32). Preventive efforts alone, without appropriate care, support, counselling and treatment, have produced little beneficial results in South Africa.

Pointing to South Africa's failure to deal with the AIDS crisis, Aadnesgaard (1999) suggested that 'prevention without an intervention-linked focus is our problem'. In view of the South African Government's failure to adequately address the AIDS epidemic, it is not surprising that NGOs have taken the lead in responding to the direct needs of those infected with and affected by HIV/AIDS. The following presentation has been selected for inclusion in this chapter. Linda Aadnesgaard (1999) described the Thandanani project which operated on the basis of Community Child Care Committees in each participating community. The goal was to facilitate the development of sustainable community-based care for children in distress, particularly children affected by AIDS, by empowering communities to mobilise their own resources and to lobby state authorities, local organisations and child care professionals.

The tasks of the Child Care Committees included:

- Identifying vulnerable children within their areas;
- Keeping a register of children orphaned on account of AIDS and child-headed households;
- Identifying and tracing extended families to care for related children;
- Identifying potential foster parents;
- Identifying alternative care mechanisms appropriate for their community;
- Supervising placements to ensure that children are receiving the standard of care acceptable to their community;
- Identifying people within the community who could become community counsellors in child related issues, e.g., offer bereavement counselling to children;
- Channelling material assistance to families that they have been identified as needing the most assistance;
- Developing and maintaining a support network for families or foster parents; and
- Networking with other organisations offering services, e.g., home-based care and referring families for assistance.

The project was based on the research findings of McKerrow and Verbeek (1995), which indicated that while communities wanted to care for children, they lacked especially material capacity and needed help and support. While the extended family is seen as the main catch-net of care, resources were very limited. Aadnesgaard (2000: 20) cogently summarised the concern in the following manner:

> Our responses only reach a minute number of adults and children. How will we effectively replicate programmes and resources to every child in South Africa and how, without government assistance, will we maintain these programmes?

At a CINDI summit in July 1996 the four catch-net approach as elucidated below was proposed (CINDI, 2000):

- The first and preferred catch-net was the extended family of the orphaned child;
- The next best catch-net was the neighbourhood or community, based on structures such as cluster foster care that enables children to remain in familiar environments;
- The third option was an enterprise-centred collective, modelled on the traditional extended family and developed by consortia of Government departments and NGOs and the private sector, for example the kibbutz system and SOS children's villages (residential care facilities that aim to provide permanent care, with the house-parents serving as surrogate parents and where children's holistic needs are catered for); and
- The last catch-net was institutional care. It has become increasingly accepted that institutional care is expensive and impersonal and that it should only be used as short-term emergency care.

Conclusion

It was heartening to note that the main immediate objective of the conferences was achieved. The conferences were highly successful in sharing models of intervention that could be replicated, and from the responses of participants it would appear that such sharing motivated participants to replicate models that were considered to reflect 'best practice'. The message that sounded clear out of these conferences was that sustainable programmes are not cheap! Somebody pays … whether community volunteers, family members who take on the roles of carers, practitioners who commit themselves to making things happen, the organisation or Government. The programmes that were

the most cost-efficient, from a financial point of view, were those that effectively utilised the services of volunteers. Government funded pilot projects tended to be the most comprehensive and the most expensive. Although their replication was favoured from a humanistic and ideological point of view, grave concerns were raised about replication from a pragmatic point of view, as they involved huge financial and human resource costs. The lack of any defined plans on the part of government to mainstream these pilot projects were also cause for enormous concern.

Some programmes are of necessity expensive, but as our ex-President Nelson Mandela (cited in Sewpaul, 2000: 92) claimed: 'The reward will not be measured in money. It will and must be measured by the happiness and welfare of children'. It is unfortunate that even after several years of the new policies supporting developmental social welfare being put in place the current National Minister of Social Development acknowledged that the Government was failing its people and he exhorted Government to invest more in welfare. Many of the programmes were developed and sustained through the passion, commitment and dedication of individuals who believed in investing in individuals, groups and communities. This does not negate the role of government in creating enabling socio-structural and economic environments that render development viable.

The efforts to create locally specific models and/or adapt Western models for the South African context were evident. The African Renaissance requires that we develop knowledge systems and values so that we make a positive contribution to humankind in our context. We need to re-kindle the pride of Africa, de-construct the notion that whatever is Western must be superior and de-colonise our minds as well as our practices. Welfare practitioners in South Africa, as demonstrated at the series of conferences, were well on the road to doing this.

Against many odds, practitioners at the conferences demonstrated willingness and capacity to rise to the challenges of developmental social welfare. These challenges were being met in the face of increasing unemployment, poverty, domestic violence, child abuse and neglect, the rising incidence of HIV/AIDS and an exceptionally high turnover of staff in many organisations, especially from the NGOs and the Community Based Organisations where they are poorly paid compared with those in the public sector. If practitioners are provided with a more enabling socio-economic environment, rather than the prevailing neoliberal enterprise that currently governs health, education and welfare in South Africa, it will certainly go a long way in rendering their efforts more rewarding and fulfilling. Indeed, practitioners' willingness to make a difference in the face of a macro economic policy that seems to work against them and those most vulnerable in our society (Sewpaul, 2004) might constitute one of the major contradictions of the welfare system. In making a difference practitioners provide a holding environment in the face of which the need for more fundamental structural changes might seemingly be minimized. Thus, welfare practitioners' exemplary efforts in the `new' South Africa may come under the same attack as their predecessors under apartheid – of papering the cracks!

Note

1. These series of conferences, based on the theme: Models of Intervention for Children in Difficult Circumstances in the 21st Century were organised by Alan Jackson of Cape Town Child Welfare Society and funded by two major international funders, Radda Barnen and Red Barnett. Vishanthie Sewpaul was the national collator. She attended and documented the proceedings of the conferences in Johannesburg, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Durban.

Chapter 14

Communities of Gatekeepers and Communities of Advocates: Being Disabled in Eastern Europe

DARJA ZAVIRŠEK

Introduction

During the socialist past and in the post-socialist transition, disablement has been a continuous experience for people with physical, sensory and intellectual impairments across Eastern Europe.[1] In this chapter, I analyse and compare figures on disability, and legislation and regulations regarding the formal and actual rights of disabled people in Eastern Europe, giving some ethnographic descriptions of their everyday life in some communist and post-communist countries.[2] Their existent formal rights as well as daily practices reveal how different political and social traditions view disability and construct it at the same time.

I cover four issues in detail: hierarchies of disability; defining disability; legislation for and regulation of disabled people; cultural images and representations. In the first of these, I focus on disabled welfare recipients' experiences of an intentional and unintentional hierarchy that was predicated upon the cause of disability. During the socialist era, representations of disability caused by war or other politically-motivated reasons were favoured by the state leadership and prioritised above 'other disabilities', especially intellectual disabilities caused by birth, or impairments that occurred at work or during leisure time at any point in a person's life cycle. As a result, from World War II until the mid-1980s, disability representations of the 'invalids of war' were the only disability representations that were almost always positive and appeared in the public sphere. These were also highly gendered, as the 'invalids of war' were almost exclusively men.

In the second issue, I show that the post-socialist period has been characterised by a major shift in numbers and definitions of what constitutes disability and who is a 'disabled person'. This shows that medical labels, most often seen as 'objective' diagnoses, reflect social changes and political transformations. Different professionals use the medical model predominantly when assessing a person's impairment and deciding upon schooling, vocational training or ability to work. In the third, I compare legislative frameworks with the actual citizenship rights of people with disabilities to demonstrate that despite legislative changes that occurred after 1991, these did not translate into actualised rights for disabled people. In the fourth issue, I show how old-fashioned cultural images and representations of disability and daily practices act as local gatekeepers of actual equality and that disability as difference results in inequalities and not a valuing of diversity. Meanwhile, initiatives undertaken by disabled activists, critical professionals and the relatives of disabled people are providing powerful advocates for change.

State Bodies: Hierarchies of Disabilities

On 3 December 2000, the International Day of People with Disabilities, thousands of women and men from Kiev and other towns in the Ukraine took to the streets to demonstrate against the state's decision to reduce the social benefits of relatives of people who died or had become disabled after the nuclear disaster in Chernobyl. Women carried black-framed photographs of those close to them and one said when facing the camera:

> Why does the state not shorten the social benefit money to the invalids of war who have much more than we have? (*BBC-Europe*, 04/12/2000).

Their photographs were the frozen reminders of denied communist atrocities including environmental disasters and pollution across all of Eastern Europe. At the same time, the woman exposed the hierarchies of disabilities where only 'heroic invalids' ('invalids of war' remains legal usage) were seen as socially acceptable or deserving disabled people entitled to social benefit money and covered by public images of disability. Thus, the demonstration showed that in the Ukraine, some people with disabilities have more citizenship rights than others.

The civil society movement that brought so many people to the streets of Kiev was one of the larger civil society actions that targeted the unequal redistribution of resources and poor representation of people with disabilities. On this occasion, Kiev protesters demanded recognition of different disabilities and the transformation of hierarchies of 'deserving' welfare recipients that were favoured by the state. Their protest opposed the subjugation of individuals to state aims and emphasised every individual's right to proper treatment and a dignified life instead of a 'bare life' (Agamben, 1998). The protesters fought against forgetting disabled people and the continuing social rejection of everyone with a disability except for those whose disabilities were seen as the consequence of serving the 'bigger' aims of the state. The Kiev protesters were an example of 'globalisation from below'(Giddens, 2000) and showed an alternative picture of Eastern Europe to the one still presented by some Western academics: closed and pathology-prone societies with little self-reflexivity and potential for future changes (cf Templeman, 2004).

Hierarchies of disability remain current in Eastern Europe today, but draw on past representations. For example, in socialist Yugoslavia, the 'heroic invalids' were almost always men who were members of the partisan forces against the Nazis during World War II. Several documents from the post-war period when the Communist Party came to power, show that 'invalids of war' were privileged while looking for jobs and places at high school and universities. Local municipalities recommended them for jobs or scholarships with the justification that 'the comrade is an invalid of war' (Zaviršek, 2005). Disability itself became a symbolic marker and the permanent visible proof that the person is one of 'us'. They were called 'the ours' (*naši*) as opposed to the 'not ours' (*ne-naši*), who were people who could not prove that they were involved in the partisan liberation struggle or that they supported the new communist leadership. Similarly, in the Soviet Union, the 'invalids of war' got substantially higher pensions than the rest of the Soviet population. So, 'invalids of war' became privileged welfare subjects who consumed a lot of state money; other disabled people were seen as less deserving welfare recipients and got fewer social benefits (Dunn, 2000). Thus, the hierarchy of disability constructed 'invalid state bodies' that included some 'deserving invalids' alongside needy, but 'less deserving' ones.

Women were included in the latter category. Yugoslav women, for instance, became well-known for their substantial participation in the Liberation War within the unique Anti-Fascist Front of Women of Yugoslavia (1942–1953), which was set up by the Communist Party to support the Partisan Resistance and had up to 2 million women members. Out of these, about 100,000 were active in Partisan Struggles, and out of these, 40,000 were badly wounded (Milić, 1993). After the

War, their contribution in war was acknowledged only to a limited degree. The transgression of gender differences that occurred during times of wars and revolutions was replaced with the old gender order immediately after these battles officially ended. While the dominant public image of the 'invalids of war' remained that of the 'deserving man', women with disabilities vanished from the public sphere. A woman's disabled body was never incorporated into the heroic representations of the state body. Rather, it was associated with stigma and shame. Visual materials such as photographs and films from the interwar and post-World War II rarely include photographs of impaired women.

The old-fashioned gender order commemorated disabled men as the heroes of war, while the female disabled body could only disturb that symbol of heroism. A disabled female body could only represent reality and not a cultural and a political myth. Thus, it could only be a reminder of horror and suffering and a symbol of the lack of rather than heroism. Regardless of the fact that women fought on equal ground with men during the war and revolution they remained, as in the West, closely connected with gendered domains in the household and caring for children, men and the nation (Dominelli, 2005b). This gender order was the main reason why the narratives of women with disabilities were neither remembered nor narrated in the public sphere. The same was true for other East European countries, where women with disabilities, with rare exceptions, had no public representation, not even the one of 'heroic exception' (cf Gerber, 2000).

The phenomenon of the politically constructed 'heroic invalid' can be found in other countries with Communist governments. For example, in China, the story of Deng Pufang, the son of the important late-20th century Chinese politician Deng Xiaoping, provided a famous exception and is widely known. In that country, all sorts of disabilities are highly stigmatised and people with disabilities are often hidden at home. Deng Pufang's disability was admired rather than despised. He started to carry a 'heroic body' when he attempted suicide by throwing himself out of a window in 1968 when Maoist activists occupied Beijing University. Deng Pufang happened to be a student there, and after he had been interrogated, tortured and made a full self-criticism of himself as the son of the liberal Deng Xiaoping, he injured himself (Kohrman, 2003).

Disability did not ascribe him the status of a victim. Rather, his paralysed body came to manifest his 'heroism'. His body became politicised as the heroic symbol of the liberals against the Cultural Revolution of 1966–1976 and helped him to establish the first China Disabled Person's Welfare Fund in 1983. Nevertheless, that his disability acquired the status of a heroic body remained a 'famous exception'. It neither broadened the idea of what constituted normality for disabled people, nor extended their civil rights, except for some encompassed within the individually-based medical model of rehabilitation.

Very little is known about enormous efforts of people with disabilities who have fought for their rights in Eastern Europe during the 1970s and 1980s. Yet, such resistance existed. In 1978, for instance, a group of physically impaired men established the 'Action Group' for the protection of the rights of disabled people in Soviet Union which was soon ostracised as a movement of 'political opponents' (Dunn and Dunn 1989). They were silenced and forced by state welfare institutions to become dependent recipients of care in spite of their efforts to become economically independent and creative. While 'invalids of war' became privileged welfare subjects who consumed a lot of state money, other people with disabilities were seen as less deserving welfare recipients and got fewer social benefits.

After the end of the Communist regime in the Soviet Union, the hierarchy of the welfare subjects also changed. War veterans no longer obtained the higher benefits and so their experience of poverty is now closer to that of other people with disabilities. In Russia today, disabled veterans of WW II live in extreme poverty regardless of the numerous social benefits and symbolic privileges that they had attained under the Communist regime. For example, when comparing their ration of food with

those of prisoners in 1992, Dunn (2000) found that the latter ate better than disabled veterans, who could not afford to buy meat and milk. In Slovenia, another hierarchy can be observed between the so-called 'invalid organisations' and the new disability activists' organisations. The former were set up and financed by the socialist state but still today retain their privileged position and claim that people with disabilities should continue to be called 'invalids' (*invalidi*), and be 'cared for' by state institutions. Disability activists who had established organisations in opposition to the 'invalid' ones during the 1990s have been challenging the 'invalid' identity with its passive recipient connotations and demanded a new terminology that would be less stigmatising while advocating for welfare system reforms.

In 2004, Slovene invalid organisations succeeded in amending the Constitution to name 'invalidity' as a human condition that should not be the cause of discrimination. In doing so, they opened a larger debate on citizenship rights for disabled people and the questioning of a welfare regime that prioritises dependent care instead of independent living. Disability activists interpreted the motivation of invalid organisations in debates about constitutional change as being interested in maintaining the status quo and affirming their own influence because they wanted to retain both the terminology describing disabilities and the practices associated with it. Despite disability activists' protests, Article 14 of the Constitution was passed in the terms proposed by invalid organisations. This clause guarantees equal human rights to all citizens, 'regardless of nationality, 'race', gender, language, religion, political and other beliefs, economic status, birth, education, social status, *invalidity,* or any other personal circumstance' (*Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia*, Article 14).

Although constitutions themselves do not guarantee actual equality in every day life, legislative changes are highly relevant, especially in societies with a strong normative knowledge which categorises people according to inabilities and impairment itself. The constitutional change in Slovenia serves as an example of what so often happens to minority groups in post-socialist countries when they gain some formal rights without fully acquiring the basis for equal treatment and citizenship status. The resistance against changing the name '*invalid*' into a less stigmatising word prolongs the disablement of disabled people from the times of state socialism to the present neoliberal governance and shows the common (un)conscious intention of the new neoliberal political elites influenced by the old post-socialist lobbies, that nothing in everyday life shall be changed for the enlargement of the rights of minority people.

Disability Numbers in Flux

As I emphasise above, the political and social processes of transition after 1991 have been dominated by neoliberal market rules and social values which have in fact only emphasised the already existent attitudes towards people with disabilities. At present, the terms 'persons with disabilities' and 'person with intellectual disabilities' are not used in any of the relevant legislation in Eastern European countries. They still use terms such as 'invalid' and for people with intellectual disabilities there exist many different labels within the same country. These include 'mentally retarded persons' in Bulgaria; 'persons with special needs' in Slovenia; 'people with altered working capacity' in Hungary; 'person with mental disabilities' in Lithuania, Estonia and Bulgaria; 'mentally handicapped' in Romania; 'persons with disturbance in mental development' in Slovenia; and 'persons with physical and mental disorder' in Croatia.

One feature characterising the post-1991 period is the considerable arbitrariness and fluidity of disability diagnoses and labels which depend on welfare regimes, value systems, political constellations and individual struggles. Medical diagnoses that pretend to be objective and value-free are fluid and dependant on different social factors. They are not only medical, but also political

categories which influence to a large extent, a person's rights and citizenship status. In many East European countries, for example, Russia, the number of people with physical impairments has been increased tenfold in response to individual and state strategies aimed at removing working people over 50 years old from the labour market in response to neoliberal dictats (cf Smirnova Iarskaia, 2005).

At the same time, new ideologies about 'integration' in Slovenia have considerably reduced the number of children with intellectual disabilities, a move that highlights the arbitrariness of medical and behavioural labels. Thus, during the period 1990 to 2001, the number of children with intellectual disabilities dropped dramatically – almost by half (*Rights of People with Intellectual Disabilities in Slovenia*, 2005) while the number of children with physical disabilities remained more or less unchanged. One of the important factors behind this decline have been conceptual changes including a heightened understanding of the impact that the label 'intellectual disability' has on a person's life and citizenship status.

While the welfare regime of the state socialist period emphasised 'protection' and 'life-long care by a state institution', the new neoliberal welfare regime shows a slight shift towards concepts like rights, self-determination, participation and inclusion. This has been reflected in a new professional awareness of the lifelong stigmatisation of children identified as having an intellectual disability. Most of these children are diagnosed with borderline or mild intellectual disabilities, ensuring that these two labels represent a very heterogeneous group of children. Many of them experience multiple forms of social deprivation including economic vulnerability, emotional disadvantage, violence, abuse and ethnic discrimination – especially if they are Roma children.

Social disadvantages were very often medicalised in the past and children who experienced them were diagnosed as having intellectual disabilities as occurred for Roma children, children in care or children who had parents deemed a 'social problem' (Zaviršek, 2002). A special school in Slovenia in the areas with a bigger Roma population is informally called the 'Gypsy School' (*ciganska šola*), as most of the children came from the local Roma settlements. Experts rationalise this medicalisation of ethnicity by claiming that categorisation is a result of the Roma children's poor knowledge of the national (Slovenian) language, their external appearance and their family's socio-economic background.

In other East European countries, similar processes are evident. In 1999, at the initiative of the European Parliament Special Rapporteur for Romania, Baroness Emma Nicholson, some 38,000 children who attended special schools were reassessed according to the usual assessment procedures. Approximately half of these children were assessed as being capable of performing to mainstream educational standards, and were reassigned to mainstream schools (*Rights of People with Intellectual Disabilities Romania*, 2005: 46), indicating how arbitrary these labels are.

The Formal and Everyday Invalidisation of People with Intellectual Disabilities

Alongside these shifts in the labelling of disabled people is the increasing gap between the formal and actual citizenship rights of disabled people in post-communist countries in East Europe. The everyday and symbolic hierarchies of disability place people with intellectual disabilities at the bottom and define them as incapable of work. In Slovenia, for instance, their position is regulated primarily by the Act Concerning the Social Care of Mentally and Physically Handicapped Persons passed in 1983 and not amended since (*Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia*, 41/1983).

The Act defines disability status for those people above the age of 18 who are diagnosed with moderate, severe and profound intellectual disabilities and confers on them the status of 'invalids' and entitles them to various types of care. Covering 7,242 people in 2002, it provides the grounds for daily, part-time or residential care in an institution or with a foster family and guarantees some

financial support such as the disability allowance and assistance allowance. Under this law, they are considered unable to ever live independently and are incapable of work and can only be placed on training programmes and in sheltered workplaces.

Similarly, in 1980, Soviet legislation introduced monthly state payments for children with disabilities under the age of 16 (Azarova, 1995). This benefit was transformed into a social pension in 1990 through the Law of 20 November 1990 (*On State Pensions in the Russian Federation* cited in Azarova, 1995). This development shows a similar attitude of long-term invalidisation of a person once labelled as disabled. In spite of numerous legislative changes within the system of social welfare, the area of children and adults with intellectual disabilities has not changed much. Like in Slovenia, the Russian Federation continues to uphold legislation passed during the 1980s, thus continuing the inappropriate labelling of disabled people, as occurred through the *On Measures for the Further Improvement of Conditions for Disabled and Handicapped Children* of 27 March 1986 (Azarova, 1995).

To enter the European Union, Slovenia passed a new law on the Vocational Rehabilitation and Employment of Invalid Persons in 2004. This formally gave several opportunities of protected and inclusionary employment schemes to disabled people. In practice, the law had not been implemented by the end of 2005 and it continues to exclude all those people who had already been automatically excluded as unable to work and live independently according to the law of 1983 considered above.

Another example of the gap between formal rights and everyday practice are processes of deinstutionalisation which were ensured according to the National Plan of Social Security (2000–2005) and set in force by the Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs in the Republic of Slovenia in 2000. Despite this document, the majority of people with disabilities still live in large institutions where the average length of stay is from eight to ten years, which is indicative of the endemic long-term institutionalisation and segregation (Flaker et al., 1999, 2004; Zaviršek, 2000). Although the cost of institutional care is much higher than community-based care, the government actually encourages institutionalisation by ensuring free institutional care for children and young people. In cases where the child remains at home, however, the carer receives minimal support. The nursing allowance should cover the additional costs of care, but it ignores the full-time caring work done mainly by women members of the family. Adults in residential care pay part of the costs from their own resources (such as benefits or pensions) or the resources of their parents or other relatives, while the municipality in their permanent place of residence covers the remainder of the costs. In spite of the formal deinstitutionalisation principles, individuals who do not live in residential care cannot use the amount of money set aside for monthly institutional care for personal assistance at home because the Slovene legislation does not allow for individual funding.

Another paradox regarding the formal and the actual rights of people with disabilities is the issue of schooling for children labelled as intellectually disabled. During the preschool period, Slovenian children defined as having disabilities are assessed by a Placement Commission and assigned a category of intellectual disability. The Placement Commission also decides in which school programme the child will be placed. Slovenia does not have a special law on integration, but some new laws that promote more inclusionary principles, for example, the Primary Schools Acts from 1996 and the Placement of Children with Special Needs Acts from 2000 (*Rights of People with Intellectual Disabilities in Slovenia*, 2005: 70).

A growing tendency towards integration can be observed amongst certain categories of children with special needs. Children with physical and sensory impairments are increasingly integrated into the mainstream school system. However, a paradox is that even under Article 10 of the new law, the Regulation on the Organisation and Work of the Commissions for the Placement of Children with Special Needs and that on the Criteria for Defining the Sort and State of their Disabilities of 2003,

only children with borderline intellectual disabilities can be integrated into mainstream schools (*Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia*, 54/2003; 93/2004). Children with other intellectual disabilities, e.g., those labelled as moderate, severe or profound, are not included. In addition, only children with mild intellectual disability can be enrolled in special schools while all other children have to go to school in residential homes. So, despite these new laws, children with intellectual disabilities remain almost entirely excluded from processes of social integration in Slovenia.

Something similar can be observed in neighbouring Croatia which promotes inclusion in some government documents while at the same time, the law on mainstreaming covers only children with mild intellectual disabilities. Children given other more severe diagnoses are contained within separate segregated schools (*Rights of People with Intellectual Disabilities in Croatia*, 2005: 79). The opposite of what happens in these two countries occurs in Estonia where there has been a large increase in the number of children with special needs – the label that includes children with different impairments, in mainstream schools. From 1998 to 2002, approximately 25 percent of all children in primary education were children with special needs. Although the number sounds very encouraging, it is important to notice another division, namely that the majority of children out of that 25 percent were integrated in special classes within the framework of mainstream schools while only 7 percent were placed in mainstream classes outright (*Rights of People with Intellectual Disabilities in Estonia*, 2005: 51).

In Slovenia, a paradox between formal and actual citizenship rights is also evident in the area of guardianship. On the level of formal rights, people with disabilities can get back their removed full capacity rights. In practice, persons with intellectual disabilities cannot resume their legal capacity because Article 54 of the Non-litigious Civil Procedure Act of 1986 states that legal capacity can be returned only 'if there are no more reasons why it was taken away in the first place' (*The Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia*, 30/1986; 87/2002; 131/2003). As persons once categorised as 'persons with intellectual disability' remain so labelled for their entire life, they cannot get their legal capacity status back, even if they once had it. There are no known examples of the return of full legal capacity rights among people labelled 'intellectually disabled'.

Communities of Gatekeepers

In spite of the normative ideals of community and communitarianism in Eastern Europe during the Communist regime, the term 'community' in post-communist societies is reserved for homogeneous groups of people permanently living in the same territory. The ethic of community life is not based on respecting the heterogeneity of personal experiences and differences, but on the ethic of sameness. The idea of equality is understood as sameness – we are equal as long as we are the same; and not in terms of an equality of differences – we are all different and all equal.

Social anthropologists have pointed out several ambivalences in 'community life'. One emphasises small-scale populations based on inclusivity, equality and justice in everyday life. The other indicates that members who are well-protected and equally included during good times may be brutally excluded during times of food shortages and economic crises. This becomes especially relevant if they belong to minorities and lower classes. A recent example of this form of discrimination elsewhere was exposed by large numbers of poor people of colour being left behind unsupported in New Orleans in the destruction caused by Hurricane Katrina.

From an exclusion perspective, communities are Machiavellian-like societies in which human being interact with each other for self-interested profit and experience others as potential opponents and enemies. The community in such situations is a dangerous place, where the dominant group claims 'common' ethical values and 'joint' interests. One of their aims is to protect themselves from potential violence. Another is to circumvent confrontations about valuing diversity. This

explains why so many people in East Europe try to avoid people with disabilities: most of them believe that having disabled people close to their homes might increase violence and compromise their 'imagined community'.

After 1991, the new culture of expressing individual voices and values in Central and Eastern Europe led to the NIMBY (not-in-my-backyard) phenomenon becoming part of everyday reality. This NIMBYism is one of the reasons for the slow pace of deinstitutionalisation. In most cases, when a new group home, a kindergarten or a day centre for persons with intellectual disabilities is planned, the local population engages in direct action to prevent its opening by occupying the streets, mobilising neighbourhoods and claiming economic, cultural and symbolic rights over 'their' village, town and the whole territory.

Opposition to the proposed development of new community services is reflected in new deinstitutionalisation efforts and professional inaction in promoting inclusionary living. Rather than engaging in outreach work to alter local people's perceptions of difference, professionals – whether from institutional, community or neighbourhood bases, remain embedded in old practices and impede deinstitutionalisation initiatives. This has been especially damaging in the setting up of new day care centres for children despite political support for such action. In Slovenia, for example, the National Programme on Social Security (2000–2005) promoted inclusion and social services within the community, which was only partially done with regards to people with long-term mental health problems. In 2005, there were 27 group homes in Slovenia for a total of 120 residents with long-term mental health problems. In addition to these, 10 day centres currently exist for mental health users and are accessed by approximately 450 persons per year. There are also 9 centres for information and counselling used annually by 550 people who experience mental health problems (Cizelj et al., 2004). In comparison, forty times more people live in larger residential institutions. De-institutionalisation is the normatively preferred option, but the number of people with intellectual disabilities living in community settings remains very low; exact numbers are unknown, except for those in the day centres I describe below.

Similarly in Estonia, the non-governmental organisation called the Estonian Mentally Disabled People Support Organisation-EVPIT reported NIMBYism amongst the parents of non-disabled children after the government started with the inclusion of children with intellectual disabilities in mainstream kindergartens. Between 1999 and 2001, this organisation carried out a project of the employment and training of 12 support teachers for children with intellectual disabilities in mainstream kindergartens. The teachers were trained to support children with intellectual disabilities gain more social skills and make inclusion successful. During the process of working with children, the teachers faced NIMBYism that they had not expected parents with non-disabled children to express. This was probably one of the reasons why the project did not continue and ended up in 2002 (*Rights of People with Intellectual Disabilities in Estonia*, 2005: 59).

These examples show that NIMBYism is not so much an economic response by individuals who fear that new community-based social services might lower the price of their properties, but an expression of a common-sense values orientation against any kind of diversity, especially that of people with disabilities. It also shows the predominance of the medical model while assessing impairment with no understanding of person's actual everyday rights. The protesters, always local people, have usually used hate speech to violate the rights of people with disabilities but on some occasions also appeared armed with garden tools to express their anger and willingness to use violence in order prevent the area from falling to 'the others', in the name of diversity. In some cases, they succeeded in preventing the establishment of group homes and kindergartens because professional workers had invested little work in community negotiations that would pave the way

for their acceptance. Like those in the streets of Kiev, the people who opposed such initiatives called themselves a 'civil society' movement. This shows that the word 'civil society' is currently being used for critical as well as conservative or rightwing actions when addressing issues of diversity.

People who speak about 'common values', most often oppose the processes of deinstutionalisation and individual self-determination being exercised by disabled people and promote the logic of spatial segregation and invisibility of disabled people. The 'common values' they espouse are the majority's own values. A young woman whose cousin gave birth to a baby with Down's Syndrome was told that village people believed that the disability had been caused by her not arranging a big wedding and marrying a man who was 'not for her' (personal communication, 2004). Here, an individual's action and an autonomous decision are seen as a sin that can be punished. A disabled child is the punishment a woman incurs in becoming a decision-making person in her own right.

Communities of Advocates

In the past few years in Slovenia, parents of children and adult persons with intellectual disabilities have provided very successful examples of individual and collective advocacy. These advocates were active: mainstreaming children with disabilities in primary schools; advocating for direct funding (Flaker et al., 2004; Zaviršek, 2005); and establishing successful parent advocacy organisations (Zaviršek et al., 2002).

Parents gain greater self-esteem and develop new ways of fighting for rights that were widely absent under the Communist regime. They have become better informed about their rights, and less dependent upon professional workers. Some parents have started to write complaints to the Ombudsman of the Republic of Slovenia in order to advocate for the rights of their children, especially in cases where they were supposed to be placed in special schools (Zaviršek, 2005). A successful example of these was a pilot project to support two girls who had Downs Syndrome being included in a mainstream primary school in Ljubljana.

The project was designed by University of Ljubljana teachers in the field of special education and the relatives of the girls who have themselves had a long term academic career. During a joint struggle involving three parties: parent organisation, independent academics active in promoting inclusion and the school authorities of that particular school, the representatives of the Ministry of Education decided to make a written order to allow these two girls to be placed in the first class of the mainstream school and obtain few hours of support paid by the state. The important paradox that occurred during that process was that in spite of legislative commitment of Slovene government to promote inclusion and mainstream education, the representatives of the Ministry of Education and the National Institute of Education tried to prevent their inclusion and challenged the intellectual abilities of both girls to become enrolled in ordinary school.

The representatives of both governmental bodies focused on impairment and traditional practices in segregated education, and were reluctant to shift their thinking from focusing on the intellectual *dis*-ability caused by Downs Syndrome to examining the individual abilities and supportive networks that were of fundamental importance in the lives of these two girls. The power struggle between bureaucratic-political elites and independent advocates including carers, intellectuals and teachers, led to a successful action that had important consequences for other children with intellectual disabilities. It has been the first time that young people with Downs Syndrome acquired the right to attend a mainstream school. The project also showed that when children get more paid support for school activities, they can be successful and remain in

mainstream education. Thus, one suggestion for welfare politicians and educational authorities has been to increase the hours of paid support provided by the government for children with intellectual disabilities who attend mainstream education to sustain successful inclusion in a given school.

Another important level of collective advocacy is taking place within non-governmental organisations (NGOs) across East Europe. For example, since 2003 in Slovenia, the Association for the Theory and Culture of Handicap (YHD), a disability activist NGO, has been running the programme, *Independent Living of Disabled People* (Pečarič, 2002; Neodvisno življenje, 2004). They provide a network of personal assistance for people with disabilities who want to live outside of institutions (Osebna asistenca za neodvisno življenje, 2004). In Hungary, where more children with intellectual disabilities than in any other East European country can enter mainstream education, NGOs have started to run innovative or 'alternative schools' where even more children with intellectual disabilities can receive mainstream education (*Rights of People with Intellectual Disabilities in Hungary*, 2005: 20).

Another NGO, Pentru Voi from Romania, provides supported employment services to people with intellectual disabilities, and has already assisted 22 persons in finding jobs on the open market (*Rights of People with Intellectual Disabilities in Romania*, 2005: 52). This is an important achievement compared with the state welfare institutions that in most countries across East Europe provide sheltered employment instead of paid work. In the sheltered employment institutions people labelled as 'mentally disabled' have to work, but their work is seen as a 'therapeutic activity' for which they obtain symbolic payment regardless of their actual skills and working capacities. In Slovenia, for instance the yearly governmental budget for sheltered workplaces in 2003 was 3 billion Slovene Tollar (circa 12.5 million Euros). The money was used to finance 29 public sheltered workplaces with 2,066 people with intellectual disabilities working in those shelters (*Rights of People with Intellectual Disabilities in Slovenia,* 2005: 100–106). In comparison with expenses provided by the Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs for other spheres of social welfare, this sum of money is rather high which means that people with intellectual disabilities are seen as having a high level of consumption as welfare recipients, but are denied the right to be seen as people who are also able to produce for the open market.

During 2005, one of the biggest shelter employment institutions in Ljubljana hosted four workshops which aimed to promote the development of community living and work in the ordinary environments of people with intellectual disabilities.[3] These workshops were attended by professional workers from different sheltered workplaces across Slovenia and people with disabilities who work in sheltered employment. The professionals who participated in the workshops (most of them were occupational therapists and social workers) estimated that there are currently between two and five percent of individuals with intellectual disabilities who would be able to work in mainstream paid employment, but work in sheltered workplaces instead. The major reasons they gave for this state of affairs lay in legislative obstacles, public prejudices, negative expectations amongst employers and professional practice that promoted sheltered placements instead of independent living. During the workshops, some professionals expressed their worries that future developments favouring independent living and employment in ordinary workplaces might cause them to 'lose the best workers' who today work in sheltered workplaces and produce a great amount of goods that is traded in the open market by sheltered workplaces themselves, e.g., wooden boxes for different purposes, coloured candles, scarves, postcards, greeting cards and souvenirs. This example shows professionals' great ambivalence towards advocacy work for people with the least social and political rights in society. On the one hand, they want to advocate for active rights of their clients, but on the other, they fear changes and rather passively advocate for the status of their clients as welfare recipients.

Concluding Remarks

As this chapter has shown, the redistributive rights involving welfare redistribution as well as economic redistribution, and the recognitional rights of public representation and symbolic rights of people with disabilities in East Europe has to be researched on the level of formal rights and everyday practices. Along with examples of exclusionary practices there are many different ways of individual and collective engagement in community struggles for better services and entitlements. Most disability activists have moved towards an anthropological understanding of disability and a social model while most 'invalid organisations' retain the medical one. Disability activists emphasise that disability is a socially constructed phenomenon that changes over time and that the form it takes depends upon the political system and other positionalities in which a person is located. They also stress that the experience of disability is an individual one that depends on the social images and actual citizenship rights held by people with disabilities and not a universal experience. It is also obvious that disability activists see themselves as different from members of invalid organisations and that not all people with disabilities share their visions of the future.

Different examples of community-based struggles and knowledge of the global disability movement also teaches social workers and other caring professionals in East Europe and across the globe, how to promote new values, ethics and practical skills (Gilbert et al., 2005). The practices of caring professionals need orienting towards: understanding and discussing the personal experiences of disability; focusing on the strengths of and barriers encountered by a particular individual; promoting a perspective that looks at how to ensure support for disabled persons in their everyday lives instead of emphasising a lack of abilities; supporting community actions and collective advocacy; promoting the dissemination of examples of best practice in empowerment and independent living; supporting the skills of individuals and groups that oppose the dominant and hegemonic structures that inhibit disabled people.

While all these skills and values-orientations are evident globally (Albrecht et. al., 2001), Eastern European countries also need their own models of best practice examples that would serve as role models of encouragement for future changes. Instead of focusing on the category of disability itself, both global battles and regional struggles have to focus on the particular needs and desires of specific disabled individuals and how these could be met in a given community context.

Notes

1. Research for this article was supported in part by the Central European University (CEU) Special and Extension programmes in Budapest where I was a Visiting Research Fellow in the Fall of 2005.
2. I use the category, East Europe to refer to those countries that are geographically located in the eastern part of Europe and Eastern Europe to refer to those countries covered by Communist and socialist regimes before the fall of the Berlin Wall.
3. The workshops were part of a larger project on new employment models for people with intellectual disabilities that emphasised working and living on farms across Slovenia. The project was directed by Vadnal (2005) and workshops conducted by Darja Zaviršek.

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Ethiopian Migration: Challenging Traditional Explanatory Theories

ABYE TASSE

Introduction

Theories that explain causes of international migration have been central to migration studies. These have been presented as having universal relevance, but to what extent do they apply to the diverse populations that migrate across the globe? This chapter uses the findings of a research project on Ethiopian migration to explore the extent to which the rationales and theories underpinning contemporary analyses of migration can explain Ethiopian migration to the Western world. Without pretending to explore exhaustively the theories available, I consider the empirical case of Ethiopian migration to the West with respect of four theories that have played a significant role in informing debates within the field of migration studies.

My arguments are based on more than ten years of research and observations made in different European countries – Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Romania, Switzerland, Sweden, the Ukraine and other countries where Ethiopians have migrated including North America, particularly Canada and the United States, and New Zealand. In Canada, these migrants resided primarily in Montreal and Toronto and so my studies were concentrated there. In the USA, my work covered Washington DC, Maryland, Virginia, Texas, California and the cities of Los Angeles, New York and Atlanta. My observations in these locations are limited, but these limitations are mitigated to some extent through the in-depth research that I conducted with 95 Ethiopian migrants in multiple settings of which 38 were held in France and 57 in the United States. This research included participatory observations of and interviews with migrants in these two countries. I gathered my sample of interviewees largely through snowballing techniques and advertising in a professional publicity magazine. Some of these migrants were interviewed directly in their work environment in either France or the USA. Moreover, as I have been living in Ethiopia for the past two years, I have had the opportunity to observe and research migration patterns within this country. And, of further significance, I have also been able to observe individuals who are currently making plans to migrate.

Traditional Theories of the Causes of Migration

Among the theories of international migration, demographic and economic approaches have traditionally dominated the field of study until the 1970s. Since that time, a number of researchers have questioned the predictive capacities of these theories and begun to search for more explanatory ones:

> The demography, often confusing migration with shifts in population, assembles under the same concept, the mobilization of the labour force under the aegis of capital, displacements of primitive tribes and people's migrations towards the sunny south (Tahla, 1989: 10).

The central hypothesis in these traditional theories rests on what are termed 'push-pull' factors, namely, the idea that poorly populated countries would attract (*pull*) populations in over-populated countries where the authorities would encourage the departure of their nationals (*push*). For this hypothesis to be meaningful in relation to my study of Ethiopian migrants, at least three factors would have to be considered. These are: a policy of attraction from poorly populated countries; over-population in the country from which migrants originated; a policy that encourages emigration from countries of origin; and the existence of overpopulation in the sending countries. I now turn to examining what has happened in the case of Ethiopian migration with regards to each of these factors.

In this scenario, the argument that 'poorly populated' countries would encourage immigration is contradicted by reality. Policies in receiving do not encourage or, more exactly, no longer encourage (at least in the case of the European countries) the arrival of new migrants, and this has been the case for several decades. Yet, despite:

> the suspension of the migration flows of those employed in the labour force that has occurred in the majority of the European countries during 1973 and 1974, mobility has never decreased (Withol, 2001: 6).

In the case of migration from Ethiopia, a striking coincidence exists: the beginning of Ethiopian migration occurs at the same moment that European authorities officially begin to restrict the recruitment of migrants.

The second factor is underpinned by demographic explanations. This is based on the possibility of overpopulation in the migrant-providing countries. However, this is not sustained by empirical analysis in a significant number of situations. In the case of Ethiopia, there has been some demographic pressure because population growth had been very strong during second half of the 20th century. The total population doubled in less than forty years. Nevertheless:

> the overcrowding concept does not here refer to excess population related to 'galloping demography', but to that identified in the neo-traditional economy under the terms of hidden unemployment and/or of superfluous population (Tahla, 1989: 11).

The underlying hypothesis in this approach is that there would be a fall in income related to this demographic increase. The Ethiopian emigrant-type, within this framework would have had to be recruited among poor peasants and marginalised unemployed people in large cities. But, in Ethiopian migration towards Western countries, my research indicates that it is not those who experience a drop in incomes that migrate, but those experiencing relatively high economic positions and sometimes even those with a relative increase in their income. In other words, the Ethiopian population that migrates is characterised by a strong potential to find employment in the country of origin or already occupying relatively prestigious posts.

Lastly, the third dimension in demographic theories of migration explains the cause of migration as the presence of policies that encourage migration in the country of origins. This is not confirmed in the case of Ethiopia. Unlike countries such as Tunisia:

> where authorities have in the past encouraged migration in setting up accelerated vocational training aiming to adapt the candidates to the demand of the host countries (Taïeb, 1998: 43).

Ethiopian authorities did not encourage (at least explicitly) the departure of their citizens. Migration, at least in the beginning, was a clandestine departure liable to imprisonment. So, people's actions contradicted official population policy imperatives aimed at keeping them in Ethiopia. Thus, while demographic causes cannot be completely excluded amongst factors leading to migration, these do not provide a sufficient explanation for Ethiopian migration.

As with demographic theories, neoclassical economic thinking developed initially by Lewis (1954) and Harris and Todaro (1970) does not satisfactorily explain the dynamics of Ethiopian migration. For the neoclassical macro-economists, migration is the result of differences observed at the international level between labour supply and work demand. Scarcities in the labour force (in countries rich in capital) result from high wages and, conversely, the abundance of labour (in countries where the capital is not very available) encourages low wages. Migration, for these economists, therefore is a function of the wage differentials between these two areas. And so, the theory proposes that people migrate from low wage countries to those where wages are higher.

At the microeconomic level, Borjas (1990) introduces the concept of the 'overall migration market'. According to this author, individuals would make a rational computation between the profits that they can draw while remaining in their country compared to those that they would obtain if they were to leave for a foreign destination. As he says:

> People migrate to places where the expected net returns over a given time period are the greatest (Borgas cited in Portes, 1995: 19–20).

Criticising the predictive power of this model, Portes writes:

> Sociologists of immigration have noted a number of empirical anomalies that systematically contradict these predictions. International labour migration largely originates in countries at an intermediate level of development rather than in countries where wages are the lowest. Furthermore, in these intermediate countries, the very poor and the unemployed are not the first to migrate and are generally underrepresented in the outbound flow. Instead, it is people with resources – small rural proprietors, urban artisans, and skilled workers, who most commonly initiate and sustain these movements (Portes, 1995: 20).

Explanations of Ethiopian migration given by neoclassical theorists are very tempting. Ethiopia is one of the poorest countries on the planet. Wages are extremely low compared with those in the Western world. However, an attentive glance shows the existence of at least two major limitations that make this approach poor in explaining migration flows from that country. The first of these is that massive Ethiopian migration began only after 1974, even though differences in wages between Ethiopia and Western countries predate this. For the neoclassical model to have valid explanatory credibility, massive Ethiopian migration should have been initiated well before this date, but it did not. The second limitation relates to the low number of people leaving Ethiopia for Western countries. In reality, Ethiopian emigrants accounted for less than 0.5 percent of the nation's total population even by 1998. In addition, the Ethiopians who migrate are not, in the majority of cases, those who are the poorest in the country. Rather, those who enjoy better situations emigrate to the West. Several other empirical studies have questioned the explanatory capacity of neoclassical explanations of migration. My study affirms these criticisms.

The New Economy of Migration

Questioning neoclassical explanations of migration, at the macroeconomic level, by the divergence of wages between emigration and immigration areas and, at the microeconomic level, by a rational decision of the expected earnings by candidates for migration, authors like Stark and

Bloom (1985) proposed a new theoretical analysis, namely, 'the new economy of migration'. For 'new economy of migration' theorists, the income differential between migration countries and immigration countries is not a necessary condition for emigration. The emphasis is on strategies that households adopt vis-à-vis the absence of institutions guaranteeing survival during periods of hardship. These are known as 'bad passes' and cover unemployment, natural disasters and ill-health. According to this approach, migration results from the desire to diversify family activities to minimise risk and ensure survival. The decision to emigrate which in neoclassical theories rested on an individual emigrant's calculation regarding expected gain is transformed to a collective or community calculation of minimising risk. Still, according to neoclassical theories:

> the households which increase their resources in the country also are those which are likely to lead this complex strategy of diversification of the risks; on the contrary, the poorest households cannot even finance the departure of one of their members (C.E.R.C., 1999: 29).

The 'new economy of migration' can explain the beginning of certain types of migration from some countries characterised by several decades of old migration:

> In fact, although certain pleaded evidence sometimes refers to other regions of the world, this approach seems to draw its source, and the majority of the facts on which it is based, in a number of rural villages of Mexico (Arango, 2000: 334–335).

Its relevance to Ethiopian migration to Western countries does not correspond to observations that I made in my study. Ethiopian migration, today, is limited migration, but it concerns whole households and so the decision about whether or not to migrate becomes a collective one rather than an individual one. For explanations given by the 'new economy of migration' model to apply to the Ethiopian empirical case, I should have observed that only some of the people composing particular households would have migrated and that others in these same households would have remained in the country of origin and entered into economic activities there. In the Ethiopian case, it seems that the migration of a person in the household starts the migration of other members of the family, generally those that are still active, and sometimes even the entire family. If there are households that send their children to other countries, they themselves preserve a strong economic activity in Ethiopia. These young people leave the country with the objective of continuing higher studies, partly financed by their parents who remain in the country of origin.

If 'the new economy of migration' constitutes an insufficient approach to explaining Ethiopian migration to the West, it opens an interesting prospect of analysing the new tendency that I observed among certain Ethiopian families. I call this a re-migration back to Ethiopia, a pattern that I have observed taking place since the mid-1990s. This has led to the emergence of a new, limited, but significant practice, in Ethiopia, namely, a tendency of collective investment, generally made by the family, in economic activities that have a rapid return, e.g., restaurants, night clubs, import-export companies. Encouraged by the adoption on the part of the government of what is now called, a relative 'market economy', a number of immigrants (who have often acquired the nationality of the country that they emigrated to) living in the United States and Europe have returned to Ethiopia to engage in economic activities.

Far from being individual decisions, these returning migrants or 'returns' symbolise a family strategy. The returnees who reinstall themselves in their country of origin have financial resources that the broad-based or extended family including brothers, sisters, mother, father, and cousins decides to invest. Importantly, in the attempt to make the collective saving bear fruit, they are supported by family members who remain in the immigration country. Diversification to limit risks

defined by 'the new economy of migration' can thus correspond to a profitable approach provided that it can be mobilised to explore the re-migration of Ethiopians to their country of origin.

The Dual Labour Market Theory

Contrary to neoclassical theories, or even the approach that I have evoked above, that conceive of migration from the decision to migrate – individual or family, the dual labour market theory proposes to allocate the decisive role in migration to requests from companies in receiving countries. Immigration is not generated by repulsion factors (*push*) in the countries of origin (low wages or high unemployment), but by attraction factors (*pull*) in host countries: a chronic and inevitable need for immigrant workers. This need for foreign labour is explained by the fact that:

> companies segment the labour market: capital intensive methods are used to satisfy the foreseeable part of the request, and work intensive methods for the unforeseeable element. In the first or primary 'segment', workers are stable and relatively well-paid. In the second or 'secondary' segment, they are precarious and badly paid. Autochthonous [local] workers flee the secondary segment which is considered degrading; [It is unattractive because] women wish for new careers equivalent to those of men, and young people want to continue their studies. Companies have, therefore, a structural need for immigration to fill the posts in this sector without starting a rising spiral of wages (CERC, 1999: 30).

Describing this process, Portes and Rumbaut (1996) claim that:

> Not so long ago, the lure of higher wages in the United States was not sufficient by itself to attract foreign workers and had to be activated through deliberate recruitment. Mexican immigration, for example, was initiated by U.S. growers and railroad companies who sent recruiters into the interior of Mexico to bring needed workers (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996: 9).

The American example is not the only one. The French state initially, and subsequently French companies, called for the same type of mechanisms to recruit migrants during the colonial period and after the end of colonisation when labour was in short supply (Schor, 1996). Studying this process, Talha (1989) writes that it was with a view to answering the:

> needs of the metropolitan war industry that more than 130,000 workers were requisitioned under military escort and conveyed to France. The 78,000 Algerians, 35,000 Moroccans and 18,000 Tunisians [coerced into such employment] were not at all ready to return to their countries of origin [when the economic downturn arrived] … Thus, immigration has been caused by France rather than solely by the existence of demographic pressure in North-Africa (Talha, 1989: 65).

French companies pursued practices begun during colonial times until the 1960s and 1970s. Yamina Benguigui's film, 'Mémoires d'immigres', is a major document exemplifying this point of view. Various political debates in recent years show that major companies continue to place pressure on the nation-state to open their borders to immigration to cope with labour shortages. For example, one can evoke the fact that a country like:

> Germany seeks to attract 50,000 qualified immigrants a year while the European Union, after the USA and Canada, thinks of setting up selective immigration measures favouring the elites of the South (De Witte, 2001: 1).

These observations partly accredit the theory that requests from companies in the host countries play a decisive role in migration. However, if this approach is fertile enough to explain the migration of certain people at a given historical moment, it is not capable of explaining international migration

as a whole. While this theory shows that labour force requests by companies in receiving countries provide one engine for perpetuating the migratory system, it is not possible to deduce a causal link between these companies' requests and migratory movements. Moreover, because immigrants as a whole are the most affected by unemployment in the receiving country, the arrival of new migrants contradicts the existence of a direct relation between these two forces.

In addition, the segmentation of work evoked previously between the primary and secondary sectors of the economy no longer appears to have meaningful validity in European countries. Not only do autochthonous workers not shun certain forms of work as they did prior to important shifts in unemployment occurring, but migrants no longer confine themselves to working in the secondary segment. Some migrants also obtain qualified or even highly qualified positions. Lastly, companies' requests for workers and the revival of migration projects by a number of nation-states today centre on the 'immigration of the elite' symbolised, as Catherine Withol de Wenden (2001: 6) puts it: 'by the stereotyped image of the Indian computer experts'.

In the case of Ethiopian migration, no direct link can be ascribed to workforce requests by overseas companies. Labour force migration engages with the moment in which *un*employment in the various Western countries becomes an important phenomenon. The continuous increase in Ethiopian migration to countries like Germany and Sweden from 1975 onwards, despite the Ethiopian unemployment rate sometimes exceeding 50 to 70 percent contradicts the idea of the predominance of active requests for workers on the part of overseas companies as a key cause of migration.

Explanations Based on Political Causality

Another type of explanation sometimes proposed focuses on determinants of the migratory impulse. For example, a few publications of varying quality advance the notion of the absence of democracy and high levels of political violence following the revolution of February 1974 as the principal causes of Ethiopian migration (Moussa, 1993). Metaferia and Shifferaw (1991: 14), in a study that is devoted to 'the exodus' of Ethiopians having high levels of qualifications, explain that:

> the political condition, more particularly the continuous absence of democracy after the revolution of 1974, constitutes the principal factor that plays the role of 'push' for the exodus of Ethiopians … the absence of democratic rights in Ethiopia and the perceived presence of these right in the United States and the development of personal 'pull' factors have been more important in leading many Ethiopians to the United States (Metaferia and Shifferaw, 1991: 13).

These authors replace demographic and economic explanations with an approach that focuses on the presence or absence of democracy. Gebremariam (1995) follows in the same direction. He writes that:

> The majority of members in the Ethiopian community in Canada arrived as refugees. They leave their country as a result of political repression and persecutions of the dictatorial regime of Ethiopia (Gremariam, 1995: 2).

Berhane's analysis, regarding the causes of migration, hardly differs from the authors cited above. Since 1974, Berhane states that:

> another category of Ethiopian refugees has appeared. These are the thousands of young intellectuals, students and leftist militants, from the urban environments, who strongly contributed to the ousting of the imperial regime, but who were suddenly and savagely repressed by the new rulers (Berhane, 1985: 10).

The statement according to which the origins of Ethiopian migration in general and more specifically, migration towards Western countries in particular, are based on the absence of democracy as a result of the seizure of power by the soldiers rests on a brief moment. Yet, these same authors contend that the Ethiopian political system before 1974 was far from having the virtues of a 'democratic' system. They write that:

> the political changes that occurred in Ethiopia in February 1974 were supported by practically all fractions in the Ethiopian population, except for the ruling classes and nobility. Those who supported them hoped that the political changes would bring democracy and would throw into oblivion the social, economic and political inequalities that have existed in Ethiopia for centuries (Metaferia and Shifferaw, 1991: 30).

The absence of democracy represents the conclusion advanced by Metaferia and Shifferaw (1991) to explain the origins of Ethiopian migration following the revolution of 1974 and their finally settling in Western countries when these Ethiopians had completed their studies abroad. This new practice is different from that occurring before 1974 when Ethiopians at universities abroad in the main returned to Ethiopia at the end of their studies. With regards to the principal arguments of these authors, I make two comments.

Only a very restricted number of Ethiopians had left for Western countries before 1974. In almost all the cases, they returned to their country of origins after having carried out their missions. Their return is not explained by the absence of political repression and even less by the presence of a democratic system. It seems to me that this return is determined by structural elements. On the one hand, their small numbers almost guaranteed their occupying a very high social position on their return. Additionally, those born before the 1940s that left for missions abroad or for higher studies before the 1960s were strongly socialised in their local culture. Thus, their integration into Western countries would have probably been more difficult. Furthermore, even if they were relatively very few in number, some individuals in the West at the time that the soldiers seized power in 1974 have returned to live in Ethiopia. For some, the motivation for return was related to their belief in the possibilities of promoting the situation of the country after the revolution; others linked their return to their professional projects.

Political violence and the repressions that followed the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassié by the military regime indisputably marked the beginning of Ethiopian migration to Western countries. Nevertheless, and as brutal as these are, the absence of democracy does not account for, let alone give reasons for Ethiopian emigration. Replacing the argument of differential wages favoured by neoclassical theorists by one of the presence or absence of democracy to explain the migration of Ethiopians to France, the United States or Switzerland, is to give up in advance or to include the preconditions predisposing persons towards emigration. Doing so obscures the specific causes and determinants of the phenomenon these authors seek to explain. If, 'the democratic life and practices that are diffused by television add an additional attraction' (Schnapper, 1992: 124), this theory cannot, on its own, explain why more than 500,000 Ethiopian today live in various Western countries and that others are prepared to join them.

Of the remainder, the relative end of political violence and of repression as a result of the overthrow of Mengistu Haile Mariam's regime in 1991 did not modify or reduce Ethiopian migration to the West. Thus, one can assume that the dynamics of Ethiopian migration towards Western countries cover several factors. The revolution of 1974, followed by the war with Somalia, the war against multiple armed movements, sometimes bloody repressions in the large cities and the development of waves of famine have provided the initial impetus and precipitated the beginnings of migration to the West. But, it was made possible and is perpetuated by structural elements that predispose a fraction of Ethiopians to migrate towards the Occident and the rapid and constant development of a social network in immigration.

Among the structural elements that predispose Ethiopians to migrate towards the countries of the West, I highlight two. First of all, this involves a quantitative aspect: the increase in the number of people who have access to higher education (Tibebu, 1995: 139). The rise in training levels has not been followed by rapid growth in development activities. Nor was it evident in the public services. For example, in 1968, according to Kiros, the number of civil officials in a country inhabited by more than fifty million people did not exceed 132,000 (Kiros quoted in Tibebu, 1995: 139).

The 1960s and 1970s seem determining decades. There was a quintupling of those enrolled in a generation. In 1970–71, 795,716 pupils attended primary and secondary schools. By 1974–75 these figures had risen to 1,042,900, reaching 3,926,700 by 1989 (Negash, 1990: 11). Yet, the number of pupils attending Western-type schools in the entire country before 1940 was less than 7,500.

The second structural element is qualitative. The strong acceleration in numbers entering the education system was followed by the continuous penetration of Western culture into Ethiopian environments and accompanied by the increasing integration of Ethiopia into the world economy. The very acuity with which the importance of democracy (in the characteristic form enjoyed by the industrialised countries of the West today as opposed to Chinese or Albanian models of the 1970s and 1980s) is perceived (at least by those who were in the West before 1974 and by those studying in large Ethiopian cities), is an important indicator of the level of integration to Western values by a significant fraction of Ethiopian migrants. The movement of students and Ethiopian academics during the 1970s resembles the student movements of France and other Western countries of the time.

These elements and the dynamics impelled by political will contribute to accelerating social transformation in Ethiopia. This strategy generates a 'programmed' retreat of the local mode of organisation and reactivates unceasingly renewed attempts (with more or less success) at adopting a social organisation based on European models, without understanding the meaning and history of Western modernity, but assuming that a shortcut was possible without the necessary social transformations taking place.

The various positions evident at the beginning of the 20th century with regards to the model of development to be followed in Ethiopia were the ultra-conservatives, the liberals, and the Japanisers. As a result of the death of King Ménélik, Addis Hiwet argues that these three models confronted each other: the ultra-conservatives represented by Taitu, Habte-Giorgis and Balcha; the liberals represented by Haile Selassié and his group 'which adopted the Western model' and the 'Japanisers', represented by intellectuals like Afework Gebre Yesus, Gebre Hiwot Baykedagn, Worqeneh Martin and Gebru Desta. These endeavoured 'to follow the Japanese model'. Those in the latter group combined with Haile Selassié's group to 'fight the ultra-conservatives' (Addis quoted in Messay, 1999: 68–69; Heruy, 1924; Kebede, 1946; Bahru, 1990).

The superficial transformation based on the European model introduced in Ethiopia far from laying down the condition creating Ethiopian modernity, has deepened the significance of divergence between Ethiopia and the West. Consequently, and as Alejandro Portes expresses it:

> Spontaneous migration, when people move without any coercion or with out inducement by their future employers, is mostly a twentieth century phenomenon. It corresponds to the increasing integration of peripheral society's global economy and their populations' growing awareness of opportunities abroad. The fulfilment of normative consumption expectations imported from the advanced countries becomes increasingly difficult under conditions of economic scarcity, while growing cross-national ties make it easier to seek a solution through migration (Portes, 1995: 21).

The contradictions generated by the rapid penetration of the values and methods of consumption of the industrialised countries, combined with the impossibility of those socialised by the model to

satisfy fully their needs, constitute a factor that must be taken into account in analysing the causes of Ethiopian migration.

This explanatory prospect, calling partly for a theory of the 'World System' (Wallerstein, 1974, 1992) is confirmed by that fraction of migrants that corresponds to the population socialised in the schools based on Western models. They were the ones most exposed to the values and standards of the industrialised countries, at least at the beginning of Ethiopian migration. But in terms of the total population of Ethiopia, those who migrated to industrialised countries represent only a small minority (less than one percent) of the total population. Nevertheless, if qualitative matters, e.g., social origins, educational level at the time of migration and geographical area, are taken into account, this proportion, though small, is emblematic of a phenomenon that does not appear on a superficial reading of the situation. For example, in the 1990s, 89.2 percent of women and 73.6 percent of men over age 25 were literate compared to more than 95 percent of emigrants who had reached at least high school certificate level by the time that they left Ethiopia. Beyond the fact that those who emigrate are those who are the most educated, the Ethiopian emigrants that I have studied came mainly from an urban environment, particularly Addis-Ababa. The relative development of new institutions formulated upon the Western values has contributed to their relative 'Westernisation' even before putting a foot into Europe or North America.

From analysing these characteristics, I can say that the origins of Ethiopian migration to industrialised countries during the last thirty years, far from being original, resemble the migration patterns of other Third World peoples. Describing 'the new profiles' of 'the new migrants', Catherine Withol de Wenden writes:

> Yesterday, circumscribed to some host countries and to some countries or regions starting, in space often marked by a colonial past, the globalisation of the migration flows is recent … Several reasons explain this phenomenon … amongst other causes. The existence of attraction factors ('pull') become more powerful than the factors which push people out of their premises ('push'). Today, despite increasing inequalities between the North and the South, there are fewer demographic pressures and poverty which is at the root of migrations than the desire of Europe and, more largely of the Occident, the consumption society and democracy being brought closer by television and the other media. Thus, migrants are less illiterate people from rural areas than at the time of the mass migrations of the 1960s, but more an urban educated group resulting from the middle classes aspirations' to better economic, political and social conditions (Withol de Wenden, 2002: 24).

Ethiopia's escape from colonial invasion has served to delay the migration of its nationals, its integration from the 1950s into the world economy and allowed the rapid emergence of certain elements of the population. Vis-à-vis the brutality of the revolution of 1974, migration could represent a possible option because the structural conditions for it existed in Ethiopia at the time. Moreover, the analysis of the Ethiopian revolution, both by the problems it created and the methods by which it tried to resolve them, shows that by this point, Ethiopia had been incorporated into the Western world. Analysing the relation between Ethiopia and the West, Teshale Tibebu writes:

> Beyond the fact that Ethiopian leaders enjoy relative autonomy, the fundamental process of the incorporation and peripheralisation of Ethiopia was not so different from that of colonised African countries … It is true that Ethiopia firstly was not colonised then decolonised and finally neocolonised as was the case of other countries in Africa. But, this does not change in any way the nature of neocolonial relations (Tibebu, 1995: 162–164).

Among the criticisms often mounted against the theory of the 'World System' is the emphasis on colonial-type relations between countries as a principal mechanism of migration. Then:

one observes increasingly migratory movements between countries until there without link or with few links (Arango, 2000: 337).

This criticism neglects to note that the nationals of Third World countries have, for a number of years, experienced and developed globalised representations of the West. The links between one country and another are no longer lived like a specific relation, but are rather apprehended in a syncretic way, opposing two areas, the South and the North. Thus, according to this analysis, the 'penetration of Western cultural representations', not only refer to a specific country, but to a number of Western countries that, in the imagination of Third World nationals are perceived as close, if not identical to each other.

Analysing the origins of Ethiopian migration according to this conceptualisation makes it possible to grasp better the phenomenon as a dynamic, structural whole. Decisions to emigrate do not occur 'in a vacuum'. They are determined by the existence of objective conditions allowing their realisation. However, if the latter makes it possible to include the contexts in which migration emerges, they cannot, as I indicated earlier, explain its perpetuation and its increase. The explanation of migration by structural determinants in the political, economic and cultural structures of both host and sending countries, within the international system calling for 'macro-level' analyses has to be supplemented by an approach that also includes the 'meso-level'. The latter refers to the network concept where the density of the relationships between migrants and non-migrants in the country of origin and in the arrival country has to be studied together. Lastly, to give a more complete account of the dynamics of Ethiopian migration towards the Occident, this explanation has to be supplemented by the study 'of the micro-level where the freedom of each one is determined to leave or remain'(Faist cited in Hammart, 1997: 247–276).

Massey (1990: 60–72) explains that the conditions that initiated the beginning of migration can be different from those which perpetuate it across time and space. The networks connecting potential emigrants in the country of origin with immigrants in host countries can, under certain conditions, acquire a structured level that makes it possible for the phenomenon of migration to develop independently of other factors. Charles Tilly (1990) condenses the idea in a formula: 'individuals do not migrate, networks do so'.

Conclusions

Comments that I made regarding Ethiopian migration/immigration in my research make it possible to comprehend the significance of the social logic of networks in perpetuating or even shifting migratory dynamics. Networks are essentially cumulative. They tend to widen themselves as each departure represents a resource for those who remain and facilitates other departures, which will in turn extend the network and increase the probability of further extension. The:

> existence of such a network even is often the principal indicator or broad sign of future migration flows. It can, thus, contribute towards explaining differential migration rates (Arango, 2000: 338).

In the case of Ethiopian migration, this network involves, generally and firstly, the 'primary distributors', namely, the family (Guillon et al., 1994). If there exists in the dynamics of the migration other factors for structuring the network, whether these are of a social nature, political relations, or the place of habitation in the country of origin, it seems that previous studies have a limited role to play in explaining Ethiopian migration dynamics. And, it is the limitations of earlier approaches that I have explored in depth in this chapter.

Nevertheless, without pre-empting analyses that might take our understanding of migration even further, it is obvious that unlike the strongly structured, hierarchically arranged networks that characterise the migration patterns of other nationalities such as the Turkish or Chinese peoples, the networks that apply to Ethiopian immigration remain relatively confined to the sphere of family relations.

Note

This chapter is based on research undertaken for doctorial studies at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales de Paris. It involves translations from English into French and French translations back into English. Thus, some quotations may differ slightly from their original wording.

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Chapter 16

Globalisation: Implications for International Development Work, Social Work and the Integration of Immigrants in Sweden

SVEN HESSLE

Introduction

As a result of globalisation, Sweden is being relentlessly drawn into an increasing interdependency with the rest of the world (see, for example, Dominelli, 2004a; Hessle, 2000; Wagner, 1993). The complex problems that social workers are confronted with on the home ground often have their origin in forces at work beyond its borders – what Khan and Dominelli (2000) have termed 'the internationalisation of social problems'. Globalisation has furthermore led to the co-existence of two co-existing universal forces: acknowledging the equality of all people (people are basically alike) while recognising that some groups have specific needs that must be addressed (people are diverse) (Hessle, 2004a). In particular, these forces are actualised in countries with many immigrants with a wide diversity of ethnic origins.

In this contribution, it is not my intention to analyse the macro-level movements that influence the conditions for doing social work, but rather the micro-level contacts between migrants seeking assistance from the social services and Swedish social workers. What is the nature of this encounter? How can social workers acquire an open-minded knowledge base for working toward a form of inclusivity in a community that is also transcultural? Thus, the aim of this chapter is to show how social workers can use international social work as a tool for bringing about transcultural inclusivity in their work with diverse communities. I define these concepts as follows:

> *Inclusivity* covers all those measures that contribute to counteracting all forms of discrimination, exclusion or stigmatisation of categories of people, groups or individuals and prevent them from realising their general human rights and their specific rights as Swedish citizens.[1]

> *Transculturality* defines an accepted level of 'unity with diversity' within a single individual, group or community.[2]

The concept of inclusivity acknowledges that all people are equal in that they have the same rights. The concept of transculturality acknowledges that there are differences between people and that some people have special needs because of their life circumstances. My premise is that both concepts are useful for making visible the dynamics of integration.

Increased migration is one of the consequences of ongoing transnational global processes. Sweden has been relatively generous in the past in its reception of refugees from war zones and dictatorships. In a period of only about 40 years Sweden has become a multicultural society. Nearly one child in four has family roots in other countries. This is clearly evident in social work where

families, children and adolescents from different cultural and ethnic origins constitute a rapidly increasing client group for child welfare services within the social services. The pockets of poverty in Sweden can be found in the multicultural suburbs of the metropolitan areas, which are almost wholly bereft of Swedes, but where refugees from all four corners of the world live side by side. Malmö is a striking example with nearly 50 percent of its inhabitants coming from other countries, now relocated to the city's multicultural housing areas. In some Swedish neighbourhoods there are as many as 130 different nationalities (Molina, 1997).

The reasons for migration to Sweden are different than for other countries in Europe. Sweden did not take part in the historical colonisation of low income countries with the result that we have never had members of an empire migrating to the mother country for educational, cultural or language reasons. Quite likely, the reasons for migrating to Sweden cannot be summarised solely under the three basic pushing forces: war, persecution and poverty. Long-lasting peace because Sweden has not been at war for over two hundred years, the advanced universal welfare state, equity and gender equality issues are most likely strong pull factors that have attracted migrants to Sweden.

But for many immigrants, Sweden does not seem to be the paradise they envisioned. A high level of unemployment and of social assistance recipients and a rising number of child welfare and criminal cases are worrying tendencies that have appeared among those who have roots in other countries (Bergmark and Palme, 2003; Biterman and Börjeson, 2002). There are indications that the social exclusion of immigrants found in other European countries is being practiced in Sweden as well (Edgren-Schori, 2000). Edgren-Schori concludes that the principle of universalism characterising the Swedish welfare state has become a problem when it comes to immigrants. Changes in economic policy, market forces and the effects of globalisation have influenced the basic attitudes of the Swedish people: 'What the state should do is no longer as self-evident as it was for the majority of the Swedish people a mere 10 to 15 years ago' (Edgren-Schori, 2000, p. 200, translated from Swedish by author).

We have learned much about social work by importing some of the ideas and methods that our researchers have studied in other countries and through our encounters with migrants coming to Sweden. In my opinion, we have to learn from other nations and from immigrants to respond to current concerns because the universal Swedish welfare state and social policies were constructed from the 1930s onwards when Sweden was ethnically homogenous. Moreover, the 'social engineering policy' of our welfare state under the tutelage of Gunnar and Alva Myrdal (1934) is based on the belief that reforms can change people's minds and actions (Hessle and Vinnerljung, 2000).

In the last decades of the 20th century, the homogenous population of the country underwent rapid change. Sweden has been known for its generous foreign aid policy and refugee policy. Nearly one percent of the GDP (gross domestic product) is being invested in development support for low income countries, which, rather paradoxically, might be one of the reasons Sweden has become a magnet for migrant groups. The country's generous refugee policy, with more than one million immigrants from different parts of the world coming to Sweden during the last 30 years, has rapidly changed Sweden into a multiethnic society. Some 20 percent of the nine million inhabitants were born in another country, and one out of four children has roots in other countries. Multiethnic communities and whole cities are emerging in Sweden (Hessle and Vinnerljung, 2000).

The national framework for social policy has of course an appreciable influence on professional social work. In Sweden, the typical professional social worker is a generalist who is employed by the municipality, works out of a social service office and has certain responsibilities for the residents in the area of jurisdiction as outlined by the Social Services Act. The Social Services Act

(see Hessle et al., 2004) is a framework legislation, which means that the duties of social workers are not regulated in detail; the individual social worker has considerable leeway for developing his or her professional role in accordance with what the case at hand requires. But the conditions under which they work, with financial cutbacks and other obstacles, are not conducive to their making full use of that leeway, particularly when it comes to transculturality.

In the following section, my main focus will be on the life conditions that influence people to migrate from their home countries. We know about these conditions through the many development projects that Sweden runs via governmental and non-governmental organisations and together with the international community. As a rough measure, we can divide low income countries into three categories depending on the predominant conditions of life: countries in transition; countries under post-war conditions; and countries characterised by structural poverty. Which are the push and pull factors that make Sweden an attractive country for immigration? And what consequences does large-scale immigration have for social work?

In the second section, the focus will be on the Swedish context and social work. Concepts like transcultural social work and the international/domestic practice interface are discussed as useful tools for doing casework with immigrants in Sweden.

In the third section, I will focus on three sensitive issues. These are issues that have originated in the home country and which migrants have internalised and bear with them wherever they go and can result in transcultural collisions if not handled with care. These are religion, gender and the child perspective.

In the concluding section, I will return to the concepts of inclusivity and transculturality. I will argue that international social work is one of several feasible roads to transcultural inclusivity.

Countries in Transition, Countries under Post-War Conditions and Countries Characterised by Structural Poverty

International development work can be characterised as dialogue in a partnership that is conducted in such manner that poor people in the recipient countries participate in a readily apparent, sustainable and acceptable development that leads to a life of dignity.

This is basically the idea behind the modern terminology for international development and the aim of the Swedish international development policy for low income countries (Sida, 2002). It would not be amiss, in my view, if this motto were to be posted on the door of the social welfare offices in Sweden as well. In low income countries I have met many international development workers from all over the world, each representing their own country's welfare model. At the same time, from our Swedish experience, we can see that the conditions for implementing welfare policy in the recipient countries vary greatly. Countries in Central Eastern Europe, like other countries in transition, are searching for new welfare models after the fall of communism.

Post-war countries, such as Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia, are faced with additional problems such as ethnic conflicts and reconciliation issues which must be addressed if the effort to rebuild the country is to succeed. An effort is being made in Rwanda to reconcile ethnic conflicts for the sake of a possible future coexistence. Over 100,000 prisoners of war now have the possibility to be reconciled through the establishment of 12,000 people's courts, so-called 'Gathatha', currently being set up in villages all across the country. To admit the truth and plead for forgiveness in front of one's former neighbours can be a step on the road back to everyday life for many, if not most, of the perpetrators. No such arrangement has been made so far in former Yugoslavia; all war crimes have to be brought before the international court in Den Haag (The Haig).

In countries characterised by structural poverty, e.g., in Latin America and Africa, the social sector has often been created largely by means of extensive volunteer effort through non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The national government's responsibility to protect weaker groups in each of the countries concerned has generally been contracted out to charitable organisations. In this respect, it is an advantage for those of us from Sweden who travel to poverty-stricken regions in the world on international development work to be able to see at firsthand the conditions from which many immigrants to Sweden have fled and which they carry with them in their encounters with the Swedish welfare state.

Many of the migrants arriving in Sweden from countries characterised by structural poverty have probably had some contact with professional social workers in their own country as well, but the social workers' duties are likely to be very different from ours. However, it is likely that, even here, most of the social work is performed by non-governmental organisations, i.e., NGOs. Quite often these are organisations founded on religious or ideological principles. Most of these organisations are financed by charity – a form of funding that is but a vague memory in the history of the Swedish social services. Nevertheless, regardless of their source of funding, they have generally developed a methodology for tackling the conditions of poverty existing in these countries. These organisations have had close contact with the psychosocial problems of the country and have intimate knowledge of cultural conditions and other factors. They can at times be valuable advisors to Swedish social workers who are looking for solutions to the problems that plague their clients in Sweden, solutions that are feasible from a socio-cultural perspective. Examples of international organisations with Swedish affiliations are Save the Children, Plan International and UNICEF for children at risk and the Red Cross which, among other things, works to find family members and relatives who have disappeared, as well as Lutheran, Catholic (Caritas), Muslim and other religious establishments with a social commitment.

If the country of origin is a country under transition from a communist regime to a market-oriented economy, e.g., the countries of the former Soviet Union, then many of those who come to Sweden seeking asylum have little experience of public social services and professional social work. During the process of transition in these countries, the earlier patterns of supportive relationships in the community have broken down. The state's all-encompassing responsibility in the planned economies was the socio-cultural cement that bound people together. But now there are deep cracks in the cement and attempts are being made to find new welfare models to replace the old ones (Trygged, 2002). As yet, it is too early for the new emergent models to have built up either formal or informal systems of support and prevention. Today, many of the former communist states are struggling with the kinds of problems that are often associated with capitalist countries. For example, 'street children' was a relatively unknown phenomenon in the former Soviet Union. Now, it is a major problem in these countries, along with an alarming rise in the rate of substance abuse, prostitution and criminality. Although there are signs that some economic progress is being made, many people in the former communist countries are still living under conditions of extreme poverty (UNICEF, 2004, 2005).

Nevertheless, there is very little likelihood that persons coming from this part of the world will be allowed to stay in Sweden, as the official position in Sweden is that their own governments are capable of assuming responsibility for their citizens' security and welfare. Furthermore, Sweden, in approving the European Union's 'Fortress Europe' policy on asylum (see Williams et al., 1998), has for all intents and purposes agreed to become more restrictive in its immigration policy. The reason is that individual countries no longer have the same freedom to respond unilaterally to applications for asylum. Because the door to Europe is now only open to migrants who have been accepted by any one of the other member states, a rejection by one means rejection by all. An acceptance by one means acceptance by all.

Push and Pull Factors in Migration

After this brief look at some of the conditions that prevail in the home countries of many of the refugees who seek asylum within an EU (European Union) country, let us now turn our attention to the situation they meet in one like Sweden. In the context of migration, it is common practice to distinguish between push and pull factors, depending on whether the conditions for migration are based on repellent forces (push) or attraction forces (pull) (Williams et al., 1998).

A powerful push factor is flight from war and/or persecution. Having relatives who live in the receiving country is a common pull factor. Pull can be the dominating force when people make for countries that have greater equality than the home country where structural poverty and social class inequality are deeply entrenched. For many emigrants from countries in transition, we can reasonably suppose that both push and pull factors are at work. Impatience with the slow transition in the home country which, at least in the initial stage, has created pervasive poverty on a previously unknown scale (push), combined with the desire to settle down in a country where the economic conditions are more favourable (pull) are crucial in this regard. This is important knowledge for social workers to have. Research has shown that the psycho-social situation of those whose emigration has been propelled by push factors, and these are usually refugees, is so much worse than it is for those for whom the receiving country has been a magnet (Gray et al., 2005).

Another pull factor, therefore, is Sweden's well-known universal welfare safety-net. One of the aims of universal coverage through social policy reforms is to avoid the stigmatisation of the few. Furthermore, people at risk in Sweden have access to a highly advanced programme of preventive health care and social welfare (Hessle and Vinnerljung, 2000). There are no large-scale institutions in Sweden that serve as depositories for socially marginalised children or elderly people, and the Swedish social services are quite advanced in psycho-social preventive work with children. The emphasis is on networking, i.e., a joint effort on the part of the social services and various actors in the local community such as pre-school and school and volunteer organisations, to prevent the problems from escalating to such as extent that the child has to be taken into custody. The question is how does this welfare system work when it comes to migrant families?

Transcultural Social Work

Is it possible to treat people who have not grown up with the Swedish welfare model in the same way that we treat others applying for social assistance who have been socialised in this model from an early age? Many of the people coming to Sweden have experienced widely varying solutions to social problems and have often had a very different kind of encounter with officialdom. The image of what a social worker is and does (or could do) varies greatly depending on the applicant's country of origin. Openness to cultural differences in human conflict solutions is what is usually meant by *transcultural sensibility*.[3]

For example, people from the Middle East or from the African countries are likely to expect a greater degree of informality in their contacts with public officials. A formal home visit by a social welfare officer in Sweden to a migrant family could very well become an invitation to stay for dinner since, according to the cultural code in the family's home country, whoever steps inside the door of one's home should never leave hungry. Or there might be an expectation of mutuality, in the sense that the migrant family may insist on giving a gift to the social worker as a token of their gratitude for being allowed into the country. Such invites from clients are unusual for social workers accustomed to the Swedish bureaucracy and neutrality, where equality means that no one is to be given special favours.

Informal and mutual relationships are expected to be developed within the confines of the neighbourhood and the workplace and not between citizens and representatives of the public authorities. Unfortunately, this integration strategy does not work in Sweden. Many migrants are experiencing a harsh life in a state of social exclusion (Edgren Schori, 2000). Migrants to Sweden face long-term unemployment; their unemployment figures are far above those for Swedes (Bergmark and Palme, 2003). And in the local neighbourhoods the Swedes have generally been unwilling to share their everyday life with strangers from other countries. Swedish families flee from the multicultural cities to other areas, increasing the lines of division within the society.

This means that there is a risk that behind the official Swedish rhetoric of cultural tolerance espoused by the social services lurks a belief in assimilation. This is a danger if social workers are given too little scope for finding a feasible way of working with applicants whose experience of social welfare contrasts strongly with that of the Swedish model. Swedish professionals must ask themselves if it is through contact with the public authorities that refugees and other immigrants learn that the only way they can adapt to the Swedish way of life is by denying their origins. Are we forcing our new inhabitants to deny their rich cultural heritage, which in some instances extends back thousands of years, in order to submit to a superficial adaptation to Swedish ways? The 'melting pot' that some of us might envision, can it be achieved in everyday life? How can we counteract the social exclusion of immigrants in Sweden? These are important issues that social work practitioners must address if they are not to exacerbate the oppression and exclusion experienced by people who have risked so much to come to Sweden.

There is strong evidence that the more the culture of an immigrant differs from the dominant culture in the recipient country, the more entrenched is the process of social exclusion (Edgren-Schori, 2000). With refugee immigration of the last few decades, a different picture of immigrants emerges than the typically labour-market immigration in the period immediately following the Second World War. This is the same picture we see in other parts of the world (Abye, 1994). It used to be poor farmers from the countryside who poured across national borders and journeyed even greater distances in a struggle for survival. This movement, usually to urban industries in countries that needed to expand their labour force, developed its own set of migration problems and contributed to creating conflicting transcultural patterns in the receiving countries.

Many of the people in the second wave of immigration were from the middle class, e.g., university graduates and intellectuals, who fled the cities rather than the countryside to escape war and persecution. But despite their high qualifications, few can count on obtaining employment in the receiving country that is at the same level as the position they had at home. How many university graduates from developing countries are cleaning the corridors of the universities and government buildings in Sweden rather than working in well-paid posts with high status?

It is important to note that those who leave a country in transition or a country at war and those who remain behind have often been exposed to similar forms of trauma. This can make the process of repatriation extremely complicated. Often their fellow citizens back home blame the refugees for having deserted those who stayed behind and for having drained the country of essential human capital. Refugees not only have a hard time finding jobs in the receiving country, they often have the same difficulty when they return home.

International/Domestic Practice Interface

Lynne Healy (2001) has called one type of casework the 'international/domestic practice interface', where the complex problem that social workers encounter, e.g., in marriage and custody conflicts, is often linked to the persons involved having different countries of origin. It takes time, patience and willpower on the part of the social worker to penetrate into the ways of solving conflicts

during crises situations that the 'clients' bring with them from their home countries. Healy gives many examples of cases where social workers must cross national borders, both symbolically and sometimes physically, to arrive at acceptable solutions in dialogue with the clients. The following is a Swedish case example that illustrates how a cultural competent approach could have made a difference.

The Case

> During the war in former Yugoslavia (1991–95), a mother and her daughter succeeded in fleeing from Sarajevo to Zagreb. The husband had died and Sarajevo under siege was an intolerable situation. But in Croatia, the family's situation was equally intolerable because of the increasing ethnocentrism and persecution of the Muslims, so the mother spent her last money on a bus ticket to Sweden together with other refugees. In Sweden, they sought asylum, and then settled down in a refugee camp to await permission to stay. When the war was over, the mother wanted to return to Sarajevo, but her daughter refused. The mother chastised her daughter, and slapped her in public in front of many witnesses, one of whom reported the incident to the social welfare authorities, and an investigation followed. The daughter, now 16 years of age, was taken into public care and was placed in a Swedish foster home. The mother returned to Sarajevo, where she tried through the embassy to get her daughter to come back home. But the daughter still refused and threatened to kill herself, which resulted in her being taken into care in a child psychiatric unit. With a certificate from the doctor, she was then permitted to stay in Sweden and start in a Swedish school, remaining with the foster family.

This is a typical case of physical abuse handled by the Swedish authorities in accordance with Swedish law – with the best interest of the child in mind, but without any transcultural sensibility. It is an example of casework where there is no international/domestic practice interface. How would the case be handled if the public officials possessed transcultural sensibility? First of all, on the surface the situation seemed to be one of a normal 'teenager in revolt'. But this is not a normal teenager in revolt; the mother and daughter are in an asylum-seeking situation. The mother slapped her daughter out of desperation because the girl refused to return with the mother to their home country. By putting the young girl in a foster home, the authorities widened the schism between mother and daughter. By threatening suicide the girl escalated the situation: Swedish expertise pitted against a violent mother.

At the time this incident took place, the family's country in former Yugoslavia had some forty years experience of professional social work. There are well-functioning Centres for Social Work where social workers and other experts such as doctors, psychologists, lawyers, social pedagogues work in team. Normally, parents and children turn to such centres for advice on problems in the family. In this case, had the Swedish authorities contacted the Centre in the mother's home community, the professionals there might have come up with a different solution. For instance, to win her case the girl reported to the investigating doctor in Sweden that she had no one in Sarajevo except her physically abusive mother. No relatives, no friends, nobody! This was not true; the family had some one hundred relatives and friends! And the bonds among extended family members are strong in that part of the world. The girl received many offers to stay in the homes of different relatives. But, rather than collecting the necessary information at the source, the Swedish authorities preferred to act solely on the word of the 16 year-old girl.

Another type of case falling within the category of international/domestic practice interface concerns persons who come from countries that have little or no experience of professional social workers. Persons applying for social assistance may have exaggerated expectations of what a social worker can accomplish. If the client belongs to a persecuted minority, there is the added

complication of whether he or she will be granted permission to stay in Sweden. If the client is a young person who has run away from an institution, a major problem is whether the right contacts can be made in the home country to ensure that the runaway ends up 'in good hands' when returned home. In all these kinds of cases there is a need of physical (not symbolic) contact with the country of origin, in a carefully conducted investigation to ensure on site that adequate support is given to returning individuals.

In Sweden transcultural collisions are accorded huge headlines in the press, as exemplified by the debate on family-honour killings involving ethnic groups from nations in the Middle East (see Aronsson, 2001). For instance, young girls from Kurdistan are not allowed to date Swedish boys by their families. If they insist and try to adapt to Swedish customs, the male members of the family might, in accordance with traditions inherent in their original homeland, regard it as their duty to kill either the 'offending' female or her boyfriend.

Taking children and adolescents into public care is always a sensitive issue, with additional difficulties when it concerns children from other countries who are to be placed in foster care or in an institution. If the children, in accordance with the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, shall have the right to have access to their family (Article 10) and to practice their culture, religion and other interests (Article 14), then a foster home with roots in the same country is preferable. But without knowing the history of the child's country of origin, the placement could be disastrous, with stigmatisation of the child as one of the consequences. For instance, placing a Somalian child from a lower cast family in a high cast Somalian foster family is not to be recommended – the child will be stigmatised by the family. Nor is it a good idea to place a Muslim child from former Yugoslavia in a Serbian family. Although both parties have roots in the same country, the war has changed both national borders and attitudes.

Different countries have different attitudes towards foster families as a placement alternative. In some Sub-Saharan African countries a foster family placement is usually with relatives, and foster children are often exposed to various forms of child abuse (Tolfree, 2004). In other countries the placement preference is an institution, and there are few if any foster homes. In e.g., Japan, foster family placements are very rare because of the strong biological family bonds in that society; no family would be willing to stigmatise another family by agreeing to foster their child. In Latvia, foster families are difficult to find, perhaps because the payment is so low. The more expensive alternative institution is preferred!

Migrants with Trauma Experiences

Today, the majority of immigrants to Sweden are seeking asylum, i.e., few are labour-market immigrants. There is good reason to suppose that many, if not most, of these asylum-seeking migrants have experienced traumatic episodes – in their home country, while in flight, and perhaps after arriving in Sweden as well. Their experience of the social welfare system is likely to vary according to whether they come from countries in transition, countries under post-war conditions or countries characterised by structural poverty, or, as is often the case, a combination of these categories. The different models of state responsibility for welfare differ widely in these countries (Korpi, 2004). Questions about traumatic experiences and relations with family members and relatives back home are unavoidable in the contacts that newly arrived refugees and other immigrants have with public authorities, including social workers.

For refugees coming from a country at war, traumatic experiences and difficulties in making contact with their family and relatives back home are additional complications that must be dealt with. We must be prepared to address these kinds of questions as soon as possible after the refugee's arrival in Sweden.

Immigrants and Religion

An important but often neglected issue that concerns immigrants coming to a secularised country like Sweden and that could lead to transcultural problems has to do with ideological and religious convictions. The practice of religion is a profoundly personal and cultural act that affects life in and outside the family, influencing, e.g., the children's schooling. Choice of clothing, eating habits and everyday ethical standards are regulated largely by the strong spirit of unity and solidarity that has been created in many places of worship now existing within Sweden's borders.

Often, religion functions as a crucial lifeline for refugees who have survived unspeakable atrocities and it provides a measure of comfort for those who experience themselves as outsiders in a foreign land. To debate whether or not young girls should be made to cover their hair in public or whether or not schools should introduce special menus out of consideration for certain cultural or religious practices is virtually to tread upon Holy Scripture; it lays bear deeply embedded cultural conflicts that can hardly be resolved through the 'melting pot' principle. On the contrary, it appears that these aspects, clearly visible in daily life, risk solidifying into an 'us and them' mentality which reinforces the tendency toward ethnocentrism in our societies, at least in the short run.

When seen from an acculturation perspective,[4] we do not expect immigrating people to change their religious convictions in our country. But being rooted in a secularised tradition might lead us to neglect the importance of religion for people with foreign origins. The transculturality dimension can be a help to discovering the role religion plays in each individual case.

Views on Gender and Children

The goal of Sweden's well-known family policy and parental insurance scheme is that women and men, on a basis of equality, have a legal right to both work and parenting with the help of community-run childcare (Hessle and Vinnerljung, 2000). This goal is embraced by most Swedes through generations of reform efforts. Half of our elected representatives are women, and it is doubtful if any Swedish government could avoid maintaining at least an approximate gender equality among its ministers. The steadily ongoing gender debate can in itself be seen as an expression of Sweden's high level of gender equality.

Sweden was also one of the first countries in the world to pass a law forbidding spanking as a means of disciplining children. Children in Sweden have had a voice long before the country ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, both in public opinion and in legislation. Regardless of the criticism as to what extent we have succeeded in putting these welfare reforms in family policy into practice, they have created new generations of parents and children for whom participation and gender equality are as much Holy Scripture as the precepts of religions with external origins. We can reasonably assume that it will also take generations before the immigrant population in Sweden has internalised these ways of thinking in practice, if indeed they ever do.

An important question in this context is if these goals, in which Sweden takes such pride, are negotiable? Would we be willing to alter our view on gender equality to reach some sort of transcultural compromise? Would we be willing to change our view on children's rights? The answer is, of course, no! In these issues, we would expect assimilation from the immigrants. Thus, in terms of acculturation, inclusivity would include putting issues of gender equality and children's rights in focus when doing casework with immigrants.

Conclusions

Globalisation causes increased interdependency between nations and increased migration over borders. For social work these movements pose a difficult challenge, and there is much to be learned through international partnerships. Sweden has an exceptional role to play, both because it has been generous in allocating resources to international development projects in low income countries, and in having relatively open borders for immigrants, although the migration policy is currently being adjusted to fit the migration policy of the EU.

Fissures are beginning to appear in the façade of the Swedish universal welfare state, probably because universality has been based on the principle of equality before the law rather than the just as important principle of responsiveness to special needs. What is needed in the globalised multicultural society is an elaborated social policy that includes the idea of diversity, with the realisation that some groups have specific needs. The Swedish government has generally done everything possible to ensure the inclusion of migrants, and has even established an Integration Civil Service Department for this purpose. But it may be that the delays in the inclusion process in the Swedish society are attributable to factors in the everyday life of the Swedish citizens. In my view, the inclusivity of everyday life must be supplemented with the aim of transculturality, i.e., in brief, harmony in living with diversity.

In this contribution I have argued for international social work as a source of knowledge. Knowledge based on welfare conditions and human conflict solutions in countries from which migrants flee to our country is of value for the everyday encounters in our multiethnic society. Social workers are at the frontline of solidarity with vulnerable groups in all societies, and international exchange of knowledge is necessary for dealing with transcultural problems. Increasing cases of what we call the *international/domestic practice interface* demand an attitude of openness and flexibility for transcultural solutions in social casework.

Because of their frontline position, social workers have a unique opportunity to transmit this knowledge to civil society which, at the moment, is undergoing a dangerous development where covert ethnocentrism risks turning into overt racism. This development is clearly visible in the separate housing conditions for citizens with different ethnic backgrounds. On the one hand, there are the large multiethnic metropolitan housing areas with high unemployment, poverty, criminality and ever-growing groups of high-risk children. On the other hand, for native Swedes there are the relatively homogenous middle-class neighbourhoods with low unemployment.

Of special importance is the balance between inclusivity and transculturality. On some issues, e.g., children's rights and gender equality, the Swedish people will not back down. Inclusivity means, among other things, supporting migrants to reach the same levels of acceptance of these basic principles. On other issues, such as religion, a transcultural sensibility approach will win out in the long run.

Social workers doing frontline casework have a responsibility to make the Swedish citizenry more transcultural and to ensure the inclusivity of those who have sought succour in our country.

Acknowledgments

Notes

1. The term social exclusion come from the French political term *exclusion sociale*, which was used to describe the marginalisation of large groups of French citizens that were not let into the social life of the majority.
2. This term is taken from Edward R. Canda (1999), who focuses on spirituality and the diverse society. Canda reserves the term transculturality for the internalised state of unity with diversity within the individual person. According to Canda (1999), 'The transculturality must be achieved within oneself in order to be achieved in relations with others' (*Training curriculum for cultural competence*, 1995: 23, revised version. See Ewdard R. Canda, homepage on http://www.socwel.ku.edu/canda/index.htm). I use a broader definition in this paper.
3. In Sweden, we use the term 'cultural competence', which in my opinion is limited because it suggests a static view of culture. You can have cultural competence more or less, but transcultural sensibility is an attitude that you either do or do not have.
4. 'Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups' (definition by John Berry, 1995).

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Rethinking and Unravelling the Interlocking Dynamics of Caribbean Emigration and Return

JOHN SMALL

Introduction

Among the Caribbean countries Jamaica has had the largest outflow of citizens than any other island since migration began in earnest in the early 1950s. A significant number of those early migrants are now returning. Return migration has always been an accompanying feature of Caribbean migration. Against this background, the phenomenon of return migration to the Caribbean can best be understood through an examination of the interlocking nature of outward migration and return to the home country, together with an analysis of the variables arising from the dynamics of the process. Some of these factors are: the push and pull determinants which feature in the initial decision to go or to stay and, after a period in the receiving country, to stay or to return to the original homeland. Return migration, therefore, should not be analysed as a separate phenomenon that operates within discrete boundaries. Neither should return migration be studied from the perspective of either the sending country or the receiving country. Return migration should be seen as a connected process of emigration with patterns of flow consisting of multiple features that have implications for both the sending and receiving countries (King, 1986).

Sutton and Maiksky-Brown (1987: 92–116) have drawn our attention to:

> Translational socio-cultural and political systems … [are] important channels for the bi-directional flow of ideas such as political events at home (eg. independence) [and] had an impact on the migrant communities abroad while migrant experiences were relayed in the opposite direction.

Portes and Walton (1981: 60) remind us that migration can be a 'process of network building'. The dynamics of migration have implications that go beyond the immediate individual and communities into future generations (Macmillen, 1982). Earlier studies of Caribbean migration failed to capture this reality by concentrating on how they were adjusting to the receiving country and the attitude of the host communities to them (Little, 1947). Later empirical studies have concentrated to some extent on the benefits that accrue to both sending and receiving countries (Borjas, 1995). Other studies have focused on the added value to the economy and society of the returnees (Gmelch, 1980, 1987; Thomas-Hope, 1985; Appleyard, 1992a; Foner, 2001).

In addition to these studies, there needs to be an examination of issues to do with: migration and assimilation and integration; competition and conflict; and developments in the sending countries and their implications for future generations in both sending and receiving countries. All of the factors that arise from the process of migration are important variables which affect not only outward migration but also the decision to return to the original homeland, the relationship between sending and receiving countries and future generations.

Moreover, these movements have implications for migration policies in both the receiving and sending countries where in some instances bi-lateral arrangements must take place between

countries to deal with peculiarities such as deportees and the cumulative loss of a significant part of the younger section of the population. This has occurred in Jamaica, for example, where the loss of tertiary level graduates rose from 71 percent in 1980 to 75.2 percent in 1990, reaching 75.8 percent by 2000.

This chapter examines the causes of the flow of Caribbean people to United Kingdom, Canada and the USA and the return flow to Jamaica. In it, I examine adjustment issues in the receiving country and the re-adaptation process when the migrants return to the home country. Preliminary data on return migration to Jamaica is presented with particular emphasis on the flow from the United Kingdom. I also assess the impact of remittances on the Jamaican economy and society and attempt to consider how migration policies constitute an essential part of the dynamics of migration and emigration and the role of returnees in these processes.

Some Theoretical Considerations

Migration is generally explained at the micro- and macro- levels. According to the neo-classical economic perspective, migration is seen as the geographical movement of workers caused by imbalances in the spatial distribution of land, labour, capital and natural resources (Cohen 1986, 1987, 1996; Petersen, 1996). This disparity causes the direction and magnitude of migration flows. Given these conditions, labour will move from areas where labour is in surplus, wages low and capital scarce, to areas where there is a shortage of labour, wages high and capital plentiful. By being able to conquer the 'tyranny of space' and the movement of human capital from low productivity areas to high productivity areas, development is enhanced (Appleyard, 1992; Massey et al., 1993).

This framework implies that workers will actively search for employment opportunities in areas where they will be able to obtain the greatest return for their labour (Holfild, 1992; Levett, 1997; Small 2005). If they do not succeed in obtaining greater returns for their labour, they will return to the homeland as 'return-failures'. Or, after a period in the receiving country, they return as successful. Returnees become agents of change by using the experiences and skills acquired in developed countries and increasing the level of economic activity and economic growth in the sending country (Abadan, 1992b).

At the micro-economic level of explanation, the individual actor is dominant responding to prevailing conditions at home with a view to maximising the quality of life by removing geographical obstacles through international migration (Harris and Todaro, 1970). However, other writers on the subject have drawn attention to the severe limitations of the rational and argued that there are other variables, such as age, gender, class, culture and family circumstances which cause migration (Massey, 1994; Fischer, 1997).

The macro-level explanation holds that migration can best be understood if the movement of people is seen within a historical perspective that takes into account broader structural transformations such as the capitalist mode of production, the model of development, the location of the country in the international division of labour, inequalities between countries, the distribution and maintenance of the reproduction costs of labour. And, remittances are generally interpreted within the equilibrium model of labour mobility. Migration within this framework exacerbates regional imbalances and it reproduces in the sending country the same structural forces that created surplus labour which forced people to migrate in the first instance (Cohen 1996). The micro- and macro- levels of explanation assume the existence of push-pull factors, but they cannot adequately explain migration in general nor migration flows from the Caribbean in particular.

Caribbean Migrants to the United Kingdom

Caribbean people have always been migrants either inter-regionally or internationally. But it was not until after World War II that the number of Caribbean migrants increased substantially. Post-war Britain began an economic expansion which saw many British workers moving up the occupational ladder and creating vacancies at the lower levels. This movement directly linked Caribbean labour to its colonial history. Britain's replacement labour population was drawn from the West Indies, India and Pakistan (Davison, 1962). In 1951, there were around 30,000 West Indians in Britain. This figure rose to over 550,000 by 1991 (Peach 1998).

Thus, migration to Britain was largely a response to demand for labour in the 'Mother Country' and the idea that higher wages could be obtained by those going to work there. Davison (1962) sampled a number of West Indians and asked them why they were going to Britain. They were asked to respond to questions in four areas: (1) seeking employment; (2) joining relatives; (3) studying; and (4) other reasons for migration. The majority responses were 'seeking employment'. In 1961, the British Labour Party Leader, Hugh Gaitskill, said that there exists:

> an almost precise correlation between the movement in the number of unskilled vacancies … and the immigration figures … . Immigration rose and fell according to the demand for labour from year to year … when demand fell away as it did between 1957 and 1959 [when] there was a corresponding decrease in West Indian immigration (Foot, 1965 cited in Hiro 1973: 9).

The arrival in the United Kingdom in June 1948 of the ship the *Empire Windrush* from the Caribbean with 492 Jamaicans on board represented the beginning of the post-war immigration trend from the Caribbean. Many of these passengers had friends in Britain who had served in the War and been demobbed at its end and returned to Jamaica. Prior to this period, West Indians preferred to migrate to the USA because there was a large Caribbean population already settled there. It was also a wealthier country.

However, the McCarran Walter Act in 1952 detached the British West Indies from Britain and so reduced the number of West Indians who could migrate to the USA. At that time, Britain had an 'open-door' policy which resulted in a steady annual flow of West Indians to Britain until the commencement of the Parliamentary debate about the inflow of migrants to Britain and which resulted in the passing of the Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962, which terminated the 'open door' policy . This debate triggered the 'beat-the-ban' migration before the 'open door' policy became effective. The period of 1955 to 1962 saw the most significant growth in the movement of people from the West Indies to Britain (Goddard, 1976). The Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962 gave rise to family-based migration from the West Indies. This Act became a watershed in the flow of West Indian migrants into Britain and gave Caribbean migration a distinguishing feature: women and children dominating migration flows. The group of West Indian migrants who arrived on the *Empire Windrush* were well-informed about the demand for labour in Britain. They were also the group who could afford the fare at that time. As reports came back to the Caribbean from the first group of migrants about the true nature of employment conditions, discrimination and high costs of living, many potential Caribbean migrants had a change of heart and decided not to leave their homelands. In addition, skilled jobs were becoming available closer to home through the development of the oil industry in Trinidad and bauxite mining in Jamaica.

The early phases of migration to the United Kingdom centred on Barbados, Trinidad and Jamaica. During the period 1955 to 1961, Jamaica had over seven times the number of migrants to the UK than Barbados and over fourteen times the number than Trinidad (Patterson, 1963).

The outflow of migrants from the Caribbean to Britain decreased between 1957 and 1958 for Barbados and Jamaica. But this increased during 1959 to 1961 in response to demands for labour in Britain, combined with push factors at home and the impact of family reunification. The highest migration flow to Britain was between 1955 and 1960 (Peach, 1968, 1998). The dramatic increase in Jamaican migrants was related to pending immigration policies that restricted the flow of new Commonwealth immigrants into Britain.

During the late 1950s, half of the West Indian population in Britain was from Jamaica. 'Chain migration' constituted the early phase of migration from Jamaica to the Britain. Subsequent flows resulted from 'primary social relationships' with previous migrants (MacDonald, 1964). Men dominated the first phase while women and then children dominated subsequent ones. Skilled migrants were in the majority followed by unskilled ones. Davison's (1966: 499–509) study found that 98 percent of the children of the early West Indian migrants were left behind, suggesting that early migrants did not have permanent settlement in mind.

By 1970, this flow almost ended as a result of principles set out by the Home Secretary in the House of Commons debate on 21 February 1973. It ushered in the concept of 'minimum entry'. In this speech, the then Home Secretary stated:

> … the first principle in recognition that Britain is a crowded island with a labour force which, for the moment at least, appears ample for her needs, and, therefore, there must be restriction on all permanent immigration what is described in my statement on 25th January as the 'inescapable minimum' and we must have the establishment of effective controls to achieve this. The second principle is to recognise, within the overall need, a continuing responsibility to those in other parts of the world who remain entitled to United Kingdom citizenship. Hence, the decision to reserve for the people as large a portion as possible of the limited numbers we are able to admit year by year and to do so in a controlled and orderly way. The third principle is the recognition that is both right and natural to give easy access to Britain to all those with close and recent family ties with this country, provided that they create no significant pressure for permanent settlement (House of Commons Debate, Col. 598: Feb. 1973).

When the flow to the United Kingdom came to an end, the flow to the United States accelerated. Since the movement to the United States started, figures from the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) show that over 400,000 legal immigrants entered the USA from Jamaica (Goddard, 1976). These figures indicate a progressive increase of Caribbean migrants to the United States from a low of 2,367 in 1962 to over 24,000 in 1968. Notwithstanding these policies, Peach (1998) showed that the Caribbean population in the UK, grew from approximately 28,000 in 1951 to approximately 558,070 by 1991. Of this, about 264,591 were born in the Caribbean and 326,424 in the UK.

Attitudes towards the Caribbean Population in Britain

The arrival of the *Empire Windrush* generated a great deal of negative attitudes towards 'black' people, representing as it did, the first wave of black migrants to arrive in Britain in substantial numbers (Miles, 1993). Two days after its arrival, a Labour Member of Parliament wrote to Labour Leader, Clement Attlee, expressing concern about the influx of migrants from the New Commonwealth and called for the imposition of immigration control, saying that the:

> influx of coloured people domiciled here is likely to impair the harmony, strength and cohesion of our public and social life and to cause discord and unhappiness among all concerned (James et al., 1993: 56).

Following a debate on the matter, the Labour Government set up a Cabinet committee in 1950 to review:

> the further means which might be adopted to check the immigration into the country of coloured people from the British Colonial territories (James et al.,1993: 56).

A Cardiff newspaper summed up the general attitude to the arrival of West Indians into Britain in the following terms:

> The government ought to declare it to be a part of the national policy that this country is not to be regarded as an emigration field, that no more immigrants can be admitted and that immigrants must return to where they came from ... This must apply to black men from the West Indies as well as the United States (Little, 1947 cited in Hiro, 1971: xx).

Ten to fifteen years later, Daniel (1968) found massive discrimination being expressed against these migrants.

The Experience of Caribbean Migrants in the Receiving Country

Caribbean peoples in Britain face many challenges arising out of the process of migration and adaptation in societies which can be sometimes hostile. The process involves issues relating to separation from familiar environments and attachment to unfamiliar ones. The challenges are sometimes very difficult to overcome because structural forces in society militate against the drive among the Caribbean population's wish to settle and achieve. Caribbean migrants must resolve issues to do with adaptation, assimilation, incorporation, segregation, integration, cultural transformation and racial and cultural identification. They must learn ways of the host community in order to secure a path that will lead to success (Anderson, 1993). They must also create new structures to cope with individual and collective failures while at the same time safeguarding traditional values which are often the primary source of strength in an unfamiliar environment (Small, 1989; Portes, 1998). In the United Kingdom, the welfare state has failed to support Caribbean migrants. More black people are living in poverty than other ethnic minority groups and a larger proportion of the black population is concentrated in lower paid occupations (James et al., 1993; Modood et al., 2000). A disproportionate number of black Caribbean children are in the care of the state and less likely to be reunited with their own families or be placed in culturally appropriate substitute families (Small 1986, 1991). Day care facilities that are provided for black children are also very poor (Jackson and Jackson 1979; Butt, 1998).

Black women are more likely to be home workers or in casual employment than white women. Schools have failed the Caribbean family miserably with an over-representation of black boys in the school exclusion figures and a greater underachieving educationally (Grant 1996). Many black children are placed inappropriately in transracial settings (Small, 1991, 2003). According to Westwood (1994), black people are also more likely to become homeless particularly those aged between 16 and 24 (*Community Care*, 1998). There is an over-representation of Caribbean people in psychiatric hospitals (Littlewood and Lipsedge, 1980, 1996; Westwood, 1994; Law, 1996; Modood, 1997; Hickling, 2005).

Ethnic minorities experienced discrimination in housing (Percy-Smith, 2000). Financial institutions apply more rigid criteria for assessing the status of black people for private housing loans (Ginsburg, 1992). The specific needs of black people are not taken into consideration in regeneration policies (Brownill and Darke, 1998) and they face racial harassment (Fitzgerald, 1989; DfEE, 1997) and high levels of unemployment that are twice that of the white population

and proportionately more for black males between ages 16 and 18 (Davis et al., 1996). The services provided by local authorities have been insensitive to the needs of Caribbean people.

During the early settlement of Caribbean peoples in Britain, only a few white landlords were prepared to let their houses to them. Building societies were also unwilling to do business with black people. The earnings of a single person or sometimes the joint earnings of a couple were inadequate to purchase a home. This situation was compounded because employment opportunities were in areas where housing was least available. Consequently, Caribbean migrants who did not have relatives or friends had to sleep in trains, under bridges, in public lavatories and telephone kiosks (Hinds, 1966; Hiro, 1971: 23). The majority of Jamaicans who arrived on the *SS Windrush* went to Clapham because an empty air-raid shelter was available to them in that area. Glass (1960) found that 55 percent of new arrivals from the West Indies underwent job downgrading when they arrived in Britain. Those who were professionals were affected by this form of discrimination most.

Negative forces of discrimination, economic deprivation and powerlessness, acting together or separately, caused Caribbean communities to become isolated and alienated from mainstream society. The Caribbean population used a number of adaptive mechanisms to cope with the difficulties that they encountered in Britain. These included community, church, economic and political organising to create solidarity and provide support and reinforce their identities while at the same time maintaining heterogeneity of national and cultural origin (Little, 1947; Rex and Moore 1967; Gilroy 1987; Warner, 1996; Coleman, 1996; Modood et al., 2000).

The Caribbean Population Currently in Britain

Modood et al. (2000) found that two-thirds of the population that originated from the Caribbean arrived before 1964 and that only a small percentage of the children were not born in the Britain. Currently, most Caribbean adults were born in Britain. Two-thirds of babies of Caribbean parents have at least one British-born non-white parent. Fifty percent of British-born Caribbean men and one-third of the women have a white partner (Modood, 2000). Two-thirds of Caribbean men are in mixed relationships. In their sample, Modood et al. (2000) found that for two out of every five children with a Caribbean mother or father, the other parent was white. Salt (1996) analysed the 1991 Census data on migration and showed that approximately two-thirds of the Caribbean population were born in Britain while only a very small portion of the elderly population had been born in Britain. It is no longer accurate to describe the Caribbean population in Britain as a migrant population.

The Transnational Nature of the Return Migration to Jamaica

Outward migration and the return to the homeland have been survival strategies for people from the Caribbean. (Marshall, 1982) described the Caribbean as characterised by a 'culture of migration' and that the people of the Caribbean are essentially transnational migrants. Periods of 'bust and boom' in receiving and sending countries have pushed and pulled Caribbean peoples in both directions. These forces together with other factors create the phenomenon of multiple migrations. The dynamics of these processes over time generate and sustain social and economic relationships that link migrants and non-migrants into transnational communities which then become the major force that sustains the outward flow of migration, independent of the conditions prevailing at home (Hammer, 1997). These processes become self-perpetuating through the evolution of structures and relationships that sustain migratory flows with varying periods of duration in each country

(Small, 2005). The networks arising from these transnationl relationships produce 'social enclaves' which generate new migration movements, support new arrivals and provide channels for return and circular migration. These networks may extend to several countries (Griffith, 1997: 117–151). Chaney (1979) has shown that in addition to the positive functions of these transnational networks they may also support the drug trade. Wealth generated by the drug trade facilitates transnational criminal organisations and contaminates and corrupts the structure of government. Dreher et al.'s (1997: 97) study of the drug trade in Jamaica found that:

> cocaine deals generally are made in Panama and Columbia and shipments are dropped offshore either by ship or by small boats … picked up by boats and re-routed to Florida to trusted friends and family members.

Their research also indicated how transnational networks cause the drug trade and money laundering to flourish.

According to Portes et al. (1999: 219), transnational processes must include:

> high intensity of exchanges … new modes of transacting, and the multiplication of activities that require cross-border travel and contacts on a substantial basis.

The process is not peculiar to Caribbean migration to North America and Europe. It is also a derivative of inter-regional movements. Networks pull together individuals, families, communities and friends into a complex web of interconnections and interrelationships with multiple dimensions, political, economic, social, religious and cultural (Massey, 1994; Chaney, 1987).

Networks energise the migration impulse by the provision of information, financial and other forms of support relevant to the decision to migrate. They also provide psychological support when the migrant arrives in a new country that can sometimes be hostile and alienating (Daniel, 1968; Macdonald and Macdonald, 1964). Networks also pulled Caribbean migrants to certain areas in Britain, thereby causing the geographical distribution of the Caribbean population to concentrate in areas such as Greater London, Manchester, Birmingham and Sheffield (Peach, 1998). This geographical settlement was reinforced by social exclusion and discrimination in the political economic, religious and cultural spheres and produced 'enclaves' of particular ethnic groups (Portes 1998). These act as protective shields for subsequent arrivals. An 'enclave' provides jobs and information about employment opportunities, access to health facilities and an introduction to the way of life in the new environment. Davison (1962) found that 80 of the early West Indians settlers in Britain found employment through friends. The dynamics of Caribbean migration that indicate the links between out-migration and return-home negate the view of Caribbean migration as a one-way movement from the point of origin to the point of destination. For many Caribbean people, migration implies multiple movements across countries with varying degrees of duration in each country. I turn to describing these dynamics below.

Return Migration

Every departing Jamaican is a potential returnee. The ideal approach to a full understanding of the situation would be to study the migrant from the initial move to the country of destination, through the adoption process in the receiving country, then through the processes of return and re-adaptation to the country of origin. Writers on the subject of return-migration have developed different typologies to explain the possible forms of international migration. Not surprisingly, they all have overlapping features. These categories include: temporary/permanent worker migrants; student migrants; seasonal worker migrants; settlers; long–term circulators; transients;

early returnees and late returnees. The return-ideologies include short stay, long stay, voluntary and involuntary ('forced or free'), commuting and recurrent (Rubinstein, 1985; Thomas-Hope, 1985; Chaney, 1987; Gmelch, 1987; Aban-Unat, 1988; Byron and Condon, 1996; Byron, 1999). However, some temporary migrants become permanent and some permanent ones become temporary. Thus, migration does not involve an initial move with a final end. Neither can return migration be seen as the final stage in the process since some return migrants will leave and return to the sending country a number of times and may establish multiple residences (Richardson, 1985; Massey et al., 1994). Caribbean emigration flows cannot be completely understood through a framework of 'temporary migrants', 'return migrants', 'permanent migrants' or 'sojourners'. Many Caribbean migrants have their feet firmly planted in several countries and see themselves as belonging to all of these countries while at the same time they maintain their bond with the sending country.

Migrant typologies are also used to identify the gains that the returning migrants have experienced in three mayor areas: educational advancement and enhanced skills that should lead to social mobility; human capital assets which can be used to fuel development; and remittances to the sending country. The incapacity to remit financial resources to the country of origin is explained by immediate consumption, savings and investment in the host country. Although this approach is useful, it is limited in terms of a comprehensive understanding of the contribution that the returnees can make to development in both the sending country and the receiving one. A more useful conceptualisation of the issue is to examine the characteristics of the returnees and the reasons for return and the timing of their return. They can be obtained from the survey data of Patterson (1963), Davison (1966) and Thomas-Hope (1985). These factors will determine to a large extent the contribution that returnees can make to the development of a particular society. These characteristics will also have implications for government policy directed towards returnees.

The Contributions of Returnees to Society and the Economy

The contribution that returnee can make to the economy and society will depend on a number of factors:

- The stage of the life cycle of the returnee;
- The reasons for the return;
- Whether the return is temporary or permanent;
- The quality of the experience of the returnee in the receiving country and the country of origin;
- The financial capital that has been accumulated in the receiving country;
- The educational level of the individual;
- The commitment and emotional bonding to the country of origin;
- The health status of the returnee; and
- The age profile (This will suggest the types of resources that have to be made available to respond to the needs of the returnees. Those who have retired represent a guaranteed source of foreign exchange flow into to country to which they have returned).

Returning residents to Jamaica fall into a number of distinct groups.

- Those who have reached retirement age;
- Those who have been made redundant because of restructuring in the receiving country;

- Re-engineering or downsizing in the private or public sectors in the receiving country; and
- Those who have taken voluntary severance or early retirement. Of these, some are in search of employment, some have returned to establish owner-managed businesses, some have achieved their objectives in the receiving country.

Return Migration and Remittances

Remittances are transfers from earnings and accumulated wealth made by individual migrant and companies back to their country of origin. Remittances can be in the form of cash or kind which corporations and individuals send home from overseas. Remittances, therefore, constitute savings in the receiving country. It represents the labour of migrants overseas. Remittances may be 'lump sum', 'one off', 'regular', 'irregular', 'substantial' or 'marginal'. The volume of remittances is closely related to the initial reason for mitigation. Samuels (1997) has developed a useful framework for analysing and increasing understanding of the role that remittances play in economic and social life. These are: (1) 'potential remittances' which consist of the savings after all expenses in the host country have been met and with accumulated overtime can, in some instances, be very substantial; (2) 'fixed remittances' which are the maximum that will be transferred to satisfy family needs and other obligations back home; and (3) 'discretionary remittances' which when combined with fixed remittances represents the total level of constant flow to countries such as Jamaica. The first category of remittances has fuelled the economy because these are available for investment, while the second and third sustain families in Jamaica and fuel remittance services located throughout the island. Jamaica has the highest inflows of remittances per capita than any other country in the English-speaking Caribbean, amounting to over $US1.6 billion in 2005.

Caribbean countries have historically been 'remittance societies' (Rubenstein, 1985). Migration has been a historical pattern of the Caribbean and remittances has also been a concomitant variable with migration. Remittances are by no means a new phenomenon. Profits made in the Caribbean by colonial masters were sent back to the metropolis. However, prior to the period of slavery, remittances took the form of precious metals, silver and other forms of wealth that were sent back to the home country. Under slavery, wealth was remitted to Europe. Transnational corporations (TNCs) today remit part of their earnings back to their home countries. In the process of negotiating and deciding to invest in Third World countries, agreement from governments to allow companies to remit profits is a critical part of the decision to invest. In the case of Jamaica, for example, the Bauxite companies earned US$904.1 million in 2004. Of this amount, only US$372.9 million was retained in Jamaica. The balance was remitted by the companies back to the countries from which they came.

> Labour exporting countries have been receiving significant amounts of foreign exchange through remittances from citizens overseas. The volume of remittances will depend on: (1) the volume of flow overseas; (2) the skill level of the exported labour which will determine the level of earnings; (3) the savings capacity of the migrants and their commitments in the host country as well as back home; (4) the proportion of the savings that is sent back home. The exportation of labour has produced conflicting views and policy positions on the desirability of reporting labour and the value of remittances.

Arguments for Exporting Labour and the Value of Remittances

Lucas (1985), Stark et al. (1986, 1988) have argued that remittances raise the welfare of non-migrant workers, while Swamy (1981) observed that remittances constitute a significant source of foreign exchange for developing countries and that in some cases remittances exceed the foreign exchange earnings from merchandise exports. Macmillen (1982) found that remittances represent

between 25 and 45 percent of the average disposable income of migrants. Quibria and Thant (1988) in their study showed that remittances from migrants to the sending countries, earned in the Middle East oil-producing countries represents a significant part of foreign exchange earnings. These were: Bangladesh, 40 percent of export earnings in 1995; India, 27 percent in 1983, Pakistan, 101 percent in 1985 and Philippines, 18 percent in 1985. Djagic (1986) revealed that some non-migrants benefit from remittances while Kirkwan and Holden (1986) showed that remittances by temporary migrants, that is, those immigrants who and live in the host country and remit to the home country, when the remittance reaches a certain level, individuals who have not migrated and are not receiving remittances benefits from the proceeds of migration. Those migrants who consume ethnic foods and other goods produced in the sending country that are exported to the host country contribute to sustaining trade between sending and receiving country thereby making a contribution to trade flows.

International migration is a response to market forces and is in the interest of migrants and their families. Remittances also improve the balance of payments, produce scarce foreign exchange and reduce labour force distortion by removing excess labour which if not used could cause social instability in some countries. The supporters of emigration argue that export labour does not produce more dependency than the exportation of goods. In fact, the balance of trade usually favours the receiving more than the sending country, thereby making the sending country more dependent particularly in a globalised economy. Supporters of export labour theories further argue that migration supports development in that remittances are not spent on wasteful and conspicuous consumption, but on health and education which improve standards of living for the recipients and their family members (Ali, 1979).

Remittances are unplanned mechanisms for transferring capital and redistributing wealth across a wide cross-section of families, primarily poor families and it is difficult to find a substitute for these. Burki (1984) has demonstrated that remittances through emigration alleviate absolute poverty in poor regions of Pakistan. Kelly et al. are so confident as to say that:

> In the absence of remittances or functional equivalents yet to be identified, not only national but also regional and even global economic chaos could result. It is in the interests of receiving nations, therefore, to continue to use foreign labour and to permit capital flows through remittances in exchange for labour. International labour migration may even be realistically necessary for system maintenance of the global economy (Kelly et al., 1989: 523).

Arguments Against Labour Migration and Remittances

The opponents of export labour argue that sending countries are at the mercy of receiving countries because of the inability of the sending country to influence or control the demand for labour in the receiving country (Rhoda, 1979; Keely 1984; Russell, 1986). Remittances are seen as unpredictable (Kertz and Keely, 1981). Remittances fluctuate according to demands for labour and savings and remittance decisions are individualised. For these reasons, economic development cannot be contingent on remittances because development is a long-term process. Remittances may be disrupted by recession and this may occur at a critical period in a country's development when the need for foreign exchange is high (Martin and Richard, 1980: 10). The flow of remittances will be affected by: reductions in wage rates; reductions in the amount of money sent home; family reunifications in the receiving country as these reduce financial commitments back home; and reductions in the number of migrant workers due to retirement and restrictive immigration policies.

A second line of argument against export labour is that remittances are not generally invested in capital projects. Neither do they create employment opportunities in the sending country. The

bulk of remittances are spent on consumption and fuel the demand for products which have a high content of imported material. In this regard, remittances increase inflation and cause the haemorrhaging of scarce foreign exchange. In short, remittances do not find their way into major investment projects and not much is saved that could be used for investment purposes because most is used to meet basic family needs. Martin and Richard (1980) argue that the sending country invests heavily in training its people for the benefit of receiving country and so the sending country is never fully compensated for the investment costs of producing labour.

On the other hand, if agricultural projects fall through labour shortages caused by emigration, the importation of agricultural goods become necessary to fill the gap and a significant part of the remittance flow may be used as a substitute for income from agriculture which in turn will result in further dislocation of the agricultural sector. Also, remittances cause complacency and may delay the introduction of economic policies that are desirable for long-term development (Macmillen, 1982: 265). Finally, there are social consequences to the flow of remittances in that these produce artificial inequality, cause envy, erode healthy work habits, increase conflict and resentment amongst non-migrants (Russell, 1986: 67–80). In 2004, remittances to Jamaica accounted for 50 percent of the country's earnings from exports and exceed the net foreign exchange earnings from bauxite and tourism that are the two other major earners of foreign exchange. Earnings from remittances constitute approximately 12 percent of gross domestic product and thirty times the official development assistance. Jamaica's dependency on remittances is now considerable.

Conclusions

Remittances play a crucial role in the economy. They are the second major foreign exchange earner and underpin the economy. They support the financial sector, create employment, increase the housing stock and ensure the financial viability of some families. In short, they affect the real level of economic activity in Jamaica today.

Governments have assisted the retention of the remittance process by pursuing policies on four bases: having foreign exchange accounts with interest paid in foreign exchange; encouraging migrants to return home; providing duty-free concessions on certain goods for people who are returning; and providing information to Jamaicans overseas about opportunities for investment in Jamaica. In the long run, remittances will depend on policies in the receiving country. Strategies for the integration of foreigners in the host country, demand for labour in receiving country, where attention is now being given to qualified workers in technical and administrative areas, and the bonds of affection that are maintained between Jamaica and the first, second, third and subsequent generations of immigrants.

At the micro-level, remittances have changed the lives of some Jamaican individuals and families, causing some shifts in land tenure as some individuals became owner-occupiers. Also, expenditure on the purchase of land, construction and renovation of homes has multiplier effects in the domestic economy. This represents reinvestment by the creation of employment opportunities and improves the quality of the housing stock, health and social relationships. By raising expenditure on health and education, investment in human capital occurs and produces long-term benefits. Remittance to church, voluntary organisations and community groups constitute investment in social capital. The distribution of remittances is likely to be more equitable than the distribution of household income, giving this a more egalitarian orientation. Remittances have the effect of increasing economic and social mobility for individuals and families and reducing the dependency of some individuals on political patronage (Stone, 1980). These may also alter power relationships in some families, especially those where women have been financially dependent on men.

However, there are dangers associated with remittances. They will only contribute real development if used for investment activities or to purchase local products rather than imported products ones. They can strengthen commitment to the family while weakening commitment to the community, social and political groups. Thus, remittances can shift power to the nuclear family. At the macro-level, however, remittances are a dependent variable responding to the unequal distribution of wealth among migrants locally and overseas and the imbalances between rich and poor nations. Without remittances, Jamaica would have to change its productive processes and engage in a fundamental transformation of the structural relations in society. Remittances also reinforce migratory impulses among poor people, those who are dispossessed and young people who see migration as the only way of increasing their life chances. They also reduce the 'agricultural impulse' by undermining the wage structure of agriculture production and minimum wages by encouraging Jamaicans to refuse the going price for their labour. And, they can cause land speculation and removal of productive land for housing development. However used, remittances have a phenomenal effect on society. Rubinstein (1985) argues that even in cases where West Indians have not returned to their country of origin they have had a tremendous impact on the economies of the region through their remittances. Thus, migration to and from the Caribbean and other countries must be understood as a complex, interconnected phenomenon that links both receiving and sending countries in networks of relationships that are not uni-directional. Given the extensive nature of migration all over the world, the implications of this chapter will be of interest to other countries experiencing extensive population movements across borders. In this book, Abye Tasse's chapter raises similar considerations.

Chapter 18

'Home Alone'

LINCOLN WILLIAMS

Introduction

I was watching an exhilarating football match: Jamaica vs Brazil. The feeling of being in a crowd of thirty-eight thousand Jamaicans willing on a Jamaican team comprised of Jamaican and British born players is an exhilarating one. I felt at one with them because at that moment none of the others could tell that I had recently returned home to Jamaica and none of them could see the intense pride I took in the fact that the English-born players were integrated into the team and brought a level of discipline and hard work that contributed enormously to the success of the Jamaican national team. This euphoria was only short-lived because I was forced immediately to confront the contradictions of operating within a mental framework that comprised a 'double-consciousness'. I was forced to recognise that I had already assumed that the English-born players are more disciplined and harder-working that the Jamaican-born ones. I had no evidence on which to base this assumption, so where did it come from?

In this chapter I shall be reflecting on the emotional and psychological challenges that I faced as a 'returnee' to the country of my birth, Jamaica, in 1993 after living thirty years in England. The fundamental challenge for me was to grasp 'who I was' and how my experiences of living in Jamaica and England had contributed to the construction of this 'self-identity'; was I 'Jamaican', 'English' or a totally new 'hybrid'? Had I made it to that much sought after 'transnational' identity? How different was I to the person I would have become if my mother had not 'sent for me', at the age of eleven? Would I have made the same socio-economic advance that I had achieved in England, an advance that enabled me to return as one of the 'brown' middle-class, or would I still be languishing as one of the unemployed rural poor into which I was born? How would I reconnect to a Jamaica that had been fossilised and idealised in the mind of an eleven year-old boy from the country-side? I was obviously not the same person as the one who left at eleven and the Jamaica I returned to was certainly not the one I left. This was a Jamaica that had received its independence in 1962, the same year that I left for England; a Jamaica that went through its own version of the 'black consciousness' movement and flirted with 'democratic socialism' under its best loved prime minister, Michael Manley; and a Jamaica that had just elected its first black Prime Minister, P.J. Patterson. How could I use the skills and knowledge that I had garnered in the 'mother country' to make my contribution to the development of a Jamaica that was struggling to stay afloat in a globalising world?

Even the use of the supposedly neutral term, 'returnee', begs more questions than it answers. The return journey to Jamaica was undertaken after years of discussion with a very close Jamaican friend, also residing in England. When our families visited each other in London our conversations always came round to our dissatisfaction with living in England and dealing with the racism that we routinely experienced as individuals and as professional administrators in the public sector. After ten years of such debates within our families and between the two of us, my friend took the plunge and returned with her family. I followed a year later with mine. Soon after returning, she

and her husband formed an organisation to deal specifically with problems faced by 'returnees'. I refused to join such an organisation because I could not see a point in the future when I would cease to be a 'returnee' and I could not see that the problems faced by 'returnees' were so special, or different from those facing non-returnees that they needed to form a *separate* organisation. The reality, however, was that the rest of Jamaican society saw me as a 'returnee'. I stood out like a sore thumb: I dressed differently, walked differently and got charged higher prices for my fruits and vegetables when I went to the market.

I interrogate and explore some of these highly personal issues in this chapter. At first sight it could be argued that publication of such a personal biography is highly self-indulgent, a charge that cannot be completely denied. But as Polonius observed of Hamlet, 'there is method in his madness'. In his review of Mary Chamberlain's book *Narratives of Exile and Return*, Paul Thompson points out that it is the personal biographies and data collected via the oral method that enable the two ends of the migratory chain to be linked. He shows how an over-concentration on macro-issues and the statistical aspects of migration overlooks the pain suffered by individuals affected by the migratory process. Thompson points out that the testimonies Chamberlain collected:

> underline how the social acceptance of such dispersed family systems, which was still further emphasized through the practice of migration, in no way eliminated the pain caused by family separations (Thompson, 1997: 3).

He concludes:

> It is therefore crucial for us to bear in mind the witness which these life stories bring of the suffering which migration must have imposed on so many spouses, parents and children (Thompson, 1997: 3).

In their research on the migratory process Thompson and Bauer (2005) further argue that personal biographies have the additional advantage of giving a higher profile to the role of memory. Such biographies they argue: 'enabling not only the conveying of past facts but also of the evolution of consciousness over time' (Thompson and Bauer, 2005: 1). They point out, for example, how childhood memories of a homeland are shaped by the lived experienced gained in the new land. For Thompson and Bauer, the collection of data through personal biography is not a take it or leave it option, but fundamental to grasping the meaning of the migratory process for individuals. They see the:

> history of feelings, beliefs and life meanings as fundamental to any account of either the family or of migration: for it is these living forces, which can be tapped by oral testimony alone, rather than the dry bones of statistics, which generate and sustain their processes (Thompson and Bauer, 2005: 24).

For Thompson and Bauer, the official statistics and macro-forces at work merely provide the context for understanding the migratory process.

Drawing on the works of Gramsci (1982), Giroux (1994), hooks (1989) and Sewpaul (2003) reminds us that the fundamental power of biographies is that they enable us perceive the present in a way that facilitates political action. Such critical reflection on our lived experiences should help us to see more clearly how our lives are linked to the broader social forces at work at societal and global level.

For me, the nil-nil draw with Brazil was a dramatic example of the black diaspora in action. Like Gilroy (1993) and Cohen (cited in Chamberlain, 1998: 22–23), I think the term black diaspora is useful because it helps us simultaneously to look at the things that unite us and the things that separate us. The match against Brazil also helped to crystallise for me in a very tangible manner the

ways in which ways nationalism is constructed. As Paul Gilroy reminds us in *Small Acts*, although nations appear *natural* and *eternal* (my emphasis):

> They have been constructed through elaborate cultural, ideological and political processes which culminate in the feeling of connectedness to other national subjects and in the idea of national interest that transcends the supposedly petty divisions of class, region, dialect or caste (Gilroy, 1993: 49).

Watching the football was one of those shared cultural experiences that contribute to the production and reproduction of the black cultural diaspora (Cohen, 1998: 30). At that moment, the class, ethnic, political, sexuality, cultural and gender divisions that daily threaten the fragile unity of the nation state called 'Jamaica' were suspended (and, dare I say, transcended) for the entire period of play. Indeed, I would argue that the success of the Reggae Boyz (the name given to the national football team) was a significant factor in Jamaica having the most peaceful general election since the mid 1970s in December 1997. And, they may have contributed in no small part to the victory of the Peoples National Party for an unprecedented third term. The ruling party ensured that they were closely associated with the success of the team and when the Reggae Boyz made it to the 1998 World Cup Finals in France, this tremendous achievement not only added to the feel-good factor, a necessary ingredient for political success, but also it was used to demonstrate in very real way what a small nation could achieve, in a globalising world, if we forgot our differences and united in the national interest.

The context of the apparent national unity in which the above must be seen is one of ongoing tension between two significant current trends in the Caribbean, namely the simultaneous development of individual nation states and the growth of regional trading blocks and concomitant regional institutions. The Reggae Boyz were contributing to both processes.

When it became clear that they would be the only team from the Caribbean to qualify for the World Cup Finals then all the usual inter-island rivalry, which can be quite intense, gave way to regional support for them. For a moment, football replaced cricket (James, 1986; Beckles, 1998) as the focus for regional unity. The success of the Reggae Boyz also momentarily restored the leadership of the English-speaking Caribbean to Jamaica, the earlier experience of which had tended to rest on its size demographically and economically.

Although the title to this piece was intended to be a catchy peg on which to hang this paper (I promise though that there is only one part and no sequel is planned), the title came to me when I was discussing a presentation on this theme in 1998 with Dr. Fernandez, then Dean of the School of International Education at the University of Connecticut. In a flash, *Home Alone* summed up the dominant feeling I have had since returning to Jamaica after spending thirty years in England.

As visitor or a settler, one expects to be alone in a strange land. One is willing to embrace loneliness in order to survive. But when you come home and you find that you are lonely – unexpectedly so, given the immense anticipation otherwise – the experience of loneliness is far worse. It is like being in an empty marriage. The loneliness is more intense because of one's expectations of happiness. Those expectations are fuelled by memory of such small things as carefree days spent pulling cars, made out of old tin cans on strings, listening to 'duppy' (ghost) stories on a veranda and remembering granny praying before daybreak.

I have a suspicion that the social sciences are not up to capturing the feelings of desolation that emigration and migration gives rise to. Perhaps that is for the novelists such as Toni Morrison, Maya Angelou and Alice Walker in the USA and Caryl Phillips (*Crossing the River*, 1993) and Andrea Levy (*Small Island*, 2004) in the UK. In the Caribbean, feelings are captured in verse: the lyrics of Bob Marley – how can we sing the Lord's Prayer in a strange land?'; the poetry of Derek Walcott, who captures the feeling so lucidly in his poem *Exile*, or Aime Cesaire's *Return to My Native Land*, written during a visit to the Adriatic Coast where he was overcome with memories of

home after seeing a small island in the distance (Kelly, 2001). Further afield, it has been expressed in psychology in the work of Franz Fanon's (1991) *Black Skin, White Masks*, written in 1967. Further back in time, the trauma of being wrenched from our original homeland in Africa is etched so deeply in our collective psyche that it must permeate and structure our very personality. This phenomenon has affected substantial numbers of those in the Africa Diapora. There appears to be some consensus that approximately 10.2 million people were shipped to the Americas as slaves. The inability of science to grasp and adequately convey the phenomenon of psychic negation is perhaps why Cesaire informed us, more than fifty years ago, that 'Poetic knowledge is born in the great silence of scientific knowledge' (Kelly, 2001).

The Causes of Emigration/Migration

Let us be clear about the origin of this transatlantic movement of Jamaican peoples, first to the 'mother country' and then to the USA and Canada. The British divided up their empire into those countries that were for settling and those there purely for economic exploitation; Jamaica fell into the latter category. This division has had significant implications for the subsequent development of Jamaican society. The Jamaican economy has always been undercapitalised. Since emancipation in 1838, the capitalist system has never been able to generate sufficient investments to sustain anywhere near full employment and absorb into the economy natural population increases. Migration between 1943 and 1960 was equivalent to 33 percent of population growth. This figure rose to 53 percent in the 1960s and 57 percent between 1970 and 1982. With the exception of the migration of a significant part of the middle-class in the 1970s seeking to escape Jamaica's flirtation with democratic socialism, migration has been the major implicit public policy for dealing with under-investment and economic stagnation, and by extension, high and chronic unemployment.

In Jamaica there is widespread and persistent poverty and gross inequality of wealth. The latest data show that 20 percent of people live below the poverty line (World Bank recommended instruments of poverty measurement reduced this figure from 32 percent). Income distribution in Jamaican society is very skewed, with the poorest fifth of the population consuming 6.6 percent of national expenditure whilst the wealthiest fifth consumes 46 percent (PIOJ, 2003: 33: Table B-9).

Since the start of colonial rule, Jamaica has overwhelmingly been peopled by persons of African decent. At its highest point in 1824, the white population was 34,152 compared to a slave population of 346,150. At the end of the 19th century, whites made up 2 percent of the population declining to 5,200 people by the 1991 census (Alleyne, 2002: 196). The significance of this demographic feature of the Jamaican population is that Jamaica has had neither a white aristocracy of any size nor a group of poor whites comparable to the 'redlegs' of Barbados. Commenting on the status of the white population in Jamaica in 1678, Patterson (1967: 44) points out that they were 'lower class or at most petty bourgeois in origin'. This group, he argues, did not command the respect of absentee landlords when they visited or that of the slaves. Consequently, slaves would always look to the King/Queen of England or the British Government for amelioration of their condition. Thus, Jamaica has and will always be an African society whether it chooses to recognise this fact or not.

The small managerial class during the period of slavery lived in continual fear of slave uprisings. The use of terror and extreme violence was deployed as a deliberate strategy to maintain white hegemony. Patterson argues that several factors contributed to the frequency of slave revolt in Jamaica: the ineptitude of the local militia, and mountainous terrain that facilitated the escape of slaves (the Maroons) and made guerrilla tactics against the militia viable. It was these guerrilla tactics that ultimately forced the planters to sign a treaty granting the Maroons their freedom in 1739. The practice of working slaves so hard that they had a relatively short

life-span on the plantation (the estimated average life for a field slave was three to five years) and then replenishing stock by buying new slaves from Africa, meant that the plantation had a constant supply of slaves who were not born into slavery and therefore willing to fight for their freedom. Patterson argues that many of these new slaves came from West African tribes that had a proud military tradition.

After full emancipation in 1838, there was a shift to more ideological methods to ensure continued domination, for example, the use of education and veneration of English cultural standards as the yardstick of behaviour. Hence, tension arose between the culture of the mass of the African peoples and that of the minority, a tension that is still being played out today. I shall return to this point later as I think it is a significant explanatory variable in the current struggle for social hegemony in Jamaican society. I would argue therefore that inter-personal violence should not be seen as a recent phenomenon of Jamaican society but as something that has been sewn into the very fabric of the society from its inception as a modern society.

Mass Migration to the United Kingdom

The above factors set the context or the background against which mass migration in the 20th century should be seen. The post-war reconstruction in the UK stimulated the demand for labour and, rather than retooling and increasing investment in its capital stocks and technology, the UK looked to its colonies to meet the ensuing labour shortages. It is ironic that one of the most prominent anti-immigration politicians, Enoch Powell, who made his inflammatory 'rivers of blood' speech in 1968, was the Minister for the Health Service when it actively sought to recruit nurses and auxiliary help from the Caribbean to ensure the successful operation of the National Health Service (NHS) in the UK. By the end of 1948, some 125,000 West Indian immigrants had answered the call from the 'mother country'. My father was one of the ones that set off from Savannah-La-Mar in Westmoreland, located in the South West of the island. The use of the term 'mother country' is ironic because for many of those early immigrants to the UK were not going into exile but they were in fact going *home*, an irony captured brilliantly by Derek Walcott in the first verse of his poem *Exile* (1992) when he writes:

> wind-haired, mufflered
> against dawn, you watched the herd
> of migrants ring the deck
> from the steerage. Only the funnel bellowing,
> the gulls who peck waste from the ploughed channel
> knew that you had not come to England; you were home.

Experiences of Early Migrants

The negative experiences of early migrants to the UK are well documented in novels and sociological texts so I shall not be-labour the point here. I can remember my father sharing such experiences with his migrant friends in the local barber-shop located in the front-room of one of his friend's houses. He jokingly told of the times he had to run to escape from Teddy Boys (gangs of young men wearing jackets similar to the style worn by the King Edward); treatment he received from work colleagues; difficulty he had finding a room to rent, recalling numerous advertisements that had 'No pets, no children, no Irish and no coloureds' on them. Andrea Levy in *Small Island* captures this in describing the experience that her main character has in finding a job in Britain in 1948. The character, Gilbert, from Jamaica, is an ex-RAF man and he has been rejected for the six

jobs the labour exchange had sent him to be interviewed for. He describes his experience arriving for the seventh job interview in the following way:

> The girl at another office look on me with such horror-man, I swear her hair standing straight as stiff fingers-that with no hesitation I walk right back out again. Was I to look upon that expression every day? Come, soon I would believe that there was indeed something wrong with me (Levy, 2004: 313).

Gilbert could anticipate what the accumulation of the effects of contact with this woman would be if he stayed anywhere near her.

The reception in the mother country was as cold and bleak as the weather. By the time I arrived in 1962, things had not changed very much. On my first day in school a boy (called Nicholas I later found out) kept jumping up and down in front of me making monkey noises. I had no idea what this meant, but I could see that it was not a friendly gesture so I punched him in the mouth. I still have the marks his teeth made on my hands. I was sent to the head-mistress to be disciplined.

On a more general level, Stuart Hall, the most distinguished Jamaican Social Scientist in the UK, argues that what was taking place in the early 1960s and 1970s was the scapegoating of black people rather than society dealing with deep structural problems, especially those residing in the economic system, which were transferred to 'race'. He puts it thus in *Policing the Crisis*:

> When polarisation and revolt began to transmit shock waves through the body politic of the state, those in power felt the status quo on which they stood, shift; they felt the earth move. But what their most articulate spokesmen chose to say to their constituents was not that the 'earth' of consensus politics had moved but that the blacks were moving in (Hall et al., 1978: 348).

This racist treatment forced the black community into a strategy of survival which entailed retreating into themselves to form 'internal colonies', ironically in old slave ports like Bristol, Liverpool and Cardiff and inner cities that the white communities were vacating, such as Brixton, Peckham and Notting Hill Gate in London, Handsworth in Birmingham and St. Paul's in Bristol. In these internal colonies they kept their cultures alive, constantly replenishing them with new arrivals from the Caribbean, and bolstered by beliefs including Rastafarianism, music and religion. Churches were often established in people's houses because of the rejection experienced when they went into English churches. This meant that the first generation of black children was brought up in these fairly separate communities connecting them firmly to the black diaspora.

My own research in one of these communities supports this assertion (Williams, 1988). I found that inter-island rivalry, so common in the Caribbean, was alive and well amongst young people in these communities in the UK, young people who have never even visited the island their parents or grandparents were born in. For example, Jamaican descendants would tease the descendants of small island states that they could not play cricket like the Jamaicans as they would always have to be getting the ball out of the sea every time someone hit a four or a six.

If the early migrants from the Caribbean put up with the rejection they received from English society in general, it was because they did not think that this would be the fate of their children. They were wrong; the education system failed them (Coard, 1971, Swann, 1985). The children still experience discrimination in the labour market and became the targets for the new racism. The title of Bernard Coard's book, *How the West Indian Child is made Educationally Subnormal in the British School System: The Scandal of the Black Child in Schools in Britain*, has a personal resonance for me as a few weeks after arriving in the UK and an equal number of weeks in a primary school I had to sit what was then called the 11-plus examination, a process of selection of the brightest for the grammar school system or, for the others, the comprehensive stream of education. As a child from rural Jamaica, I could not understand Standard English, written or

spoken; indeed, my schooling had been very disrupted and I could not read or write. I can still remember one of the questions on the paper that asked me to name the place where water comes from. I subsequently found out the correct answer was 'tap' but at the time for me water came from a river. It was not surprising then, that I was deemed to be 'educationally sub-normal' and placed in the remedial class on entering secondary school where we were allowed to play football for much of the school day.

At the start of mass migration in the 1950s, the English dug into their imperial past and collective memory to resurrect a type of racism that relied on physical differentiation, the most important feature being skin colour and physical features. Integration/assimilation whilst reducing new immigration was the official policy. Today, that form of racism has become somewhat subtler; the emphasis is now on the incompatibility of English culture and the culture of the major immigrant groups. The criminalisation of black youth was an essential part of this transition from biological to cultural racism (Hall et al., 1978). Margaret Thatcher, the incoming British Prime Minister, completed this transition in her 1978 speech, when she told her audience that if immigration did not stop:

> I think it means that people are really rather afraid that this country might be swamped by people of a different culture … and if there is any fear of being swamped, people are going to react and be rather hostile to those coming in (quoted in Segal, 1996: 282).

We must always bear in mind the notion that racism is not a static concept but is instead a dynamic one (Hall, 1978; Gilroy, 1993), continually updated and brought into service as and when needed. As Gilroy puts it:

> Racism is always historically specific. Though it may draw on the cultural traces deposited by previous historical phases, it always takes on specific forms. It arises out of the present organisation of society to the present unfolding of its dynamic political and cultural processes not simply to its repressed past (Gilroy, 1993: 21–22).

The implications of this shift in racism is that it allows a fusion of 'nation' and 'race' in a way that constructs 'blackness' and 'Englishness' as mutually exclusive terms, by definition (Barker,1982: 39). It is for this reason I have constantly to point out an irony to my colleagues and friends in Jamaica who refer to me as 'English': I had to return to Jamaica before I could be called English. The above also has to be seen in the context of the UK joining the European Community, now European Union (EU). The EU is seeking not only to build 'Fortress Europe' but also to develop a European identity that excludes black people, a truth highlighted by the title of Paul Gilroy's book, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack*. Simultaneously, the white English person is seeking to construct an identity that is separate from the continental European identity. Here is where the pressure is put on to find an identity that is predicated on a homogenous English nation and that could only be done in a past England before mass migration. Thus, the new racism seeks to shift the criteria of discrimination from that of colour to one of incompatability of different cultures; a strategy that can now also be deployed against the new migrants from Eastern Europe.

There is a sizeable number of black young people that seek in action and thought to challenge exclusionary definitions of Britishness. They are seeking to come to terms with the fact that they are 'black and British'. As I alluded to above, Hall et al. (1978) had argued that the rejection the early immigrants experienced in Britain forced them to adopt a 'strategy of acceptance' whereby they created their own separate 'internal colonies'. The second and third generations grew up in these fairly separate black communities knowing that they were black and that British society would never fully accept them. By the 1980s, however, writers like Gilroy (1987) began to sense

a change of strategy. He sensed a break out by significant numbers of young black people who refused to accept this unofficial apartheid. Youth cultures, Gilroy (1987) argues, played a significant role in this transformation. In analysing the lyrics of one of Smiley Culture's hit records, *Cockney Translations* (1984), Gilroy (1997) points out that:

> The record contains a veiled but none the less visible statement that the rising generation of blacks, gathering in the darkened dance-halls, were gradually finding a means to acknowledge their relationship to England and Englishness. They were beginning to discover a means to position themselves relative to this society and to create a sense of belonging which could transcend 'racial', ethnic, local and class-based particularities and redefine England/Britain as a truly plural community. They were able to express their reluctant affiliation to it in the same breath as their ties to the African diaspora (Gilroy, 1997: 196).

The black young people in my research (Williams, 1988) lend support to this assertion when, for example, they switched with ease between a variant of Jamaican patios and a variant of London cockney. It is not surprising, therefore, to read (Mullard, 1975) that many young people of mixed parentage are asking to be called people of dual heritage and not wishing to made to choose either 'black' or 'white'. It is interesting to note that by the mid-1990s, it was being argued that significant numbers of young black and white young people in the inner cities had managed to secure a 'de-racialised' space in which 'it is a matter not of 'mixing heritages' but of making new heritage' (Back, 1996: 52). Back (1996) describes it as a space that facilitates the development of a new language for communicating across the racial barriers erected by adults:

> The language created is neither black nor white but combines lexical and grammatical forms from a variety of different sources (Back, 1996: 52).

I sense a deeper and more problematic process at work here. I accept that young people of Caribbean heritage want to maintain a link, no matter how tenuous or imaginary, with the Caribbean. Yet, there is a simultaneous process at work that systematically weakens their link with Caribbean. James (1986) calls this process De-Caribbeanisation. James argues that factors such as the increase in mixed marriages – Britain now has the highest level of mixed race relationships in the developed world and it is estimated that 50 percent of British-born men of Caribbean origin live with a white woman partner, compared with 33 percent of women (*The Guardian*, 2 August, 2005); and the reduction in primary migration from the Caribbean to the UK contributes to this De-Caribbeanisation over time. In this regard, it is interesting to note that 500 persons migrated from Jamaica to the UK in 2004, the highest number since 1994 when 334 migrated. Family reunification was the main reason for migrating. Throw into this mix, as Goldbourne (2005) does, that young African-Caribbean people face increased levels of racism in the UK, especially in the labour market, we get a situation Goldbourne describes as 'integrated yet alienated'. It is a desperate and difficult context in which young African-Caribbeans are forced to construct their identities.

My Story

I left Jamaica in 1962, at the age of 11, to join my parents. My father, I did not know, and my mother had left me with my grandmother when I was three months old. This depicts a fairly typical scenario for Jamaican children migrants. For a period of about five years from the age of about six, I was adopted by a friend of the family – unofficially. The friend used to visit my grandmother and aunt with whom I lived, and on one such visit asked if I wanted to come and live with him and his three daughters in Savannah-la-Mar. This opened up a particularly happy period of my life. Then five years later, I was told one day that I was going to Kingston, although no one thought it would

be a good idea to tell me why. I have a vague memory of Kingston and boarding an airplane, with a cardboard sign around my neck, and my aunt asking a strange man to look after me. I remember being excited at seeing the plane. I had no idea, apart from images in nursery rhyme songs, of where or what England was like.

I had not travelled on a train before, but caught one from Gatwick to London. When I finally arrived at Victoria train station, in central London, any person could have claimed me because I had no idea what my parents looked like. I have never been sure if my mother recognised me or read the sign around my neck. I arrived on a Thursday in the middle of winter and went to school on the Monday. My father had just purchased a house so there was no money to heat the whole house. There was one heater and that was in his room. I still remember the burning sensation of the cold beds. All six children lived in one room as the rest of the house was rented to other immigrants. We had hot water once a week on a Sunday when we all had a bath one after the other in the same water. As the youngest one at the time, I had the last bath.

I could not read or write nor understand what anyone was saying. With hindsight, I now realise that having taken the 11-plus secondary school entrance examination I must have failed dismally because I was put into the lowest stream of the lowest type of secondary school. I was entitled to free school meals and a free uniform, but my mother would not go to the social security office to obtain the paperwork required, 'because those people always want to know your business'.

From being the last person to be picked for the soccer game in the playground on my first day, I was picking the team by the end of the first week. I had discovered a new game and also that I was the best at it. This was to be the key to my survival for the next ten years, leading to a period as a professional footballer, terminated swiftly by arthritis in part due to the poor conditions in which I spent my early years in Britain. This was critical moment in my individual biography. A semi-professional team wanted me to play for them. I explained that I needed a job that would allow me to play on Saturday and allow me to train at least three evenings per week. The manager spoke to the chairman of the club about my situation and how badly he wanted me to join the club. I was told to report to a bank in the City of London the next Monday morning. Anticipating a job in the bank I dressed very smartly and ensured I arrived on time. When I entered the bank I was impressed with the building and the commercial atmosphere; I was even more impressed with numerous beautiful young ladies working in the bank. This was a boost to my spirit, as I had been very depressed at the thought of not being able to pursue my dream of being a professional footballer.

This exhilaration was short-lived. I was directed downstairs into the basement of the bank where Frank, my supervisor, would show me what I had to do. Frank had a cigarette stuck to his bottom lip (I did not and still do not smoke) and he gave me a very hearty cockney welcome. He then gave me a huge black dustbin bag full of rolls of toilet paper and a toilet brush and showed me the techniques involved in cleaning a toilet properly. At that moment, it hit me – the stark reality of what the future had in store for a young black man with no qualifications in England. The rest, as they say, is history.

I went to night school and then further education college and matriculated for university. After University, I became the first black teacher in one secondary school in South London. After three successful years, I joined the then Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) as a youth officer. After promotion to senior youth officer, the ILEA was abolished by Margaret Thatcher's government. The Tory government saw the Greater London Council that encompassed the ILEA as a bastion of left wing activism and was determined to get rid of it. I was lucky enough to be appointed Head of Community Education for one of the new authorities formed after the abolition of the GLC in one of the London boroughs. I was pleased, not only on a professional level, but also on personal level to be appointed to this post because it meant that I had managerial responsibility not only for the borough's youth services, but also for the adult education service, the core function

of which was to provide educational opportunities for adults who had missed the boat at school; a system that had benefited me as a young adult with no educational qualifications.

Having survived with a relative degree of success, what makes a person give up a good salary and pension for one that was less than half of what I was earning, in order to return home? It was basically an irrational deep-down desire to come home – perhaps a subconscious desire to complete the circle of life, to be buried in the same spot as my naval string. Rationally, I justified it to myself in terms of wanting to contribute something to the development of my country. I was also disillusioned with England. The stress of being a black person in a white country and being forced to confront this fact daily in the most minute details and experiences of everyday life. There was rarely a day when one was not either involved in or witness to something on the street or in the media that reminded you of your skin colour and that this was not your country.

There were also professional reasons to do with administering the cuts in the social and education services imposed by the Thatcher government. We were being asked to tear down all the gains we thought we had made in the anti-racist struggles in the late 1970s and 1980s. For example, in terms of adult education, only courses of a vocational nature or ones where the marginal costs entailed could be recovered from students could be offered in the future.

First Impressions on Returning

New feelings accompanied my arrival in Jamaica – 'The unbearable lightness of being' so ably described by Milan Kundera in the title of his novel of the same name; the sheer joy of not standing out and not having to bear the weight of the double consciousness; the double existence or what Richard Wright called the 'dreaded objectivity' that comes from living inside and outside of white society simultaneously. Delany, an African American doctor on an expedition to the Niger Valley in 1859, is quoted by Gilroy in a passage describing the sequence of symptoms he experienced as his elation on arrival in Africa gave way to a 'special and characteristic form of melancholy':

> The first sight and impression of the coast of Africa are always inspiring, producing the most pleasant emotions. These pleasing sensations continue for several days, more or less until they merge into feeling of almost intense excitement … a hilarity of feeling almost akin to approaching intoxication … like the sensation produced by the beverage of champagne wine … the first symptoms are succeeded by a relaxity of feelings in which there is a disposition to stretch, gape and yawn with fatigue. The second may or may not be succeeded by actual febrile attacks … but whether or not such symptoms ensue, there is one most remarkable … a feeling of regret that you have left your native country for a strange one; an almost frantic desire to see friends and nativity; a despondency and loss of the hope of ever seeing those you love at home again. These feelings, of course, must be resisted and regarded as a mere morbid affection (sic) of the mind … when an entire recovery takes place, the love of the country is most ardent and abiding (Gilroy, 1993: 130–131).

I too soon began to get a feeling of regret and have not yet achieved the 'entire recovery' that Delany alludes to.

Reasons for Regret

The very week that I landed in Jamaica, the major story on the news was the fact that some very brave, or as it turned some very foolish, members of the gay community had announced that they intended to march on Government House to show their support for changes to the law that would no longer make homosexual acts between consenting adults a criminal offence; the Government had hinted that they intended to introduce such changes to the law. They were threatened and

warned by gun men that they would be shot if they dared march. The march was abandoned and the Government have not mentioned the proposed legal reform again. I also learned that same sex couples are not allowed to stay together in hotels. This was a shock to me; I felt as though I was in a time warp. As far as I was concerned, this was a basic human right, a battle fought and won decades ago in England and in many other countries. I had not appreciated how strong homophobia was in Jamaica. It is a topic that cannot even be discussed with the majority of the so-called educated middle-class. One does not appreciate the virtues of a liberal democracy until one lives in a country from which liberalism has been extracted.

As pointed out above, I soon got fed-up with being called 'English'; this term stung me deeply as I felt that I was born and had spent the first eleven years of my life here in Jamaica. I had my Jamaican passport and migration had been an integral part of the Jamaican culture for generations, so why can't they (they being mainly my middle-class colleagues at the university or golfing companions) just welcome me back as one of them? If they wanted to talk to me they preface their comments with: 'Watch the English boy nuh'.

I had also forgotten how religious a society Jamaica is – not only in terms of strength and depth of feeling, but also in terms of the literal interpretation of the word. Any incident could be interpreted as a sign of the hand of God. It is taken for granted that anyone can be called upon, at a moment's notice, to give a prayer of thanks. I had made the mistake of starting my first lecture without making space for a prayer. A hand soon went up, I expected a question on the subject I was talking about but instead, I was asked if I had not forgotten something of great importance? The tables had been turned on me right at the start – usually it is the lecturer who asks the questions that the students cannot answer.

I did not fully appreciate the extent and depth of the role that one's colour or more precisely one's shade of skin pigmentation played in Jamaican society. As a child I remembered that white and brown people were held in higher regard than those of 'dark complexion' and I recall members of my family describe some people they did not like as 'nasty naega'. I foolishly thought that with independence such attitudes would have lessened or disappeared altogether. Having been active in the anti-racist movement in England I was disappointed to find such attitudes alive and kicking in Jamaica. The issue of colour played a significant role in the general election held in 1997. The unofficial slogan of the Peoples National Party was 'Blackman time now'; a rejection of leadership being either 'white' or 'high brown', a situation that had persisted since the colonial era. It is interesting to note that this was also the rallying cry in the Morant Bay Rebellion of 1865 (Alleyne, 2002: 239); a Rebellion that was put down so violently by the then Governor Eyre, that even the British establishment had sought to put him on trial. I chastised my relatives in Jamaica when they referred in a derogatory way to Indians as 'coolies'. They interpreted this as just another sign of the madness people get when they live in England too long.

This preference for brown complexion as a desired characteristic, described in the literature as 'shadism', is captured in the lyrics of one Jamaica's top dance hall artistes, Buju Banton:

> Me love mi car, mi love mi bike
> Me love mi money and things
> But most of all me love mi browning.

The preference for brown in the cultural sphere in a country where the overwhelming majority of people are black is problematic for a returnee, like myself, struggling with the issue of self-identity. It suggests to me that the psychic scars of slavery have not healed to the point where the mass of the Jamaican people can authentically love themselves. It is clear, historically, that the people of dual heritage in Jamaica have replaced whites as the dominant economic and cultural group.

However, the demands of a political system based on adult suffrage necessitate the construction of a national identity based on blackness. The adoption of the national motto 'Out of Many, One People' was intended to play down the significance of different ethnic groups within Jamaica but what it has achieved instead is to ensure that a black racial and ethnic identity is extended to a national scale; as Alleyne puts it:

> National identity is being constructed around on the basis of reggae, the Reggae Boyz soccer team and a number of other features, all of which presuppose 'black' (Alleyne, 2002: 239).

Thus, the official national identity is black, but in the personal arena 'brown' is preferred as is evidenced by the number young black women using bleaching products to get a 'fairer' complexion.

I experienced great difficulty in operating in a society where nepotism is operated so openly. The whole system operates on who you know and who you went to school with or which school you went to. I was at a severe disadvantage in getting the most mundane things done like registering my car, for example. There is an abhorrence of impersonal structures. There was no bureaucratic procedure that could not be made to go away if one knew the right person or if one was willing to pay for a service that a public employee is already paid to do. Nepotism permeates the whole society. I was out of step with every one around me. I walked too fast; I queued up for everything whilst people bore into the line in front of me as if I were not there. People bad-drove me on the road especially when I obeyed stop signs and traffic lights. I was considered a whimp for adhering to the speed limit. When I complained, I was thought to be mad or feeble of mind. English observance of the rules was interpreted as weakness.

Like Delany, I did experience the second stage of febrile attacks. I did begin to question my own sanity in coming back; I was effectively a stranger in what I thought to be home. It brought me face to face with the reality that they were partly right; I was indeed mainly British. Whilst in Britain, you idealise home as one of many strategies to survive the experience of not belonging. One is not conscious of how much of the British culture one has imbibed, how British one has become.

I liked my cup of tea and cake in the afternoon; I missed listening to Radio 4 and reading *The Guardian* newspaper; I missed lining up in an orderly manner in the shops and banks. I missed the self-discipline. I missed people turning up on time for meetings. For example, I had arranged to meet a real estate broker to look at plot of land I was thinking of buying. He turned up two hours late and did not even think he needed to apologise for his lateness. I saw the world differently from the people with whom I was interacting. I had to begin to accept these 'English' parts of my identity. Part of my full recovery, in Delany's sequence, depended on me coming to terms with what Gilroy calls my 'diasporic identity'. Making the journey back home forces one to confront issues of personal identity. One is suddenly brought face to face with the dreaded recognition that personal identity is not something stable that enables us to be grounded. Making drastic changes in ones life forces one to confront the dynamic nature of personal identity. As Stuart Hall reminds us:

> Identity is not only a story, a narrative which we tell ourselves, it is stories which change with historical circumstances. And identity shifts with the ways in which we think and hear them and experience them. Far from coming from the still small point of truth inside us, identities actually come from outside, they are the way in which we are recognised and then come to step into the place of the recognitions which others give us. Without the others there is no self, there is no self-recognition (Hall et al., 1978: 244–245).

Thus in the process of changing the 'others', we change ourselves. My 'others' were no longer white and black British but brown and black middle-class Jamaicans and very poor black Jamaicans. I look

forward to seeing how my identity will change as my residency in Jamaica continues. However, I wonder what a specifically Jamaican identity looks like? I suspect that it is even more fragmented than mine currently is. For example, why are we in Jamaica, and other parts of the Caribbean, so reluctant to incorporate our African ancestry into our self-concept (Nettleford, 1993, 2003)? Professor Masuri (in a lecture at the University of the West Indies) contrasted this with the Jews, the Italian-Americans and the Irish-Americans in the process of their migrations to the USA.

Returning home forces one to reflect on the role of memory. I felt as though I was on a ledge. I could not go backwards because all the knowledge and skills I had acquired in England seemed of little value or use to my current situation on arrival. Of what value was my 30 years of living in the U.K.? It was as though I could not remember those years in any meaningful way, as a whole; as though I was descending into amnesia. I had to come to terms with the fact that memory is incredibly selective and that these years were what made me what I am today. They were such an integral part of me that there was not much objectively to remember. It felt as though I had to start learning right from scratch again. The seeming redundancy of the professional knowledge and skills I had learned in England was most evident in my early attempts at managing my Centre, for the training of para-professional social workers, at the University of the West Indies. For example, on asking someone to carry out, what I considered to be a reasonable task and an integral part of their job description, I was quickly informed that 'slavery was over'. I had to quickly come to terms with Gilroy's insightful comment that:

> social self-creation through labour is not the core of emancipatory hopes. For the descendants of slaves, work signifies only servitude, misery and subordination (Gilroy, 1993: 137–138).

It was clear to me that I was perceived by my staff as the new 'bakra' (white boss) that 'they' had recruited from England; and they wanted me know right from the start that I was not going to get any more out of them than the previous boss they (the University) brought from 'foreign' lands, even though he too was black. I wondered about the implications of such work attitudes for national economic development. It is imperative that we returnees do not just see ourselves as victims of the societies we have left and victims also of the ones we have chosen to call 'home'. It is estimated that there are over 2.8 million Jamaican living overseas, compared to the current population in the country of 2.6 million. It is generally recognised that migrants to the developed world play a critical role in keeping the Jamaican economy afloat and providing a life-line for many individuals and families, particularly those in the rural areas of the Island. In 1996, it was estimated that US$700 million was sent back in the form of remittances (about US$41 million were retirement pensions) constituting the second largest foreign exchange earner next to tourism. Given that we are bringing back our hard-earned capital, not only in terms of money but also as consumer durables and human capital, skills and knowledge, why should we not be welcomed with open arms by the societies we left all those years ago?

There is in general a negative attitude towards the approximately 3,500 returnees to Jamaica per year. There is a feeling that returnees had previously turned their backs on Jamaica (particularly those from the middle-classes who left in the 1970s during Jamaica's experiment with democratic socialism) and that they are returning to enjoy the benefits derived from those who stayed because they did not have the option of leaving. There is a feeling that returnees have got rich abroad and have now come back to take advantage of the weak Jamaican dollar and live like kings and queens. This often makes them a target for the local criminals and local merchants. There is also the fear that returnees not only push up the price of houses, out of the reach of the locals, but that they also take the best jobs. The display of conspicuous consumption by a significant number of returnees in places like Mandeville, a cool lush area of the country, and the hills of St Andrew surrounding Kingston gives some validity to this charge. There is a basic underlying resentment of the status

that 'going foreign' confers and the fact that one had had opportunities for personal advancement that will never be open to the majority of the local community.

Returnees are regarded as pushy, aggressive and arrogant because they have internalised a sense of cultural superiority based on foreign values. This is particularly so for those of us returning from the UK. We are seen to be more prone to be smitten with the sickness and madness that attack all those who 'go foreign'. Those who go to North America, in particular the USA are seen as less vulnerable to the sickness because there seems to be a greater congruity between the values of the USA and Jamaican society. This is largely due to rather more immediate contact between the USA and Jamaica both in a physical sense due to the more frequent visits home and in a metaphorical sense through the exposure to cable television that feeds Jamaicans a steady diet of American culture.

Conclusion

Perhaps the time spent reflecting on where one has come from is an unproductive exercise because as Gilroy (1993: 120–145) so pertinently reminds us, in the title of one of his imaginatively titled articles, 'It ain't where you're from, it's where you are at'. But, do we need to understand where we have been to know where we are? I think so. As an activist in the 'war of position' (Gramsci, cited in Williams, 1988: 66–68) entailed in the anti-racist struggle in the UK, it was often difficult to keep the larger picture in view all the time. We often got swept up in the dominant discourse around 'race' and culture in the UK with such a discourse directing, to a large extent, ones' political actions. We would then use fragments gleaned from this hegemonic discourse combined with experiences gained from political practice and more private lived experiences to assist in the construction of a personal identity. If Gilroy's analysis is correct, the dominant discourse around 'race' and culture in the 1980s was 'essentialist' and 'absolutist' rather than recognising the heterogeneity and fluidity of black culture. The inherent danger in conceptualising culture in this 'essentialist' way is that 'it conditions the continuing aspiration to acquire a supposedly authentic, natural and stable identity' (Gilroy, 1993: 121) and even more disconcertingly:

> this identity is the premise of a thinking 'racial' self that is both socialised and unified by its connection with other kindred souls encountered usually, though not always, within the fortified frontiers of those discrete ethnic cultures which also happen to coincide with the contours of a sovereign nation-state that guarantees their continuity (Gilroy, 1993: 121–122).

With hindsight, I think Gilroy's analysis is correct, but that he fails to appreciate that in the midst of a war one rarely makes the time to undertake such subtle analysis. The British had for centuries been engaged in an ideological project to suppress the heterogeneous nature of its culture as captured by Daniel Defoe's satirical poem, *The True Born Englishman*, written in the late 17th century to highlight the mistreatment of the Dutch who had arrived in Britain with William III (Phillips, 1997: xiv). It was not surprising that an equally monolithic and 'essentialist' concept of black culture was pressed into service to try and secure a space for us as migrants from the Caribbean. I had not appreciated that part of my disappointment in returning to Jamaica was due to the fact that I was subconsciously expecting to find this 'pure' 'essentialist' black culture waiting with open arms to welcome me back.

What I have found is that the Jamaican state and many other states in the Caribbean region, have been engaged in what I would describe as a project similar to that of the British of trying to build a cohesive national identity premised on the notion of a 'pure' and 'essentialist' culture. One of the ideological manifestations is encoded in the 'Out of Many, One People' national motto. A

motto designed to suppress the hybridity and pluralistic nature of Jamaican culture silencing the contribution of the East Indian, Chinese, Syrian and many others including yes, the British. It seeks to hide the class divisions as evidenced by the huge disparity in the distribution of income, the endemic homophobia that silences any debate around sexual identity, the poor state of gender relations and the routine abuse of human rights by state institutions. For those of us who did not choose to enter the belly of the whale or go from periphery to centre and who have had to bear the burden of double consciousness, the return journey is a search for organic unity. I have to face the stark reality that that there is no 'organic unity', no 'essential, unchanging, sovereign racial self' waiting to be grasped; there is no 'One nation under a groove' (Gilroy, 1993). The Jamaican reality is summed up by Alleyne, commenting on the Caribbean as whole, when he concludes that:

> for a too large part of the black population, there is still the persistence of a victim syndrome, the perception of still being exploited, disadvantaged and discriminated against, of being the lowest level of the world's racial and ethnic hierarchy (Alleyne, 2002: 251).

Faced with this reality the issues of personal identity cannot take centre-stage. They must take a back seat to questions as to how and where one can make, in alliance with others, the most effective political interventions. The contradictions of returning 'home' are likely to be echoed in the experiences of other returnees around the world, although the specifics of these will differ from mine.

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Globalisation and a Flood of Travellers: Flooded Travellers and Social Justice

GURID AGA ASKELAND

Introduction

A huge tsunami occurred in the Indian Ocean in December 2004 and impacted directly upon 12 countries, some as far away as the Eastern coast of Africa. As the enormity of its consequences began to dawn on people, it came to be considered the world's largest disaster of modern times. Millions of people in local communities around the Third World experience catastrophic events all the time. Tsunamis have taken place in the Philippines in 1976; Flores 1992; Japan 1993; and Papa-Guinea 1998 (Gjevik, Pedersen, Harbitz, 2005). What was different on this occasion, has been its geographical spread (Støre, 2005) and the number of people affected by it. The estimated numbers of people deemed to have died or remained missing about a month after the tsunami had risen to almost 300,000 people, including 11,000 tourists.[1]

Why and how was the tragedy of the tsunami in the Indian Ocean different from others where thousands of people have been involved? For example, many more than 300,000 people are dying in Darfur, and similar points can be made about other political conflicts, including those arising as a result of famine or HIV/AIDS throughout Africa and Asia.

There might be several explanations as to why people have reacted differently to this tsunami – the abruptness, the vastness of its coverage, and the unexpected nature of the event. Other possibilities come to mind. It happened within a limited time-frame. It could have been any one of us as we could have been there on vacation. The disaster was a display of the power of nature instead of being 'man-made'. Any one of these possibilities might apply.

What will happen in the wake of the tsunami will to a very large degree depend on political decisions that are made, often far removed from the localities affected. I will reflect upon the reactions to this tsunami because I think it raises important questions for us to consider. I will start with the travellers; particularly the tourists because they formed an important ingredient in this mix. Then I will relate the disaster to globalisation and social justice and the shift in these that has occurred as a result of the tsunami. I end up with some thoughts about what roles social workers can undertake in responding to world disasters. This approach poses questions about who is included or excluded from a community, how communities are formed and who is covered by any particular definition of the term.

The Travellers

A journey is often used as a metaphor; it can *also stand for life* itself. The traveller is a person who takes a chance on something that does not yet exist (Meyer, 2003: 1). However, travelling might have different purposes. The perspective on travelling that I will use here, will be a European one.

Meyer (2003) has studied the traveller from a European cultural perspective from antiquity onwards. She refers to a definition in the French *Encyclopedie* from 1751 to 1765. This suggests that: 'A journey is transport from the place where the person is, to somewhere else which is far enough away'[2] (Jaucourt 1751–65 in Meyer, 2003: 2). In her writings, Meyer emphasises some characteristics of a journey. These are that: there has to be a distance in time and geographical space; boundaries or limitations have to be exceeded, also mentally; there might be some physical or mental obstacles; it may be dangerous with the risk of losing one's life, property, health or senses. By travelling, one leaves behind what is safe and known. However, there might also be substantial benefits – increased wealth, power, social prestige, knowledge and self-realisation. Consequently, the person who returns will not be the same one as the person who left (Mayer, 2003: 2). Meyer divides various journeys into four categories: heroic journeys; discovery and conquest journeys; educational and self-realisation journeys; and tourism.

Heroic Journeys

Odyssey is a Greek epic by Homer. It describes a heroic journey that took ten years. It was afflicted by dangers and obstacles, and the hero's fate was decided by the Gods. The traveller undergoes various trials and becomes a hero by constantly exceeding what were considered physical limitations that he could not transcend. However, the traveller's inner journey was of no interest. Odyssey had not changed when he eventually returns; and neither had what he came home to been altered in any significant way (Meyer, 2002, 2003).

Discovery and Conquest Journeys

Columbus is a representative of the discoverers and conquerors that inhabit the earth. He too was exposed to obstacles and dangers. The purpose of his journey was to conquer new lands for the Spanish king, for which he would be rewarded.

These kinds of journeys also had a scientific purpose, where observations were made and data was systematically collected. On the basis of these enterprises, overseas maps were developed in the 15th and 16th centuries that laid the basis for the Europeans to travel the oceans around the world and conquer other regions and countries. This European influence is visible in that local names of various species of flora and fauna were given Latin names and so-called discoverers were rewarded by having mountains, regions, lakes in these overseas locations named after them. The knowledge that the discoverers gained about the resources and raw materials that were available across the globe, became a tool in the capitalist system (Meyer, 2003).

Today, the Vikings have been accorded some kind of heroic image. To some degree they were also discoverers. They travelled to conquer new lands and increase their wealth. At least in our Norwegian history, the Vikings discovered 'Vinland' or North-America. They never got further than the Mediterranean and the North-American coast, so they did not roam all over the world. The methods they used to achieve their ends are not those that we would be proud of today. We should probably be glad that the Viking's period of greatness occurred before maps were created, as they could be very brutal. And, Livingstone was a so-called discoverer of Africa, just to mention a name that became accepted as heroic at a later point in time.

Educational and Self-Realisation Journeys

These travellers were primarily rich young men who went on the 'Grand Tour' during the 16th to the 18th centuries to other European countries, particularly Italy, to learn about their cultures and

languages (Meyer, 2003). Their inner journey was the essential one, and it was expected that they would return from their trip with personal knowledge and a moral education. Knowledge was, at the time, seen as universal, timeless and neutral (Meyer, 2002, 2003). Today, educational and self-realisation journeys are taking us further away, to other continents and other cultures, and the view of what is scientific knowledge has changed.

The Flood of Travellers

Tourism became a primary purpose for travelling towards the last part of the 18th century. Historically the concept was created at the beginning of the 19th century. According to Meyer (2003), tourism lacks the classic characteristics of a journey. There are hardly any dangers, obstacles or activities that exceed boundaries or limitations upon them. With technological developments there, distance has become insignificant, while the time dimension can stand still. What was originally exotic has become familiar and trivialised as it has become part of our everyday life at home. What is well-known and what is foreign, float together. We buy our souvenirs, but travelling does not increase our wealth, our power or position. Tourism has become an enormous migration, or a 'flood' of travellers, where the tourist does not change, and returns home the same person as the one who left.

Tourism is consumption and enjoyment in environments beyond the home base. Its purpose is happenings and endless movement, not education. People today seem to have a constant drive for travelling, which might or might not cause self-reflection. For Meyer, our self-reflections will be influenced by the pictures created by others, as it is difficult to experience something that has not already been discovered by others. As there is a limit to the dangers involved in ordinary tourism, some people seek out more risky adventure tours.

The Flooded Travellers and the Local Inhabitants

The tourists affected by the tsunami are a 'flood' of travellers who became 'flooded' travellers. What is described as characteristic of the tourists above, would most likely apply to most of them when they first arrived. The risks were not very high, they went to a place where they would feel safe, there would be no challenges other than those they set up themselves, and there would be hardly any obstacles to their enjoyment. They would not meet anything that would be foreign enough for them to be unable to cope, and they would return home being much the same persons as when they left. These would have more or less encompassed their expectations for their trip.

However, with the tsunami an unanticipated shift occurred. Though not expected, the tourists became exposed to what Meyer claims is characteristic of the classic travellers. Before the tsunami struck, they did not understand that they were in danger. They were not mentally prepared for the vacation bringing them the kind of challenges that they had to go through – the dramatic experiences of those who survived; the enormous losses of life and property; and the grief. The traumas that they have gone through are likely to have engendered an inner journey that would have affected them profoundly and changed their personae from that they had when they left home. Tourists go abroad primarily with family and friends. But many have had to return alone, without those dear to them.

However, when the Norwegian tourists came home they were met at the airport by a crisis team of medical staff, psychologists, clergy, possibly social workers, and warm winter clothes for those arriving barefoot and in shorts. They were met by families and friends. They could go

back to their own homes and belongings. They would have had insurance cover, an income and a job with caring colleagues. They will all be followed up later by a local crisis team and offered on-going assistance if necessary. Memorial services have also been held in day care centres, schools, workplaces, churches and other places of worship in a show of solidarity from those who stayed behind.

The victims who have not survived have become heroes. When the first Swedish bodies arrived home in the middle of the night, the whole Royal Family and the Prime Minister were present in the airport to 'honour' them. Later on, the Norwegian King, Queen and Prime Minister followed their example.

Tourists are rich people, not necessarily by Western standards, but by the standards of the people who waited upon them as tourists. What the tourists have left behind are bodies, ruined infrastructures and local people who have survived and experienced the same traumas as themselves. The local people also had to run to rescue their own lives. Many were physically injured, and they have had to witness other people becoming victims to the waves. Some even had to let go of family members to save themselves, and therefore may suffer from inner conflicts and bad conscience (Hafstad, 2005). There is no way that memorials can be held there for thousands of people in the same manner as occurred in Norway. They may not only have lost their families, friends and neighbours, but also their homes, jobs and incomes. It might also constitute what Elster (1992) calls 'cumulative bad luck'.

Nevertheless, what Norwegian and other foreign tourists on their return home from Thailand spoke about was how the hospital staff in these affected areas were not only extremely efficient, but also very caring. I have not heard of any injured Norwegian or other Nordic for that matter, who was refused care. It makes me wonder whether they had enough capacity to take care of the local people as well as the foreigners or did they prioritise the 'guests'? Norwegians have also spoken about how the local people helped them search for their missing family members, even if they themselves had lost relatives, their homes and all their belongings.

Globalisation and Social Justice

According to Stiglitz (2002: 9) globalisation is:

> the closer integration of the countries and people of the world which has been brought about by the enormous reductions of costs of transportation and communication, and the breaking down of artificial barriers to the flows of goods, services, capital, knowledge, and (to a lesser extent) people across borders.

Globalisation has been driven by Western people, who have made sure they benefit from it at the expense of the developing world by subsidising their own agriculture and keeping barriers around their own markets while refusing to acknowledge the consequences of this, including a disproportionate distribution of wealth and power in the world (Stiglitz, 2002).

However, without globalisation there would be no tourists. Without globalisation people would go home for Christmas, instead of going away to celebrate it. Without globalisation the world would have had no immediate information about the tsunami, its effects and aftermath. With globalisation the world has become smaller. Some people might have visited the effected areas and met the local people and thus make what they see on TV their own concern.

Without globalisation no *emergency* relief, no medical aid, no US hangar and war ships with helicopters and 200 Norwegian restored military trucks to carry aid to areas in the Aceh province where roads have been swept away.

The disaster also shows the importance of sharing knowledge and information across the world. However, it is not simply a lack of access to knowledge, but a lack of resources that impacts upon local areas. One reason why the countries around the Indian Ocean did not have the same warning system as is available to those around the Pacific Ocean is a lack of resources. The alarm centre in Hawaii immediately warned Australia and the USA about the possible impact of the tsunami, but there was no system for contacting the countries where the tsunami actually struck (Gilbert, 2005).

With the dominance of global knowledge, there is a danger that local knowledge might disappear. Yet, 3,500 gypsies survived in Phuket because of their local knowledge. The same happened with 181 gypsies in another village. The Thai people and the tourists, except for the Japanese tourists who have specific knowledge about tsunamis (Gilbert, 2005), followed the sea water when it withdrew, thus endangering themselves. The old Gypsies, on the other hand, knew that the water would come back with the same speed and force as before. They therefore immediately warned their people, fled from the scene and saved their lives (Rugland, 2005).

We can find parallels in other countries. Some years ago in Norway, avalanches erased areas where, in 'man's' memory', there had never been one before. Until a few decades ago, people would have never lived and built in such areas. To their detriment, urban planners from outside the localities concerned constructed the building areas without taking account of the local knowledge that had been passed down through generations. In the Norwegian media, we have been reminded that it is important that the emergency aid and the helpers that go to the tsunami affected areas do not overrun the local people and overlook or not ask for local knowledge that they have, like we have done in a lot of developmental aid projects. The Secretary General of the Norwegian Red Cross claims that the experience gained from other catastrophes suggests that aid endeavours have been most successful when the responsibility for getting what is needed and how it is distributed is left to the local people and *their* efforts supported by international aid (Støre, 2005).

Political Reactions

We could have hoped that a natural catastrophe like the recent tsunami would have united people who previously had been fighting each other in civil wars. However, the political situation seems not to have altered much. In Aceh province in Indonesia where about 200,000 people have died, the people who have been fighting for their autonomy for decades accused the government of taking advantage of the disaster in order to gain power over the oil and gas resources in the area. The provision of emergency relief and the killing of rebels continued to take place in parallel to each other for a period. This is beginning to change, but the situation remains fluid. A difference that contributed to this has been that a country that has been closed to foreigners for some time has now been opened up to outside influences. Information about the living conditions and the political situation for local people will thereby become accessible to the outer world. We now know that 800,000 people are in need of emergency and more sustained relief in that part of the world alone.

In Sri Lanka, the government has been accused of holding back emergency relief to the Tamil Tigers. Yet, a refugee camp in which two Tamil families had sought shelter after having received emergency relief from the government was torched by other Tamils. Norway has been involved in peace negotiations in Sri Lanka for years. Interviews with the Norwegian negotiators soon after the tsunami suggested that the disaster may open up a better negotiating atmosphere. But these hopes seem to have died off. So there are no signs that poor people, who have already suffered immensely, will obtain relief from these compounded traumas. Rather, their suffering is likely to

be multi-dimensional, as they are now affected by the suffering caused by people alongside that caused by a natural catastrophe. Some countries, for example, Burma, now known as Myra Mar, remains closed to the rest of the world. Thus, the effect of the tsunami upon its peoples remains unknown.

Although it had its own affected areas, India started providing neighbouring countries with material and financial support only a few hours after the tsunami hit. These were even provided to Thailand which is a country with a higher per capita income than India. India politely refused assistance from Western countries, except for some from the United Nations (UN). However, there has been internal criticism that the emergency relief provided to its own damaged areas has not been sufficiently efficient. A Norwegian newspaper has speculated that as India is aiming for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council, this is an opportunity to show off as the 'big brother' in the region (Haugen, 2003). Others have insinuated that Japan, a very generous supporter, and China have become competitors in this relief effort for similar reasons (Willersrud, 2005). There have also been suggestions of a political competition between India and the USA about who is giving the most aid to Sri Lanka. Cynics are hinting that this diversion might enable the USA to get the media focus off the Iraq war and what is happening in that country for a while.

European and American politicians have played their own games, and have taken part in what has been termed 'body tourism'. Prime ministers and ministers of foreign affairs have gone to see the devastation caused by the tsunami with their own eyes, and it has become important to get there first. The number of visits has been so high that the local ministers have had to urge them to stay away, as the security they have required has paralysed the transportation of the emergency relief.

Norwegian journalists have hardly reported the disaster caused by the tsunami in Africa. 'Only' 200 people died in Somalia as a direct result of the tsunami. However, 30,000 people are in desperate need of emergency relief as they have lost their homes, fishing boats, tools and livelihoods. It is likely that there were hardly any tourists in the area, and there have not been any collections of money for the African countries also affected.

In another instance, the city of Bam in Iran was totally ruined and about 30,000 people died in an earthquake that occurred on the 26 December 2003, exactly one year before this latest disaster. After the emergency relief to Bam, we seem to have forgotten about it. Why is this so? The numbers affected were fewer than 300,000, but what happened is still beyond our grasp. So, is it because there were no tourists from Western countries, and not many had been there before, or is it because we are sceptical about the political system in Iran? According to the UN Vice-Secretary General Jan Egeland only a fraction of the resources that immediately were promised to rebuild Bam, has ever been transferred to UN's accounts.

The daily reports from Iraq and Middle East almost disappeared for several weeks when news about the tsunami took the headlines. Jan Egeland and the Norwegian Church Aid Secretary General have rightly reminded the world that in spite of the Asian tsunami disaster, we must not forget Darfur where about two million people have died since 1983, with 70,000 people dying in 2004.

No matter how much money is collected during the current call for aid, those who were poor before the tsunami are likely to continue to live in poverty. In India, the pariah casts have cleaned up after the tsunami and dug up the dead, while the other inhabitants look on from a distance.[3] Children who have lost their parents are being kidnapped, sold and bought in exploitative circumstances. This has happened before, but now they are more defenceless and at greater risk of this occurring. Women are reported to have been raped as they are also more vulnerable without a home. Those who have lived under distress socially and politically before the tsunami struck continue to do so.

Social Justice

Human needs and human rights are closely linked together; both are linked to social justice (Ife, 2001). Social justice implies the redistribution of wealth in political systems where human beings have created inequality. The redistribution we see now involves providing emergency relief to developing countries rather than allocating resources to build alarm systems and networks that could prevent future disasters. The provision of short-term relief is a pattern that has been followed wherever there has been a catastrophe (Gilbert, 2005).

Governments all over the world and not only those in rich countries have immediately granted resources to the emergency relief endeavours. As a first response, Norway has allocated NOK 1.1 billion[4] to this effort so far. The Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Jan Pettersen, said on TV that: 'with the fantastic local efforts to help Norwegians that we are told about from Thailand we are bound to contribute more'. Does his statement mean that Norway would not do so, if this had not been the case? Nonetheless, regardless of the amount that Norwegians give, it will always be from our surpluses. The extra surplus income from oil in 2004 reached NOK 50 billion[5] because of the increased oil prices during that year. The governments of the powerful nations are now seriously discussing whether to waive the debts of the countries that have been struck by the tsunami. But why have these same nations not heard the cries of poor people in Africa and other developing countries for decades while at the same time taking advantage of them and their resources (Stiglizt, 2002)? Although there has been some movement on this front following the 'Make Poverty History Campaign' of 2005, culminating with Live 8 concerts and demonstrations linked to the Gleneagles meeting of the G8, it is still too soon to assess the significance of the limited moves towards debt relief for the world's poorest countries.

Individuals have spontaneously and generously given money to NGOs (non-governmental organisations) providing emergency relief for the tsunami-stricken peoples. But as with countries, regardless of how much individuals give, for almost all, it will be from their surpluses. Norwegians were encouraged by the Prime Minister and a bishop to give the money to the tsunami victims instead of buying fireworks for the New Year's celebrations. Most people interpreted it as 'give as much as you spend on fireworks', and so the celebrations were carried on with much the same intensity as before. Some people used the excuse that most of the fireworks were produced in Thailand, so if the Norwegians did not buy fireworks for NOK millions, it would be to the detriment of the Thai workforce. But the Thai King who had lost a grandchild in the tsunami forbade the use of fireworks on New Year's Eve in his country.

Quite a few tourists, who returned home after the disaster, started their own collection of money to support specific projects on their own, and personally encouraged others to give more. Some Norwegian survivors have already booked new trips to Thailand. They have seen the local population's suffering first hand and want to go back to show them their gratitude. Others want to go back because the Thai people need tourism for their economic survival (Haukås, 2005).

Tourism requires an enormous amount of infrastructure. Some of this is available for the local population to take advantage of. The Norwegian NGOs' report that never have so many people offered their voluntary assistance to rebuild an area after a disaster: carpenters, plumbers, electricians, engineers, people with leadership and organisational experiences, medical professionals, policemen, teachers, and child care workers amongst others. The latter group joined Save the Children (Stokke and Skogstrøm, 2005). No social workers were mentioned in this list, but its absence does not necessarily mean that they are not represented. For example, I am aware that the International Association of Schools of Social Work has asked Professor Lena Dominelli to head up its responses and the International Federation of Social Workers has done likewise. Does people's willingness to help in these ways tell us something about the importance of close contact

between people in facilitating the realisation of social justice to go alongside the media focus? Bam has not been in the media for a long, long time, but the proximity brought by tourism was absent in its case.

Social Workers

What can social workers do during a catastrophe, and why should they be there any more than other professionals such as physical therapists or teachers? Why are social workers not included when the emergency relief teams are set up and sent off to the effected areas? Usually they consist of medical personnel like doctors and nurses, and military personnel. Crises teams which receive the injured and traumatised people on their return, consist of doctors, nurses, psychiatrists, psychologists and clergy. Social workers may or may not be included in such teams.

Why would social workers think they should be included in emergency relief teams when it is not obvious to everyone else? What competences can they offer? Social work training varies around the world, but may consist of crisis intervention, grieving relief, coping with stress, resilience, building strengths, networking and building local communities and organisations. In the late 1990s, one of three important issues in social work training for cadres at the College of Civil Affairs in Beijing, was that of handling catastrophes because China constantly experiences these. This is not a subject that is included in the curriculum of many social work education programmes in Western countries. Social work programmes in China have increased to more than hundred educational institutions. These are heavily influenced by Western social work, and so this emphasis might not endure much longer.

The appropriate time for social workers to become involved might be after the immediate needs of food, shelter and health care have been met. This might also be the time when people around the world start to forget these events. Norwegian tourists are offered immediate crises treatment on their return, and a follow up later. From Sri Lanka, Dr Abdul Sameen[6] and Dr Anusha Weragoda[7] claim that one of their biggest problems now is that a great deal of the population suffer from mental traumas. The same has been reported from Indonesia.

Should social workers' tasks be primarily to go there when the immediate needs are met, when the emergency relief workers have left and the world is about to forget about the traumas and the long-term rebuilding? The analysis I have provided above suggests the answer.

Concluding Remarks

Why was the world response to this disaster different? It could not be simply the number of people who were killed. Around the world we have witnessed other tragedies with more victims than this one. Its unpredictability and suddenness might be a factor. Overall, fifty nations were affected (Udgaard, 2005) and any one of us could have been caught up in it. Imagine, what would have happened if the tsunami had only hit Sumatra, a country that was closed to the outer world and not also impacted upon Thailand where half of the victims were foreign tourists? The tourists affected might have changed as a result of this experience and more of the characteristics of a classical journey are re-emerging. Moreover, the unpredictable elements of tourism in the tsunami-afflicted areas might also have changed us all. Sharing their sufferings has created solidarity. However, it seems that both individuals and governments may distribute their aid with ulterior motives.

Developments in the political arena in the future will reveal whether this disaster will bring forth changes that will enable the people who have suffered from the tsunami to overcome not only this catastrophe but also the political conflicts that were there before. A substantial amount of money

has been collected by the NGOs and other voluntary efforts. The enormous sum of US$29 billion had been promised as of 6 January 2005 from governments all over the world. Administering the resources for the benefit of the people is a huge task. It remains to be seen whether the monies promised by governments will actually be transferred to the beneficiaries on the ground when the media withdraws its focus on these areas as we have seen happen in other places. We seem to have a long way to go until social justice is realised in the world. In the interim, we have to ask, how can social workers arouse bad consciences and remind nations to keep their promises?

Nonetheless, the 'flood' of tourists who became 'flooded' tourists have raised questions about the appropriateness of thinking of communities as either closed communities or those circumscribed by national borders and the show of solidarity that their plight initiated indicates how people in straightened circumstances can act to transcend the limitations of locality to forge links with people who live far away. That those who may have lost everything through an act of nature found the capacity to support the strangers who were also suffering highlights how reciprocity goes hand-in-hand with solidarity when people interact with one another at the level of community.

Notes

1. *Per* 05/01/2005.
2. Voyage, s m (Gram.) 'transport de la personne d'un lieu ou l'on est, dans un autre assez eloigne' (Jaucourt 1751–1765).
3. *NTB/Aftenposten*, 4 January 2005: 13.
4. US$176 million.
5. US$8 billion.
6. Interview by John Hultgren, 'Sykehuset knust av flodbølgen', in *Aftenposten*, 3 April 2005: 13.
7. Interview by John Hultgren, 'Prøver å finne en vei videre i knust landsby', in *Aftenposten*, 6 April 2005: 9.

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International Aid in Disasters: A Critique

LIZY JAMES

Introduction

A disaster can be either a natural or 'man-made'[1] event that negatively affects life, property, livelihood or industry and often results in permanent changes to human societies, ecosystems and environment (www.Answers.com; Wikipedia, (2001). Earthquakes, floods, wild fires, tornados, tsunamis and volcanic eruptions are natural disasters lacking direct human causation. Disasters such as terrorist acts, wars and civil disorders have an element of human intention or involve human negligence, and so I call these man-made. An earthquake in southeast Asia, off northwest Sumatra, Indonesia reached point 9.0 on the Richter scale and caused a tsunami with waves higher than 30 ft (10 m) in locations bordering the Indian Ocean. The tsunami, a large ocean wave caused by an underwater earthquake or volcanic eruption (*The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, 2000) occurred on 26 December 2004, killing hundreds of thousands of people. It is estimated that over 300,000 people have died, but the figures are incomplete.

In Indonesia, 500 bodies a day were being found during February 2005 and the count was expected to continue past June (*CNN*, 10 February 2005). The waves devastated many areas in the East Indian Ocean basin, particularly the nearby coast of north Sumatra, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and the east and south coasts of Sri Lanka. Areas of Southeast India and Southwest Thailand were also hard hit. Deaths and destruction occurred as far as away as the coasts of Somalia and Madagascar in Africa (*The Columbia Electronic Encyclopaedia*, 2001: 5). This calamity prompted the goodwill of large numbers of people worldwide especially from rich countries who generously contributed relief aid to people affected by the tsunami. International organisations and governments of developed countries rushed to the affected areas for immediate relief work and millions of dollars worth of relief materials were quickly flown in to the affected countries.

The enormous flow of relief aid in the form of cash and kind to meet immediate needs for clothing, food, temporary shelter and medical care meant that these were responded to in a reasonable period of time in spite of several hurdles like disrupted roads and rails and government policies, rules, regulations and time consuming bureaucratic procedures reduced considerably the sufferings of people affected. But concerns were expressed from several quarters like local and national governments, political parties and voluntary organisations which appeared in various quarters of the media about the lack of efforts on the part of aid providers to meet the long term needs of the survivors to rebuild their lives through initiatives that drew on self-help and self-reliance. Mohiden (2005) was also concerned that aid providers' mismanagement and non-management of aid; interference in the internal affairs of the affected countries, deliberate but subtle attempts to create disunity and political instability in those countries. Is there any truth in these allegations? If so, what can be done in the future to avoid such undesirable trends and make international aid given in response to disasters a creative programme for rebuilding people's lives and ensuring justice and peace for those who were affected.

In this chapter I consider how international aid agencies responded to the effects of the tsunami on people and discuss the issues I highlight in light of an analysis of web-based reports provided by the United States Agency for International Aid (USAID); UN bodies such as the WHO and UNICEF; organisations like the Red Cross, Oxfam, CONCERN and many others engaged in the relief operations connected to this tsunami (consult these websites for further details www.oxfam.org.uk; www.usaid.gov; www.unicef.org; www.who.org; www.redcross.org; www.concern.net).

Relief Work in Tsunami Affected Countries

The immediate relief operation started with rescue operations and removal, identification and burial of dead bodies. In Tamil Nadu, India, mass burials were conducted for unidentified bodies and in situations in which people were unable to conduct individual burial because they had lost everything. International aid agencies with the help of local governments and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) helped in this process. In the affected countries, people who had been displaced from their places of origin had to depend on relief camps organised by the governments and the relief organisations. Governments and relief organisations faced great challenges in providing them with basic necessities like food, clothing, essential medicines and shelter as people had to flee affected areas and lost their houses, property and livelihood. *Associated Press* reported that 'bureaucratic delays, impassable roads and long distances were blocking much of the blankets, bottled water, plastic sheeting and medicines from reaching the needy'. International aid agencies like Oxfam, World Vision and many other agencies with the help of partner agencies and governments in the affected countries had to deal with the emergency on a war footing to provide temporary shelter, food, clothing and other basic help to the victims.

Children who had lost their parents and siblings created another major worry for people in India, Sri Lanka, Indonesia and Thailand. One of the disturbing allegations was that criminal gangs were befriending children orphaned by the tsunami, and selling them to sex traffickers (*BBC News*, 4 January 2005). Children in Sri Lanka faced additional threats from plastic landmines dislodged by the tidal waves. In Aceh, Indonesia (Proctor, 2005), children were dying of pneumonia after inhaling contaminated water. In India, aid agencies had expressed concern that orphan siblings were being split among relatives eager to receive monetary compensation for tsunami survivors. The tsunami has brought psychological difficulties for the survivors that may have long lasting effects on them. It is hard to imagine the fear, confusion and desperation of survivors, especially children, who have seen enormous waves wash away their worlds and dreams. It is disheartening that those children who were traumatised have been exploited by relatives and other people for their benefit without any concern for their welfare. Children who had suffered these losses were in a state of shock and needed holistic support. As United Nations personnel have observed, the traumatic effects of this disaster will also haunt survivors in their future lives in the form of health problems, disability or mental health problems.

Outbreaks of Disease and Mental Health Problems

Stress and psychosocial trauma along with lack of adequate drinking water and sanitation facilities and overcrowding in the relief camps increase the risks of disease breaking out. This was another area given immediate attention by the governments of the affected countries and local NGOs. The WHO and other international relief agencies such as International Medical Corps, Direct Relief and many others including local agencies rushed to the affected areas with emergency medical relief. Shipments of medicines and medical equipments were transported to different countries by different aid agencies. The WHO's concern was mainly to prevent the outbreak of any communicable

diseases. Hence, considerable attention was given to providing clean drinking water, arranging sanitation facilities and avoiding overcrowding in relief camps (WHO, 2005). As a result, there were no outbreaks of disease reported from any of the affected countries (WHO, 2005).

This suggests that adequate preventive measures had been taken. At the same time, mental health services were also provided. The trauma of loss and shock experienced by these people were immense and they were given psychological help. The Health Ministries of the affected countries were supported by the WHO and their experts in providing guidance to people on how to cope with the impact of the tsunami. In India, mental health services to the people affected were provided under the leadership of National Institute of Mental Health and Neuro-Sciences (NIMHANS), Bangalore and Department of Health in the state of Tamil Nadu and Union Territory of Andaman Nicobar Islands (www.Indiainfo.com, 2005). In Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Thailand, similar programmes were carried out by organisations like Action Aid, International Medical Corps (IMC), the Red Cross, the WHO and other agencies.

Loss of Houses, Property and Livelihoods

Once the immediate relief operations have been completed, governments and organisations are required to plan and implement effective rehabilitative measures to sustain the lives of people. Restoring the loss of housing, other property and people's livelihoods require long-term planning and rehabilitation efforts aimed in this direction. Displaced people need to be rehabilitated back to their own surroundings as soon as possible by being provided with adequate housing, equipment that ensures their livelihood and employment opportunities so that they can resume their normal lives. In Sri Lanka and Indonesia, several villages were completely swept away. Those villages will be completely rebuilt with the required infrastructures. Wherever damage has been partial, only repairs will be carried out. The rehabilitation and reconstruction of buildings will be done in such a way as to withstand similar calamities in future and limit the additional expenses that people will need to re-establish themselves.

International Aid

Countries all over the world, especially the Western countries, contributed large sum of money, material and personnel (professional and volunteer), for the relief, rehabilitation and development work. International relief agencies provided resources for the local people and initiated relief measures such as emergency food assistance, shelter, water and sanitation, health, recovery of livelihoods, social and psychological support, support in logistics and coordination (USAID 2005). Making the transition from emergency relief such as saving life by providing drinking water, food, medicines, clothing and temporary shelter to development work like building permanent houses, providing facilities for gaining a livelihood requires a thoughtful approach. If relief agencies remain in relief mode for long periods, local people can become dependent. George Rupp, President of an NGO, the International Rescue Committee, said after visiting affected areas in Indonesia:

> the next step will be moving from saving lives to rebuilding livelihoods. Providing things like water and sanitation are the base components to pivoting from disaster relief to development assistance. It is an important way we can establish a basis of trust from which we can build on (IRC, 4 February 2005: 2).

A ready-made rehabilitation package that provides infrastructural developments or providing construction materials for the construction of houses, roads, bridges alongside giving food, clothing,

medical aid or money will not satisfy the needs of the people. Professional involvement is necessary to understand, assess and facilitate respect for the needs, desires, aspirations and decisions of the people before implementing the rehabilitation package (*World Disasters Report*, 2001).

A Critical Analysis of International Aid Efforts

International aid is a huge industry employing half a million people and with an annual turnover of more than sixty million Euros globally (Sogge, 2004: 1). International aid is provided by rich countries, UN organisations and international agencies like Co-operation for American Relief Everywhere (CARE), CARITAS International, Save the Children, Catholic Relief Service (CRS) and many other organisations (see the following websites for details www.redcross.org, www.actionaid.org, www.careinternational.org, www.worldvision.org, www.oxfam.org, www. catholicrelief.org, www.imcworldwide.org).

These bodies also provide regular assistance to poor people in the developing countries. Relief given at the time of disasters such as earthquakes, floods, wars and communal riots is in addition to this regular assistance. Both regular and emergency assistance are appreciated by many receiver countries and they look forward to more and more aid. When we examine those countries that receive a major share of aid, we observe that there is over-dependence on this aid, inequalities, internal conflicts, violence and political unrest and instability. David Sogge says:

> Where it dominates, pride and ambition have given way to dependence and deference, poverty and inequality have worsened, and insecurity prevails. The paradoxes can be grotesque. In recent decades the foreign aid industry has presided over societies toppling into criminal disorder and violence. Austerity conditions tied to aid loans after 1989 helped tear apart Yugoslavia. Aid helped polarize Rwanda, nudging it closer to abyss of genocide. Yet it rolls on, untroubled. For the captains of the aid industry are themselves never exposed to the risks their ideas impose on others; indeed as long as aid continues to fail, their jobs will be secure (Sogge, 2005: 1).

John Pilger also supports this view. According to Pilger:

> this other tsunami is worldwide, causing 24,000 deaths every day from poverty and debt and division that are products of a supercult called neoliberalism. This was acknowledged by the United Nations in 1990 when it called a conference in Paris of the richest states with the aim of implementing a 'programme of action' to rescue the world's poorest nations (Pilger, 2005: 2).

There is a tendency on the part of the Western donor countries to decide what should be the nature and model of development in the non-Western receiver countries. This approach has paved the way for a number of socio-economic and political issues affecting the receiver countries in the long run. This is criticised strongly by Pilger:

> Largely unseen and unimagined by westerners, millions of people know their lives have been declared expendable. When tariffs and food and fuel subsidies are eliminated under an IMF diktat, small farmers and the landless know they face disaster, which is why suicides among farmers an epidemic. Only the rich, says the World Trade Organisation, are allowed to protect their home industries and agriculture; only they have the right to subsidise exports of meat, grain and sugar and dump them in poor countries at artificially low prices, thereby destroying livelihoods and lives (Pilger, 2005: 3).

Donor countries have interfered in the internal affairs of receiver countries. For example, when India launched its nuclear tests in 1998, many European countries suspended international aid to the country. As Marcelo (2003) puts it:

Foreign aid is hardly value free. In 1998, foreign governments used bilateral aid as a tool of political pressure when Australia, Japan, Germany and the Scandinavian countries suspended their programmes in protest against India's nuclear tests (Marcelo, 2003: 2).

As the aid is allegedly aimed at helping poor people, I would argue that it should be given without interfering in the policy matters of the country concerned. This point can be seen with regards to the outflow of disaster relief to the countries affected by the tsunami. John Pilger, in his cover story, *The Other Tsunami*, describes the way in which the Western countries exploit Third World countries. They divide the people into worthy or deserving and unworthy or undeserving, taking sides with certain countries or groups in one country to attack another country or group to promote their industries and products. As Pilger puts it:

> The hypocrisy, narcissism and dissembling propaganda of the rulers of the world and their sidekicks are in full cry. Superlatives abound as to their humanitarian intent while the division of humanity in to worthy and unworthy victims dominates the news. The victims of a great natural disaster are worthy (though for how long is uncertain) while the victims of man-made imperial disasters are unworthy and often unmentionable. Somehow, reporters cannot bring themselves to report what has been going on in Aceh, supported by 'our' government. This one-way moral mirror allows us to ignore a trail of destruction and carnage that is another tsunami (Pilger, 2005: 1).

The *World Disasters Report* (2001) gives a detailed account of the factors to be considered in providing disaster aid and its management especially after flooding, giving the example from post-flood recovery in Vietnam which occurred in November–December 1999. When I looked at reports from the affected areas, I saw that many aid agency workers lacked expertise in the local cultures, skills in managing relief work and knowledge about forming partnerships with people affected by disaster when doing relief and reconstruction work. This view is born out by the Disasters Emergency Committee (DEC):

> A relief – based operating strategy is inappropriate for long-term rehabilitation work – fundamentally different principles apply. Concern, Merlin, Oxfam and Save the Children all found this particularly difficult, with field staff (who were often relief-oriented) developing programme activities in the absence of clearly defined high-level operating strategy. One of the key influences informing field-level strategic planning has been the issue of staffing. By and large, those organisations which employed and relied on Indian managers achieved much more appropriate strategic focus in their activities (DEC, 2001: 14).

Many of the methods used by International Aid Workers may do more harm than good when they intervene in the lives of disaster victims. The International Red Cross claimed in the *Annual Report*, *2004* that aid agencies and governments spend too little time listening to people on the frontline and too much time fuelling the 'disaster victim cliché' portraying affected communities as helpless. Red Cross expert, Eva von Oelreich, said before the release of this Report that helping people to help themselves before, during and after disaster strikes is key to reducing the impact of catastrophes. 'It's a myth that only Western governments and aid agencies know best', von Oelreich told reporters (von Oelreich cited in Fowler, 2004: 1). The view of the International Red Cross was echoed by the Red Crescent Societies in its *World Disasters Report, 2001*.

The Disasters Emergency Committee's response to the January 2001 earthquake in the Gujarat, India, gives similar findings following its independent evaluation of the relief work undertaken in Gujarat. DEC is a co-ordinating committee of 13 member organisations.[2] DEC's mode of operation was based on the 10 principles of Red Cross, but many of these were either violated or not used by the international organisations working in the Gujarat. DEC's Report says that they could

have developed more effective local partnerships and achieved a greater impact. 'Some members recognised this, while others struggled unnecessarily by attempting to run their own programmes' (DEC, 2001: 4). The DEC Report raised the issues that follow. Additionally, relief items, especially food brought from the US and other Western countries have not been the staple foods of these Asian countries and being unfamiliar with them, the local people might not use them properly or be unable to prepare them in the way recommended. If the governments of the affected countries had been funded to purchase food and relief materials from their own countries, the economies of these countries would have been strengthened and their peoples would have benefited more. Also, the human resources available locally could have been utilised if the materials for reconstruction had been procured within the affected countries:

> Some agencies over-purchased relief materials and continued to distribute them long after they were required and even after being requested to stop by government (DEC, 2001: 5).

Local people were to have been consulted and their decisions regarding their own development taken into consideration. Because relief and development assistance materials were brought from donor countries, it was difficult to utilise local resources:

> Too many relief goods were imported, there were unnecessary relief flights and too many expatriates were employed where local staff and organizations would have been more effective and efficient. The short deployment period of expatriate staff and their limited understanding of the area led to some mistakes in targeting (DEC 2001: 5).

Finally, money pledged for relief and development assistance primarily helps donor countries. When local skilled artisans, technicians and available materials are not utilised in reconstruction projects, the people living in the affected countries are not enabled to sustain their lives. Housing projects operated by some of the international agencies in the Gujarat earthquake relief work were criticised for generating:

> a huge amount of employment, but virtually none of it went to local people. Instead, contractors brought in migrant labour. The appalling conditions of the migrant labourers a human rights issue, for which agencies involved in housing should take more responsibility (DEC, 2001: 8).

Local people in disaster areas are in a better position to work and address difficulties more appropriately than external people brought in to do it.

> Even in the relief phase far more people were rescued and assisted by neighbours, government staff and military personnel than by the high profile external search-and-rescue teams and aid agencies (DEC, 2001: 4).

The Bush administration has pledged $350 million to tsunami relief. It is likely that at least $248 million of that money will be spent in the USA. The US government places conditions on its foreign aid that requires most relief and development assistance materials and services to be purchased from US companies and agencies' (Woods, 2005:1). This problem also surfaced in Africa. United Nation's Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) claimed in the *Economic Report, 2004* that the donor's habit of insisting that aid funds be spent purchasing goods and services only in donor countries is crippling Africa's capacity to pull ahead. According to the Report, 'tied aid' reduces the real value of the assistance by some 25 to 40 percent'. The ECA Report also mentioned that four countries – the United Kingdom, Norway, Denmark and the Netherlands, were breaking away from the idea of 'tied aid'. More than 90 percent of their aid is now untied. These initiatives must be

extended so that foreign aid from the USA can begin to deliver more benefits to people in affected areas and stop being a vehicle for US companies to profit (Woods, 2005).

The Indian government refused to allow relief agencies not already working in the country, e.g., the Red Cross, Oxfam and the UN agencies, into affected areas in India to avoid distortions that accompany international aid to relief efforts following the tsunami. This stance was criticised from within the country, especially the state government of Tamil Nadu the most affected state, and the government changed its mind. Many countries took India's stand as supporting its claim to becoming a permanent member of UN Security Council. Taking the disaster as an opportunity to mobilise its own resources and deal appropriately with it would prove India's capacity to manage such situations and strengthen its entitlement to a place on the Security Council. And, if India's ability to intervene effectively in these situations independently of foreign assistance could be proved, it would not need to depend on relief agencies for assistance in future. Instead, India could extend her resources and expertise to other countries at times of need. J.W. Lee, Director General of the World Health Organisation (WHO), appreciated the work done by Indian agencies. When visiting the country to examine its response, Lee said that India had helped other tsunami-ravaged countries while taking care of its own relief and rehabilitation work. He said:

> The Government of India took a very important decision that they will take care of all the problems by themselves and they will not seek help from outside. They took this position and decided to help others like Maldives, Sri Lanka and Indonesia (WHO, 2005; www.who.org accessed on 17 May 2005).

International Aid During theTsunami

Despite publication of these reports, their findings have not been utilised by international aid workers to improve practice in disaster struck areas. A report by Barbara Stocking, Director of Oxfam, affirms that:

> although many communities are being rebuilt, the lack of consultation with locals has caused problems. In Sri Lanka, some new houses were built too close together, leading to potential sanitation problems, and the dwellings lacked the country's traditional kitchens which are open to the elements (Stocking, 2005; www.oxfam.org accessed 20 January 2005).

Well-meaning, but inexperienced people who volunteer to help victims of the Asian tsunami could end up doing more harm than good, an Australian expert in disaster relief warned. Michael Dureau, Head of Registered Engineers for Disaster Relief, told Australia's AAP news agency that only people with skills should join the relief effort:

> An untrained person going into an area where there is quite a massive relief event is likely to tread on the toes of the local people … Food distribution will go to the wrong people, they will be religiously offended, clothing will go which they can't wear (*The Jakarta Post*, 2005).

The mass of money donated to tsunami-hit countries resulted in too many organisations working in disaster zones without adequate skills, Oxfam claims (Stoking, 2005; www.oxfam.org accessed 20 January 2005).

Reports have repeatedly highlighted other issues in relation to disaster relief work by international agencies. These have had local, national and international impact. To have a better understanding of these issues, we only need to look at Sri Lanka. The reports of Raihana Mohideen from Sri Lanka, claim that there were attempted illegal adoptions of orphaned children

and recruitment of orphaned children to the army of Liberation Tigers of Tamil Ealem (LTTE) which has control over the northern part of Sri Lanka, although LTTE denied this. Prostitution increased because of the presence of large numbers of personnel from international relief organisations and the UN. Some women's organisations were keeping vigil and monitoring this activity. The luxurious lifestyle of relief workers representing international organisations in luxury hotels also led to an increase in prices and scarcity of essential commodities in local markets (Mohideen, 2005; http://www.greenleft.org.au/ accessed 20 January 2005). The presence of expatriates on the local markets and people has also been reported by DEC. DEC claimed that:

> The influx of funds has an immediate impact on the local market, sending the price of local goods and services such as vegetables and rental accommodation soaring. When international agencies pay inflated prices for goods and services they not only push the prices of goods out of reach of the poorest, but they also undermine the respect that people have for the agencies themselves, and the sense of human solidarity that they seek to nurture (DEC, 2001: 16).

With the help of the army, the party in power, United National Party (UNP) and United People's Alliance (UPFA) took control of the relief operations in Sri Lanka. The control and distribution of aid by the armed forces was opposed by LTTE and the Left parties like Janatha Vimukti Peramuna, the Communist Party of Sri Lanka and Democratic United National Front. They insisted that this would affect the equitable distribution of aid and was a blatant violation of the refugees' fundamental rights to equality. Hence, some agencies began giving aid to the LTTE leaders for the areas under their control the northern areas of Sri Lanka. This has resulted in several organisations and even governments, such as the Italian government, donating aid directly to LTTE commanders for distribution (Jahan Perara, 2005). This was not acceptable to the Sri Lankan government and it has now banned aid going directly to the LTTE. In areas where LTTE has control, the relief camps are guarded by both army and LTTE soldiers. This might create problems for the people in the camps. And so, the control and distribution of disaster aid has become a national political issue in Sri Lanka (Mohideen, 2005; http://www.greenleft.org.au/ accessed 20 January 2005).

The Sri Lankan government has set up a special task force to rebuild the country and coordinate all international aid, but it is composed only of the private sector, ruling party, and bureaucracy or government officials. Scientists and academicians were denied representation on it, a move that was widely criticised by Left parties like Janatha Vimukti Peramuna, the Communist Party of Sri Lanka and Democratic United National Front. There were also allegations that the Sri Lankan government was utilising relief aid for the tsunami to carry out the economic agenda of multinational companies that had been operating in the country for many years. The government also announced that for safety reasons fishing community that had previously inhabited the coastal area should move 300 metres away from the sea and that the vacated coastal strip would be used for the construction of tourist hotels, an action that worked against the interests of the local people. Raihana Mohideen reported that in Sri Lanka, military personnel from the USA and UK were conducting relief operations and patrolling coastal areas. What was the need for sending soldiers to do relief work, when there were many relief agencies capable of doing this? Many Leftist political organisations in Sri Lanka criticised this endeavour as a political move permitting the re-colonisation of the country under the guise of relief. International aid for disaster has brought new challenges and issues at different levels in countries where politicians are already corrupt and opposition parties and local people are not consulted in the implementation of relief projects and programmes.

Some Lessons Learned from the Gujarat Earthquake in 2001

Given the trenchant critiques of international aid I have outlined above, it is useful for me to give an example of good practice in this arena. I will therefore turn to the Gujarat experience and identify some lessons that flow from it. Gujarat, the birth place of Mahatma Gandhi, was one of the states in India that was rocked by a devastating earthquake on 26 January 2001. The earthquake affected 21 districts of the Gujarat, causing 20,005 deaths and injuring 166,812. It was estimated that, there was a total loss of property worth Rs212,620 millions almost equal to US$5,315 millions. Bhuj was the epicentre of the earthquake. It is in Kutch district (Government of India's official website on the Gujarat Earthquake on http://gujarat-earthquake.gov.in/ accessed 20 April 2005). The relief and reconstruction effort was undertaken by the state government, the central government, international, national and local aid and relief agencies. The relief and reconstruction operations were co-ordinated by Kutch Nav Nirman Abhiyan, an initiative of a district level network of voluntary organisations based in the Kutch district.

A Brief Note on Kutch Nav Nirman Abhiyan

The wide geographical expanses of the Kutch District coupled with the harsh living conditions gave birth to varied community groups and self-help groups who started working towards improving the livelihood of the people in general and development in particular. This included measures such as drought proofing, education, employment generation, protecting natural resources and other activities. Over a period of time, these groups came together as Community Based Development Platforms of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). However, the different priorities and competencies of these NGOs created uneven development and exclusion zones in the Kutch District. The weaknesses of this fragmented approach to relief became evident in responses to the June 1998 Kandla cyclone in Gujarat when the immediate relief operations were either duplicated or missed people and some areas where intervention is needed because there is a lack of co-ordination among the governmental and other agencies involved as a result of the gaps in implementation processes of the relief and reconstruction efforts. These shortcomings prompted a group of 22 local NGO organisations aftermath of Kandla earthquake in 1998 to come forward to provide support to the affected people under a common umbrella, which drew synergies from each other's competencies.

The group thus formed came to be known as the Kutch Sankat Ane Punarvasvat Abhiyan and led to a collective effort among various organisations working towards the rehabilitation of the people affected by the earthquake. The group had also worked collectively during the 1999 Kutch cyclone when they had a common goal of working for the rehabilitation of the people affected by the cyclone. This practice enabled the NGOs to build capacity and gain confidence to perform as a collective, even in totally unexpected disaster situations. Their work enabled them to realise that NGOs need a common platform to share the developmental efforts. The Kutch Sankat Ane Punarvasvat Abhiyan was renamed the Kutch Nav Nirman Abhiyan (Abhiyan) and works as a supporting and networking organisation for voluntary agencies in Kutch on the issues that are of common interest. The NGOs that gathered under the network of Abhiyan have varied backgrounds. This grouping along with the help received from voluntary, technical and professional organisations formed a strong collective of multi-speciality groups working in tandem towards a common goal. The common platform enabled the partners to share their developmental efforts in sectors like education, natural resources and disaster management, and work as a network that could influence policies. In playing a supportive role to its members, the Abhiyan network enhanced their capacities to work for developmental activities collectively while at the same time taking special care not to hinder their individual core competencies.

The Kutch Nav Nirman Abhiyan in Tsunami Relief Work

The representatives from the Kutch Nav Nirman Abhiyan (Abhiyan) were requested to present a report on the lessons learned from their disaster management in Gujarat earthquake in 2001 at a regional meeting held in Phuket, Thailand on 19–20 January 2005. In this meeting, the representatives of Kutch Nav Nirman Abhiyan reported that after the Gujarat disaster, there was a need to deter the government from inflicting inappropriate policies and programmes on the 600 villages and small towns in 21 districts affected by the earth quake. The Gujarat state Government had set up the Gujarat State Disaster Management Authority (GSDMA) immediately after the earthquake on 26 January 2001. GSDMA was unable to receive enough input from the civil society regarding their needs and problems because of its lack of knowledge on how to work with the local poor villagers. The GSDMA had invited technical experts from different organisations who had little knowledge to work with the poor villagers scattered in a number of villages. The voluntary sector agencies work in grass root level with the villagers. Hence, the role of the voluntary sector in Gujarat was very important.

In the initial stage when the GSDMA was unable to get enough input from the civil society, a meeting of the voluntary sector agencies working in the area including the Kutch Nav Nirman Abhiyan and international organisations was convened by the state government of Gujarat and GSDMA. This meeting found that the voluntary organisations working in the area had focussed on many different agendas. The meeting felt the need for co-operation and coordination of the voluntary sector, government and international agencies for the effective rehabilitation of earthquake victims and reconstruction of their environment in terms of rebuilding infrastructures, transportation, housing and opportunities for gaining livelihoods. Having agreed the aim of creating a coalition and co-ordinating body for the reconstruction and rehabilitation endeavours for the Gujarat earthquake victims, 22 diverse NGOs including international organisations brought their staff together under the umbrella organisation, Kutch Nav Nirman Abhiyan. It also sought to regulate the flow of support from the government and other organisations including international organisations to ensure the effectiveness of the relief and rehabilitation work. Relief and reconstruction tasks were shared among the different constituent NGOs while Abhiyan co-ordinated the tasks according to the focus and expertise of each organisation.

The Kutch Nav Nirman Abhiyan developed a strategy for working with the earthquake victims. The first step was to set up a centre in each district that helped the villagers to organise their own committees to assess and document their situation, needs and skills. In order to facilitate communication between villages, and from villages up to the district and state levels, teams of community and NGO members were deployed to visit, monitor and consult with 10–12 villages each. In this way, the Abhiyan co-ordination centre set up by Kutch Nav Nirman Abhiyan in each district would provide support and carry the villagers' responses to proposals and policies to the government agencies. This helped to prevent the imposition of inappropriate or harmful interventions on the villagers by either the government or foreign NGOs.

Two major innovations were made by Abhiyan in rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts in Gujarat. One involved Abhiyan negotiating with government and banks to provide each household with a bank account as quickly as possible. This enabled the inflow of cash only through the bank, thereby the potential for corruption. The second was the system whereby village committees would have the right to assess and approve or reject any voluntary organisation (local or international) wishing to help in the village reconstruction process. Many voluntary organisations were rejected by the village committees. The contribution of the local communities was mainly in the form of manual labour for construction of houses, roads and other infrastructures. This helped them to earn some money too. The final evaluation showed

that villages that managed their own reconstruction with financial support from government and other sources had the highest satisfaction rates with the outcomes. The Abhiyan experience also showed that community and livelihoods were key to rapid and long-term reconstruction and rehabilitation. Also, the publishing of accounts on a regular basis by all supporting voluntary organisations and Abhiyan helped to make the process more transparent and corruption-free (www.kutchabhiyan.net accessed 25 April 2005).

The representatives of Abhiyan in Phuket, Thailand also stressed that in the post-tsunami conditions in Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Thailand with an enormous inflow of financial aid from governments and NGOs, a common framework should be negotiated with the respective governments to ensure that money collected for tsunami-affected communities could be disbursed or spent by all parties within an agreed framework of rehabilitation and reconstruction. This would avoid mismanagement and the waste of international aid. The construction of model villages with the necessary infrastructure and amenities could encourage the participation of local communities and, as far as possible take place in their earlier locations with the guidance and supervision of local NGOs or pro-poor government agencies. Since there are enough opportunities for tourism in these areas, houses can be constructed with new levels of environmental awareness, new technologies and architectural innovations to diversify people's livelihoods. For example, people who want to develop their livelihood by tourism could build houses that could accommodate tourists in home-stay ventures and enable visitors to experience their traditional culture and lifestyles. Other examples of the experiences in India are given in the *World Disasters Report, 2004*.

Intervention of Abhiyan in Tamil Nadu

In India, Abhiyan was invited to support local NGOs active in the tsunami affected areas of Tamil Nadu, on the western coast of India. An Abhiyan team went to the Nagapattinam district of Tamil Nadu, India's area worst affected by the tsunami. It assessed the situation to understand people's needs and plan short-term and long-term support systems for relief and the rehabilitation of those affected. Abhiyan established contacts with local organisations, local government and NGOs in Nagapattinam. It planned the following activities for short-term and long-term programmes:

- Setting up village level information centres in the 45 affected villages. These were to act as a bridge between the affected communities, the government and the NGOs;
- Setting up a district level co-ordination centre in Nagapattinam with computerised database management systems and collectively planned rehabilitation activities based on the needs of villagers;
- Working to provide interim housing and restore the livelihoods of the affected fishermen by involving them in repairing damaged boats, and other equipment, paying remuneration to other skilled persons instead of providing direct cash payment to the fishermen for repairs; and
- Facilitating a permanent construction programme for housing accommodation by providing design support for cyclone-proof houses by specialised NGOs.

'Best practices' developed during the Gujarat earthquake provide useful guidelines for others. It has 9 steps to facilitate response processes:

1. Calling preliminary village meetings;
2. Checking villagers' willingness to accept assistance from a promoter or donor agency whether local or foreign;
3. Forming a village reconstruction committee;

4. Holding village meeting on the design and technologies to be adopted for house construction;
5. Calling village meetings to consider decisions on important issues, e.g., land requirement, water availability;
6. Initiating the programme with a formal 'culturally' accepted ceremony;
7. Customising housing designs according to individual plot sizes;
8. Preparing the proposed village settlement plans; and
9. Beginning house construction with the community as owner (a community-based village reconstruction in the Gujarat is shown on http://www.devalt.org/da/tsb/basin/basinsouthasia/index.htm).

Social Work Interventions

Some schools of social work have an extensive record of being involved in disaster relief work (See Desai in this volume). The *World Census on Social Work Education, 1998–99* published by the International Association of Schools of Social Work (IASSW) in May 2000 reported that there are 140 schools of social work in India and Pakistan which constitute Southern Asia. Southeast Asia which includes Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, Papua New Guinea and by extension, Australia and New Zealand, which have a further 80 schools of social work at tertiary level. The schools of social work in these regions could be utilised for providing relief as well as rehabilitation and reconstruction work in the affected areas along with other services provided by governments and other local and international organisations, as is currently being done through IASSW's Rebuilding of People's Lives Network (RIPL). This initiative is in its early days, but should receive further support from other schools, relief agencies, government bodies and international organisations and NGOs. Additionally, there is a shortage of teaching materials in this area of social work practice. IASSW's former President, Lena Dominelli, is taking steps to address this issue by editing a Special Issue of *International Social Work*. However, there is a need for further work on this matter.

Conclusion

The tsunami of December 2004 took away the lives and livelihoods of hundreds of thousands of people in some countries in Southeast Asia and elsewhere. As a response to that disaster, millions of dollars worth of money and materials were flown to the area for short-term relief and long-term reconstruction and rehabilitation work. The immediate relief needs were adequately met by the intervention of the respective governments of the affected countries, UN organisations, international and local relief agencies. International aid giving is like an industry collecting money and spending it in the Third World countries to alleviate poverty and manage disasters. From reports of the organisations working in the affected countries, I found that the life and livelihoods of the people affected by the disaster have not fully benefited from the huge amounts of money spent in these countries as a result of policies that are beneficial to donor countries, certain policies of the affected countries, lack proper planning and lack partnership with the local people (www.dec.org.uk, www.oxfam.org.uk). The outpourings of money and expatriate staff that do not have enough knowledge of the culture of the local people in these affected countries have created a number of problems. This is highlighted by some of the experiences in Sri Lanka. India is another country that has experienced a number of disasters. The work undertaken in the Gujarat after the earthquake in 2001 had demonstrated how it was managed by the co-ordinated efforts of the Gujarat state government, local NGOs and international organisations to ensure the participation

of local people. These measures resulted in the satisfaction of the local people and sustainability of the reconstruction and rehabilitation programmes that they developed for their areas.

Notes

1. As those human beings in charge of catastrophe-inducing events are usually men, I will refer to these types of eventualities as 'man-made'.
2. The member agencies of the Disaster Emergency Committee (DEC) were: Action Aid (www.actionaid. org.uk); British Red Cross (www.redcross.org.uk); Christian Aid (www.christian-aid.org.uk); CONCERN (www.concern.net); Catholic Agency For Overseas Development (CAFOD, www.cafod.org.uk); Help the Aged (www.helptheaged.org.uk); Merlin (www.merlin.org.uk); Oxfam (www.oxfam.org.uk); Co-operation for American Relief Everywhere (CARE, www.careinternational.org.uk); Islamic Relief (www. islamic-relief.com/uk); Save the Children (www.savethechildren.org.uk); Tearfund (www.tearfund.org); World Vision (www.worldvision.org.uk) accessed on 15 April 2005.

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PART 3
Education and Training
in a Globalising World

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Disaster and Social Work Responses

ARMAITY S. DESAI

Introduction

Disasters, both natural and human induced, affect many countries of the world. Some require international aid to recoup from a particular disaster depending on the vastness of scale and the economic condition of the country or need equipment that is not easily available locally such as heavy earth movers, sniffer dogs, medical and material aid such as food, shelter and clothing. Such disasters bring out a multitude of agencies, governmental – the administration, police and army; non-governmental organisations – voluntary, philanthropic, religious and professional; individuals wanting to provide rescue and relief or other help; and also multi-disciplinary groups of professionals including doctors, nurses, para-medics, psychiatrists, psychologists, town planners and architects as well as multilateral and bilateral international organisations.

In India, professional social work has registered its presence in such situations through both institutions for social work education and agencies employing professional staff. International agencies' insistence on the participation of people in their projects has done much to compel government to increase the involvement of the social work profession. Wherever the profession exists, social work has much to offer in situations of disaster, but there is very little in the literature of social work to guide work in this area, although it has begun to appear in India. This paper draws on the Indian experience to contribute to covering this gap. It covers two elements: a theoretical framework for social work interventions in disasters and illustrations with case study materials of events that give detailed information that can be used in the classroom.

The impact of disasters on developing countries is dire because large parts of the population are poor people who have few resources to fall back on in such crises. They are already living on the margins of survival and insurance cover is rare. Only a very tiny group of persons can benefit from such provisions as in the rural communities, property and life are poorly insured.

Disasters are broadly of two types, natural and human-induced:

1. *Natural disasters* cover events such as cyclones, hurricanes, floods, tsunamis, drought and earthquakes
2. *Human induced disasters* include wars, riots, fires, industrial accidents including leakage of lethal chemical gases, environmental devastation following the removal of trees such as mangroves that protect coastal areas from tidal waves, or uprooting forest cover to increase the likelihood of landslides and floods from mountain rivers. Hence, some of the disasters attributed to nature are, in fact, induced by human intervention, and the nature of 'development' that has taken place following particular kinds of economic policies pursued by national and local governments. Some floods and droughts can be attributed to the political economy of the country.

There is a third type of disaster resulting from so-called 'development', involving large dams, ports, and various types of industrial activity that uproots people from their traditional environment

and livelihood systems. Their skills become unusable in the new environment so that not only individuals and families, but also whole communities are devastated along with the natural environment. This type of development-induced disaster to the lives of the people is beyond the scope of this paper.

All the disasters mentioned above have occurred at various times in India. The Indian experience of intervening in these began when the first school of social work, the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS) that was established in 1936 led its team of students and academic staff or faculty to Kurukshetra, north of Delhi in 1947. Here, they worked in the camps where streams of refugees were coming in from Pakistan as a result of the partition of India. When the first Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, was invited to inaugurate the new campus of TISS on 6 October 1954, he recalled that the Government of India had sought the help of the Institute to cope with the influx of refugees and this is what he had to say about their work:

> We found the difference in their work and the work of many others who were earnest and had done their best but who did not have the training to do it well. There is a difference between trained workers and the merely enthusiastic workers (Lala, 1984: 46).

This initial foray into disaster interventions involved faculty and students primarily from two institutions, the Tata Institute and the College of Social Work (CSW),[1] both in Mumbai (Bombay). Other schools of social work became involved especially through the Tata Institute which has played a lead role in demonstrating the contribution that social workers can make in crises of enormous proportions.

The Childline India Foundation (CIF) established in 1998 has played an important role in working with children in disaster-hit areas. A project led by social work professionals, the CIF had its initial birth at TISS in 1996, but was later separately legally incorporated.

The various disasters in which TISS, CSW and CIF[2] have played significant roles are the following:

1. Partition of India in 1947 and the arrival of 17 million refugees from West and East Pakistan (TISS)
2. Fire in a slum in Mumbai, 1958 (CSW)
3. Mana Camp, Madhya Pradesh (CSW) and West Bengal (TISS) for work with refugees from East Pakistan, now Bangladesh, during the war between West and East Pakistan, 1971
4. Drought in Maharashtra, 1973 (TISS and CSW)
5. Riots in Mumbai in 1974 (TISS)
6. Cyclone and floods in Andhra Pradesh (sea) in 1978 (TISS)
7. Floods of rivers in spate at Morvi in Gujarat, 1980 (TISS) and at Jhambulpada in Maharashtra in 1989 (TISS and CSW)
8. Bhopal Gas Tragedy, December 1984 (TISS and 9 other institutions for social work education including CSW)
9. Riots in Mumbai 1984 (TISS) and 1992/93 (TISSand CSW)
10. Latur-Osmanabad Earthquake, 1993 (TISS and other institutions for social work education including CSW)
11. Super cyclone of Orissa in 1999 (TISS and CSW)
12. Gujarat Earthquake, 2001 (TISS, CSW and CIF)
13. Tsunami in the States of Tamil Nadu, and Kerala, and in the Union Territory of the Andaman Islands, December 26, 2004 (TISS and CIF)

Disasters are experienced as crises in the lives of individuals, families and communities. Every crisis has one similarity. If allowed to continue for a length of time, it becomes stress. Hence, intervention has to be both immediate in the aftermath of the crisis and long-term to deal with reconstruction issues. The needs of each particular situation has to be quickly evaluated, as we do not have a formula of the nature of intervention required that would fit all situations. However, we have a process that could be applied in all cases. The social work process requires: observation and collection of information; assessment of the information by drawing out the implications for action; a contract for work; initiating action; termination; and evaluation of the activity/process. We can apply this framework to the social work process in each unique disaster situation as it presents itself. The nature of the disaster, losses suffered, whether human or material or both, the physical hurt, the displacement from a known environment, particularly in the case of refugees, and the degree of trauma experienced, all provide clues to the social work response that is called for.

We do not consider the people involved as 'clients', but as persons affected by disasters. We involve community-based organisations (CBOs) such as local youth groups, women's groups, and others to collaborate with us as our action system. With appropriate support, the CBOs play a significant role in relief and rehabilitation work. While disasters highlight social vulnerabilities, they also provide an opportunity to bring out the inherent strengths of people and develop their capabilities.

Decision to Respond and the First Initiative

In the first place, institutions for social work education have to decide whether they consider intervention in community crises situations as the legitimate concern of the social work profession. If they believe that it is a professional area of work, then training people to work in those crises affecting a community or a large number of people constituting many communities, becomes a responsibility of the institutions for social work education. Crises that affect whole communities are experienced by individuals and families with considerable loss and disruption to their daily lives. Social work intervention by institutions for social work education becomes an endeavour that exposes students to these, even at some risk, but considerable learning that takes place in such situations for students being prepared as future practitioners. It is considered as fieldwork and the timetable is adjusted accordingly. If necessary, examinations are rescheduled should these come close on the heels of the crisis. As a result of these experiences, many students become well-informed professionals when they later work with non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other bodies intervening in such crises.

These activities require immediate response from the institutions, with faculty, students and other staff working in teams. At times, administrative and support staff also join along with the alumni. Pilot teams are sent to the site to assess the degree of the disaster, and decide on the nature of the disaster and the type of intervention required. Accommodation is arranged, mostly minimal facilities being available with students carrying their own bedrolls, and the required medicines. Students inform their parents and take the necessary pills and shots against infections such as malaria and typhoid. Teams are formed for various requirements such as transport, accommodation, food, and budget and for carrying forward the core activity.

While there was not much developed social work literature to fall back upon, we relied on the basic values of the social work profession, the social work methods, research and social policy functions of the profession with an integrated view of social work practice. We relied on the sources of knowledge in the social and behavioural sciences, and crisis theory. These areas of knowledge

on which we could draw, not always consciously, formed the basis for our ability to perform in these difficult situations where there is a high degree of ambiguity in a very confused situation, especially in the first few days of a disaster occurring.

Major Contribution of Social Work in Disaster Situations

Social Work Values

The key social work values can be identified as follows:

1. Belief in the right of people to self-worth and dignity (the basis for human rights such as the right to life), which means that they have a right to assistance to regain their functioning, resulting in recovery and rehabilitation
2. The belief in people's participation in decisions that affect their own lives, including the plan for their rehabilitation as individual, family and community, rehabilitation which is in the context of development
3. The belief in the capacity of people for growth and change, which enables us to support their efforts to regain their equilibrium and functioning to the extent that the nature of rehabilitation leads to both personal and social development of the individual, family or community
4. The belief in equality, which enables us to identify those most vulnerable and to assist them in the difficult challenges posed by the crisis and ensure equity

These are the guideposts in the actions we undertake in the situations of disaster.

Social Work Skills Embedded in Social Work Practice

The process of work begins by initiating contacts at various levels, collecting information, and assessing the problem for deciding on the specific area for social work intervention.

Initiating Contact

The initial contacts are made with the affected people, concerned Government officers at the state and local levels, and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in the area. In the case of a riot in Mumbai in 1984, it was the Governor who initiated action with the state government, so the TISS contacted him to identify the nature of our involvement. Since it was a summer vacation period, students were not available, but faculty, some alumni and campus residents participated.

For the *Bhopal Gas Tragedy in 1984*, the first contact of TISS was with the Commissioner for Relief and Rehabilitation in the state of Madhya Pradesh where the Union Carbide Factory had leaked the gas in the city of Bhopal. The Commission wanted TISS to conduct a census of all those affected by the gas. It required TISS to develop an instrument to collect the data by visiting each family to list the dead, orphaned children, and lost domestic animals. Injuries included breathing problems, blindness and partial blindness, and women pregnant at the time, who would have miscarried or had other complications. The responsibility for the enterprise was massive. TISS had to cover 25,295 households in a brief period of six weeks, and the action system we had to involve encompassed 9 other institutions for social work education with their faculty members and

students. A total of 478 students, 41 faculty, 10 project staff and 3 administrative staff from the ten institutions participated (TISS, 1985: 12–13).[3]

In the case of *riots in Mumbai in 1992–93*, the Commissioner for Relief and Rehabilitation for Maharashtra state (the state headquarters are in Mumbai) acted as the nodal body for NGOs and the two institutions for social work education, to help carry out relief and later rehabilitation work with the affected persons. Hence, though work was initiated by TISS in the slums close to the campus immediately after the curfew was lifted, the institution collaborated with the state government in the overall rehabilitation plan. The first contact was made in the affected slum through the police station.

A policeman was deputed to show us around affected areas. But, the police were afraid to go into minority areas, allegedly due to their partisan behaviour during the riots. They therefore showed us only some burnt houses and a temple in the area lived in by the majority community to whom they also belonged. In spite of our protests and urgings to the contrary, the policeman who was deputed to help us, carried a gun with him when he sat in our jeep to show us around. Since the name of the Institute was on the jeep we showed our concern, but he said he needed to be armed for his own protection and kept the gun, albeit hidden.

As this contact was not helpful for understanding the nature of the required intervention, we had to contact the NGO where an alumna of TISS worked largely with the minority community. We found that this community was severely affected with arrests, disappearances and deaths as compared to a few burnt out structures in the majority community. Contacts were initiated with the minority community through the social worker and TISS worked jointly with this NGO (Apnalaya) and the community.

In the case of the *earthquake in Latur-Osmanabad*, the TISS already had a rural campus in the same area and the campus social workers were immediately engaged in the task of relief so that it became easier to initiate contact with the people on the one side and the local government on the other. In this case, the Relief Commissioner, when contacted at the site, was doubtful of our involvement in conducting a census of those affected, because he feared there might be discrepancies with the Government data, but he did not oppose the activity. Ultimately, our data became a major source of information for the World Bank aided rehabilitation project, as the TISS data were considered more authentic, being from a professional source. Some of the discrepancies with the state data were later resolved at the site.

Assessment of Information for Identifying the Areas of Work, Contract for Work, and Initiating Action

The focus of work is based on the information obtained. For instance, the assessment of information might lead to the decision to collect data through a census of losses as the basis for the government to decide on the rehabilitation policy and the entitlement of individuals and families. Alternatively, it might be necessary to conduct a rapid assessment for feedback to the government. Establishing a mechanism for coordination among NGOs, or helping in the control room at the city or district headquarters, might be other decisions based on the assessment of the situation.

Following the decision on the best course of action, one assesses the human and material requirements. For instance, one needs to identify the source for obtaining funds, such as for mobilising students from several institutions to carry out a large census of the affected people. For materials for rehousing slum-dwellers, whose houses were affected by riots, a call was made to the Governor who was overseeing relief and he made available the materials from the local government (Municipality). In another instance, the corporate house of the Tatas[4] made available

sewing machines and equipment for self-employed artisans who had lost their belongings in the Mumbai riots of 1992–93.

In many of these instances, there is a contract for initiating work. Such a contract can be a request by letter or a telephone from the government inviting assistance as in the case of the Bhopal Gas Disaster, or the Minutes of a meeting where decisions are taken, or merely a telephone call. In some cases, if there is an implicit or explicit disagreement, it might be necessary to undertake the activity nevertheless, borne out by the assessment of the situation. This was the case in Latur-Osmanabad where the Commissioner for Relief did not show much enthusiasm for our suggestion to undertake a census of those affected by the earthquake. In a way, one agrees to disagree!

Initiating People's Involvement in Decision Making in Relief and Rehabilitation

To begin the process of relief and rehabilitation, it is necessary to involve people in the process of decision-making. This activity requires working with the local leadership. However, at times of crisis, such local leadership can become even more partisan than it has been in normal times, because of the sharing of what are seen as scarce resources. The social work role in monitoring and empowering the more vulnerable and disadvantaged people, becomes imperative.

For instance, in Latur-Osmanabad, the TISS found that the Dalits, who were not accepted by the Hindu upper castes, had not only to live separately in the relief camp as they had lived traditionally on the village periphery, but the village headman also gave them inadequate relief. This was observed and steps initiated to target them separately for relief materials by bringing it to the attention of the District Collector, the highest official at the district level in charge of relief and rehabilitation. This was done in all the affected villages where there were Dalits or other marginalised groups. A village is often a composed of several communities and social work intervention on behalf of the most vulnerable groups must be assured. Equity in the distribution of relief, or in rehabilitation, is a very crucial area of work with affected communities.

Assuring relief and immediate entitlements to orphaned children, women and senior citizens is a major task because in the initial confusion, healthy males first target trucks laden with supplies for their families. Women and senior citizens who have lost their male members cannot compete in the ensuing melee. Ensuring that relief supplies reach all sections of the community requires that the community is organised on behalf of all its members. This is the major reason for working with the community. In a context of traditional discriminatory practices, working specifically with marginalised groups is necessary for ascertaining that they are able to access their entitlements and do not get excluded.

Self-help is encouraged. Unfortunately, in the Latur-Osmnabad earthquake area, the government undertook the construction of most houses, and some others were constructed by NGOs including some international funding bodies, and corporate houses (businesses and industry). People's involvement was only on some basic issues in the plans such as choice of models of houses, none of which fitted their life-style in a rural location. Even the plot was not allocated before the start of construction with the result that they did not know which house would be theirs and, therefore, did not care to be involved at this phase of rehabilitation. They were merely bystanders and failed to feel ownership in the process. In a report of the people's involvement in the donor housing programme,[5] it was stated that:

> There was dissatisfaction among some groups about handing over reconstruction to a donor agency. There were a variety of opinions among the people about how reconstruction should have been approached. The upper caste felt that if they had been given the money, to build their own houses in instalments they would have done a much better job. They also said that the houses could have been made for much less money than what the donor agencies are spending, and would have saved the administration a lot of time, money, and energy.

The lower castes were not so confident of being able to build their own houses but voiced the sentiment that when their sweat and blood has not gone into building the houses, it is difficult to feel a sense of ownership.

On the other hand, when TISS undertook rehabilitation after the riots in a neighbouring community, the materials supplied by the Municipal Corporation were given by the TISS to 142 of those affected to rebuild their houses and to a further 619 to repair them. While initially, they showed some helplessness, with firmness they took it up and this gave them scope to plan and implement rebuilding according to their requirements (TISS, 1985).[6]

In spite of these limitations, in the Latur-Osmanabad earthquake, there was scope for community participation and, therefore, major work was undertaken at the level of the community with respect to their rehabilitation. Whole villages had to be constructed outside the earlier village, as the rubble was too great to be removed, and also the villagers were reluctant to go back due to the painful memories doing so revived. During the period of rehabilitation, the method adopted was to set up special Village Level Committees involving representatives of all sections of the population. Considerable knowledge of group dynamics and working with groups is applied in such community-based groups. The state government invited TISS to work with these Committees and conduct village level meetings to help groups within the village negotiate and reach agreement about matters such as the location of the village, its layout and models of housing to be constructed. A written contract was formalised with the government of the state. It included the costs of items such as recruitment and training of staff, hiring office space, travel, administrative and programme-related costs. With the community, the principles and methods of working in communities were utilised.

Unfortunately, because there are only town planners and villages have existed from time immemorial, the plans made were more in keeping with townships and the houses were box-like structures not consistent with the traditional way of life in these villages. The village homestead had a set of rooms around a courtyard and a front door to enclose it. The inside spaces provided for drying agricultural products, keeping domestic animals and work areas for the women. The new houses were like those in towns. Many villagers felt that they would now live as urbanites and accepted the model as a step up in the social ladder.

However, they realised that they needed spaces for drying their agricultural products and for their domestic cattle and sheep. Ultimately, with negotiations, the government agreed to a flat roof for drying the agricultural products and constructing at one end of the plot, rather than in the middle, to provide for work-space. The suggestion was mostly implemented in government housing and in the village adopted by the Tata Companies referred to earlier. Within these limited options, the villagers were given flexibility by the government to make their choices. (The NGOs, which decided to take up house construction, followed their own plans). Thus, it was important for us to interact with the people in several villages and understand their life-style, which would impact on housing. These insights were then communicated to the government. In spite of helping the community to question the model, they readily accepted it, due to a feeling of helplessness and a desire for early resettlement. And so, having discussed it, they decided to accept the plan with the above modifications.

Utilising Various Action Systems

Institutions for social work education located close to the affected area are utilised for large-scale work when interviewing skills are required. At other times, college students and indigenous groups are used. Colleges in India implement a scheme called the National Service Scheme.[7] Students from a local college were most useful in the Latur-Osmanabad earthquake area for the census work

as they knew the local language and could assist the TISS students who had less command of the language. Students were also drawn from colleges of two universities in Mumbai to process the data at TISS.

In the fire in a slum, the potters were apprehensive that if large quantities of food were stored for distribution to the affected persons, a youth gang that stole food grains from a railway yard in the same area would also steal these items. The course of action taken by CSW was to engage the gang in helping to distribute the food each day to the people, as families did not have storage facilities because these had been destroyed in the fire. Since they were from the same community affected by the fire, they took up the work in earnest thus improving their image in the community. As a gang they were well-organised and worked very efficiently for the cause. This solved our problem of the human resources needed for the distribution of food and preventing its loss.

Identifying the Problems to be Worked Upon and Instituting Problem-Solving Responses

We found the following eight steps useful in our interventions:

1.   Identifying the problem to be worked upon and a suitable response
In each case, the information collected and assessed in the initial phase, indicates the approach required for intervening in the situation. The community itself or the action group may be involved in collecting the information. In any case, the information is shared with the affected persons and action groups. Thus, in the case of a fire in a slum community, the neighbouring community decided to provide relief after the social workers discussed the situation and asked the leaders of the community to suggest the action to be taken. Their decision to take responsibility for providing help to the affected community made them an action system for solving the immediate problems of getting shelter and food. The CSW already had a community-based project with a neighbouring community of potters and they were willing to share the food items supplied by CARE with their affected neighbours despite a degree of tension existing amongst them.

On the other hand, in the Mana Camp of 150,000 refugees set up by the government of India in 1971, due to the influx as a consequence of the war between West and East Pakistan, our focus was not on relief as the army had set up an excellent system and were managing the camp. No rehabilitation was required as the refugees were returning to their homes in the newly established country, Bangladesh. Since various student groups from the University of Mumbai were allocated different weeks for assisting in the camp, CSW agreed to go during the Christmas vacation.

By then peace had been declared and the government of India was planning to send them back in batches to Bangladesh. There seemed to be really no 'work' as such for us. However, seeing their bored and vacant looks, due to lack of normal activities, it was decided to start a programme that would 'jolly them up'. Late afternoon play activity was initiated and soon children, adolescents, even some young women, and adult men joined in. Most games did not require equipment or very simple equipment such as balls and rings, and soon we found even 5 and 6 year-old children were initiating play on their own with the new game they had learnt. The Bengalis have a great culture. Knowing this factor enabled us to initiate the idea of a cultural programme prepared by them. The evening of song, drama and poetry saw a large audience attracted to the venue. Some poems were even made up on the social workers! An old lady remarked when she saw so many at play, 'Many people came to our camp and asked us what had happened, remembering which made us cry, but you came and wiped the tears from our eyes'. When we left, it seemed that the whole camp had come to bid us farewell. It was a successful termination of the programme.

2. *Intervention in trauma*

This brings us to the trauma resulting from the shock impact of the disaster and the community and family losses, both human and material. Reactions include anxiety, which can be partially objective when, for instance earthquake tremors continue for a while but it tends to get reinforced, or, disaster warnings are given that do not materialise. Crying spells, lack of concentration, sleep disturbances, suicidal tendencies, somatic complaints, depression and increased alcohol consumption have all been reported.[8] Social workers need to understand these reactions and intervene. Not all of them persist and generally these symptoms of trauma disappear within a few weeks. However, to prevent the crisis from becoming a stress with negative adaptations, it is necessary to provide opportunities for the ventilation of feelings, expression of guilt or anger, and acceptance of crying as a release of emotions which are, at times, curbed by relatives or neighbours. In her work, Gandevia (Gandevia and Chitale, 1995) found that patients hospitalised after the earthquake displayed a range of emotions particularly during the interview, and in the ward of the hospital generally.[9] These emotions included:

- Anger (at self/others/God);
- Irritability (e.g. at being restricted to the bed by traction);
- Anxiety (about younger children, other members in the hospital, or about the future);
- Fear (about other earthquakes, about not recovering or becoming dependent on others for life);
- Depression (triggered by loss of lives and property);
- Sadness (at the state to which the family was reduced);
- Apathy (not willing to talk about the future – not even discharge from the hospital); and
- Indifference (not willing to think of future consequences of the injury).

The students found that even while collecting the data, in the aftermath of the Latur-Osmanabad earthquake, the people showed a great need to talk, would ask them to sit with them and even to share whatever little food they had. They said that it was the first time anyone had spoken to them about the trauma that they had faced in the earthquake. The need for psychological help is difficult to meet on a large-scale but in the last decade and a half, attempts have been made to work with those affected by disasters. In some instances, mental health professionals have trained local paraprofessionals and various caregivers to undertake this task. Particular attention was given by TISS to the psychological needs of hospitalised patients in the earthquake. Their need for attention was also very great. After the 1984 riots, those who had lost their family members, or those who were left with some disability, were given counselling by TISS faculty. The TISS faculty have been training trainers in Sri Lanka in the wake of the tsunami disaster of 2004. Various other institutions and mental health groups have been very active in India after the tsunami of 26 December 2004.

It is also necessary for people to return to their daily occupations as their normal routines have a psychologically binding effect. Because women are busy with their household chores, their routine is established much earlier than that of the men who lose their means of livelihood. Farmers in Latur-Osmanabad lost their equipment such as axes, spades, ploughs, carts, bullocks for drawing the plough and the cart; fishermen in the tsunami lost their fishing nets or their boats were damaged to varying degrees. The government acted quickly in Latur-Osmanabad by providing basic equipment to the farmers, using tractors to plough their fields and providing seeds for the new farming season. It was observed that continuation of ad hoc relief supplies also keeps people away from their work in anticipation of receiving them. Hence, social workers, liaising between the people and the government during the relief period, suggested that the government regularise the hours of delivery.

As for children, it is essential to help them relive and work through their emotions through therapeutic play activity such as drawing, clay modelling, role-play and other projective techniques. Discussion to help them understand the natural phenomena, such as earthquakes or tsunamis is essential, as there is often superstition or a fear of God's wrath being attached to such natural events. Focus group discussions can be conducted with adolescents.

If many villages have to be covered, a team can go from village to village undertaking these activities, spending one or two days in each and also involving the preschool (anganwadi/ balwadi) and school teachers who can continue with these activities. In the Gujarat Earthquake, the Childline India Foundation tried out such teams. A gaily painted bus went from village to village with a team and the necessary materials for play and projective techniques as well as street plays.

Restarting schools is another way of helping children to return to routine. The CSW helped the local administration in Gujarat in the aftermath of the earthquake, to persuade the teachers to return and schools were restarted. Where school buildings were destroyed or unsafe, the CSW identified the teachers or others in the community and started the schools in tents. An organisation came forward to reconstruct schools. CSW took up the task to assist them in identifying the land with the help of the community. The task is also to mobilise school uniforms, books, black boards, chalk sticks and various educational materials.

3.   *Focus on Children*

In the rush to assist with clothing for adults, blankets or bed-sheets, and providing cooking utensils, children become almost invisible as reported by a Childline during the tsunami relief work. At the time of the Gujarat earthquake, the Childline India Foundation (CIF) had been established with childlines in several cities and district towns of India. Emergency Childline Centres were set up in the Gujarat earthquake area with financial help from its parent Ministry, Social Justice and Empowerment. Besides the therapeutic work, CIF also identified children with various needs, either through referral or through the NGO network, which had spread to the affected villages.

Missing children, children in need of medical assistance, shelter, children needing financial and emotional support, and other needs were identified and followed up. Orphaned children had to be identified and placed temporarily within the camps or in institutions in the area, until efforts were made to see whether parents or relatives had survived. These included placing photographs in newspapers, at the relief centres, camps and police stations. If none come forward, the younger children could be placed for adoption by the licensed agencies as, at such times, many couples come forward to adopt children. Older children are placed with children's agencies for foster care in their own village with relatives. If none are available, they could be placed in institutions to complete their education. Other children need school uniforms, books, and writing materials to return to school, as all is lost in fires, floods, tsunamis and earthquakes.

4.   *Focus on Women and Vulnerable Groups*

Women are hard hit by the loss of children and/or spouses. The social workers' role is to identify one-parent families, especially of women with young children. Women are often in despair about how they will manage without the breadwinner. Besides emotional support, they need help with obtaining compensation, taking up an occupation, or learning skills for an occupation, or completing an education that will allow them to find jobs.

For women whose spouse has survived, but whose children have died, and if their chosen method of family planning is sterilisation, which often it is, they feel threatened if they have lost all their children in the disaster, because they worry that the husband might marry again. Both guilt and fear haunts them. They need help to speak about their fears and deal with them with their

spouses. On the one hand, culture frowns on widows who remarry, while men marry even within a few months of the death of the wife and it is culturally fully supported.

This raises the problem of the children by the first wife, their future and the rights they have to the compensation. How the compensation for children is dealt with is crucial – whether the surviving parent can utilise it, or whether it has to be given to the child on his/her attaining majority. Social work intervention to see that it is used in the best interest of the child is very important but this is hardly given attention when there is no long-term follow up.

In disaster situations, when the male spouse dies, the property such as the house, agricultural land, domestic animals, or boats in fishing communities, or a business is left to the family. The family can be nuclear or joint. In the case of a joint family, the property remains with it but in the case of a nuclear family, it should go to the wife. However, other male members, such as the husband's brother, may try to appropriate it. This is where intervention is particularly required to protect the rights of the wife as the sole owner of the property or the money.

Thus, unless it is a joint family property, the right of the wife to such property has to be established quickly, before the parents-in-law, a brother-in-law or a brother takes it over. In many rural occupations, women play a very significant role, whether it is agriculture, looking after domestic animals, or selling the fish brought in by the men. However, often they have been left out of certain decision-making processes. It is in that sphere that empowering women becomes extremely important so that the property remains within the nuclear family and for the surviving heirs, the children. Unfortunately, this activity is not sufficiently emphasised by either the government or the NGOs dealing with rehabilitation.

When compensation is given in the form of capital assets, such as house, land, fishing boat, it must be registered in the name of both spouses. Public funds should be used to promote equity and in this case, it must be gender equity. If the husband dies in the disaster, it is essential to protect the rights of the wife to an asset being replaced such as a house or a boat in a cyclone or tsunami, otherwise it is appropriated by the husband's natal family, making the wife dependent on them for her survival and that of the children. In countries like India, it is easily surmised that a woman will not be able to manage the livelihood asset and her husband's brother is the rightful joint family owner, even when the asset was never owned jointly. Compensation mechanisms have to be carefully devised and social workers can play a role at policy level as well as protecting the rights of individual women and children and other disadvantaged groups whose rights may be trampled upon.

The disabled and senior citizens left without support must be identified. These vulnerable groups need immediate support and help, both in the short-term and long term planning and follow up. Referral, placement, financial assistance and other services need to be provided. The main psychological assistance is the feeling of support they receive as plans are made for their security and rehabilitation.

5.   Information Dissemination and Education
At times, when people feel most vulnerable, they need correct information especially to stop the rumour mills and provide details of the rehabilitation packages and the rules and procedures for obtaining them. Dissemination of information is made more difficult in rural areas that lack adequate communication facilities or electricity due to the disaster.

One needs to develop alternate means such as flyers, posters, local newspaper, and local radio, and TV stations when electricity is restored. Information on national TV stations helps relatives get in touch with those in the affected areas. Use of the local folk medium can be useful. During the rehabilitation phase of the Latur-Osmanabad disaster, it was necessary to inform people about the policy and rehabilitation package alongside the Government Orders that laid down the actual

policy pronouncements. In Osmanabad District, the TISS collaborated with two local NGOs to use such media as street theatre, puppetry, songs and posters with relevant messages delivered by youth specially trained for the purpose (another indigenous action system). They visited the people whose villages were to be relocated, spending one day in each village.

These programmes were called 'Jagars'.[10] Ahead of the visit of the group, some team members would initially prepare the villagers for the visit and seek their participation. On the day of the programme, the morning would begin by engaging the children in going around the village with banners and slogans for involving the villagers. This was followed by house-to-house visits to learn of their problems and to explain the plan of rehabilitation. Several meetings were held throughout the day with various groups such as women and village level committees as well as the whole village. Besides disseminating information, their perspective or grievances were sought for feedback to the government and to maintain two-way communication. Problems were expressed such as irregularities in procedures, the poor quality of materials for house construction, and the nature of the site selected. In the evening, a well-attended cultural programme was held and the Government Orders were read out. The programme included a skit, in the local idiom, making them aware of the nature of socio-political dynamics that unfold in their communities and the role the community needs to play in managing these dynamics.

6. Coordination

Coordination is another area in which social work can work with the various systems. At the time of relief, besides the government machinery, many organisations, corporate houses and others descend on a location. Harried government staff need help to see that all sites are equally served, that some do not get too much and others too little, that clothes and food brought by those charitably inclined are appropriate to the people of the area and that the manner of distribution is appropriate. The dignity of the people has to be maintained, as, though poor, they are not beggars. In the Latur-Osmanabad earthquake in which 69 villages were severely damaged, it became necessary to: help the District Collector with one faculty member; get some volunteers to look after the Control Room; organise the NGOs; and visit the villages to monitor the supplies. This again is an activity that is very pertinent to social work.

7. Reconstruction of Community Life

In the Latur-Osmanabad Earthquake World Bank Assisted Rehabilitation Project, the TISS was asked to assist the communities in the phase of rehabilitation, which continued for three years. Social workers were appointed for full-time work and the Department of Urban and Rural Community Development (one of the specialisations in social work for MA degree), was entrusted with the task. The activity involved working with people on the decision to relocate the village (52 out of 69), approve the site, reconstruct the map of the location of houses in the earlier village or town so that people returned to the support systems that they had created earlier. People were involved in plotting the location of infrastructure including religious places of worship, public health centres, schools, wells, hand-pumps, and roads on the map. The people selected the type of house preferred among the few housing models presented. Many a time, the social workers had to facilitate negotiations on differing views among the people in the community. They helped to organise the Village Level Committees, held meetings with the Committee and their decisions were taken to the entire village.

Group dynamics were observed to identify roles and difficulties encountered. These included the dominant groups and men who took all the decisions. Therefore, separate meetings had to be held with women and various marginalised groups to enable their opinions to be voiced. It is essential to create opportunities for people to talk, both from a therapeutic as also from the point

of view of participation. It is best in familiar surroundings such as community centres, schools, village chaupal (a gathering place in the centre of the village).

8.   Provide Professional Expertise and Recognise that Intervention Involves Several Roles
Training was also given on participatory techniques to government staff that interacted with people. Participatory Rapid Appraisals (PRAs) were undertaken when the government required specific information on various aspects in the process of rehabilitation. Hence, social workers play several roles: facilitators, coordinators, educators, negotiators, and animators, as indicated in this entire section on intervention. With the government, social workers played the role of experts or consultants and, at times, advocates of the people.

    Among others, the corporate house of the Tata group of companies had decided to undertake the reconstruction of housing and infrastructure in one village. They utilised TISS'[11] expertise and consultancy in the rehabilitation process, including in the village layout and construction, working with a women's group, and establishing a preschool. Doing this work entailed training and supervising the nursery teacher and buying construction materials as well as establishing the necessary groups. Ten years down the line, we were able to see that these women have started a microcredit group that provides savings and loans to its members. Reconstruction must be beyond a replacement exercise and should lead to the development of the community.

Social Work Roles

The discussion conducted above indicates that social workers can play the roles of:

1. Facilitator in a supportive role or as a coordinator facilitating people's groups or action systems
2. Educator giving information or guidance on relief, especially on entitlements, or on protection against outbreak of diseases
3. An animator or catalyst in the community by mobilising it for participation
4. Negotiator and broker with government when bringing matters to its attention or with conflicting groups in the community
5. Advocate of the rights and entitlements of the people especially groups that are overlooked
6. Therapist undertaking therapeutic work with people who experienced emotional traumas a result of the disaster
7. Expert and consultant to the government and corporate enterprised involved in rehabilitation
8. Mobiliser of needed resources

Politics of Disasters

Any occurrence that is as public as a disaster, small or large, brings out political dynamics. Thus, in the fire in a slum community where CSW[12] had a field action project, all political parties vied with one another to woo the affected people, because people in slums constitute vote banks. It became necessary to coordinate the relief work among the various parties so as to avoid duplication and meet the spectrum of immediate needs. However, the dominant political party wanted the social work team to work with them. This had to be turned down despite veiled threats. The community did not want to take a chance with the threats, so they provided the protection the social workers

needed every time they had to return, as the nearest railway station was a long half-hour walk away.

In the Bhopal Gas Disaster, our data were taken by the state government ostensibly to process the data. Because the TISS did not have adequate computer facilities in 1984 and the large frame computer was with the state government, it was agreed that they would process the data according to the plan of analysis supplied by TISS and send the copy of the data on a tape. We waited in vain. The data were suppressed from the public, because of the various political issues between the state and central government and a multi-national corporation.

Impact on Rehabilitation Policy

Impact on policy is another area of concern for social workers. For instance, some do-gooder institutions and people descend on an affected area to take away children who are orphaned, with one parent or even with both parents, supposedly to help them in their hour of need. We had to work out a policy that did not whisk children away from their environment and all government officials had to be made aware of this policy. This was done with the Collector (District Head) at Latur-Osmanabad, followed up with a clear statement by CIF for the governments of the Gujarat and India. Later, the government of India was reminded of this policy when the tsunami occurred, since key government staff and the civil service, including the Secretary, the Additional, Joint and Deputy Secretaries and the Director are transferred to other posts from time to time. Thus, knowledge of the policy can be easily lost.

Similarly, much work was done with the Government of Maharashtra on the rehabilitation policy for those affected by the earthquake and other disasters, and some of the suggestions TISS made were accepted. For instance, the state government was very keen to help the affected people of the earthquake in Latur-Osmanabad to achieve an even better quality of life than they had before the earthquake. In their enthusiasm, they wanted to replace the dead cattle with hybrid 'milch' cows. Such cows need green grass round the year, but this area has low rainfall and is drought prone. The people expressed their dismay and the social workers helped the state government to change its policy. In constituting Village Level Committees, the government accepted the recommendation of the TISS to broaden the representation to include women, dalits (outside the caste system), and a teacher, so that, upper caste male domination could be counteracted.

Impact on the Institutions of Social Work Education

It may also be interesting to note that, as a result of the involvement of the two Mumbai institutions for social work education, various field action projects were started. These institutions have a history of starting field action projects in new areas of service, or to demonstrate new models of service or intervention.

The TISS started the 'MelJol' project after the Mumbai riots to twin private schools attended by advantaged children with disadvantaged children in the schools supported by the local self-government body, the municipal authority, to have various activities together in order to remove social prejudices. The TISS also placed students for fieldwork in the communally sensitive slums. A full-fledged Centre for Disaster Preparedness and Response is under consideration at TISS.

The CSW started a project 'Vasundhara' on environmental concerns as a result of the Bhopal Gas Tragedy and 'Salokha' to work on communal issues after the Mumbai riots. As a result of the Orissa Cyclone, CSW worked on the Orissa Community-Based Cyclone Project.

The TISS offers a course on Disaster Management to the students for Urban and Rural Community Development. The students of the Department of Social Welfare Administration can also take it as an elective. The Department of Medical and Psychiatric Work has integrated the content in several of their courses. Recently, as a result of its experience over the decades, CSW has prepared a course entitled Certificate Course in 'Social Perspectives in Disaster Management' and had it approved by the University of Mumbai to which the College is affiliated. This will be an evening self-financing course for university graduates including social workers, other NGO staff, and any graduate interested in taking it. The course is of six months' duration with two lectures a week of two hours each. Students in the Master's degree can take it up as an optional subject. As a consequence of periodic riots and social tensions, the CSW has also instituted a University approved course on 'Peace Education'.

The TISS gained considerable credibility with the public from its work on disasters and had an agreeable surprise when cheques for the Latur-Osmanabad earthquake came in from people not known to the organisation. Although TISS had not announced its intention of working in the earthquake area, these contributors just assumed it would. Moreover, local communities collected money from people in the area and brought it to TISS in plastic bags containing currency notes of all denominations that they had contributed! This is how universities achieve legitimacy with the public when they are seen to be serving a public cause.

It is of utmost importance that a university Vice Chancellor, President, Director or the head of an institution for social work education provides the leadership and accepts the risk and the responsibility involved. If the situation has some element of danger, then it is incumbent for such a person to be in the pilot team in the immediate aftermath of a riot, earthquake or other major disaster in order to develop confidence in the undertaking. The person must spend some time at the site with the students, faculty and staff. The appropriate roles have to be demonstrated and not lectured about. The need to relate the college or university to the community must be felt and practiced in various ways. Involvement in disasters is one of them.

The need of the hour is for a few leading institutions for social work education in India to set up units or cells which can provide training, undertake research, develop manuals, and even establish a volunteer group of various professionals to move immediately on receipt of information about a disaster.

Impact on Students

For students, this is an experience that has taught them much about: people; their coping styles; their culture and its implications for action; societal and political dynamics; the impact of crisis and its management; intervention in crises of scale; the skills needed to communicate with those deeply affected by a crisis; skills of coordination and networking; and the commitment of the social work profession to people in such disasters. Their feelings about the situation, the relationships they established, albeit short-term, were all very significant. Ability to raise issues arising from each day's experience and sharing significant observations were other types of learning. Students always said that what they learned in a few days in the field they could not have learnt in the entire two years in the academy. Students from all other specialisations (Personnel Management and Industrial Relations and Hospital and Health Administration) also accompanied social work students and learnt immensely from the experience.

It is important though that this period of engagement (study) should not exceed five days to a week, as it is both physically and emotionally stressful. However, one has also to be careful about

vulnerabilities that might arise. In the case of one young woman social worker, the first sight of death and dying, and the collapsed villages in an earthquake were too much and she had to leave the job. Some psychiatric help is indicated to overcome the shock experienced by those who are not part of the affected area, but who come in to help.

The TISS has now placed it in their prospectus that such engagement is an essential aspect of the Institute's requirements for Masters students. In the section, *Participation in Relief Work/ Camp,* it states:

> In keeping with the tradition of the Institute, the students may be called upon to participate in relief work and extension activities of the Institute in or outside Mumbai, from time to time. Examples of the natural, social and human crises situations that the students have participated in are floods, earthquake, environmental disaster, riots, and extension activities such as literacy campaigns. All students will be expected to participate in these activities, which emerge from the character of the Institute as a university conducting professional courses, with teaching, research and extension functions, and social responsibility towards the community. The Institute will decide on the extent of incorporation in the curriculum and the nature of credit to be awarded (TISS, 2005, Sec. 2.12, p. 39).[13]

This statement is a powerful one about the philosophy of the institution. It also allows for taking some risk when such intervention is undertaken, as it is available to students and by implication their parents beforehand. The courses being offered to students further help them integrate classroom learning with actual experience in situations of crises affecting groups and communities.

Conclusion

It is evident that there is much work cut out for social workers intervening in disasters in any country. However, a country's stage of economic development, the infrastructure facilities available, its culture, government structures and related factors play important roles in deciding the focus of the work of the social work profession which is considerably bound in its practice by the local context. While many of the skills and methods remain the same, these are applied in very differing situations. Some professional social workers opt to work with multilateral organisations like those in the United Nations family or in international non-governmental organisations. They may go to other countries to work in situations of disaster. They need to be aware of how to work and be sensitive to the local culture and needs. Institutions for social work education need to take up this issue and the International Association of Schools of Social Work (IASSW) could take it up if it has not done so yet.[14] As it is said, 'better sooner than later'.

Notes

1. The TISS and the College of Social Work (CSW), Nirmala Niketan that is affiliated to the University of Mumbai and established in 1955, both have post-graduate programmes following the Bachelor's degree and award doctoral degrees. Additionally, the CSW has an undergraduate degree in social work and a department of social work research. The TISS is a university and, therefore, has other departments offering professional Master's degree courses and several research units mostly engaged in applied research in social work, social sciences, personnel management, labour, and industrial relations and hospital and health administration.

2. The TISS was originally established by the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust in 1936 before it became deemed to be a university in 1964 under the University Grants Commission (UGC) Act. A deemed to be university is one that is neither set up by a central or a state government act. It is a registered society whose academic work is deemed to be of such quality that it would benefit higher education to confer on it the status or position of a university. Therefore, it is a university in all aspects and for all purposes including conferment of degrees. Initially, from 1964 when it was given deemed university status, the TISS was under the Ministry of Education, New Delhi, for the purpose of grants. From 1976, it has received its maintenance (revenue) and plan period development grants from the University Grants Commission, New Delhi. The Tata Trusts continue to be represented on the Governing Board including the Chair and also make financial contributions to the special needs of the Institute, which are not met from public funds.

   The College of Social Work was set up by the Daughters of the Heart of Mary, a Catholic Order of nuns without habit with its Mother House in Paris. It was founded in 1955 and continued to give its own diploma till it was affiliated to the University of Mumbai from 1964. It awarded its first degrees in 1966.

3. The Childline India Foundation (CIF) commenced as Childline, a field action demonstration project of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, for which planning began in 1994 and was established as a telephone service in 1996. The Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment of the Government of India, decided to take up the activity on a larger scale to benefit the children of the country. The CIF was established in 1998 with its head office in Mumbai. As of March 2005, the telephone service is available in 63 cities.

4. Tatas refers to the business, service and manufacturing industries of the Tatas, originally founded by J N Tata. These are professionally managed companies that form a vast empire and one of the two or three largest in India. Each company has its own autonomy. They also have several Trusts, of which, the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust is the largest. Each company has its own social responsibility programmes in the community. The Sir Dorabji Tata Trust founded the TISS 1936, which was taken over for grants by the Central Government in 1964 and the UGC in 1976. Whenever there is a disaster, the Tata companies come together to donate funds for relief and, in recent years, TISS has been involved in the administration of these funds in its relief work, whether it is in conducting surveys for rehabilitation or in material relief. Sir Ratan Tata, the son of the founder J N Tata, wanted the best institution in the world to do research into the causes of poverty and its alleviation. In the last six years of his life he gave each year £1,400 to the London School of Economics for this purpose. In 1912, this led to the establishment of the Sir Ratan Tata Department, now called the Department of Social Sciences at the School. *Source*: Lala, R.M. *The Creation of Wealth*, p. 153.

5. *The Director's Report*, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, 1984–85, Forty-Fifth Convocation, May 19, 1985: 12–13.

6. Dr. S. Parasuraman, Ms Varsha Kamble and Ms Kesang Menezes, 'People's Involvement in the Donor Housing Programme: the Situation in Two Villages of Latur District', in S. Parasuraman with Debrati Guha Sapir (ed) *Organisation of Relief and Rehabilitation Following Marathawada Earthquake, 1993*'. Bombay: TISS, December 1995:242.

7. *Director's Report*, 1984–85.

8. This is a scheme of the Government of India, Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports, which encourages college students to put in 120 hours of social service in an academic year. The colleges are given funds to make the scheme operational and the teachers are trained mostly by institutions for social work education where cells are established for the purpose.

9. Dr. Srinivasa Murthy, 'Impact of the Earthquake on the Mental Health of People – Nature and Extent of the Problem', pp. 41–47, in S. Parasuraman with Debrati Guha Sapir (ed) *Organisation and Administration*

of Relief and Rehabilitation Following Marathawada Earthquake, 1993, Centre for the Study of Epidemiology of Disasters, Catholic University of Louvain, Belgium, December 1995. Also see articles in the *Indian Journal of Social Work* mentioned in the References.

Katy Gandevia and Vineeta Chitale, 'Psycho-Social Assessment of Marathawada Earthquake Victims', in S. Parsuraman, Ibid.

10. Janki Andharia in a personal communication to the author.
11. See footnote 2 for association of TISS with the Tatas.
12. See footnote 3 on the College of Social Work.
13. Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai, *Prospectus for Master's Degree Programmes, 2003–2005*, p. 39.
14. *Editor's Note*: IASSW has set up the Rebuilding People's Lives Network (RIPL) to enable schools of social work to respond to crises situations following the tsunami disaster in the Indian Ocean in December 2004 under the leadership of Lena Dominelli. It is also collecting materials for a special edition of the journal, *International Social Work*, relating to disaster relief work with Lena Dominelli as Guest Editor.

Citizenship Rights in a Globalising World: Child Trafficking and Lessons for a Social Justice Education

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Introduction

In the literature concerned with social issues, globalisation is often characterised in economic terms as the inequities that result from transnational corporatist practice that favours the interests of the over-developed North against the under-developed countries of the South (Mamdani, 2004). There is however another aspect of globalisation that is noted less frequently in the literature on this subject. The last 20 years have witnessed a growing number of social movements that are rooted in local grassroots community organising and activism that have come together on a transnational basis to work in solidarity to redress a common oppression[1] (Mamdani, 2004). The anti-globalisation movement, for example, is constitutive of a global movement that is located within local grassroots activism seeking to work in solidarity on a transnational basis (Sen, 2004).

The insights and understandings of transnational perspectives play an important part in the articulation of social justice claims that seek to redress global inequities. One such global phenomenon is that of child trafficking, which has seen a dramatic increase in numbers and shows no sign of abating (Bhabha, 2004; Ozdowski, 2002). In the case of children trafficked to the over-developed North, their social justice claims predominantly take the form of legal rights as articulated within international and national laws. Underpinning and informing their legal rights is the notion of citizenship, specifically liberal notions of citizenship, which play a central role in defining their social justice claims through a discourse of 'illegal immigrants' in granting them rights accorded to refugees, unaccompanied and separated children.

Over the course of this chapter, I would like to undertake a critique of the social justice claims that emanate from the liberal notions of citizenship as articulated within the legislated rights of trafficked children. Specifically, I would like to undertake a critical analysis of the legal rights of trafficked children who are destined to work in the sex trade, which consists of the majority of the children who are trafficked, by discussing and comparing their rights to those of sexually exploited children who are Canadian. This comparison will highlight the limitations of liberal and nationalistic notions of citizenship that take a normative adultist stance in their treatment of all children. In addition, I will show that these are also xenophobic in relation to children who are not considered to belong to Canadian society.

I then postulate an alternative view of citizenship within which to situate the social justice claims of trafficked children. Citizenship is a double-edged sword that has been used both as a way of excluding people from membership in society and as a tool with which marginalised groups can fight for inclusion and social justice (Lister, 1997; Yuval-Davies, 1999). Hence, the meanings of citizenship as a concept as well as its practices represent a deeply contested terrain. I situate my

analysis of the citizenship rights of trafficked children within anti-racist, feminist and post-colonial analysis, specifically through the works of those theorists that bring a national and transnational perspective to their work. These theorists themselves base their writings on the insights that they have gained from the feminist, anti-racist and post-colonial movements on a global scale (Yuval-Davies and Werbner, 1999).

Two inter-related aspects that differentiate the work of these theorists from liberals ones are: (i) their analyses are non-normative and difference-centred; and (ii) their conceptualising of citizenship is expressed in relational terms rather than simply being about entitlement to a set of legal rights and privileges. Difference-centred theorists contest the universal stance of liberal models of citizenship, which they argue exclude certain segments of the population on the basis of their difference (Lister, 1997; Yuval-Davies, 1999; Stasilius, 2002). As an example, they point to the gendered norms assumed within liberal models of citizenship, such as the universal assumption that citizens are individuated, self-interested beings, rather than inter-related and inter-dependent ones. This has historically led to the exclusion of women from exercising their citizenship (Lister, 1997).

These exclusions are viewed as the result of differences from an assumed universal norm based on multiple and fluid social identities of race, gender and class (Lister, 1997; Yuval-Davies, 1997, 1999; Mouffe, 1992, 2000). Black feminist writers such as Hill-Collins (2000) and Razack (1998) also locate gender within a broader analysis of class, race, sexuality and other social identity locators within a broader understanding of difference. Contesting the exclusions that citizens experience on the basis of difference, citizenship is deemed to signify 'recognition' of citizens' difference as collectivities with distinct historical circumstances, vulnerabilities and interests (Hall and Held, 1989; Hobson and Lister, 2002). Rather than a site of exclusion, difference is centred in citizenship.

Unlike liberal theory that portrays citizenship as entitlement to a set of legal rights, difference-centred theories understand citizenship in social and relational terms rather than individuated ones. Thus, citizenship constitutes membership in society and connotes inclusion in the public culture of which one is a member (Yuval-Davies, 1999; Werbner and Yuval-Davies, 1999, Phelan, 2001). The patterns of exclusion and inclusion which shape membership in the society are analysed through an examination of normative institutional practices and beliefs that define the mainstream culture of society (Hobson and Lister, 2002). Normative practices are exposed as including and excluding certain people from participating and belonging to political communities of which they are citizens, on the basis of their difference.

In examining the legal rights of sexually exploited and trafficked children, I examine how they are socially constructed as 'different' in relation to normative assumptions made of children as well as other citizens. I also want to consider the nature of exclusions and oppressions they experience as a result of the normative stance of the law. Among other factors, I examine the construction of sexually exploited children as 'strangers' and belonging within the private space of the family, and in the case of trafficked children, to another country.

Within the broader category of difference-centred theorists, I specifically situate my analysis within the writings of those theorists that take a transnational perspective when defining citizenship. By this I mean those theorists that include global and transnational analyses in their work, as can be seen in the writings of theorists such as Yuval-Davies and Werbner (1999), Pettmann (1999), Alund (1995, 1999), and Rajan (2003).

Citizenship theorists generally presume a singular nation-state as the basis for making claims of citizenship (Lewis, 2004). Yet, citizenship derives its meaning from the relationship that individual nation-states have with other states globally. The meaning of citizenship in the over-developed countries of the North, for example, is impacted by global immigration, which reflects

both the desired result as well as the casualty of global multinational corporatism (Ang, 2004). In this case, citizenship is constructed as a defence, a barrier by which to keep non-citizens out. The 'fortress-like' mentality of the North is characterised by social practices which welcome the movement of capital of a global economy but not of human beings. Difference-centred theorists who take a transnational perspective stand in solidarity at a global level by critiquing the activities and relationship of their own nation-states in relation to other states (Yuval-Davies and Werbner, 1999).

Applying a difference-centred, transnational perspective to citizenship in articulating the social justice claims of children who are trafficked makes an important contribution to the limited analysis extant on child trafficking (Bhabha, 2004), whilst adding to the existing critique of liberal models of citizenship. I also develop my previous analysis of citizenship and children from research I have undertaken in analysing the citizenship rights of sexually exploited children in Canada (Moosa-Mitha, 2004).

In undertaking this analysis, I also centre the insights and voices of sexually exploited, trafficked children who have organised themselves into an international social movement and participated in an international summit called 'Out from the Shadows', in Victoria, British Columbia in 1998. In particular, I utilise the 'Declaration of Rights and Agenda for Action' that the children produced at the end of the conference to re-vision their social justice claims using the complementary lens of citizenship.

I end the chapter through a discussion of the lessons learnt from examining the alternative social justice claims of sexually exploited children for inclusion within a social justice-based curriculum. I situate my analysis through a discussion of a core course entitled 'Anti-oppressive social work theory and knowledge' that centres social justice as an organising concept, which I have participated in developing and teaching at the School of Social Work at the University of Victoria in Canada.

Overview of the Literature on Sexually Exploited and Trafficked Children

The literature on the sexual exploitation of children and child trafficking reflects the normative assumptions by which children are constructed as 'different' from 'normal' children. Sexually exploited children are constructed within a victim/criminal binary, which is also reflected in the law articulating their rights. The mainstream literature constructs trafficked children solely in terms of a victim status. But there is also a burgeoning literature that contests the notion of the trafficked child simply as a victim of deviant adult sexual desire. It does so by broadening and politicising child trafficking as a complex phenomenon that takes into consideration the economic, structural and cultural realities within which child trafficking occurs.

This literature also considers the immigration status of trafficked children and the differential treatment that they receive as a result of being non-citizens. Otherwise, the concept of citizenship is not utilised. Yet with regards to the legal rights of trafficked children, citizenship becomes a determining factor in defining their rights through the construction of trafficked children as 'illegal and unwanted immigrants'.

The estimated number of children involved in the international sex trade runs from one to ten million (Jiwani, 1999; Hedmann, et al., 1998; Joseph, 1994). Child trafficking[2] is a multi-billion dollar industry (ECPAT, 2001), rivalling profits earned through the lucrative trade in guns and drugs (cited in *GAATW Canada Brief on Trafficking in Women, Forced labour and Slavery-Like Practices*, 1999: 7). Whilst trafficking is defined as being broader than the sale or forced migration of women for the purposes of prostitution, in this article I focus specifically on the trafficking of

children destined to work in the sex trade, which is likely the case for a majority of children who are trafficked.

The literature on child trafficking differs from that of child prostitution generally, and that on adult prostitution. The differential treatment of children working in the sex trade more generally can be understood in terms of their construction as sexually innocent and incapable of exercising consent (Ennew, 1986). The literature on child prostitution tends to be narrowly focused and employs a criminal justice discourse where having sex with children is understood as a 'public' and criminal offence, and the child viewed as a victim of the acts of an adult sexual 'perpetrator'. The oppression of children engaged in sexual relationships is defined as child sexual abuse. This results in treating child sexual exploitation in individualist terms as the result of the acts of individual adult perpetrators who suffer from prurient sexual desires.

The literature on adult women prostitutes tends to be wider ranging and covers structuralist, cultural and rights analyses. Moreover, adult sexuality is understood to exist within the 'private' realm of citizens' lives. These are assumed to remain unregulated by the rights and responsibilities that govern their public lives of the market place and political office (Cossman, 2002).

Theorists using structuralist or materialist analyses to explain the presence of adult prostitution in society tend to be male-centred. According to these theorists males, representing the demand side of the sex trade, are viewed as owning naturally larger sexual appetites and therefore in need of greater sexual satisfaction outside of the monogamous marriage relationship (Jesson, 1993). The prostitutes, usually regarded as women, represent the supply side of prostitution and are viewed as being forced to work in the sex trade through a lack of viable alternatives for earning an independent living.

Other feminists critique the institutional practices and beliefs, such as the laws on soliciting and prostitution, for being gendered and discriminatory to women by stigmatising them, but are neutral on the subject of prostitution itself. Taylor (1991) examines both the gendered and structural nature of social relations that mark the culture of society, through an analysis of the many functions that sex serves in furthering women's material interests in the varied relationships within which they participate. Feminists have argued that marriage itself can be seen as a 'legal' way for women to sell their bodies in return for a comfortable lifestyle and security. Not all women, they point out, marry for love and many have sexual relationships in marriage without love, as a duty or the price they pay to stay in the marriage (Jesson, 1993). Thus, these feminists argue for the liberation of women from social inequality in general and the cultural sexual double standards in particular, rather than just focusing on prostitution itself.

Even from this wider perspective, feminism and prostitution are not easily reconcilable and remain divided on the question of prostitution. Some feminists feel that addressing structural inequalities does not eliminate oppression against prostitutes. For them, prostitution consists of the sexual exploitation of women by men through the treatment of women as sexualised objects (Smart, 1984; Dworkin, 1992). Others contend that prostitution itself is an employment choice that needs to be fairly regulated (Jesson, 1993). Most feminists however, whilst acknowledging the materialist basis of prostitution, are not easily reconciled to the idea that selling one's body is the same as selling one's brains. For feminists, the 'choice' that a woman makes to sell her body is constrained due to the gendered nature of society that makes prostitution a viable choice in the first place.

Some prostitutes have also written on this subject. Jeness (1993), an activist, writer and prostitute, employs a rights discourse to argue for prostitution as labour and a service-related profession. Jeness (1993) argues for adults' rights as both sexual beings engaging in consensual sex, thus contesting the criminalisation of prostitution on the grounds that it is a 'victimless-crime'

and as workers. She points out the contradiction found in most western democratic states where prostitution itself is not viewed as a crime. Yet, paradoxically acting on one's right to buy sex is criminalised. Jeness (1993) concludes by arguing for a woman's rights to sell her sexual services in the same way as she sells her intellect to a law firm.

Liberal notions of citizenship as entitlement to a set of rights and privileges play a central role in defining society's response to adult prostitution,[3] through a framing of this issue as citizens' right to freedom of expression. It also reflects the liberal view that sexuality and sexual relationships is a matter of 'private' choice that has nothing to do with the activities of the state (Phelan, 2001). Liberal models of citizenship and citizens' rights also play a central role in defining children's rights in relation to their sexuality, by constructing children as not-yet-citizens due to their physiological and psychological immaturity and 'difference' from adults. Thus, children do not have the same rights of choice, as adults. This position is reflected in the literature and the law which denies children the right to any form of sexual expression by assuming children's incapacity to exercise free choice and their sexual innocence (Parton, 1985). Therefore, the only rights that children have in relation to their sexuality and the sexual relationships they may engage in are the rights of protection, where children are treated as the objects rather than the subjects of their rights, as I discuss below.

The construction of sexuality as a biological imperative overlooks social practices that are influential in developing children's sense of their own sexuality. Sexuality is as much a matter of socialisation as it is of biology, and in different periods in history children as young as ten and twelve were deemed to be sexually mature enough to enter matrimony (Aries, 1962; Ennew, 1986). Biologically speaking, studies have revealed that children are aware of their own sexuality at a young age, long before they enter their teens (Jesson, 1993).

However the literature on sexually exploited children focuses on providing causal explanations for children's subsequent 'fall from innocence'. Within the Canadian context, amongst the many causal explanations available in the literature, prior experiences of sexual abuse have long been considered to be a primary predictor for children's subsequent entrance into the sex trade (James, 1976; Bracey, 1979; Silbert and Pines, 1983). This explanation re-emphasises the victim status of sexually exploited children.

In more recent studies, 'broken homes' and children's own 'deviant' personalities have been added to the list of casual explanations for children's presence in the sex trade (Seng, 1989). Deviancy was defined as 'higher probability of being high school dropouts', 'having histories of substance abuse', 'running away behaviour' and 'more contact with the justice system' (Seng, 1989; Schissel and Fedec 1999). The ambit of 'causal' factors was thus expanded from the family as the primary institution responsible for children's presence in the sex trade to other institutions such as schools, neighbourhoods and street communities as also making significant contributions. Canadian literature reflects a swinging back and forth in constructing sexually exploited children within a victim/criminal binary.

This victim/criminal binary is expressed differently within the literature on trafficked children. While the literature treats trafficked children entirely in terms of being victims, passive and powerless (see: Kelly, 2000; Campagna et al., 1988), Canadian law treats them largely as criminals (Bhabha, 2004). Feminists writing about this phenomenon provide a far more complicated analysis that does away with these binaries. Structural factors such as poverty have been identified as key contributors (Jiwani, 1999; Khan and Lynch, 1997). Some feminists have pointed out that poverty on its own does not cause sexual exploitation of children. Rather, the gendered nature of social attitudes on a global level that devalue women and girls and treat them as sexualised objects, in addition to poverty, results in the trafficking and sexual exploitation of children, a majority of whom are girls (Jesson, 1993; Joseph, 1995).

The World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (WCACEC) (1996) has identified a number of factors, all of a global nature that explain child trafficking and sexual exploitation. These range from:

> economic disparities, inequitable socio-economic structures, dysfunctioning families, lack of education, growing consumerism, urban-rural migration, gender discrimination, irresponsible male sexual behaviour, harmful traditional practices, and armed conflict (WCASEC, 1996: 28).

Other theorists such as Razack (1998) and Brock and Thistlethwaite (1996) point out that the economic disparities that characterise the North-South divide within which global economic relations are forged, makes tourism a top-dollar earner for the poorer and economically dependent countries in the South. Tourism is correlated with generating a climate of sexual exploitation and trafficking of children.

Additionally, as Razack (1998) points out, the colonial-colonised relationships that structure global relationships serve to exoticise and eroticise young girls from colonised countries, and results in the treatment of girls, through a racialised and orientalist discourse, as the 'sexually desirable other'. Girls from the colonised South are depicted as 'docile' and 'submissive' and often cited by those who sell children into sexual slavery as particularly attractive and saleable features of children trafficked from these countries (Hughes, 1997).[4]

While the analysis on child trafficking is broader and complicates the issue further than does the literature on child exploitation in the Canadian context by taking into account both structural and cultural practices in its theorising, it continues to treat the children solely as victims. The responses, insights, lived experiences of the children themselves are not centred in these analyses. The social justice claims of trafficked children take into account structural and cultural inequities. However, they do not take into account the children's own agency.

Citizenship also plays a central role in contributing to trafficked children's experiences of injustice and exclusion in the country in which they are exported. Whilst literature on the unaccompanied refugee child has noted the central role that citizenship, or its lack plays in determining their social justice claims, the same has not happened in the case of trafficked children (Bhabha, 2004).

In the next section I turn to an analysis of the legal rights of sexually exploited and trafficked children that reflect the assumptions found in mainstream literature to make explicit the limitations of the contractual and formal views of social justice embedded in liberal models of citizenship. In keeping with my overall argument I show how the legal rights of sexually exploited children and trafficked children reflect the differential treatment that they experience as a result of transgressing normative assumptions about children, including their presumed sexual innocence. I also examine their experiences of belonging as members of the Canadian society.

Legal Rights of Sexually Exploited Children and Trafficked Children under International and Canadian Law

The legal rights of sexually exploited children,[5] who are citizens of Canada, are articulated within the Criminal Code of Canada, which is federal law and applies to all Canadians. Canada, as a confederation of different provinces into one state reflects this amalgamated political reality through a division of federal and provincial legislative jurisdictions. Child welfare, and therefore child welfare law, for example, falls within provincial jurisdiction whilst Criminal law is federal in nature and applies to all Canadians. Supplementing this law are the rights of sexually exploited children as inscribed within Canadian child welfare law, which is under provincial jurisdiction and under which children's rights of protection and welfare are spelt out. Whilst provincial child

welfare law differs between provinces, most provinces are similar in their articulation of the rights of sexually exploited children. I situate my analysis within the Child, Family and Community Services Act (1996), from the province of British Columbia.

The legal rights of trafficked children, however, are largely articulated under federal jurisdiction within the Canadian Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (2002). Here, the focus of their rights foregrounds their status as immigrants rather than concern for their welfare or the sexual exploitation that they experience. A fundamental point of demarcation between the rights of sexually exploited children who are Canadians and those of children trafficked into Canada, is their status as Canadians. Yet paradoxically, having played such an important role in situating the context within which their rights are defined, children's citizenship is itself not taken seriously beyond this point. This will become clearer in my discussion on the legal rights of sexually exploited children in Canada.

At the international level, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989)[6] stipulates a duty on all nation states to take appropriate legislative measures to protect children from maltreatment resulting from sexual exploitation and other forms of sexual abuse. It also stipulates protection rights for children performing hazardous work, such as working in the sex trade. It imposes a duty on all nation-states to engage in bilateral and multilateral measures to prevent children from being coerced or induced into the sex trade or other forms of sexual exploitation, including the trafficking of children. Finally, it also posits a duty on all state parties to take appropriate measures to promote the recovery and social integration of children victimised by sexual exploitation into a healthier environment.

There are several legislative weaknesses apparent in the Convention. The first is that it overlooks the structural reasons that result in child trafficking. Thus, the North-South divide that explains to a large degree, though not completely, the pattern in which child trafficking occurs is not alluded to at all. No mention is made of ways to protect children from being used as collateral in economically dependent countries, trying to service debt repayment and ensure family survival through every means possible, including sex tourism.

It also does not address cultural normative practices and assumptions that construct young children's bodies as sexually desirable. In particular, the Convention does not have a gender specific analysis where the rights of the girl child, who remains a target of both the sex trade and child trafficking is the focus of legislation (Jiwani, 1999). By disregarding the systemic nature of sexual exploitation, the Convention treats child sexual exploitation and trafficking in an individualist manner, as though sexual exploitation and child sexual abuse are part of a phenomenon that occurs as a result of the actions of individual perpetrators rather than being rooted in community contexts, power relations and attitudes towards children.

The Convention also stipulates that sexually exploited and trafficked children have the right to be re-integrated into society. Yet, it does not specify which society has the responsibility to ensure re-integration, the host society or the one form which the children have been trafficked. This is a pressing problem and in Canada, a group of children who had been trafficked from Nepal were rounded up and arrangements were made to send them back to Nepal, which was their country of origin. The Nepalese government refused to take them back, stating that it was the responsibility of the Canadian government to look after them as the children were now Canadian residents (Jiwani, 1999).

The Convention also takes a very protectionist stance towards children who have been trafficked or are sexually exploited. While the Convention has been noted for furthering the participation rights of children in general terms by supporting the rights of children to be heard and having a say in determining their best interests, it does not do so in this instance (Flekkoy, 1999). Children who are trafficked and/or sexually exploited are treated solely as passive victims. Yet research,

including my own study, shows that children are not passive in entering the trade, surviving in the trade or exiting the trade (Hughes, 1997; Moosa-Mitha, 2004).

The Canadian Criminal Code, Child Welfare Law and the Social Justice Claims of Sexually Exploited Children

Sections 210 to 213 of the Canadian Criminal Code outline the law on prostitution-related activities in Canada. Section 210 and 211 prohibits being found in or owning a 'bawdy house'. Section 212 prohibits procuring and living on the avails of prostitution of another person and Section 213 prohibits communicating in a public place for the purpose of buying and selling sexual services.

In terms of child welfare law, the Child, Family and Community Services Act of British Columbia (1996) has extended its definition of child sexual abuse to include the sexual exploitation of children, thus explicitly evoking children's rights of protection from sexual abuse. Furthermore, the Province of British Columbia has introduced the Secure Care Act, (2002) which defines children involved in the sex trade as 'victims of sexual abuse'. It empowers police and social welfare officers to detain sexually exploited children, who are not voluntarily leaving the sex trade, for as long as five days for assessment purposes (Bittle, 2002).

The legal rights of sexually exploited children, both in terms of criminal and child welfare law are constructed within a victim/criminal binary where engaging in sex with children is criminalised whilst the children themselves are treated as victims of sexual abuse. Paradoxically, if children are seen to be active in the sex trade by being caught soliciting for sex, through Section 213 of the Criminal Code, these children are no longer regarded as victims but are liable to be charged as criminals. Also within Child Welfare Law, children who are seen to 'persist' in working in the sex trade can be forcibly removed to secure care units under the new Secure Care Act, thus treating them in a punitive manner. In either case, children's agency is overlooked through a forcible removal of their presence on the streets or through the treatment of children as victims.

Normative assumptions of children as 'innocent' of their sexuality until they reach the magic age of eighteen, combined with the view of children as not-yet-rational, and therefore *incapable* of consenting to sex denies children any form of sexual expression (Brock and Kinsman, 1986; Lowman, 1986). This essentialist notion of the sexually innocent child limits their rights primarily to those of protection. It results in punitive measures against children who transgress this assumption by being seen actively to engage in the sex trade. In such cases, children are viewed as 'deviant' and 'responsible' for their deviancy by being charged as criminals or treated as such through forcible removal to secure care units.

Not unlike their rights within international law, the social justice claims of sexually exploited children are articulated in an individualist manner, either by treating them as individually responsible for their presence in their trade or as victims of the individual actions of adult sexual perpetrators. The wider and systemic nature of oppression is not interrogated, in terms of either structural factors that produce child prostitution or the systemic oppression that children experience as a result of their social identities such as 'race', class, gender, age. In the lived realities of children's lives, particularly on the streets, their gender, age, 'race' and class play a central role in determining children's entrance, experience and chances of exiting the sex trade. Children's gender, for example, is predictive of whether they will make their entrance into the sex trade. The world of sex trade is a gendered one, with a majority of sexually exploited children being female and the majority of the 'johns' and pimps being male (Carter and Bell, 2000; Jiwani, 1999). While there is a definite presence of young boys the majority by far are girls (Rabinovitch and Lewis 2001; Carter and Bell, 2000). The social relations within which girls grow up, where young female bodies are valued as

sexual objects both through media representations as well as societal attitudes means that girls are intimately aware of experiencing themselves as objects for the consumption of others' sexual desire (Jiwani, 1999).

The sexual exploitation of children is also a racialised phenomenon. In Canada, children from Aboriginal populations are over-represented in the sex trade (Kingsely, 2000; Rabinovitch and Lewis, 2001). The disproportionate number of Aboriginal girls in the sex trade is, according to many of the Aboriginal children, a result of the impact of racism, colonisation and class in their lives (Kingsley, 2000). Aboriginal and non-white sexually exploited children are more likely to meet with violence when working on the streets (Jiwani, 1999; Lowman, 1996). Aboriginal children are also less likely to exit the sex trade for many reasons, one of which is the lack of resources for Aboriginal people to find alternative ways of living (Kingsely, 2000).

Overlooking differences in social identity embeds the legal rights of sexually exploited children within the normative assumption of 'Whiteness' and ignores the intersecting nature of different oppressions in the lives of these children on the basis of their multiple social identities (Jiwani, 1999). Prostitution laws are also classist as the push to criminalise prostitution, including children who solicit for prostitution purposes, is the result of activism from residential property owners and small business people who disliked the presence of prostitutes in their neighbourhoods. They have demanded that communicating for the purposes of selling sex be treated as a public 'nuisance' and thus criminalised (Lowman, 2001). Privileging the interests of the residential property owners has resulted in pushing the children into the outskirts of the cities under even more dangerous and harsher working conditions (Lowman, 2001). Differential treatment in the law regarding the interests of the propertied class and sex trade workers has led activists to conclude that there is a lack of political will to respect sex trade workers for they are not tax-paying citizens. As Daum (1996: 11) states, 'Perhaps prostitution law is purposely designed to protect taxpayers not children/ youth'. Far more young people have been charged for soliciting than adults have been charged for engaging in sex with children (Daum, 1996; Lowman, 1996).

The adultist, racialised, gendered and class bias of the law in relation to defining the social justice claims of sexually exploited children is also present in relation to trafficked children with the additional exclusions they suffer as non-citizens. In Canada, the legal rights of children who are trafficked are addressed by neither the Criminal Code nor Child Welfare Law. Rather, they are defined within the Canadian Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (2002), which was recently amended in order to increase the protections and support that refugees are provided with whilst their immigration status is being determined (Canadian Immigration Department, 2002). Severe limitations continue to exist in relation to the protection rights of trafficked children. The first is that the new Act does not address the needs of children. It assumes an adultist norm when speaking of the rights of refugees.

Second, it continues to make assumptions of good refugees versus bad refugees, and offers protection rights to refugees who are either political dissidents or from targeted groups experiencing genocide in their own countries. Trafficked children are not identified as deserving of the rights of protection (Bhabha, 2004). Compared to adults, trafficked children are: less likely to: come forward with refugee claims; be adequately represented if they do come forward and get refugee status if they do come forward compared to adults (Bhabha, 2004).

As occurs in the case of the legal rights of sexually exploited children, trafficked children are only able to access their rights of protection, although as trafficked migrants, they have even less protection than their Canadian counterparts. Yet neither sexually exploited children nor trafficked children are simply victims. They are also beings with a sense of agency and they participate in the predicament that they find themselves in by resisting, mitigating and in many ways responding to the oppressive situations they find themselves in (Moosa-Mitha, 2004). Yet the rights of sexually

exploited children are constructed in such a way that their participation in the sex trade results in having to give up their rights of protection. Their ability to access their rights of protection is conditional on their exit from the trade. This puts the children in a difficult position, because it is precisely when participating in the sex trade that they are most in need of protection (Stasilius, 2002). This is the case with the Canadian Criminal code that treats children's participation in the sex trade as criminal and the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act that treats refugees who participate in the workforce as criminals. In both cases, the end result is that children flee the very people that are meant to protect them such as police officers (Moosa-Mitha, 2004).

In both cases, children are treated as second-class citizens. For sexually exploited children this occurs through the gendered, adultist, classist and racialised effects of the law. For trafficked children all of these oppressions are present but at a more intensified level, where the human rights that afford them at least with the rights of protection are overlooked within a construction of trafficked children as 'bad immigrants'. Bhabha (1999) makes the point that the nation-state perceives itself as having a dual responsibility: to protect the human rights of those residing within the state and to contain and control its population. The imperative to control population numbers has become even more emphasised recently as a result of perceived global immigration and the alleged 'terrorist' activities perpetrated by individuals seeking admission. This leads to more strenuous efforts as countries in the over-developed North defend their borders through increasing sanctions and treating illegal immigrants as criminals. Hence, neither sexually exploited nor trafficked children are treated as worthy members that belong to Canadian society while being different and equal.

The analysis so far has identified the limitations of formal and legalistic definitions of citizenship as they exist within liberal models. It has done so by critiquing the normative stance that perpetuates exclusions on the basis of gender, 'race', and other social divisions and its narrowly nationalist focus on the human rights of non-citizens are considered secondary to those of citizens.

Post-Colonial, Feminist Models of Citizenship

Difference-centred theorists define citizenship more broadly than liberals, as reflective of more than entitlement to a legal status, for these theorists citizenship also denotes membership in society and inclusion in its public culture (Yuval-Davies, 1999; Yuval-Davies and Werbner, 1999). These theorists critique the universal stance presumed within liberal models of citizenship because the model's normative nature overlooks the differential treatment that some people experience for varying or being 'different' from the accepted norm (Stasilius, 1999).

Post-colonial feminist theorists have not rejected the need for universality as the basis within which to make social justice claims. Universal rights for civic, social and political participation are an important precondition within which particular groups situate their claims to social justice (Unterhalter, 1999). Rather, it is the abstract universalism of liberal models of citizenship, which suppress particularity and difference, and emphasise 'sameness' that post-colonial feminists hotly contest. For difference-centred theorists, the exclusions within the socio-historical realities of citizens' lived experiences provide the grounding for their analysis (Joseph, 1999; Rajan, 2003).

In the case of trafficked children, it is the universal norm that all children belong to the 'private' space of the family and are universally incapable of being sexually active that would become points of contestation. I have discussed the assumption of adults in society that children are sexually innocent. The assumption that children belong to the home is reflected in the fact that children have no rights outside the home, such as the civic and political rights by which citizens participate in the collective decisions of society. Moreover, for children under fourteen at least, they do not have the right to independent living outside the care and control of adults, even if that care has proven to be

inadequate (Minnow, 1996). Difference-centred theorists would examine the lived experiences of trafficked children to discern the nature of the injustices that they undergo to arrive at an articulation of their rights, they would also reject the binaries that result in universal and normative claims. The public/private binary would be rejected through an acknowledgement that what is often considered private, e.g., children's families, are public institutions and equally provide the terrain for making social justice claims based on citizenship. Children would not be viewed as less-than adult citizens due to their difference from adults, but rather as 'differently equal' (Yuval-Davies, 1999) members of society with their own claims to social justice.

However, it is in their critique and analysis of the actions of nation-states that difference-centred and transnational theorists have offered an important alternative re-visioning of the social justice claims of trafficked children. Post-colonial theorists, particularly feminist ones, have been deeply engaged in the independence struggle of their nation-states from colonial rule. Since achieving it, they have turned their attention to a critique of the injustices that are perpetuated by their own states (Pettman, 1999; Yuval-Davies and Werbner, 1999). Whilst the assumption of the nation-state as the site for making citizenship claims is accepted by these theorists, it is also interrogated and critiqued. To begin with, the liberal view of the state as a monolithic, singular entity is contested and re-conceptualised as being both multiple and relational, existing on a local, municipal, national and international levels wherever people come together to participate as citizens (Joseph, 1999).

The state is also not understood as being neutral. Post-colonial feminist theorists have undertaken an in-depth analysis of the gendered, racialised and hetero-normative assumptions and values that characterise the multiple relationships in which the state is involved, including the post-colonial state (see Pateman 1989; Yuval-Davies, 1999; Joseph, 1999; Rajan, 2003). A particular contribution of post-colonial theorists is the critique they offer of the multiple relationships that the state is engaged in, post-colonisation, where it serves the interest of a particular group or class over others (Mohanty, 1992; Badran, 1995). Similarly, theorists from the over-developed North have also expanded their analysis of the activities of the nation-sate, to take in a more global perspective which takes account of the impact nation-states have on a global scale (Yuval-Davies, 1999). For example, these theorists critique the injustices perpetrated by their own nation-states, for example as a result of unfair trade agreements that are global in nature and are oppressive in nature with relation to citizens of underdeveloped countries. This is particularly apparent in the work of theorists who call themselves 'First World-Third World Feminists' where they stand in solidarity with feminists around the world to take a social justice stance (Yuval-Davies and Werbner, 1999).

Paradoxically, post-colonial, feminists fear the loss of sovereignty that nation-states experience as a result globalisation (Pettman, 1999). They recognise the importance of the state as being the most effective site for making social justice claims (Bhabha, 1999). Post-colonial theorists have particularly noted the relationship between globalisation and the nation-state embracing a neoliberal ideology. The resultant withdrawal of a welfare state in over-developed countries and lack of accountability for the harmful effects on vulnerable populations such as women in under-developed countries has made more evident the important role that nation-states can play in maintaining equality amongst its citizens (Pettmann, 1999; Yuval-Davies and Werbner, 1999). Difference-centred theorists who use a transnational perspective, do so not by refuting the importance of nation-states, but by both critiquing the actions of nation-states using a more global perspective and by working in solidarity with other activists and theorists on a transnational basis. As such, they recognise the contradictory functions of nation-states and that everywhere these are the sites for making claims around social justice while being simultaneously complicit in perpetrating exclusion and injustices.

A clear response to globalisation by feminist theorists and activists has been to join forces on a transnational level to form a global movement that has become a powerful force in lobbying their

national governments to be accountable for their actions as these affect all segments of their own populations (Yuval-Davies and Werbner, 1999).[7] These transnational movements are characterised by strong grassroots activism that has pushed their governments to accept accountability in protecting the rights of both citizens within the boundaries of their nation-states and those of their citizens in a diasporic community associated with people who share their ethnicity and culture wherever they may live globally (Yuval-Davies-Werbner, 1999). A particular contribution of post-colonial and transnational feminist movements have explicitly addressed the effects of globalisation on segments of the population by creating alliances across gender, class, 'race' (Alund, 1995, 1999).

The global citizen of post-colonial theorists is not only the citizen who lives in many parts of the world in response to global economic demands, but also the one who is affected by international economic treaties within the confines of her own nation-state. She is also a global citizen because her rights emanate from the state in which she is a citizen but also from international treatise and conventions on human rights of which her state is a signatory. These are important lessons offered by difference-centred theorists that can be used to great effect in defining the citizenship rights of trafficked children, wherever they may live.

In the next section, I centre my discussion on the voices of sexually exploited and trafficked children themselves in articulating their citizenship rights, who came together as a result of just such a transnational form of community organising and activism. In doing this, I will apply the specific insights of post-colonial feminist models of citizenship.

Post-Colonial Models of Citizenship and an Alternate Vision of the Rights of Sexually Exploited Children

In applying the insights of difference-centred theorists to a re-visioning of the social justice claims of trafficked children a primary claim would be to be viewed as differently equal members of society rather than as less equal through the use of victim/criminal or private/public binaries. Thus, post-colonial analyses emphasise contestation around the normative forces and faces of oppression that exclude children from being valued as equal members of society. Under the *Declaration of Rights* (*Out from the Shadows*, 1998) one can see this demand being made by sexually exploited and trafficked children. Rather than concentrating on individual acts of sexual abuse, they emphasise the systemic nature of oppression and experiences of exclusion namely all forms of violence and exploitation by which children are treated as inferior members of society. Here is how they put it:

- We declare that all children and youth have the right to be protected from all forms of abuse, exploitation and the threat of abuse, harm or exploitation;
- We declare that the commercial exploitation of children and youth must no longer be financially profitable;
- We declare that the issue of child and youth sexual exploitation must be a global priority and nations must not only hold their neighbours accountable but also themselves; and
- We declare that governments are obligated to create laws which reflect the principle of zero tolerance of all forms of abuse and exploitation of children and youth (*Declaration of Rights*, 'Out from the Shadows' Summit, March, 1998: 6–8).

The exclusions that the children name cut across the lines of age, as in most instances it is adults that abuse children and the class or particular socio-economic relations within which their countries exist with other countries more globally. I also think it is important to note that these children ask that nation-states be held accountable for ensuring that children are not exploited globally, thus expanding notions of citizenship more widely.

The *Declaration* points to normative practices that make commercial trafficking and sexual exploitation of children economically more profitable. However, in their *Agenda for Action* (*Out from the Shadows*, 1998: 7) the children are even more pointed about the injustices that they face due to their social identity as children working in the sex trade. The values and beliefs that the agenda for action states are the following:

- We believe that our laws must protect us as sexually exploited children and youth and no longer punish us as criminals;
- We believe that we are all responsible for our children and youth, yet the issue is not ours alone. Governments, communities and society as a whole must be held accountable for the sexual exploitation of children and youth; and
- Our governments must insist that the police are less violent towards sex workers and sexually exploited children. They must help us and believe in us. There should be politicians who advocate on our behalf. People who understand that we are as worthy as everyone else.

The above points made by sexually exploited and trafficked children in their *Declaration* suggest that the injustices they face is as much about the particular incidence of violence that they are subjected to as it is exclusions that they experience within normative institutional practices and beliefs that regard them as inferior.

The third item also relates to the critique offered by difference-centred theorists, namely that the agency of the citizen must be acknowledged and addressed through their social justice claims as citizens. In the following points of the *Declaration*, sexually exploited and trafficked children make similar points about their rights of participation and agency when making social justice claims:

- Children and youth can use their experiences to put faces to the issues. They can advocate for sexually exploited children and youth from a unique perspective. Forums must be developed for their stories to be heard, secure change and alter public attitudes. Youth, governments, corporations and communities must undertake hosting and funding of other international forums and Summits to address this issue;
- Just as an alcoholic can help another alcoholic, youth can really help another youth with similar struggles;
- Children and youth must have the opportunity to develop and implement front-line programmes for children and youth involved in the sex industry by drawing on their experiences from it; and
- We believe that the voices and experiences of sexually exploited children and youth must be heard and be central to the development and implementation of action. We must be empowered to help ourselves (*Agenda for Action*, '*Out from the Shadows*', 1998).

The last point made in the agenda for action is particularly pertinent. It is a reminder that the agency of children and their lived experiences of oppression and injustice should be the bases of their social justice claims and not reliance upon hegemonic notions of who these children are.

Citizenship Education: Lessons Learnt from Analysing Social Justice Claims of Trafficked Children

At the University of Victoria, School of Social Work, we offer a set of four courses that form core course requirements for all undergraduate students of social work. The focus of these courses

is on anti-oppressive theories, knowledge and praxis by examining the social justice claims and practices across a spectrum of perspectives beginning with liberal and Marxist/structuralist ones to those of social identity theorists such as anti-racist, disability theories.

The discussion on global perspectives on child sexual exploitation and their citizenship rights as has been discussed in this chapter so far provides important lessons to further the development of the curriculum on social justice offered at the School. It does so by fore-grounding citizenship education as a project of the social justice curriculum that is both global and inter-linked with the theoretical and educational aspirations of the various theories, social movements and critical praxis that forms a part of the present curriculum. I discuss the possible lessons learnt and the contributions that global, transnational perspective can contribute to a social justice curriculum in the next section. I also include lessons learnt from community organising and the declaration of rights produced through the global participation of sexually exploited children at the 'Out from Shadows' Summit.

Chief amongst these is the importance of including citizenship as a concept by which to further and develop the social justice curriculum within social work education. The relationship between the education and citizenship is a long one. Western, democratic states have always relied on education to shape students' understandings of themselves as citizens (Banks, 2004). Through the use of education students are taught a set of habits and attitudes that will be coherent for them within the 'imagined political community' of the nation-state to which they belong (Anderson, 1983; Gellner, 1964).

Education as a site for constructing particular types of citizens has long been recognised by community activists and critical pedagogists like Freire (2000), who attempted to theorise a different kind of education. He postulated an alternative kind of education critical pedagogy that would reject student acquiescence in re-producing habits and beliefs that reflected mainstream normative values to one that questioned the dominant/marginalized relations that existed within these imagined communities. Rather than a central feature of assimilation, critical pedagogy offered an alternative vision of education as empowerment through consciousness-raising that questioned the 'given' in society.

Citizenship Education

In the earlier sections of this chapter, I have argued that citizenship, both as a right and as a status, has been and continues to be used in the struggle for social justice claims, particularly by marginalized communities. It can be argued that education has always been used to produce the next generation of citizens by teaching student to accept the values, beliefs and assumptions that support the nation-state. By including citizenship theories within the course content can make students more aware of the different nature of social justice claims that are made within a citizenship discourse. Focusing on post-colonial, feminist models of citizenship can make students more aware of difference-centred[8] claims to social justice rather than the assimilationist ones that have been traditionally used to produce the citizen subject of mainstream education. Banks summarises this view succinctly when he says:

> An important goal of citizenship education in a democratic, multicultural society is to help students to acquire the knowledge, attitudes and skills needed to make reflective decisions and to take actions to make their nation-states more democratic and just (Banks, 1997: 12).

An important lesson that the analysis of citizenship rights of sexually exploited children who have been trafficked teaches is us the importance of centring social justice rather than nationalist sentiments in re-thinking and teaching citizenship as a form of social justice claim. Whilst education

and educational institutions have sought to re-produce the citizen subject who replicates the beliefs and assumptions required to support the nation-state through unexamined patriotism. Post-colonial and transnational models of citizenship emphasise the importance of committing oneself to notions of justice over that of one's nation-state.

Gutmann (2002) argues for citizenship education that helps students to develop their moral allegiance to justice rather than to any one human community. Citizenship education, re-conceived in this manner, would hold Canada's government accountable for overlooking the justice claims of children who are trafficked by being treated as illegal immigrants whose injustices is not the concern of the state due to their non-citizen status. It would require students to make links between the presence of sexually exploited children that are trafficked into Canada and Canada's relations with the global community that makes this activity possible.

Global Perspective

The global perspective that is required for a full analysis of the citizenship rights of children who are trafficked and work in the sex trade provides an important lesson about the degree to which local realities are shaped within a much wider nexus. It also teaches the importance of examining the limitations of local social justice claims that overlook particular populations, making it important to resort to international claims of social justice for legitimating the fight against injustice. Sexually exploited children who are trafficked into particular communities are not only the result of a global phenomenon, but also have social justice claims as citizens of the world community to the specific state in which they find themselves residing and working.

This understanding would translate not only in terms of the importance of understanding the specific, or the local in terms of the global, but also as a re-visioning of students' own identities from a local or national basis to one where they understand themselves as members of a world community. Kymlicka (2004) summarises this view when he states:

> Citizenship education should help students … develop clarified global identifications and deep understandings of their roles in the world community. Students need to understand how life in the cultural communities and nation influences other nations and the cogent influence that international events have on their daily lives (Kymlicka, 2004: 6).

The Nation-State

Transnational theories of citizenship as well as an analysis of the rights of children who are trafficked also add to the analysis of the role of nation-states in relation to different populations resident in the state, in a way that further complicates feminist, First Nations' and anti-racist analysis. These lessons have a particular significance to students of social work who generally work as an arm of the state. Globalisation is both a process and an ideology (Unterhalter, 1999). Whilst the process of globalisation may be moving in contrary directions, shifting relations of power in ways that are not always linear or predictable, the ideology of globalisation is very much married to neoliberalism and the erosion of the welfare state through unbridled corporatism (Unterhalter, 1999).

The advent of multi-nationals' expansion into global markets has been paralleled by university education that seeks to promote the assimilable global citizen through promotion of technical and skills-based education rather than on a common basis of values about democracy and justice (Ong, 2004). The global citizen belonging to corporations has a privileged position, allowing easy transitions from one society to the next without a sense of obligation or duty that accompanies residency as a member of a particular society.

The transitions that children who are trafficked undertake – which are also the product of globalisation, result in the exploitation of these children without recourse to any rights by which to claim justice within the societies that they live in, subsequent to being trafficked. This exacerbates the disjuncture created between their circumstances of being children without rights and the nation-state's role in providing and securing welfare for all those residing within its parameters.

While post-colonial, transnational models problematise the nationalist basis of social justice claims, paradoxically they also recognise the nation-state as the site within which claims of social justice are made and can be heard (Pettman, 1999). The nation-state, in relation to the global citizen and increasingly in terms of its own citizens uses neoliberal ideologies to privilege privatisation, individual or familial responsibility, competitiveness and other such values to distance itself from protecting the welfare rights of all those who live within its jurisdiction.

Community Organisation

The social justice curriculum at the School of Social Work introduces students to anti-oppressive theories such as 'race', Queer, feminist, First Nations and Disability analyses that have their basis on the insights garnered from social movements and lived experiences of collectivities. However, the analysis of the citizenship rights of children who are trafficked adds a different perspective in centralising the voice of collectivities in theorising about social justice issues. It points to the importance of global alliances and transnational community organising as an important aspect of present day globalisation and articulation of social justice claims. Expanding theorisations of social justice from those based on national social movements to transnational ones results in expanding the horizons within which social justice claims can be articulated where the lived realities of citizens of a global village gain prominence.

Conclusion

Through the course of this article I have sought to critique the social justice claims emanating from liberal models of citizenship through a discussion of the legal rights of sexually exploited and trafficked children as they are currently articulated within the Canadian Criminal Code. I have analysed the exclusions and oppressions that result from the normative and universal stance of the legislation relevant to defining the rights of sexually exploited and trafficked children. I then discussed an alternative perspective of citizenship that is, anti-racist, feminist and transnational in orientation using a difference-centred analysis. I also centre the voices of sexually exploited and trafficked children in re-visioning their citizenship rights. I conclude the chapter by discussing the important lessons that are offered through a discussion of the citizenship rights of sexually exploited and trafficked children.

Notes

1. The anti-racist conference in Durban, South Africa, the various international women's conferences in Nairobi, Bangkok and Beijing are all illustrative of transnational social justice claims.
2. The Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GATTW) defines trafficking as:

> All acts and attempted acts involved in the recruitment, transportation within or across borders, purchase, sale, transfer, receipt or harboring of a person involving the use of deception, coercion (including the use or threat of

force or the abuse of authority) or debt bondage for the purpose of placing or holding such person, whether for pay or not, in involuntary servitude (domestic, sexual or reproductive), in forced or bonded labor, or in slavery-like conditions, in a community other than the one in which such persons lived at the time of the original deception, coercion or debt bondage (GATTW, 1999: 1).

While GATTW uses the term women, it includes women under the age of eighteen within its mandate and definition of women.

3. My discussion is situated within the context of the over-developed countries of the North.
4. Leuchtang (1995) succinctly summarises the presence of trafficking and international prostitution:

> Internationally organised prostitution depends on a destructive combination of Third World poverty, First World economic development policies, laws that permit international trafficking and indentured servitude, and world-wide patriarchal cultural norms that encourage male sexual prerogatives (Leuchtang, 1995: 11).

5. I use the term sexually exploited children to denote those children who work in the sex trade, both formally and informally. It is a term that sexually exploited children have identified as the one by which they want to be referred (*Out from the Shadows*, 1998).
6. Article 34 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child argues for the protection of children from all forms of sexual exploitation and abuse including the: inducement or coercion of a child to engage in any lawful sexual activity; and exploitative use of children in prostitution or other unlawful sexual practices and in pornographic performances and materials.
7. This is evidenced in the UN World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1996, the South African Anti-Racist Conference, 2002 and in the attendance of women delegates in many UN Conferences such as such as the Rio Conference on the Environment and the Vienna Conference on Human Rights held in 1993.
8. By difference-centred I mean teaching students models of citizenship that emphasises the differential experiences of citizens based on their social identities such as 'race', age, gender, disability and sexual orientation and aims to eliminate difference as a site of exclusion and oppression.

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Chapter 23

An Indigenist Anti-Colonialist Framework for Practice

GALE CYR

Introduction

Before beginning this chapter, I would like to be accountable and take personal responsibility for anything that I write and discuss within these pages. With this in mind, I embrace the roots from which these words, visualisations, dreams and images are about to be expressed. These visions and words are rooted in Indigenous ways of 'Knowing, Seeing, Doing and Being'. Like all my Relations, I am on a life journey of learning and this chapter is part of that.[1] Relations are plants, animals, individuals, nations and Ancestors. As such, I acknowledge and thank the Creator for the learning and teaching I am about to share with you.

This chapter is an introduction to an Indigenist anti-colonialist framework for practice, teaching and research and is rooted in my story of the impact of colonisation. I am an Aboriginal woman, a member of the Timiskaming Band, Anicinabe Kwe (Algonquin woman) and Québécoise (French from Quebec). I reside in Val d'Or, a small town in Northern Québec, Canada. I have been at the Université du Québec en Abitibi-Témiscamingue (UQAT) since 1998 and previously was an Assistant Professor at the University of Victoria, School of Social Work, and I have college teaching experience. My practice experience has been related mostly to violence against First Nation women, mental health, organised abuse and mediation within the context of those experiences for change.

My role as professor encompasses the development of First Nation programmes and services at UQAT, teaching and directing within the Eeyou (Cree) James Bay Bachelor of Social Work Program. I have created the terms matrifocalist Indigenist and anti-colonialist educator to define first my ideology or philosophy and second, my role as an academic within a university of non-diverse faculty and staff. I define Indigenist anti-colonialist educator as being political in what I say, and intentional in what I do by active recognition and resistance to inequities within myself and others. I identify matrifocalist Indigenist as focusing on the central role of woman in contrast to patriarchy and matriarchy. Alongside this hegemony, I witness a constant increase in the diversity of the classroom, which contributes to an environment that engenders necessary and unconscious development – if only to 'fast talk' at teachable moments with executive administration.

University faculty, study fields, research and curriculum content are inherently built on competition and hierarchy rather than on student support or community. Jon Young is aware that critical reflection on educator roles is seldom included as a standard within formal subject content; nor is there recognition of teachers' roles. Young (Young, 1987: 133) quotes a supporting argument by Liston and Zeichner that 'radically oriented teacher educators must serve as living examples of the kind of critically oriented pedagogical practices that they seek to have their students adopt'. This means that teacher-educators need to 'reflect critically and act strategically upon the nature of their own pedagogical practices and the institutional contexts within which their work [is located]' (Young, 1987: 133). As an Aboriginal professor, I find that little acknowledgement is given to

faculty or students from the margins in building supportive relationships for their inclusion and success.

The increasing complexity of a compartmentalised and bureaucratic academy requires constant negotiation and education to justify Indigenous 'Ways of Knowing, Seeing, Doing and Being'. As such, being accountable to learners is overridden by research dollars and publications within a hierarchy that masks as higher learning while competing for the ownership of knowledge within a global market. We begin to view students as numbers for 'recruitment and retention' verses accessibility and student success. These limits play out as a large percentage of my time spent justifying the time I do take to build relationships. Therefore, my time for legitimising Indigenous pedagogy and epistemology as research, practice and teaching is limited. Working in isolation, I need to search and develop meaning for students and myself in these encounters.

Indigenist, Anti-Colonial Frameworks of Knowledge and Understanding.

The building blocks for an Indigenist anti-colonialist framework involves four major visual decolonising frameworks/concepts that I have developed to form or inform research, practice and teaching/learning as analytical deconstruction and reconstruction tools for guidance and renewal. I depict these visually as Figures 23.1 to 23.4 respectively and have entitled them:

1. Social location within society: through the four directions (choice(s) or privilege(s));
2. Framework of extraction;
3. Maintenance methods of capitalism by cloak and dagger theory; and
4. Learning framework and wheel for practice and conflict resolution/mediation.

The methodology I use is Indigenous 'Ways of Knowing, Seeing, Doing and Being'. This sharing includes a partial representation of those vast and encompassing 'Ways' of Indigenous methodology such as the Medicine Wheel, The Eight Stages of Life, the Sacred Tree and other Teachings. This creation is based on relationships with all my Relations. Bearing this in mind, I embrace the roots from which I am developing this anti-colonialist framework for practice, teaching and research.

I would like to unveil the interdependence of not only research, practice and teaching but also of information, knowledge, and ways of knowing by 'experience storying' my individual and collective experiences. Sitting by a tree, drinking water, feeling the bite of the North Wind, the warmth of the South Wind, watching the sun rise in the East or capturing the sun setting in the West are but a few of the triggers of Knowledge. I will explore social location within a context of choice/s and privilege/s in the Medicine Wheel for anti-colonialist action-oriented practice, teaching and research. The frameworks gradually pose the objectives of the unveiling and exploration just mentioned. The interpretations of knowledge, identity and representation will come into being, interwoven within the stories, discussions and frameworks. Like Gough, I intend to challenge history by reframing it with myself as agent and my view as I understand it at this time (Gough, 2000).

The written stories in this article are only of part of my Life Circle journey.[2] How it is read will relate to who is seen as having knowledge, who defines my identity within competing knowledge claims, and who makes the decisions that impact upon me. This will be a place where fiction is fact, where past is present and the self is not other. It is where our allegories speak truths, where the Ancestors are honoured, and the self is within a Circle. I would first like to share a story of where I belong.

It is October 10, 1989, at dusk, in a dark sterile hospital room in a small city in Northern Quebec. I glance at the bed, unable to approach, as there are so many around the bed. All her organs

had now ceased from thirty years of resistance. I am lost in thought, of my sadness and content as I drift into memories of my Mom. She had only one request. She wanted to journey through the Spirit World where her Mother and Grandmother travelled, where she belonged. She had struggled with alcohol for so long, yet – she gave me so much! She did get back home after many years of resisting and giving me the gift of knowing where I was from. My mother, as an Anicinabe woman, had already been mis-represented and accepted the fact she was 'Indian' under Canadian law when at the age of sixteen; she was forced to sign her assigned identity away upon marrying my father, a white man. She became one of the disenfranchised through the legislation of the Indian Act of 1876 in Canada. She regained her Indian status in 1987 with the amendment to the Indian Act in 1985, known as Bill C-31. This amendment was for the reinstatement of enfranchised 'Indians' which was made up of over 90 per cent of women and their children who had married non-Indian men. The other 10 per cent were men and women who had become professionals – lawyers and doctors or those who had sold their rights. Until that date she could not go home, even in death – and, neither could I. I refer to the Indian Act as a legislative justification of paternalism with a latent goal of numerical genocide. The Act controlled and controls where one resides, who one marries, where one works and where one is buried. J. L. Tobias (1991), in *Sweet Promises*, provides a good analysis of the goals of the Indian Act as assimilation, protection and civilisation.

We are in a time of identifying ourselves and as that happens, we quickly become aware of the impact of colonial legislation in our daily lives. Justified government legislation continued within education and residential schools. Even today, it is unremitting through child protection and the correction system. What conflicts arise in the course of fashioning such a representation of who we are? I am not an Indigenous hybrid nor am I a cultural hybrid. I am a hazel-eyed Anicinabe Kwe of Drew Hayden Taylor's Nation known as the 'Occasions'. He refers to himself as a 'Special Occasion' since he invented the Nation (Taylor, 1997). I can display creativity, I am knowledgeable, I have adapted well, and I can be funny. If truth be told, I can only speak of my own journey of identity in order to reunite my past with the present for the future. I am a distinct person within a 'People'. I use the Medicine Wheel for what choices I have and those that I will make for my own identity, my own self-representation.

'Indigenous scholarship doesn't just engage the intellect. It engages the mind, spirit and body and it considers all in its exploration'. 'Indigenous scholarship also brings with it a sense of agency, ability to shape the world through one's thought, action and feelings' (Newhouse, 2002). Many First Nation authors and practitioners have been articulating and practising indigenous methodology in the classroom and outside the classroom (Absolon, 1995; Fitznor, 1998; Graveline, 1998; Hart, 2002b,c; Regnier, 1995). It also happens in their daily living through Ceremonies such as the Sweat Lodge or smudging to purify and to access the Creator, via Teachings within a Long House or Sacred Lodges within the Way of Life according to their Nation. We have adapted much of Indigenous methodology to permit Teachings within Ceremony and other Indigenous Teaching practices to be present within a classroom. The length of time is shortened to one to three days for Ceremonies such as the bonding of Relationships between partners. Naming Ceremonies have been adapted as well to meet the needs of individuals, Children, youth or Elders who are reclaiming their identity. Traditionally, Partnership Ceremonies were four to seven days and Naming Ceremonies began as a Child.

My Mom adapted Teachings to my Wandering Stage (adolescent) 'ears' and to the English language for that stage. I am recalling two of her Teachings as I type these words. She said, 'When you walk, don't forget to wear your Moccasins and remember it is a long, long, long walk between your 'noggin' and your 'ticker'. I can relate the Teaching within my own context of identity and where I come from at the moment. 'Walking the talk' and knowing the important connection and dilemma of connecting theory to practice is also blatant. She must be laughing at me now saying,
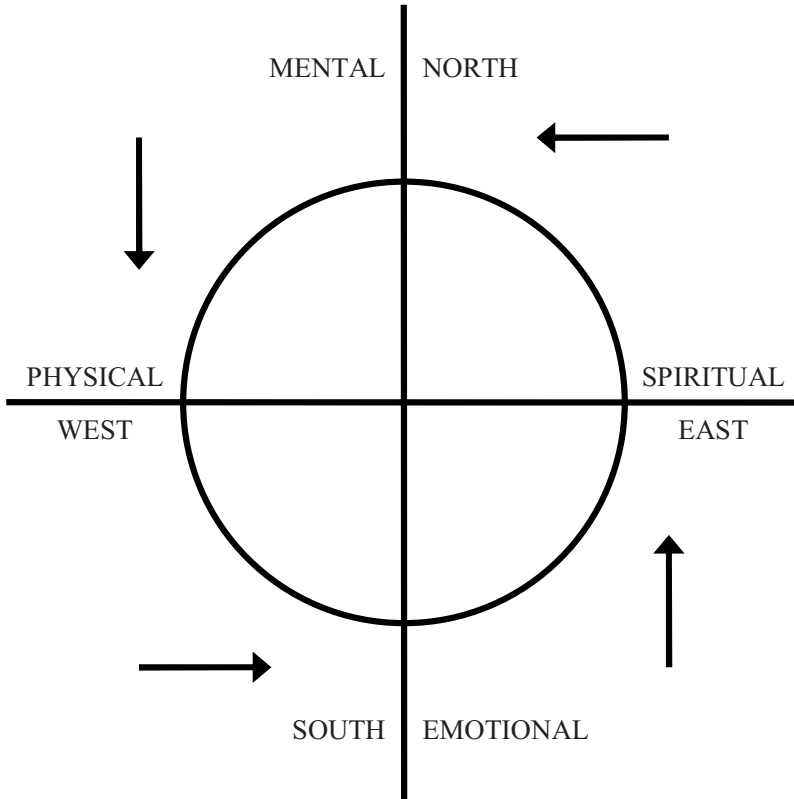
Figure 23.1   Medicine Wheel: Social Location within Society through Four Directions (Choice(s) or Privilege(s))

'You academics, you forget to walk and when you don't walk you end up with 'ticker' problems'. Indigenous pedagogy, philosophy and epistemology, as I understand it at this time, is centred and interconnected around honouring the Ancestors, Creation and the Sacred Circle. As such, we belong to Creation and not vice versa. I began this paper by self-locating for specific reasons. A first task is to self-locate using the framework of *Social Location within Society: through the Four Directions (Choice(s) or Privilege(s))* as indicated in Figure 23.1.

The Social Location framework is placed in the Medicine Wheel. The Medicine Wheel, as methodology, is adapted as a tool to locate oneself and explain how we relate with others (all my Relations) in society. We examine our choices and/or the privileges that one has or does not have in society. I could also locate the North as where I reside, a rural and remote community. I also live in an industrialised peripheral/hinterland country colonially-named Canada. Physically, I am able-bodied, middle-aged, medium brown skinned woman, heterosexual, slightly overweight (slight underestimation here), middle-class, and I am a university professor. I can practice my Spirituality with many limitations and restrictions imposed by racism and colonialism. Mentally, I am of sound mind (my opinion), I have an MSW degree. Emotionally, I am a 'wreck', and so on.

The *Framework of Extraction* is how I understand our economic and social position as First Nations before and after colonisation. This is indicated in Figure 23.2. Also, note how one time period is extracted from the preceding one. The 'Information Age/Knowledge Age' is extracted
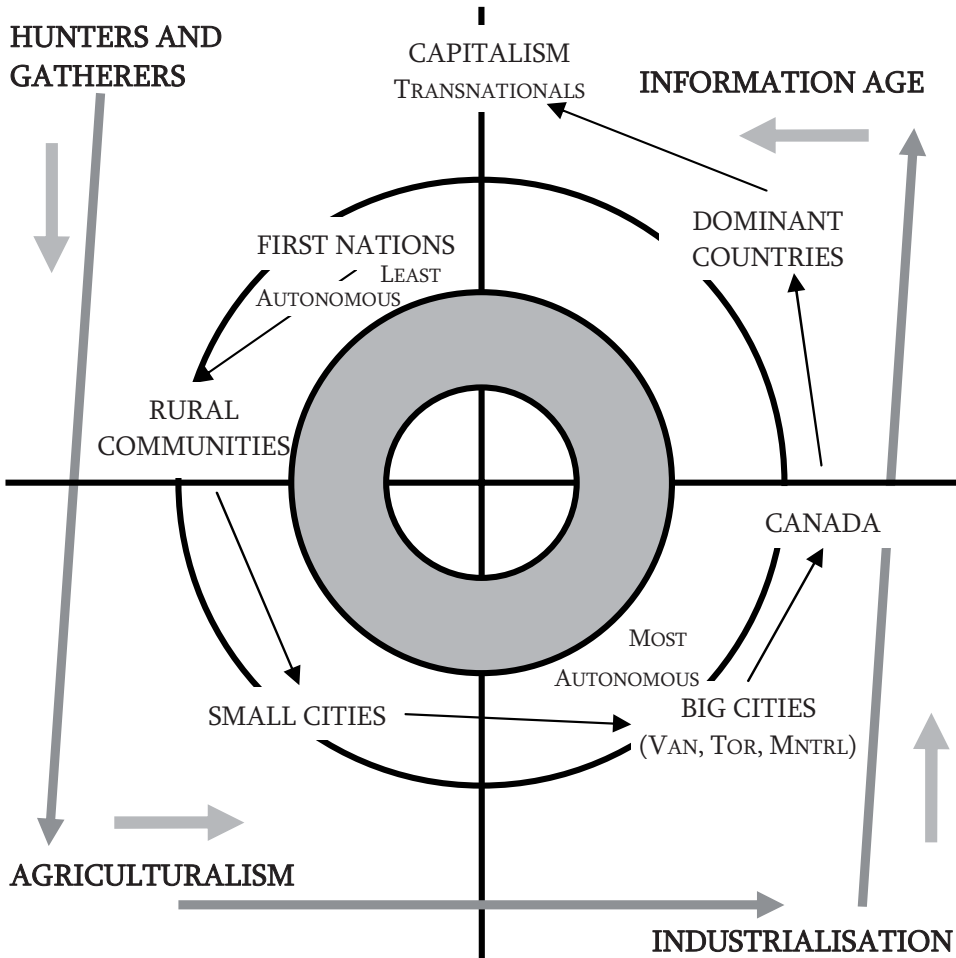
Figure 23.2   Framework of Extraction: Development of Underdevelopment

Note: Van stands for Vancouver, Tor for Toronto and Mntrl for Montreal

from the 'Age of Industrialisation' which is extracted from the 'Age of Agriculture' that has been extracted from the 'Age of Hunters and Gatherers'. One can also view in this framework, the same domino-effect in extraction from the smallest community to the largest multinational companies represented in the framework by 'Transnational Capitalism'.

Industrialisation has had and continues to have an impact on rural communities through the slow destruction of the family farms in the movement towards mass production indicated by giant chicken and pig farms. Growth and development in small cities and rural communities is impacted upon by big cities and 'big industry'. The information age has given rise to its own forms of extraction not only by the ownership of lands and buildings but also through the ownership of genes, knowledge and information. Extraction of Indigenous lands continues today as human, financial and natural resources and the autonomy of Indigenous communities flow to: local rural businesses, the cities, the country, and ultimately to the global level. This happens via the extraction of goods including metals and drinking water with its hydro electric capacities.

TREE OF FACTIONALISM

FACTIONALISM AMONGST 'ISMS' AND WITHIN 'ISMS'

DAGGER

CLOAK(S)

FUTURE 'ISM'

INFO 'ISM'

'ISM' LEAVES

BLADE

SEX 'ISM'

$ $ $

RAC 'ISM'

MUST BE PRUNED

PATERNALISM

COLONIALISM'S ROOTS

CAPITAL, KNOWLEDGE, TECHNOLOGY, OWNERSHIP, DOMINATION OVER HUMAN INTEREST. COLONIALISM'S LEAVES MUST BE PRUNED AS ALL LEAVES ARE MASKS (CLOAKS). THE BOTTOM LEAVES MUST BE PRUNED BY MAN OR BY ANIMALS SO NOT TO DRAIN THE LIFE FROM THE ROOTS.

Figure 23.3   Maintenance Methods of Capitalism by Cloak and Dagger Theory

Human resources are no exception to this rule. 'Fly-in' services of goods, economic and social consultants, medical supplies and medical professionals are outsourced. Let's not forget the biggest extractors of human resources from our communities in Canada: the city of Ottawa and Department of 'Indian Affairs' with thousands of organisations that count only 1 per cent as Indigenous employees. In summary, capitalism through multinational empires of the major industrialised countries, extracts from the peripheral and hinterland countries that in turn all extract from Third-World countries through exploitive labour practices such as free trade zone textile industries and other cheap labour practices to assemble goods that we can pick up at Wal-Mart or a car dealership. It is quite evident where Indigenous communities are located from a global to local perspective within this framework.

This framework of extraction can be seen from a global to local perspective of more resources to fewer resources, the most autonomous to the least autonomous and the richest to the poorest. One can add more circles to this framework, such as good health and bad health, but the outer circle best illustrates how one element is dependent on the other. In moving along this diagram in a counter-clockwise direction, it becomes evident that underdevelopment is not an accident but a purposeful relationship that transfers value from the less-developed countries to the industrialised nations. This framework (like the framework that follows it) provides the context for practice, research and teaching (Cyr, 1995).

The *Maintenance Methods of Capitalism by Cloak and Dagger Theory* framework is a tree of colonialism that reveals how our location is maintained as individuals, as families, our extended community family, our First Nation, Turtle Island First Nations,[3] newcomers to Turtle Island and the World/other nations. This Framework is presented in Figure 23.3 above. This illustrates the

maintenance methods of capitalism through inequities to create factionalism amongst and within those inequities/isms. Colonialism, a form of capitalist development that Europeans brought to Turtle Island when they began to invade its shores was a method of extraction in that it initiated the process of extraction that transferred resources from Turtle Island nations to those in other parts of the world, but particularly Europe. Colonialism as extraction is unsophisticated; it is its methods that are complex and omnipresent. It is those methods of divide and conquer that I am addressing in this article for research, practice and teaching.

I then proceed to locate myself within the Eight Stages of Life as methodology. The first four stages of life are met as we enter from the Spirit World. They are the stages of infancy, toddler, child and the wandering stage, also known as adolescence. As we prepare to return to the Spirit World, we encounter the other four stages: the young adult stage; the Nurturing Stage as parent; the uncle or auntie, grandparent, granduncle or grandauntie stage; and the Elder or Wisdom stage. It is said that the Child and the Elder are the closest to the Spirit World as one is coming from the Spirit World and the other is about to return.

Locational Indigenous Frameworks for Research, Teaching, and Practice

I believe that as we come into this world we unlearn. Ceremonies and Teachings of the Four Directions let us access the Creator or God or Higher Power and are given to us to relearn in preparation to return to the Spirit World. All stages are interdependent and are not always related to age. Each phase or stage is impacted by one's social location, our individual and collective experiences as well as the experiences and location of those around us. The interconnectedness of frameworks continues within the following concept titled the *Learning Framework and Wheel for Practice and Conflict Resolution/Mediation*. This is portrayed in Figure 23.4.

As we arrive from the Spirit World as an infant, we are immediately given 'information': Physical information, Mental information, Spiritual and Emotional information. As we continue on our path within the Life Circle, we begin to decipher from simple words to phrases towards understanding how to express and process this information. Then we are introduced to 'ways of knowing, ideologies and philosophies' within the Physical (philosophies), the Emotional (philosophies), the Spiritual (philosophies) and the Mental (philosophies). Information and ways of knowing increase as our life path continues with more relationships formed through family, childhood friendships, school, more school (college) or work, our community, our partners, our children, nieces or nephews, our grand-children, grand-nieces nephews and so on. Within our encounters we have unique individual and collective experiences that begin as soon as we enter from the Spirit World. These continue as we return to the Spirit World within the physical realm, the emotional realm, the mental realm and the spiritual realm. And, they enable us to make connections between personal concerns and those that are considered structural.

The Learning, Practice and Conflict Resolution Wheel Framework in Figure 23.4 is essential to understanding the base of practice, research and teaching. That base is relationships, all my Relations; it is an interconnectedness that embraces plants, animals, Nations, Ancestors and encompasses the Four Directions of North, South, East and West and the Fifth Direction of Mother Earth, the Sixth Direction of Father Sky and the Seventh Direction as the Fire of the Centre or the Self.

In the introduction, I referred to my vision and words as being rooted in First Nations' ways of 'Knowing, Seeing, Doing and Being'. As objectives, I wanted to reveal the interdependence of not only research, practice and teaching but also of information, knowledge, and ways of knowing, individual experiences and collective experiences. I will explore this aspect of my story in the next section.

INFORMATION
(ALL FORMS)   WISDOM

WAYS OF KNOWING   INDIVIDUAL AND
KNOWLEDGE/IDEOLOGIES   COLLECTIVE EXPERIENCES
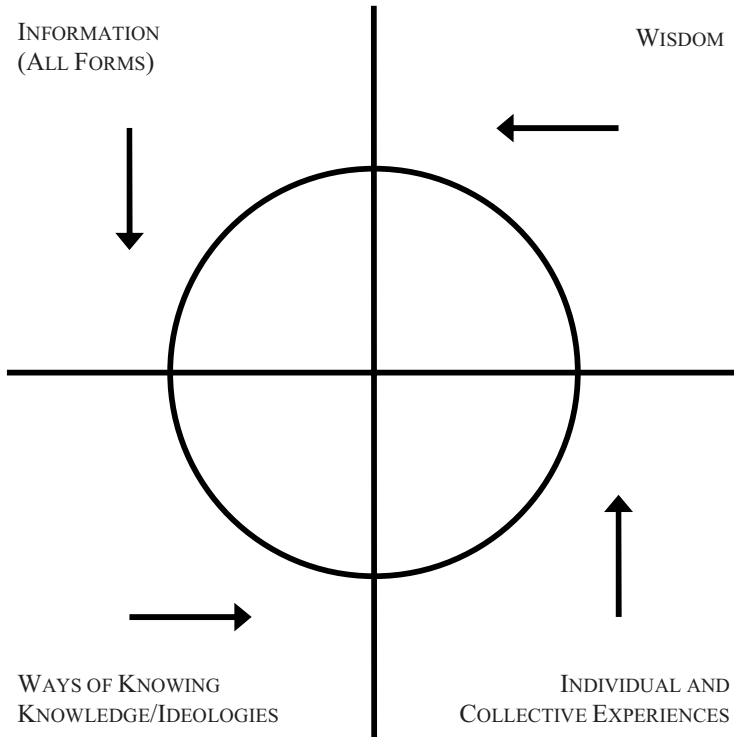
Figure 23.4   Learning Framework and Wheel for Practice and Conflict Resolution/Mediation

Practice, Research and Teaching

Practice

In relation to practice, the vision for this article is an introduction to an anti-colonialist practice as restorative practice. Its processes will contribute to mending the ties that bind – relationships, all my Relations and interconnectedness. These can take place:

• Within the self and individuals;
• Within groups;
• Within a First Nation community;
• With other First Nation communities; and
• In effective partnership with mainstream organisations and individuals, groups or communities?

Our First Nations' vision aims to restore relationships through:

• Accountable practice;
• Ethical practice;
• Ownership of practice; and
• Responsibility and in practice.

If we look at a tree as only having a trunk, branches and leaves, then issues, struggles or conflicts are issues that are only defined, struggles that are only categorised and conflicts that are only regulated. We must look to the roots and its characteristics to go beyond superficial observations and reach understanding. A tree has rings of time and history, bark to protect and resist the elements and veins that supply the leaves with nourishment. A tree has growths at the bottom and around it that resemble shiny green new growth but these are more like tumours. They drain the roots of its nutrients. These growths are naturally pruned by animals in nature and individuals in the city. It is crucial to recognise the root cause of internalised oppression and colonialism within individuals and groups and its hybridisation within whole nations. Issues are deep-rooted within individual struggles to relate to all our Relations. Colonialism is not an accident and its methods are designed to break down traditional First Nations ways of relating.

Legislation has perpetrated a numerical genocide by defining who is 'Indian' and who is not, while controlling where one resides, who one marries, where one works and even where one is buried in the their maintenance of a delusional belief of state-defined 'status'. Residential schools, present day child protection/child welfare procedures, past and present practices in the correctional system or diseases such as diabetes divide our families and our ways of relating. Life is relationships. If a child is removed from its parents, what becomes of my role as an Aunt, Parent, Sister or Grand-Parent? What is my sister, brother, mother, father to do? What is the role then of the community in which the child resides. What is the role of the Nation?

Writers have discussed the impacts of residential schools within lived individual and collective experiences (Crey, 1997; Milloy, 1999; Thomas, 2000). Other writers have described colonialism's impact and patriarchy within colonialism from contact to present, and its internalisation amongst and within Nations (Adams, 1999; Churchill, 1998) through policies such as the Indian Act. Third party management, although publicised within band administration, is maintained by the state in the economic realm, social realm and health realm. The frameworks and the methodology provided above can provide tools to observe, reflect and act upon the internalised issues, struggles and conflicts amongst individuals, groups or Nations. I illustrate this process in the vignette below.

An individual, who I first met in crisis at the Aboriginal Women's Support Centre in Ottawa, had come to a place on her path towards wanting to disclose her sexual abuse by an uncle to her family. Our first encounter was about listening. She had a voice that was loud; like a voice not heard! Learning to listen and listening to learn were important towards understanding that at that moment, she perceived herself as having no Physical choices, no Mental choices, no Spiritual choices and no Emotional choices. She was in crisis in the Four Directions and was reflecting on the only choice available when in major crisis, suicide. I shared with her my own experience and validated hers and then, we smudged.[4] Together we looked for a choice within the Medicine Wheel. She said:

> I kind of go to another world when I get those f.....en flashbacks. That smudging was good, I don't know why, but I'm feeling more here, now.

She had found that first choice: to stabilise herself.

In our shared times together, we developed many wheels from the Social Location and the Learning framework to identify potential conflicts that she would encounter with her family. She identified that everyone had different information about the abuse, that all her siblings had similar, yet distinct, individual and collective experiences around the abuse. They all had distinct ways of knowing; one sibling was Pentecostal and a teacher, the other a Catholic and unemployed, and another she described as a 'neo-traditional Indian' and politician. The social location framework provided a wealth of information about her feelings, place in the community and context.

We also looked at where she and her siblings were in the Eight Stages of Life and the Medicine Wheel.[5] If I remember correctly, there were around 50 circles that she created. These Gifted tools have become a foundation for my helping relationships with individuals, groups and organisations. The Learning framework of Figure 23.4 and the two Indigenous tools that I discussed earlier are an effective combination. Imagine the different ways that miscommunication can cause conflict. For instance, information can include misinformation, too much information, not enough information or no information. The framework merits further elaboration in helping relationships but that is for another time on our path of 'seeking mino-pimatisiwin' or 'well being' (Hart, 2002). The next sharing I convey below. It will converge into guidelines and tools to complete ethical action oriented research.

Research

We are in constant 'research mode' as professors and practitioners. We evaluate, we assess and we recommend within academia, the classroom and practice. The frameworks discussed earlier in this chapter provide instruments of context and self-location in relation to others. The fundamental nature of these frameworks is that 'we' become 'they' in research. *They* evaluate, *they* assess, *they* recommend and *they* complete the data analysis. These frameworks have been effective in combination with defined goals, the various ways of relating as 'insider' and 'outsider' in our communities, other Indigenous communities and building support systems within those communities as outlined by Linda Tuhiwai Smith.

As a young researcher in her own community, Linda Tuhiwai Smith's colleagues identified her as a definite 'insider'. Once she was in the community she quickly discovered she was as much an 'outsider' within her own way of self locating (Smith, G H, 2000, 2001; Smith, L T, 1999, 2000). As a non-resident in my own First Nation community, in other First Nation communities or other communities as a researcher, I may be more an outsider than insider.

In 2000–2001, I completed research for a proposal to establish a First Nation's student service followed by a First Nations wing at the Université du Québec en Abitibi-Témiscamingue. We visited Canadian post-secondary institutions outside Quebec that had established First Nations programmes, a house of learning and/or First Nation student services and First Nation faculty and staff. I mention outside Quebec for awareness, as I am the only First Nation professor in a francophone university in the province of Quebec and there are no First Nation student services or house of learning with the exception of one First Nation student service staffed by non-First Nations. English-speaking universities in Quebec are within their infancy of establishing First Nation student services by Aboriginal people, for Aboriginal people. First Nations faculty and staff are also 'few and far between' in Quebec's English-language post-secondary institutions and most within that handful are adjunct or sessional instructors.

Non-Native control of Native community research is seen by some First Nations as 'shelved data' and a form of internalised colonialism. It is internalised in that we mistrust our own people in completing research for fear of being labelled as a revolutionary or radical (Gilchrist, 1997). As an 'outsider' in a mainstream non-diverse environment, the framework tools became instrumental in negotiating the legitimisation of Indigenous space and Indigenous knowledge within programs and curricula for First Nation faculty, staff and students. These concepts and individual and collective experiences facilitated the various ways of relating within the First Nation programs and services that we visited. In lieu of colonial research that limits by definition, pigeonholes by categorisation and implements by legislation, policy and rules, my research principles are to observe as vision, to reflect as design and to do as action towards change. Anti-colonialist research is about accessible research with the objective of sharing knowledge; not ownership or copyright as priority.

Teaching

As an anti-colonial educator, it can be difficult to challenge listeners to observe and reflect in relation to a subject but also to take action. As professors we may memorise the narrative content of definitions, categories and regulative policies to relate to students as to who they are, what they should do and how they should do it, or we can take the risk to observe, reflect and act 'inside' the box and 'outside' the box. The Wheel can be a guide for examining the impact of policies and issues in First Nations communities and their deconstruction to bring about the renewal of relationships and all our Relations. A process for delivering motivational, action-oriented reciprocal learning is through the Circle, grounded in a First nation way of 'Knowing', 'Being', 'Seeing' and 'Doing'. I teach and learn concurrently by Four Circles ways in various settings. They are the Healing Circle, Sharing Circle, Teaching Circle and Learning Circle.

Paulo Freire presents banking as an analogy of conventional education. Learning is a transaction of depositing with the students as the depositories and with the teachers as the depositors (Freire, 1996). There is a uniqueness of practicing each of these Circles. All Circles are present within varying degrees as are the four frameworks that I presented above. Rather than receiving and filing deposits; accounts that have become dormant are reactivated. All Circles are a collective of individual teachers and learners and each, in turn, are heard with their voice and sometimes their silence. It is a short-sighted view that we gain knowledge and particularly wisdom, mostly via questions.

Within a Circle there is inner questioning but not necessarily explicit questions expressed as each teacher/learner is heard. One does not have to put their hand up to speak as their turn will come without interruption. The Circle provides respect, time and space for all to speak or to pass rather than just the usual few who talk in various learning settings. I know when I have my hand up in a meeting or lecture I am stressed and wonder if I will have that chance and when by surprise – it is me (my turn), and I say, 'Sorry I lost my train of thought!' Like any form of learning, it takes practice 'to learn to listen and listen to learn'. I request that the students try to not take notes during our circle as they have enough reading and writing in relation to the Circle assignments and that this will facilitate the 'learning to listen and listening to learn' process. It is similar to having one's hand up to be heard; but are we really listening or do we just want to be heard?

The classes and programs I practice or develop look at information coming from the Emotional context, the Physical context, the Mental context and the Spiritual context. The information is embedded within communities, organisations, and institutions that the individuals within the Circle come from; each with their own individual and collective identity. That identity is through their individual and collective experiences that are expressed in the form of reflection, analysis, stories or narratives within the Circle. Those Physical, Spiritual, Mental and Emotional individual and collective experiences are integrated with documents, diagrams, notations within their readings. They are also encouraged within their journal, article, video, art, audio, oral expression or any other form of creativity that they may want to incorporate within their assignments. Information, Ways of Knowing, Collective and Individual Experiences and Wisdom takes place in Physical, Spiritual, Mental and Emotional contexts. These contexts impact upon the identity of the individual, the identity of communities, the identity of organisations, and the identity of institutions that frame relationships with all our Relations. Relationships are key when research or discussion emerges about 'best practice'. Ultimately, it is the individuals and collectives within those communities, organisations and institutions that decide who, where, what and why a certain practice is best. The wisdom is walking the talk; applying the information, ways of knowing, and experiences in action.

In 1998, I left the University of Victoria for a position to direct and teach in an Aboriginal BSW programme for the Eeyou (Cree) Nation through UQAT in Northern Quebec, Canada. The programme was a signed protocol agreement with the Université du Québec en Abitibi-Témiscamingue (UQAT) and the Cree Board of Health and Social Services of James Bay. It was established to develop a 90-credit Bachelor of Social Work program. This unique BSW programme has provided First Nations students with the academic requirements to obtain a Bachelor degree while continuing to maintain the cultural practices of Cree communities. This programme aimed to provide opportunities to the students of the Éeyou Istchee (Cree Nation) communities to facilitate and participate in social change within Social and Rehabilitation services in James Bay, Quebec.

The pathway of the programme promoted the development of heart-attitude, knowledge and intervention skills that would foster the well-being of individuals, families, groups and community. It aimed at the self-management of the students' practice through an integration of knowledge from experience and theory. This programme was characterised by the recognition of the Cree Nation cultural identity, the population for which it was designed. The programme was developed and intended for First Nations students; courses were taught by First Nations instructors in English via a French-language university. The Cree BSW Programme was an innovative collaboration with a French language post-secondary educational institution. The courses were held in different coastal or inland communities on a rotational basis.

The Quebec James Bay Cree students were the first contingent to undertake the degree in its current format. The majority of the 50 students were employees of the Cree Board of Health and Social Services within the coastal and inland James Bay area in the northern region of the Province of Ontario. This six-year programme consisted of two practicum (placements) equal to 700 hours, four courses per year that were delivered into each of the communities on a rotating basis in 10-day intensive block that included two travel days.

Our programme includes teachings that begin at the East, to look critically at traditional ideology, and historical policies and practices that have impacted our structures. Next at the South, we look at policies that continue to be present in First Nations' lives and begin to deconstruct exploitative systems. At the West, we begin to deconstruct systems and work through the healing from imposed policies and renew relationships with children, youth, adults and elders. In the North, while continuing to heal from the West, we recognise the knowledge and power to facilitate change with external systems that surround First Nations' communities. We had also used this as a term of reference or framework to analyse policy that impacts Aboriginal communities, individuals and Nations. In this sharing it provides a picture of the stages that the Eeyou (Cree) BSW Programme students progressively have gone through.

It is a daily struggle to withstand the tension of what people know and what people do in academia. I have to remind myself of my own social location in this political and pedagogical setting; that those individuals have another identity shaped by the inherent processes of institutionalized oppression and materiality that I can easily internalise. I can only continue to politicise myself and those I encounter to see themselves as agencies of changes by praxis (see Hooks, 1994 and Freire 1996). The Wheel and the other frameworks guide my philosophy for ongoing development for an Indigenous anti-colonialist strategy for practice, research and teaching in reciprocity. There will be legitimacy with most who read this and it will be seen as 'alternative' for some – for just a little while longer! Meegwetch (Thank You).

Notes

1. I have capitalised words for emphasis but also in recognition of how I see its importance and often of its Sacredness.

2. I have capitalized words that I understand at this time to be Sacred.
3. Turtle Island is the First Nations name for North America
4. A cleansing ceremony practiced by many First Nations.
5. I acknowledge Dorothy Meness, First degree Midewewin and Grandmother for the many teachings such as the Stages of Life, passed to me and as a translator of not only language but culture within Lodges, Ceremonies and Teachings.

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Retheorising International Social Work for the Global Professional Community

LYNNE M. HEALY

Introduction

The processes and manifestations of globalisation are continuing to change the context of the profession of social work and to impact its practice locally and globally. As a result of these changes, the concept of international social work is increasingly salient to the professional community of social workers. This chapter will explore issues that globalisation raises for the agenda facing social work around the world and reconceptualise international social work as a force in strengthening and sustaining a global community of social workers. To realise the potential of this global community, social work education must reshape and enhance a focus on international social work. Globalisation is richly described and defined in other chapters in this book, especially the introduction and chapters one and two.

For the purposes of this chapter, I assume that globalisation has had an impact on social work in a number of ways. As many have recognised, globalisation has reshaped and magnified the agenda for social work concern and action and has created new practice demands in many localities and countries. More positively, the communications revolution (or evolution) coupled with globalisation has clearly increased the possibilities for contact and communication among social workers. Globalisation also presents as yet underutilised possibilities for concerted action. Thus, globalisation is playing a role in creating a global community of social workers, as briefly defined below.

Social Work as a Global Community

To consider social workers around the world as a community, we must depart from classic locality based definitions of community, such as Roland Warren's definition of community as 'that combination of social units and systems which perform the major social functions having locality relevance' (1975: 20) and extract the idea of 'relationships among groups of people who share some common values, fate, or function' from the link to locality (Kramer and Specht, 1975: 17). Although community theorists emphasise locality or 'communities of place', functional and cultural communities or 'communities of interest' are also recognised (Hardcastle, Wenocur and Powers, 1997). Fellin (1995: 114) defines communities as 'social units with one or more of the following three dimensions: a functional spatial unit meeting sustenance needs; a unit of patterned social interaction; a symbolic unit of collective identity'. He specifically identifies professions as a type of community 'of interest and identification' and notes that these communities are often involved in organisations – perhaps also suggesting the notion of social interaction.

Panzetta's (1975: 31) work on 'where', 'when' and 'how' communities is also relevant. Could social workers globally be considered a 'when' community – a banding together of people who

share certain values in order to achieve goals? Panzetta ties the formation of 'when' communities to the presence of oppression and leadership in the context of 'shared values [and] common goals' (p. 32). Optimally, social work also has the potential to become a global 'how' community, in which the community is an instrument to accomplish important agendas (Panzetta, 1975). These ideas will be discussed further below.

Viewing social workers as a global community has important implications. It suggests that professional function be examined in terms of how globalisation is changing the practice of social workers and creating shared goals. A second important dimension is the creation of a new arena for action – social workers as actors in global civil society; this involves developing new patterns of relationships and a global agenda. Some retheorising of the nature of international social work is required to define a concept with utility for globally relevant practice and action. In considering international social work, we must also address the challenging issues of univeralism versus localism in social work.

Threats and Opportunities: Social Work's Agenda in the Globalisation Era

Although there are debates as to whether globalisation is a revolution or an evolution, it is safe to conclude that global forces are affecting the agenda of concern to social workers at local and international levels. As a practice profession, social work derives its functions from locally experienced social problems and conditions shaped or nuanced by the confluence of political, economic and cultural influences. Increasingly, these locally experienced social conditions are set in motion by forces operating at the global level. Thus, the issues confronting social workers are increasingly influenced by international or global events and forces, creating a heightened level of commonality of concerns or community of interests. Many in the academic and governmental communities have argued that globalisation is creating or exacerbating conditions that add to the social work agenda, locally and globally (Prigoff, 1999; Ife, 2000).

An extensive discussion of the impact of globalisation on social work practice and agenda is not possible here, but several trends stand out in their saliency and impact on the social work community and people served by social workers. These are: the persistence of severe poverty and exacerbation of the gap between rich and poor around the world; high levels of voluntary and forced migration; and distressing examples of encroachment on human rights principles and practices largely in response to growing world concern about terrorism. I argue that these oppressive forces create fertile ground for a social work global 'when' community (Panzetta, 1975).

Poverty and Globalisation

Asked to identify the most outrageous human rights violation in the late 20th-early 21st century world, former United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mary Robinson, always answered 'poverty' (May, 2002). Several decades earlier, Sir Shridath Ramphal, Commonwealth representative to the United Nations, expressed this outrage as 'all the dictators and all the aggressors throughout history, however ruthless, have not succeeded in creating as much misery and suffering as the disparities between the world's rich and poor sustain today' (quoted in Wronka, 1995). Yet, since this speech in 1982, the gap between rich and poor has grown significantly larger. The UN Millennium Development Goals, the driving social agenda of the UN for the early 21st century, identify the alleviation of extreme poverty and hunger as the first goal (UNDP, 2003). More than 1.2 billion people around the world are identified as living on less than $1 per day, most of them in the poorer countries of Africa, South Asia, and sections of Latin America and the Caribbean (UNDP,

2003). Ethiopia and Nicaragua, for example, list 82 percent of their people as living on less than $1 per day (UNICEF, 2003). But few countries are immune. Trinidad and Tobago, labelled a high human development country by the United Nations Development Programme, is reported by the UNDP as having 39 percent of its population living below the $2 a day poverty level and over 12 percent below the $1 per day figure (UNDP, 2002).

The gap between rich and poor within countries and that between rich and poor countries have both continued to grow. In Brazil, long noted as a country with extreme within country economic inequality, the poorest 40 percent of the population has only 8 percent of the total household income, while the top 20 percent commands 64 percent (UNICEF, 2003). The comparable figures for South Africa of only 6 percent of income going to the poorest 40 percent and a whopping 67 percent to the richest 20 percent are indicative of that nation's daunting challenges of social inequality, rising expectations, and concerns over unrest and instability.

The industrialised countries are not immune from gross economic inequality; the respective figures for the United States and the United Kingdom are 16 percent and 46 percent for the US and 18 percent and 43 percent for the UK (UNICEF, 2003). More distressing is that in most nations, the gap continues to grow and appears to be directly related to the forces of globalisation that permit multinational companies to continuously search for low wage workers and to withdraw precipitously from existing factory locations. A recent study of the impact of one US retail giant suggests that its purchasing practices are forcing down wages not only in the US but also in China, the source of most of its products (Cleeland et al., 2003). Thus, this retailer is directly contributing to global poverty. As expressed by Dominelli, 'persons are becoming commodities in the global economy as capital moves from country to country in order to reduce labour and production costs and increase profits' (Dominelli, 2000: 16). The forces of globalisation that bring a job to a poor woman in Mauritius can take it away tomorrow in search of cheaper labour.

The gap between incomes in rich and poor countries is well known, so it will not be presented in depth. Even cursory comparisons of the GDP per capita in the United States of $34,142 and Japan at $26,755 with the figures of some of their regional neighbours – Haiti at $1,467 and the Philippines at $3,971 – demonstrate the severity of the gap (UNDP, 2002).

Exacerbating the gaps are the extreme and ongoing cutbacks in social, educational and health expenditures by governments in most countries. According to Sutherland (1998: 2), 'Globalisation thus simultaneously increases the demand for social insurance while decreasing the capacity to provide it'. In some cases, the forces of globalisation may have truly decreased country capacity to adequately fund social insurance and other services, as the now almost twenty year impact of debt and structural adjustment policies has taken a severe toll on heavily indebted countries. The ensuing cuts in health and education spending coupled with increases in the prices of commodities resulting from currency devaluations and loosening of subsidies – all policies required by the International Monetary Fund to restore credit worthiness in indebted nations – have been severe enough to be measurable through worsening social and health indicators.

But in other countries, most notably the wealthier North American and European countries, cutbacks in social provisions have been linked to shifting political ideologies and a focus on competitiveness in the global marketplace. A local legislator in the United States justified voting to drop thousands of near-poor families from state-funded health insurance by remarking: 'health care for children was a good idea when the state could afford it, but it no longer can' – this in the state (Connecticut) with the highest per capita income in the United States. Thus, political will rather than capacity can be cited as the root of such cutbacks.

The practice and policy implications of the impact of globalisation on poverty are many. At the micro level, persistent and worsening poverty levels mean an increase in personal suffering, family dislocation and increased challenges for social workers as they attempt to

address family needs with fewer available entitlements and services. At the local and national levels, issues of social provisions and social policy ensure a full advocacy agenda for the social work profession in the struggle to preserve and restore economic rights and protections. It is the global level that has received less attention, yet economic, political and social forces at the global level are significant causative factors in poverty levels, rich-poor income gaps, and retreat from social protections. Global poverty is a key element of a global agenda for the social work community.

Migration and the New Transnational Family

International migration is perhaps the most concrete manifestation of the impact of globalisation on social work practice and is often linked to poverty. Estes estimated that in 1997, of 100 million people living involuntarily outside their country of origin, only between 10 and 11 million are officially classified as refugees; and another 10 million listed as 'of concern' by the United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UN, 2003). In addition to those who migrate involuntarily are many who voluntarily migrate in search of better opportunities or to join family members. The rate of migration has increased dramatically in some parts of the world in the most recent decade. Demographic information from the United States indicates that 11.5 percent of the current population are individuals born in other countries and 1 in every 5 children has an immigrant parent (US Bureau of the Census, February 2003). This is more than double the 1970 figure of 4.8 percent of the population.

Modern travel and communications technology have fuelled the phenomenon of transnationalism – living 'at one and the same time in two different countries', either physically moving back and forth or keeping in close touch with people and institutions in the two countries through telephone, email, visits, and sending of money:

> Although circular migration has always been present, with migrants living sequentially in the source and receiving country, migrants can now live at one and the same time in two different countries. Even those who permanently relocate are able to keep in touch with family members at home far longer and more easily than in the past (Martin, 2001: 2).

Martin notes that these ties encourage the sending of remittances (money sent by immigrants to individuals, usually relatives, in the home country) over long periods of time and 'reinforce the networks that produce future migration' (Martin, 2001: 2).

The impact of migration is felt in many parts of the world and the challenge of providing services to immigrants and refugees is particularly burdensome in poorer countries. Mupedziawa (1997) cited the example of Malawi during a period when refugees from Mozambique streamed into Malawi at such a high rate that there was one Mozambican refugee for every 9 Malawi residents. As he reminds the rest of the world, 'the large majority of refugees from the developing nations have fled to other developing countries' (Mupedziawa, 1997: 112). Major refugee hosting countries in 2004 included Iran, Pakistan and Tanzania (UNCHR, 2003).

Increases in migration are important to social workers both in their roles as practitioners and in shaping the shared global agenda for action on policies as well as services. Social workers must understand the forces and processes of migration to creatively address issues of resettlement, repatriation and new challenges of transnationalism. At least as important is the imperative of advocacy on multiple levels for humane immigration and refugee policies and protection of human rights. Transnationalism and migration are arenas where increased collaboration within the global social work community has potential for improving social work services.

Retreat from Human Rights

The challenges of poverty and migration have intensified gradually, but a new and perhaps cataclysmic global change has been a sudden retreat from protection of human rights – the third issue in this brief discussion of the global agenda for the social work community of interest. Terrorist attacks have been used by insurgents in many parts of the world in the 20th and early 21st centuries: IRA bombings in the United Kingdom, the protracted terrorist attacks in Sri Lanka; and of course, many episodes on all sides of the Israeli-Palestinian struggle. Each terrorist incident raises questions about the appropriate balance between physical security and civil liberties. Following the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks in New York, many countries reacted by severely curtailing civil and human rights. While immigrants were particularly targeted, citizens as well as immigrants have lost important civil rights.

In the United States, immigrants have been targeted and subjected to intense scrutiny. As Lear Matthews explained, 'immigrants from all levels of the social stratum, who share the pain of Americans (due to September 11) have been further victimised by attitudes of intolerance, stereotyping, ethnic profiling and stricter immigration policies' (Matthews, 2002: 105). Some immigrants have been detained indefinitely and held in secret; others have been deported for very minor violations of immigration procedures. The USA Patriot Act (Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism) 'ensures the deportation of immigrants who support organisations that, known or unknown to them, fund terrorism' and this is to be applied retroactively (Matthews, 2002: 105). Thus, an immigrant who gives money to an advocacy or charitable organisation that is later deemed to have also funded a terrorist activity is subject to deportation. In addition, the normal processes of immigration have been disrupted, as border security has been tightened and the process of issuing visas slowed significantly. According to the Untied Nations High Commission on Refugees, humanitarian policies have suffered:

> In the fallout from the September 2001 attacks in the United States and the subsequent global war on terror, the resettlement programme was particularly hard hit … Globally, the number of persons resettled under UNHCR auspices plunged by 51 percent from previous years (UNHCR, 2003).

In the United States, the number of refugees admitted in 2003 was only 28,419 although 70,000 slots had been approved (*Back on Track?* 2003). The human rights fallout from the policy reactions to September 11 is far-reaching. In democratic societies, abridging basic civil rights by permitting unreasonable searches or detention without charges changes the social compact. The long struggle for racial and social justice in the United States, for example, has been built upon the rule of law and on civil liberties, and these assumptions underlie the teaching of social justice in schools of social work. The rule of law has suddenly been undermined as the platform for justice. While the role of the United States in international human rights is contentious and based on a narrow definition of rights, the country does have a history of strong advocacy for civil and political rights. There are already signs that retraction of the US commitment to basic civil rights is giving license to other countries to openly enact new restrictions on their own people. These new violations add to the many other human rights violations occurring elsewhere.

Social work as a global community faces problems of increased poverty, a widening gap between rich and poor, continued large numbers of people forced to migrate by political, military and economic threats and a curtailment of human rights resulting from reactions to terrorism. These are not the only challenges to social work, but are illustrative. To these we could add HIV/AIDS, a condition that has already erased 40 years of human development gains in parts of Africa and killed 22 million people worldwide (UNDP, 2003), and the situation of women's

status worldwide, where events in Afghanistan, Zimbabwe and other places have shown how easily advances can be reversed. Together, these trends exacerbate social and physical insecurity. Social workers in practice encounter increased levels of client suffering while their capacity to provide adequate services is compromised. Faced with enormous practice demands and the necessity of responding to globalisation at the local level, the profession is in danger of becoming further marginalised unless it takes on a macro-level change agenda to address these threats. Social work must be both local and global. And, it has to recognise and utilise the opportunities presented by forces of globalisation.

Opportunities Created by Globalisation

Communications and Exchange

Fellin's definition of community included the importance of social interaction. Advances in communications technology have created new possibilities for rapid exchanges of social work information and knowledge, and ongoing interaction among social workers worldwide. The technology divide between rich and poor and the English-language bias of information sources cannot be ignored, nonetheless, the worldwide web and comparatively inexpensive access to information and interchange made possible by personal computers open vast stores of information to practitioners almost everywhere. As stated in a discussion of civil society:

> although access to information technology remains highly unequal both within countries and across regions, even the existing unequal access gives citizens of the world's poorer regions far more opportunity to have a voice than they ever had before (Florini, 2000: 222).

Email, discussion boards, and chat rooms make the vision of a worldwide community of social workers in contact with one another a real possibility. Though underutilised, it is possible to conduct case consultations, seminars, and board meetings via the internet. Care must be taken to avoid what Askeland and Payne (2002) called 'web-based colonialism' by remaining aware of language dominance and inequities in access and working to ensure that the internet does not become a means to take Northern models and theories of social work to new markets. Nonetheless, social work can increasingly mine the potentials of global communication for building and strengthening a professional community.

Global Civil Society

Social workers can use communications technology to increase their own knowledge for practice and encourage global activism and advocacy. Another opportunity for professional action that has been spawned by globalisation is the growth of global civil society. Labelled a 'super-power' in the post-Cold War era by an activist in the anti-landmine campaign, civil society is expressed globally via numerous transnational organisations and social movements (Florini, 2000). Loosely, civil society is comprised of those groups or networks that are outside the control of nation states or multinational corporations. Florini (2000: 224) points out that 'globalisation itself is providing an ever-larger number of focal points around which transnational networks can coalesce' and that together with improved technology and a growth in domestic civil societies, this increased agenda is a significant force in expanding transnational civil society. For social work, these focal points include poverty, migration and human rights, among other issues.

Opportunities for civil society action are both intra-professional, using organisations like IFSW and IASSW, and interdisciplinary through participation in issue-oriented social movements of interest to social work, such as the Jubilee 2000 movement that worked for debt relief or Amnesty International and its focus on human rights abuses. To date, civil society movements have been most effective in bringing issues to world attention and protesting ill-advised projects and government or corporate abuses. They have been much less effective in developing and implementing solutions to global problems. Therein lies a significant challenge for social work in seizing the opportunities presented for becoming an effective 'how' community. To do so will require a retheorising of the concept of international social work and educational initiatives that inspire and prepare professionals for global action.

International Social Work: Contentions and Definitions

International social work is an appropriate concept for addressing the threats, challenges and opportunities presented by forces of globalisation. As discussed below, the concept is not widely accepted and has been plagued by vagueness and marginality. It is often viewed as a specialised and quite marginal field of interest, rather than a concept that can unite the profession for relevance in the era of globalisation. Retheorising international social work to respond to globalisation must include putting an end to dichotomous thinking. International social work has often been characterised by sharp divisions into either/or questions: Is social work an international profession or is it a Western profession forced on the rest of the world? Is practice domestic or international? Which force is more relevant to social work – globalisation or localisation? Is international social work only of concern in the rich countries or in all countries? Is international social work a field for specialists or generalists? These are common dichotomies in thinking about international social work and cast dialogue about globalisation in social work in terms of good versus evil.

Definitions of international social work have ranged from vague and general to overly narrow and restrictive formulations (Stein, 1957; Kimberly, 1984; Sanders and Pederson, 1984; Healy, 1995). Furthermore, the lack of clear links to practice and mainstream social work interests has hindered the development of international social work. A simple starting place is to ask in what ways social workers around the world should be prepared to interact with the forces and consequences of globalisation. There are at least four ways in which most social workers can connect and contribute. First, they must be able to address individual and community problems that result from globalisation in their own practice, i.e., to demonstrate practice competence in situations that require an understanding of globalisation and international issues. A nearly universal feature of social work is recognition that social workers have responsibilities for contributing to better social conditions in addition to satisfactory performance of their jobs. Second, they can monitor the impact of their own country's policies and actions on the well-being of others, including immigration policies, and votes and negotiating positions in the United Nations, and work to influence these policies. Taking this further, social workers can contribute to mutual problem solving on issues of global importance, such as HIV/AIDS, poverty, and human trafficking. Finally, they can participate in dialogue and international exchanges of information with colleagues in other places to improve both practice and policy outcomes (Asamoah, Healy and Mayadas, 1997).

In earlier writings, I proposed a multi-part definition that builds upon these ideas and explicates roles and responsibilities for both generalists and specialists in international social work (Healy, 2001). Briefly, international social work is defined as encompassing those elements of social work that require international knowledge for competent practice, and those elements that have an impact on international social issues. These include: 1) competence in internationally related aspects of local social work practice; 2) competence and involvement in policy advocacy on social

aspects of one's own country's foreign policy and overall policies that affect peoples in other countries; 3) capacity to exchange social work knowledge and information internationally and to use this to improve social work practice; 4) the capacity and involvement of the social work professional community in formulation and promulgation of policy positions on global issues and related advocacy; and 5) the involvement of some professional social workers in international development work as specialists (Healy, 2001). This definition addresses the generalist/specialist debate by including all social workers, with room for both generalists and international specialists. It underscores that 'it is increasingly difficult to function effectively at any level of professional social work without an understanding of the global environment' (Hokenstad and Midgley, 1997: 2). Or, as expressed by Lorenz (1997):

> going beyond the national level cannot be the personal hobby of a few specialists who are dealing with migrant and refugee groups or with ethnic minorities … or a few idealists who want to promote international exchanges to widen their horizons and to learn more about methods and practices in other countries. On the contrary, all social work is enmeshed in global processes of change (Lorenz, 1997: 2).

Thus, both the local and global are recognised as important with an emphasis on practice affected by globalisation, whether performed locally or internationally, and on professional responsibility to be active on international policy issues at many levels. An important consideration for social workers in wealthy countries is that international social work is not something to be done 'over there' but rather 'right here'. The civil society agenda mentioned briefly above identifies a particularly significant role for activists from wealthy countries; indeed, Goal 8 of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals is to 'develop a global partnership for development' and calls for significant changes in world patterns of trade, aid and debt relief, changes that can only occur with active participation of residents of the wealthier countries (UNDP, 2003).

Strengthening the global community of social workers will also be advanced by moving beyond the now four decades-old debate as to whether social work is an inherently Western invention. Regardless of its roots, the profession of social work has been implicitly defined as useful in every inhabited continent. Not only has it been present in Asia, Africa and Latin America for half a century or more, with social work education as early as 1925 in Chile and India by 1936, but the more recent emergence or reinvention of social work in the former Soviet bloc nations, China and Vietnam suggests the profession's social utility in a wide range of cultural contexts. Only by recognizing social work's legitimacy in its many environments can a global community of social workers be activated. This is not intended to minimize the sometimes colonialist foreign consultation and borrowing that took place in establishing social work programmes in developing countries and within the last decade in Eastern Europe. However, international consultation and borrowing were not limited to developing countries.

Foreign influences played a significant role in the development of social work in European countries, and new research shows that there was extensive contact between English, German and American social workers in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Kendall, 2000). Indeed, in 1928, Jebb said that the only way a profession could develop was through 'constant contact between social workers on an international intellectual basis' (Jebb, 1929: 651). And, Manon Luttichau, founder of social work in Denmark, travelled widely in Europe and the US to learn about social work because she believed that no one can sit in their own country and develop social work but instead must visit to learn and exchange ideas (Inger Hjerrild, personal correspondence, 1999). Thus, whatever the weaknesses and limitations of the adaptation process, it is time to celebrate the existence of social work throughout the developing world for 50–80 years and to reframe our view of the profession and accept social work as a global profession. In doing so,

we must also recognise this community as diverse and differentially affected by globalisation. Racism and oppression are vivid realities for sectors of the social work community, as well as the populations they serve. Failure to consider this by other sectors will fracture the notion of community at the global level.

Implications for Social Work Education

The redefinition of international social work, recognition of the significance of globalisation for social work practice, and acceptance of social work as a global profession and global professional community have significant implications for social work education and will require new emphases within educational programmes. Two suggested changes are to focus social work curricula on globally relevant concepts and to increase the use of international exchange within education and the profession. Both should be clearly targeted to educate members of a global professional community toward shared values, interests and a commitment to action. These changes will require efforts to address obstacles, as will be discussed later.

Globally Relevant Concepts for Social Work Education

The discussion above certainly implies that social work education should include increased content on the forces of globalisation and their impact on practice and policy. Students should gain an understanding of economic and political dimensions of globalisation, the human consequences of these forces, and possibilities for civic action locally and internationally. Additionally, social work curricula should emphasise concepts that have global applicability in order to strengthen collective identity among social workers and provide a foundation for international social work. These concepts include human rights, human security, multiculturalism/anti-racism/social exclusion and development, among others. Lorenz called for a similar shift in the 'conventional boundaries' of social work:

> Internationalising social work means critically questioning the conventional boundaries of solidarity, questioning the ideological assumptions, dressed up as economic arguments, behind measures of exclusion, pushing out the boundaries of solidarity [beyond the European] to a global perspective and ultimately contributing to a shift from the welfare discourse to one on human rights (Lorenz, 1994: 167–168).

Human Rights

Of these concepts, human rights is particularly powerful and useful as a framework for social work theory and practice. The International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) has declared that social work is a human rights profession (1988). As expressed by the Secretary General of IFSW, 'human rights are inseparable from social work theory, values, ethics and practice' (Johannesen, 1997: 155). Human rights principles are delineated in myriad United Nations declarations, covenants and conventions, especially the Universal Declaration on Human Rights; the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; The International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination; the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women; and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Social workers must learn the provisions of these treaties and the requisite knowledge and skills to apply them to practice at the individual, community and global levels.

In addition, students should be prepared to take on advocacy roles to address the recent retreats from human rights addressed earlier in this paper; curtailment of human rights must be resisted as the antidote to terrorism. There are also remaining challenges to ensure that all members of the

human family are brought specifically within human rights protections. The recent withdrawal of a proposed treaty to protect sexual minorities is an unfortunate reminder of the limitations of current treaties. The rights of persons with disabilities are still under-recognised and in need of further elaboration and protection. Students should be encouraged to apply the principles of human rights to their own local practice and to advocate for broader human rights protections.

Human Security
Concerns over conflict, terrorism and severe poverty call attention to the concept of human security. Current understandings of human security goes beyond freedom from war and crime and refers to 'prospects for a peaceful existence without exposure to threats of violence, present or future hunger, or lack of income' (Healy, 2001: 274). Globalisation has contributed to increased social insecurity in many parts of the world, as global capital exploits short-term opportunities for high return without regard to the needs of the populations. Thus, many are insecure because of unemployment or threats of unemployment. Others are forced into migration by armed conflict or by severe economic hardship and experience the insecurity of loss of home.

The broad utility of the concept of human security for social work education was dramatically demonstrated when the United Nations Security Council put the global AIDS pandemic on its security agenda (Piot, 2004). As social work educators include the concept of human security in curricula, the profession will have increased opportunities to ensure that the concept of security is broadly understood and that measures to increase security give adequate weight to economic and social security, not just protection from physical violence.

Multi-Culturalism and Anti-Racism
At the end of the Cold War and of apartheid, many expected a new era of racial and ethnic harmony. Among the many threats to that harmony have been episodes of ethnic and racial hatred that have ranged from racism to 'ethnic cleansing' to genocide (Metha, 1997). As noted earlier in this chapter, migration has continued at a high rate, turning previously homogeneous societies into multicultural/multiracial ones. Thus, in almost all parts of the world, social work education must address knowledge and skills for anti-racist practice and cultural competence. It is important that this content be broad enough to address cultural sensitivity and cross-cultural knowledge and an emphasis on social justice and empowerment of oppressed groups (Guttierrez et al., 1999) to achieve what Lee called 'culturally competent international social work' (Lee, 2004: 298). The literature on anti-racist practice, on cultural competence and on social exclusion/inclusion is all relevant to this important arena of international social work. This area of study should also include an understanding of forces of migration and attention to conflict resolution strategies.

Development
In some parts of the world, social work has redefined itself as social development, reflecting the search for relevance in countries focused on development as an overarching agenda. For all social workers, an understanding of the concept of development, related economic and social theories, and the more than 40 years of efforts made in the name of development (and often, the reasons for their failures) is essential for participation in global dialogue about poverty and social well-being. The development literature encompasses many important components relevant to social work, including participation, capacity building, equity, and social inclusion (Healy, 2001). The United Nations Millennium Development Goals sum up current global realities and aspirations for improvements in economic, health and social development.

While this list is certainly not exhaustive, it is meant to suggest that in order to build and strengthen a global community of social workers, capable of engaging in international social work,

educational programmes need to provide a base of common understanding of key globally relevant concepts. In addition, all forms of international exchange should be encouraged, as discussed briefly below.

Role of Social Work Education in Collaborations and Exchanges

Social work education can build global community and reshape its emphasis through increased use of international collaboration. As Hokenstad (2003: 133) noted, 'international collaboration is one potentially effective method for preparing social workers to function in the context of global realities'. Using international collaboration, social work educational institutions can also influence these global realities. In addressing the relevance of globalisation to social work, Dominelli (2000: 41) called for 'training that integrates international perspectives into the social work curriculum … and provides possibilities for academic staff, students and practitioners to undertake exchanges'.

The United Nations has called for increased international collaboration in the educational sector. The UNESCO *World Declaration on Higher Education* asserted that 'international cooperation and exchange are major avenues for advancing higher education throughout the world' (UNESCO, 1998, Preamble). Indeed, the *World Declaration* linked the very notion of quality higher education to the embrace of an international dimension and called for 'exchange of knowledge, interactive networking, mobility of teachers and students, and international research projects' (UNESCO, 1998, Article 11b). A government report in the United States identified the following benefits that flow from such exchanges: strengthened teaching, research, administrative and public service capacity for all partner institutions; establishment or expansion of educational programmes; new models and materials for education; collaborative research; and outreach to important community and professional/governmental bodies (USDOS, 2002).

A study of the impact of international exchange on educators showed that it is often a transformative experience. Beyond the important outcome that participants were more likely to include international content in their own courses, the researchers found that educators who had experienced international exchange reported 'increased self and social awareness, new consciousness of the teacher-student relations, and changes in teaching style' (Sandgren et al., 1999). Similar results have been reported for students who participate in international exchanges. The importance of this research should not be overlooked. It indicates that exposure to international learning is an important process in education for the global era and an essential component of leadership development in international social work. It is noteworthy that the 'transformative changes' found by Sandgren et al. (1999) were found even among educators whose international study experiences were short term. The next step would be to determine whether there are proxy experiences that can be designed into classroom teaching that can similarly transform the perspectives of the learner. These might include web-based international discussions and video-conferences with participants from many countries.

Paradigm Shift in Exchange and Other Threats to Collaboration
Social work has experienced an important paradigm shift in approaches to international exchange from a uni-directional transfer of models and information, commonly called the export model, to an emphasis on mutuality (Healy et al., 2003). While the transformation is not complete, the mutuality emphasis has been widely adopted at least at the level of commitment to the concept. Experts in international education report that another paradigm shift is taking place in the field of international collaboration and exchange. This is a shift from emphasis on experience to emphasis on competency and measurable outcomes: 'The traditional ideal of a cultural experience has been

superseded by the goal of obtaining knowledge useful for the new internationalised professions of the postindustrial era' (Altbach and Teichler, 2001: 17).

The implications of this shift for social work are complex. In a major respect, the emphasis on building competence for social work practice through international experience strengthens the new emphasis on international social work and may also lend credibility to a global profession. It is unfortunate, however, to devalue the importance of cross-cultural understanding and personal transformation and self-awareness as sufficient benefits of international learning.

Fear of terrorism poses other threats to exchange and collaboration. Some countries, especially the United States, are making it more and more difficult to secure visas for temporary visits, including professional visits, and may require visas even for transit through its airports to professional events in other countries. Intrusive security requirements, e.g., mandatory finger-printing will make some reluctant to travel. There are indications that extensive international contact may be viewed with suspicion. In a recently reported case, an American researcher who had studied and worked abroad was denied a government security clearance because he had 'remained friendly with his former colleagues'. The denial stated that although the researcher's correspondence 'may be relatively infrequent, the totality of the applicant's contacts with various foreign citizens is not minor or trivial' (D'Arcy, 2003). In this case, the researcher's period of study and colleagues were at a Swedish University and he had helped to organise a scholarly conference in Brazil. Obviously, the suggestion that maintaining contact with colleagues across national boundaries – with fellow members of the global social work community – is somehow dangerous or disloyal is a grave threat to positive globalisation.

Strengthening Exchanges

Hopefully, the fear of international contact will be short-lived. In social work, the educational sector should work to develop skills for effective professional exchange and educate a generation of social workers who will see international communication as normal. This can be done in many ways, beginning with use of teaching materials from a wide range of origins. Educators who have access to technology can experiment with on-line discussions with educators and student groups in other countries to model the exchange of information and views. Such interchange will also help social workers learn more about their global community. As noted earlier in this chapter, interaction is an essential component of community (Fellin, 1995) and therefore efforts to increase interaction at the global level are important to fostering international social work.

Fostering Change: The Challenge

The forces and impact of globalisation are powerful, yet their importance and relevance to social work are under-recognised by many educators. Therefore, a number of obstacles stand in the way of implementing widespread exchange programmes and introducing new conceptual frameworks into the curriculum, as recommended above. Competence for practice in the global era requires that every social work student gain some knowledge of the profession as it exists around the world and skill in cross-cultural communication to enable participation in exchange of knowledge. Global civil society action necessitates knowledge of the international professional organisations, knowledge about global social problems, and knowledge of the human rights machinery of the United Nations and other relevant UN and global civil society organisations. At a minimum, these content areas should be included in social work curricula to a much greater degree than the present reality.

Globalising the curriculum will require addressing obstacles including lack of faculty interest and expertise, lack of student interest, resource shortages, lack of administrative support, crowded curriculum, and lack of recognition of international content by standard-setting and accreditation

bodies within social work. Some of these are easier to address than others. Recent explosion in the amount of international information available over the internet combined with a sizable increase in the number of international social work books and journals partially meet the need for teaching resources, although access remains problematic in some schools. Student interest will be increased as educators link international content to professional practice and roles as discussed above. International learning then becomes an essential component of social work function and identity, rather than esoteric material.

In earlier studies, educators have identified the crowded nature of the social work curriculum as a major barrier to internationalisation (Healy, 1988; Healy 1995). This view may be linked to the fact that standard-setting bodies have not recognised the importance of international content; therefore, social work programmes do not include international learning as a core part of the curriculum. One solution is to convince accreditation and standard-setting bodies to modify standards for social work curricula to include international learning. This has recently been done by the Council on Social Work Education in the United States. The Educational Policy and Accreditation Standards issued in 2002 now require all social work baccalaureate and Master's programmes to prepare students to 'recognise the global context of social work practice' (CSWE, 2002). International issues must now be included in the teaching of social policy and students are expected to gain an understanding of the 'global interconnections of oppression' in learning about populations at risk and social and economic justice (CSWE, 2002).

The concepts of culture and of human rights are also included in this new curriculum policy statement. While implementation is in its early stages, indications are that social work programmes are beginning to take inclusion of international content more seriously as they prepare for their accreditation reviews and modify their curricula accordingly. At the global level, the development and promulgation of Global Standards for Social Work Education and Training could have a similar stimulating effect if the document includes references to global or international content (IASSW, 2004). Unfortunately, in its draft stages, the document has relatively little mention of international learning. If and when standards-setting and accreditation processes recognise international and global content, the remaining challenge will be faculty development. Many educators lack the expertise to integrate global perspectives into their teaching and will need assistance in designing and implementing curricula that meet the goals of international learning. The national and international associations of social work educators, along with the programmes themselves, are potential sponsors of educator training and development. Ultimately, individual educators and social work educational programmes must be helped to eliminate the dichotomies between domestic and international from their thinking and their teaching.

Conclusion

In the era of globalisation, social work everywhere is strengthened by creating a global professional community with emphasis on a new understanding of international social work. As never before, the forces of globalisation have created conditions that necessitate the involvement of social work on the global scene. The oppression that Panzetta (1975) referred to as an essential condition for a 'when' community is abundantly present. As the ideas of international social work are brought into the mainstream of social work and the profession discards its dichotomous thinking about what is local or global, international or domestic, social workers will be encouraged to engage in global civil society action. Hopefully, as Lee put it, 'we may be on the threshold of developing new kinds of social workers whose professional horizons extend well beyond their own culture and national boundaries' (Lee, 2004: 295).

With a globally relevant educational base and a new understanding of international social work, the profession will be positioned for more effective functioning as a 'how' community within global civil society. The educational sector and the international social work organisations can play particularly important leadership roles in facilitating professional action at the global level. Indeed, Panzetta identified leadership as another important component of an effective community. As explained above, social work education programmes can lead by ensuring attention to globally relevant concepts in their curricula and by encouraging international exchanges. International social work organisations, especially the International Association of Schools of Social Work (IASSW) and International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW), can encourage and facilitate exchanges among practitioners and educators and provide channels and leadership for international civil society action by the profession.

The social work profession can be an important voice for 'humane internationalism' (Pratt, 1989 quoted in Olsen, 1996: 336). To achieve its potential, the profession must address globalisation without romanticising or rejecting it. The organisational infrastructure for global action through the international professional organisations must be strengthened in order to realise the IASSW mission of creating a global community of educators and extend it to practicing social workers worldwide (IASSW, 2000). International social work in this context will be increasingly and more universally understood as encompassing the roles of the profession in all aspects of practice and policy impacted by globalisation.

Opportunities and Challenges for Social Workers in the Transnational Labour Force

RUTH C. WHITE

Introduction

According to the United Nations (2002), the number of people residing outside their country of birth is at an all-time high of 175 million or about 3 percent of the world's population, a doubling of that in 1970. About 9 percent of these migrants are refugees. In fiscal year 2001, more than 500,000 workers entered the United States (US) to work under various employment-based visas (INS, 2002 a, b). This included athletes, high-tech workers, entertainers, artists, religious workers, social scientists. The largest group is from Canada. More than 90,000 Canadians arrived in one year under the provisions of the North American Free Trade Act (NAFTA) alone. Thousands of other Canadians entered under other immigration categories. According to the US General Accounting Office, the American Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has not historically collected or analysed key data on immigrant workers, e.g., a worker's country of origin and educational levels (GAO, 2000). The most recent data from the INS reported that Canada (47,915) with approximately 8 percent of the total was second only to the UK (74,645) with nearly 13 percent of the numbers of temporary workers (610,359) admitted to the USA (INS, 1997).

I was one of the 73,699 Canadians who entered the USA under the NAFTA category in 2002 (INS, 2002b). In 2001, I was working under the Specialty Occupations category (H-1B). I also went to graduate school in the USA under the foreign student (F-1) category. I was asked to write this chapter because of my experiences as a social work student, practitioner, researcher and teacher who crossed one of the most 'porous' borders in the world: the Canada-US border, to tease out some of the issues involved when migrating in non-contentious circumstances. This chapter explores challenges and opportunities that face social workers who cross borders to work in another country. These issues will be illustrated by my own experiences and those of other practitioners who have become migrants to further their education or pursue career opportunities. I will seek answers to the following questions:

- What opportunities are available for social workers who want to study or work in a country other than that in which they are a national, were born or trained in?
- What challenges do these social workers face?
- What are the ethical and professional obligations owed by such social workers vis-à-vis the 'brain drain' from less developed countries when migration is from a low income country to a high income one?

The chapter concludes with recommendations for research and policy, and some points of consideration for social workers who want to work and study in a country other than that of their origins.

Social Work Mobility and Migration

Their stories are usually lost among discussions of illegal immigration or the immigration of technically-trained workers, but social workers are part of the transnational labour force that has grown with the globalisation process, as Small and Abye argue in this book. A report of alumni job placement by the School of Social Welfare at the University of California in Berkeley revealed that the percentage of its Masters in Social Work (MSW) graduates who were working abroad had decreased in the past 20 years. Between 1982 and 1992, the percentage of its alumni working in jobs outside of the USA within 15 months of graduation decreased from a range of 1–2 percent to 0 percent between 1992 and 2001 (Terrell and Choi, 2002). The incoming class in the autumn of 2002 had 4 international students, i.e., those who from overseas to study, out of an incoming class of 97 (UC Berkeley, 2003).

Many international students are likely to remain in the USA after graduation because approximately 25 percent of the recipients of H-1B visa (the most common work visa in the US) had academic student visas when their applications were approved and the rate of alumni working abroad is low. Ruth Ellen Wasem (2001) of the Congressional Research Service states that many proponents of non-immigrant work visas support the idea of retaining the talents of US-trained overseas nationals, i.e., international students. At the University of Washington in Seattle, one of the top 5 schools of social work in the USA located in the largest city in the Pacific Northwest region, 10 of the 157 members of the incoming class of 2001–2002 were international students (University of Washington, 2003). As one of the largest, oldest, and most prestigious schools of social work in the country – Columbia University in New York has a longer tradition of educating students from around the world and was one of two American schools to educate future social work leaders from former Soviet Union republics like Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Uzbekistan and Georgia in 2003. Of the student body of 437 students in 2003, there were 45 international students from 16 different countries (Columbia University, 2003).

Specific data on the migration of social workers out of their home countries is difficult to find. Anecdotal information that I have collected demonstrates that schools of social work across the USA and countries like Canada, the UK and Australia, have many students who pursue professional qualifications that are sometimes not offered in their countries of origin. After graduation, some return home and others remain, obtaining residency through various processes that depend on the laws in their adopted countries. Additionally, there are social workers who work with international organisations that require relocation to another country, e.g., the Red Cross, Oxfam and the military.

Some social workers accompany their partners when they become employed overseas. Others leave their countries of origin for reasons identified by neoclassical migration theorists such as war, persecution, political unrest and economic opportunity (UN, 2002). The UN (2002: 1) states that 'international migration [has an] intricate web of demographic, social, economic and political determinants and consequences'. Social workers cross borders for the same reasons as other people: the push of 'poverty, corruption, oppression and general societal dysfunction' in their countries of origin, and pull of 'liberty, high wages, expanded economic and social opportunities' in their destination country (Krikorian, 2004).

Many (im)migrant social workers or social work academicians work in their own ethnic communities in their adopted countries. Several cities in the US including Seattle, San Francisco and New York have Asian social work services that hire social workers with Masters degrees who speak a wide range of languages such as Hmong, Thai, Laotian, Cambodian. Similar patterns exist in agencies that specialise in services to immigrant African or Eastern European communities. In

cases like the Camden area of London in the UK, a high percentage of immigrants has led one domestic violence programme provider to cover more than 20 languages.

When I was invited to write this chapter, I already knew of several Canadians who were working in the social welfare field in the US. As a social work professor I also taught students who had crossed many different borders to meet family obligations and relocations. One of these was born in England of Indian parents and had practiced in Australia and Canada before coming to the USA to pursue her MSW. This woman's immigration status dictated many of her internship and post-graduate career choices because her status as an international student limited her off-campus employment. Being *sponsored* as an employee for permanent residency was not possible because potential employers – local community agencies and non-profit organisations and the ones most likely to employ international students could not afford the costs of doing so. Only some job categories meet the strict requirements for a permanent residency application, and this also dictated the kind of work that she could pursue.

Social workers coming from countries that produce large quantities of illegal drugs found that as immigrants from these states, they became suspects when crossing international boundaries. Others had difficulties getting a formal job offer for a visa because employers preferred to hire someone who already had a work permit to avoid the administrative time and effort involved in processing applications. Although the countries and life stories of each of those involved is different, there are many common topics or themes amongst them. These include: immigration and work visas; transfer of qualifications; value differences; licensure requirements; and, cultural and linguistic differences (Elliott and Mayadas, 1999). The latter refers to both professional culture and language (i.e., work habits, practice methods, professional standards and labour laws) of the broader society and those of the person concerned (Noble, 2003).

In *Broadening Horizons*, a book on international exchanges in social work, Bethany Savoy (2003) found that legislation governing social work practice varied from one locale to another depending on political philosophies and were broadly written. Christine Bennett (2003) reported that language barriers were a significant factor in a placement in India given her origins in Canada. Her inability to speak the language put a burden on the agency staff that had to compensate for her inability to communicate with clients. She also found that being a visible minority – a white woman in India, was a particularly testing experience in a location where not many white women had interacted so closely with local people. Other challenges identified by students and teachers in international placements are: being able to research their topics and using personal experience to explore migration issues.

Information on this topic in the existing social work literature is scarce. To develop a more comprehensive understanding of salient issues, I used the internet to access a bigger and more diverse sample of social workers and experiences. I chose to have input from others to broaden my sample of one (myself). I posted a short paragraph on several social work-related listserves such as BPD (Baccalaureate Programme Directors) asking people to pass it on to other listserves or individuals that might be willing to provide me with information about their own experiences. After several weeks of follow-up and reposting of the email, I was able to contact three respondents who served as key informants. Using an emailed questionnaire, I asked the respondents to answer three questions about the difficulties, challenges, and opportunities they faced as social workers working and studying in other countries. I also asked them to refer me to any readings on the topic with which they were familiar. The questionnaire was distributed as an email attachment. Respondents completed the questionnaire and returned it by email. Any clarifications on these responses were done by email to ensure promptness of reply.

This was an exploratory study and so caution is needed in interpreting the results. The resulting data show that there were commonalities across this relatively small but diverse sample.

Similarities included the usual difficulties of: moving from one country to another; immigration issues; language; and professional culture. Using my own experience as a backdrop, I will discuss each of these issues in turn. Feminist researchers have often focused on the importance of linking the 'personal with the political' (Reinharz, 1992) and using personal experience to elucidate the way that individuals navigate contexts, opportunities and constraints to make sense of what is happening to them. Following this tradition means that biographical stories can reveal much about the processes that impact upon individual lives. I use my own personal story to highlight some of these. I intersperse the respondents' comments and my experience at relevant points in the chapter.

The Personal Story of a Migrant Social Worker

I was born in England of parents who emigrated from Jamaica and grew up in England, Jamaica and Canada. As a dual citizen, I carry British and Canadian passports and could qualify for a Jamaican passport if I wished. I received my Batchelor in Social Work (BSW) and Master of Social Work (MSW) degrees from McGill University in Montreal, Canada. My desire to become a *migrant worker* was a result of my own childhood spent living in several different countries. Jamaicans, including my own family, are mobile people, sending millions of dollars in remittances back to Jamaica, as Small attests in this book. These migrants include health professionals, especially nurses, teachers, agricultural workers and entertainers who live all around the world in countries ranging from Australia to the USA, Asia and the UK. I had planned a career in international social welfare and public health and so working in the US was my first step on that path.

   I worked in Ottawa, Montreal and Toronto before moving to California in 1993. I chose Northern California because I wanted to do my PhD at the University of California (UC) at Berkeley and wanted to establish residency prior to registering to study there. During the Christmas-New Year holiday week of 1992, I arrived in San Jose from Toronto with several job leads that I had found using a library in Toronto to find agencies that interested me. I also examined the classified section of the *San Francisco Chronicle,* the leading newspaper of the San Francisco Bay Area in Northern California. In my one-week job search I was interviewed by 4 agencies and got 3 offers of employment. Prospective employers were impressed with my education and social work experience with ethnically diverse populations in challenging practice settings, including one in a maximum-security facility for young offenders in Toronto. The offer I accepted was a position as social worker in a residential treatment programme for pregnant and parenting adolescents. The agency hired me not only for my skills, and education, but also for my 'blackness'. This was interesting because I was not African American. But, my being 'black' meant that their professional staff better represented their ethnic minority client base.

Professional Mobility: Employment, Visas and Qualifications

Getting a Job

Looking for employment in social work or social welfare in another country may present unique cross-cultural challenges such as differences in communication styles, social welfare systems, policies and qualifications. The internet has made this process easier as one can search the 'job classifieds' of publications around the world. Candidates for jobs can also make contact by email to ask for further details once they have found an employing organisation that interests them. The issue is not unproblematic as the British case discussed below indicates.

Recently, the UK's longstanding shortage of social workers has become a problem requiring the employment of overseas-trained practitioners to resolve it. Britain has been under-training social workers by about 500 persons per year[1] and is now facing the accumulation of years of neglect of social work education and a considerable turnover in social work staff as practitioners leave the profession in droves. Their departure is in response to having to deal with untenable situations, especially in child welfare; low salaries; inadequate resources; and poor professional status. Several social work employment agencies now recruit social workers from all over the world to work in the UK to deal with this problem. Between 1990 and 2001, the number of overseas social workers eligible to practise in Britain quadrupled from 227 to 1,175 (Batty, 2003), with almost half coming from Australia and South Africa. Agencies in London are also hiring social workers from the USA, Canada, Denmark, Nigeria, Albania and the Czech Republic to meet the shortfall in recruitment (Batty, 2003). Many of these quit their posts after completing their statutory period employment if they feel that the job does not live up to their expectations. This was the case for Canadian-trained social workers appointed by Essex County Council. Another issue raised by the recruitment of overseas-trained workers, especially those from low income countries, is highlighted by Dominelli (2004b), namely the loss of educational resources and trained personnel to the originating country. She suggests that the British government a) repays the training costs of these workers so as to not deplete the education and training budget for people in the sending country; and b) acts responsibly towards its own workers by increasing the number of social workers trained in British educational establishments and improving their conditions of work.

Recruiting agencies are a product of the quasi-market in the caring professions. This came into being as a result of the impact of globalisation and the 1990 National Health Service and Community Care Act that opened up new opportunities for the private sector by shedding work previously undertaken by state agencies and withdrawing public funding for service provision as part of the purchaser-provider split (Dominelli, 2004a). One of these recruiting agencies is *Social Work Solutions*. It was established in 1997 and is part of a larger employment agency that hires doctors, teachers, physiotherapists and nurses for work throughout the UK. Their well-designed and easy-to-use website has information for those who want to work in Britain and a job database of the latest jobs. The website has specific links for Australians, New Zealanders, South Africans and Canadians. This agency also provides information on immigration and work visas (see http://www.social-work-solutions.co.uk/). Another British social work employment agency the *London Qualified Social Workers* (LQSW) (see http://www.lqsw.com), staffed a booth at the 2003 social work conference of the Council on Social Work Education (CSWE) in Atlanta. CSWE is the American accrediting body of schools of social work. There, LQSW recruiters explored the process of getting a job in the UK with interested American social workers. These agencies offer potential candidates a 'service' because they assist applicants obtain visas and accommodation; offer tax and financial advice; and help with establishing a bank account.

British social work agencies' forceful recruitment drives have had some negative side-effects. A recent article in *The Guardian*, noted that nearly half of Zimbabwe's social workers are currently employed in Britain. Many leave Zimbabwe as a result of poor economic and working conditions. The resulting 'brain drain' of between 20 and 40 social workers, almost half of the workforce in Zimbabwe's Department of Social Welfare, 'threatens to cripple the African country's welfare system' (Batty, 2003). Zimbabwe is left with a shortage of 75 percent of the practitioners needed for its Department of Social Welfare to function effectively. To address this, a spokesperson for the British Department of Health reported that 'a code of conduct on overseas recruitment of health and social services for member states' would soon be developed (Batty, 2003). This is not a situation unique to social work. The pull of better pay and working conditions and superior career opportunities in the developed world results in a net drain of professionals from countries

that can least afford it. These countries are often in need of human service assistance that then requires volunteers from the industrialised world going to less industrialised countries to do the work resulting from the departure of its professionals. This flow of migrants in the professional arena is a further consequence of the processes of globalisation discussed by Small, Abye and Williams in this book.

The Visa Process: Immigration Policies, Legal Assistance and Visa Categories

Working in another country involves meeting a number of legal and professional requirements that are context specific and navigating complex processes successfully. Specific treaty agreements either limit or encourage immigration from specific countries. The labour provisions of the European Union (EU) provide an easier process by granting those with citizenship in one member country the right to work in another. Some developing countries limit immigration by 'First World' citizens to facilitate employment within their local worker pool. Some 'First World' countries have limits or caps on work-related immigration from certain countries. In the USA, there is a diversity category of immigration – Section 203(c) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, which 'provides a maximum of up to 55,000 immigrant visas per fiscal year to permit immigration opportunities for persons from countries other than the principal sources of current immigration to the United States'. Beginning in July 2004, this policy includes immigration caps of 1,925 from South America and the Caribbean, 23,350 from EU countries (except for the Ukraine which has a quota of 11,400), 32,500 from Africa which excludes 17,500 from Ghana, 11,250 from Nigeria, 1,000 from Oceania and 13,400 from Asia (US Department of State, 2004). In addition, there is a cap of 65,000 (total from all countries) on the number of 3-year long H-1B work visas (the ones most likely to be used by social work professionals) that are distributed each year (USCIS, 2004). Mistakes in implementing these policies and delays in processing applications may cause other complications and result in job opportunities being lost.

In contrast, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) enables social workers to move between the USA and Canada with relative ease because social work is on the list of NAFTA-approved professional occupations. According to the INS, a Canadian citizen seeking professional status must 'present evidence of citizenship, a letter of employment in professional status, evidence that s/he is in possession of said status, and appropriate evidence of compliance with state licensure requirements' (INS, 1993). The process was relatively cheap (US$100 in 2005), simple and fast. A visa would be granted at the port of entry once all the required documents were in order – a process of no more than 15 – 20 minutes.

Yet, under NAFTA, Mexican professionals have a much more arduous process to follow than Canadians. Mexican citizens must have their prospective employer file a 'labour condition application' which is a paperwork intensive process. They must also file an I-129 which is a 'petition for non-immigrant workers' with the Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services in the Department of Homeland Security. Once the petition has been approved, they must apply for a non-immigrant visa at a US Embassy or Consulate in Mexico (U.S. Department of State, 2004).

Social workers from other countries who want to enter the USA are not as fortunate. The countries they come from may have foreign embassies, consulates and immigration offices that are not conveniently located, e.g., these may be in one urban centre with a service region covering thousands of miles as is the case for countries in Southern Asia and the African continent. Accessing these for immigration purposes may be difficult. If applicants must obtain visas prior to departure and undergo interviews, the wait for this to happen can stretch to several years. Country-specific numerical caps on work permits for citizens of countries such as India, China or Jamaica can extend the waiting period. The time it takes to obtain a visa may stretch from weeks into months

or years as applications get lost in the mail or a new document is required. The application process may be arduous; the language used incomprehensible; the paperwork asks searching and intensely personal questions.

Completing all the necessary forms may be extremely complicated and put people off. Many professionals hire lawyers to assist with the cumbersome processes. The cost of completing these processes may be prohibitive as legal fees alone range from several hundred to several thousand (US) dollars. The practice of employing lawyers is typical for many seeking employment in academia, research and private sectors. Unfamiliarity with immigration laws and processes is one of the biggest hurdles facing social workers who want to move from one country to another. Overcoming the obstacles depicted above is especially difficult for those who cannot hire immigration lawyers.

My Experience with the Immigration Process from Canada to the USA

My first visa was a TN, the NAFTA employment visa. I later got an F-1 visa as a 'foreign student', which involved a paperwork intensive process. I subsequently became an H-1 researcher within a large, non-academic research institution. Each visa presented its own difficulties and benefits. The TN visa was the most flexible in that I could work for more than one employer and renew it easily at a very low cost. Retaining my F-1 status during my post-graduate studies presented me with the financial and administrative barriers involved in meeting the minimum number of academic credits, funding non-resident tuition fees and working off-campus to earn a higher wage. Off-site employment is restricted for international students who have to remain within guidelines that separate work visas from student visas. The counsellors in the International Studies Center at UC Berkeley were knowledgeable and competent professionals who gave me information that would have cost thousands of dollars to obtain through lawyers and saved me money. They also knew more than many INS staff as a result of their experience with students from all over the world in a wide variety of personal situations.

Later, getting an H-1B visa was a relatively simple process because the research firm for which I worked had dozens of employees from all around the world including many from Canada. They had their own human resources staff and lawyers on retainer to process the required paperwork. I concurrently worked as a lecturer in a BSW and MSW programme at a local state university. Their experience with professors from overseas made the process for getting a concurrent H-1B visa as a lecturer very simple. However, long INS delays, common in California during the 1990s were often problematic and stressful. I also had a further complication to deal with. Changing visa statuses and having more than one employer required me to consult with an immigration lawyer who specialised in Canada-US immigration requirements. Luckily for me, this person was an old school friend who provided advice without charge and thereby saved me thousands of dollars in legal fees.

Once a worker has obtained a visa, the expiration date casts a large shadow over the future. Its conditions regarding immigration status and constraints have to be taken into account when planning career moves. Moving from one employer to another is often not worth the administrative hassle involved in changing the visa. Even the renewal of a visa may mean extended delays and administrative errors that often result in workers being out-of-status, which means they cannot undertake paid work for their employer during that period. Some employers help these 'out-of-status' applicants by allowing them to work as unpaid 'volunteers' until their visa paperwork has been duly processed, thus safeguarding their jobs somewhat. These 'employees' may be at risk of deportation given that their visas have technically run out, through no fault of their own. As undocumented workers, they risk being labelled 'illegal immigrants', a fate known to many throughout the West. Immigrating as a professional is difficult, but entering the US as an

international student has other conditions attached, including employment restrictions. Those applying for a student visa are required to provide proof of financial support before being granted one. For others, studying reduces time available for working and limits earning power. Earning a professional degree in the country where an individual ultimately wants to work eliminates one major hurdle: the equivalency of qualifications.

Compared to other social work professionals crossing national boundaries, I had many advantages. My Canadian citizenship and education was easily 'accredited' by the relevant hiring agencies and NAFTA allowed me entry into the USA. I also spoke English as a first language. As I was 'black', I was in demand, in the USA where agencies sought to hire staff that reflected their clientele. This was an interesting experience because American employers and fellow employees assumed I was an African American, even though I had to develop cultural competence to work with this client group like any other non-African American social worker who was not 'black'. However, my colour gave me 'credibility' with clients. This in turn facilitated my access and capacity to build trusting social worker-client relationships and develop cultural competency. I also had free and highly credible legal advice.

Equivalency of Qualifications

Services affirming the equivalency of qualifications are provided by many agencies in the USA, including the CSWE and International Education Research Foundation (IERF). The latter is a 'pioneer in credentials evaluation' (see http://www.ierf.org). Since being founded in 1969, the IERF has evaluated over 300,000 applications for equivalency from a wide range of fields of education and employment. IERF provides services to people who were educated outside the USA and require an assessment of the US equivalency of their particular educational programme. Its fees vary between US$75 and US$150 depending on the level of detail required in the report it produces. The services of IERF are used by individuals, agencies, colleges and universities, state licensing boards, attorneys and US government agencies. The documents required for an equivalency assessment include: transcripts, diplomas, curriculum, syllabi, professional license, excerpt from the dissertation (as relevant), and English language credentials. These documents must be in their original language with translations into English were necessary provided in the same format as the originals.

The CSWE provides evaluations specific to social work and has a more streamlined application process. According to Todd Lennon, one of its staff, CSWE averages 130 applications per year (CSWE, 2003). In 2001–2002, these applications came from 27 countries with applicants from India registering the most requests (Lennon, 2003). As members of the International Association of Schools of Social Work (IASSW), CSWE has access to information regarding a large number of social work programmes around the world. Their website (see http://www.cswe.org) has an application request form that requires basic information such as name and degree, institution and country. The application form can be sent to CSWE via an electronic PDF file or regular post. According to Lennon (2003), CSWE considers admission criteria, level and duration of coursework, length and supervision of field instruction and the content of the programme. It is a quantitative assessment and not a qualitative one. Exact equivalence is not the goal, but rather 'comparability' of programmes. CSWE requires transcripts, diplomas and course descriptions and the form asks that courses be put into the US accredited curriculum structure. The educational systems of some countries present more of a challenge than others depending on their approach to social work, and general comparability of their educational systems. Lennon noted that the length of the fieldwork requirement in some countries is not up to CSWE standards, e.g., Germany is a country where it is difficult to determine equivalency for this reason.

CSWE has four different application forms. These are for Canada, Australia, Britain and everywhere else. Todd Lennon reported that the easiest applications to process are those from Australia, Canada and Britain, where social work is 'well established with a national accrediting body similar to ours' (Lennon, 2003). The application which costs between US$25 to $225 to process has applications with Canadian, Australian or British qualifications costing significantly less than those for other countries, e.g., US$25 for Canadian degree-holders. This differentiated system has been developed to accommodate the particulars of each educational system. For example, applicants from Britain are asked information regarding their 'O' Levels and 'A' Levels. Excluding those from Canada, each application asks the applicant to place their courses under specific content areas, identify the level of the course (high school, undergraduate, graduate) and the number of hours spent on each course. Details for the field practicum (practice placement) includes the name of the agency, practice setting, supervisor, number of hours in MSW-supervised placement and responsibilities of the internship position. This process is streamlined for Canadian applicants because their education system is so very like the American one that their form is only 1 page long, compared to 12 pages for the Australian application, and only requires a Bachelor or Masters' award and transcript as supporting documentation instead of the more detailed application and documentation necessary for other countries.

The list of professions on the NAFTA list implies or assumes the 'equivalence' of professional degrees between Canada and the USA. But even those from privileged states can encounter complications in the recognition process. I graduated from one of the most prestigious tertiary educational institutions in Canada with a well-respected social work programme at McGill University, but was asked by my employer to have my degree certified as equivalent to that of a degree from the USA. This was necessary despite the INS having accepted my degree as 'evidence' that I had the 'professional status' required for the job, i.e., acknowledged the 'equivalency' of my degree. This process took approximately two weeks and although it was relatively hassle-free, I was insulted by the implied attitude of 'American superiority' inferred by this process. Again, the efficiency of this process was dependent on many Canadian schools of social work meeting CSWE's pedagogical criteria. The common use of the English language added to the ease of going through the equivalency process as language difficulties encountered in transferring transcripts and cultural differences from one idiom to another were avoided and with it the limitation of assessing the cultural equivalency of concepts such as diversity or mental health.

Jane (fictitious name) who responded to my on-line research questionnaire was an American who worked in Israel. She found it easy to transfer her education from the USA to Israel, because there were special courses at Bar Ilan University for new immigrants who had a Bachelor's degree but wanted a BSW. On return to the USA, she could not obtain credit for her BSW because this was not a degree available at the time, so she pursued an MSW to continue her social work career in the USA. Jane's experience reflects the fairly common one of qualifications from the USA being recognised in other countries, but the credentials from those countries not being accepted in the USA (Lennon, 2003). This problem is not unique to social work and occurs in professions ranging from medicine and law to social work and psychology. These issues are being explored by many social work academicians, researchers and practitioners. The International Association of Schools of Social Work's (IASSW's) Task Force on International Exchanges and Research Collaboration and its Joint Commission with the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) on Global Qualifying Standards explicitly explore issues of Western cultural, academic and economic imperialism reproduced through education and trying to find ways to 'break the archetype that all that comes from the North to the South is superior to what comes from the South' (see http://www.iassw-aiets.org).

In contrast, as discussed previously, Britain has been more open to the employment of overseas-trained social workers to meet serious staff shortages in the social welfare arena. They also have to have their qualifications accepted as equivalent by the accrediting agency, currently, the General Social Care Council (GSCC); previously the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work (CCETSW). My experience under the CCETSW regime suggests that the British standards were high, including the requirement that agencies and practitioners had to be accredited even to offer supervision on practice placements to social work students. However, the time spent on acquiring the qualification was too short. The content of courses was considerable, and in my opinion, having experienced accrediting bodies on both sides of the Atlantic, roughly equivalent except for the issues of local history and relevant legislation. A main difference between the two systems was that British social work students were expected to do more self-taught work than either American or Canadians. Students writing in *Broadening Horizons* (Dominelli and Thomas Bernard, 2003) make this point. British students were expected to get 'hands on' work immediately. The new three year BSW system launched by the GSCC in 2003, is likely to introduce other kinds of losses, e.g., Southampton and other universities that previously offered social work training at Batchelor's level, have had their training time cut by one year from four to three.

The EU is bringing the same process to bear on other parts of Europe where four-year programmes in social work are being reduced to three to secure 'harmonisation' and recognition of professional qualifications, a requirement introduced by the Bologna Declaration and agreed by all EU member states. The inauguration of a three-year degree at undergraduate level as a requirement for entry into the profession will bring European degrees in line with Canadian and American qualifications that already have a BSW or BA in Social Work as the minimal professional requirement.

Practising Across Borders

If working across cultures in one's own country can present professional challenges, practicing in a country other than where one trained or grew up can be more difficult for many reasons including differences in social and political structures, cultures and practices in social work. Entry into the profession may be based on various levels of education, which may result in diverse levels of prestige. A recent online article discussed the long standing criticism (and low professional status) that social work in Britain has faced as a result of the fairly low educational standards required to enter the profession until 2003, namely, a two-year diploma instead of the 3-year degree required in many other countries in the European Union (Batty, 2003).

Proposed changes to the profession include participation on multi-disciplinary teams, which has long been a practice in Canada and the USA. And, in the UK, where practitioners have been involved in planning academic curricula and assessing academic work for several decades on some courses, users have now been included as part of the GSCC requirements. There has also been an intensive advertising campaign to recruit workers into the profession. The British government introduced this campaign after much pressure from academics, practitioners and employers, to stem the falling rate of recruitment into social work, but did so without referring to either academic or practitioners to see what kind of campaign would best alter the profession's image. The campaign, according to its critics, continues to suggest that the problem is poorly trained social workers and lack of communication between agencies rather than resource shortages, racism, sexism and other structural problems. A reading of the Climbié Report highlights the absence of structural analysis in official social policies and documentation. Thus, there is scepticism about the capacity of the government's approach to substantially alter the status of either social work education or practice or promote a positive image of the profession in the UK.

On the other hand, Jane noted that during the time she was in Israel, a socialist government provided almost all social services. Social workers were represented by strong professional unions and able to strike for improved benefits and higher salaries. This resulted in the profession having a higher status than it had in the USA. Katherine van Wormer, who worked in Norway, also experienced a more socialist political environment in which the professional social work organisation was also a union. When she wrote an article that exposed the low standards of the agency where she worked, she was dismissed. However, with representation from the union she received compensation, back wages and travel expenses for her and her family to return to the USA (van Wormer, 1993). She found that the social work profession in Norway in the early 1990s was less regulated than in the USA and had a different work ethic. More vacation time could be taken in Norway and this impacted upon the consistency of the Norwegian drug treatment programme where she was employed. Katherine van Wormer's experience highlights the tensions encountered in balancing the interests of workers and service users when conflicting needs have to be assessed and/or met. The problem is not an easy one to resolve, and is evident whenever workers take action on their own behalf or when they desist from doing so in the interests of service users.

Lack of familiarity in the local language presented a problem for both Jane and Katherine. Jane had to learn Hebrew. Katherine never mastered Norwegian and so her clients were obliged to discuss their cases in English. In a highly educated country where English fluency is not unusual, this presented much less of a problem than it would in other countries where this language skill is less common. Cultural differences in the way people relate to each other, child and family interactions and the myriad of ways in which culture shapes and forms people are also present and can intensify the ordeal of working or studying in social welfare agencies in a country other than that in which one originates or is trained. Miscommunication, misunderstandings and even lack of understanding can present huge barriers to effective practice. Sometimes, cultural differences result in a change in status from one country to another. Jane reported that being perceived as an Anglo-Saxon and Ashkenazi Jew while working in Israel created personal difficulties as she had never encountered these terms in reference to herself before going to Israel. She found that clients were much more accepting of her than many of her colleagues, who were usually native born Israelis, fluent in Hebrew.

The Benefits of Crossing Borders

Globalisation enables social workers in many countries and settings to work with ethnically, racially and linguistically diverse populations. Working abroad gives an individual the opportunity to be a stranger, to learn about another culture and increase his or her ability to empathise with clients (Green, 1999: 86). Travelling to different countries broadens our perspectives, teaches us about the way others live and by implication, teaches us about ourselves. Living in a different country requires more commitment to a different way of life if such a land becomes 'home' than when leaving another place to go back 'home'.

Jane's experience of living abroad 'widened not only the basic tools of intervention … [she used] in assessment and counselling but also … [gave her] a wider frame of reference for potential solutions involving human capacity'. She further stated that she is 'a better person for it in terms of [her] own growth and development'. Katherine van Wormer, who wrote several articles (van Wormer, 1990; 1993) about her experiences as a social worker in Norway, claims that she 'imported' American conceptualisations of alcohol treatment to Norway (van Wormer, 1993). It also raises the issue of reciprocity in such exchanges highlighted in Dominelli and Thomas Bernard (2003).

The Future of Transnational Social Worker Migration

The American National Association of Social Workers (NASW) website recently featured two articles on new career opportunities for social workers in the field of international development. Greater numbers of social work students are seeking opportunities for placements abroad or post-graduation employment outside their home countries (Healy, 1999). Increasing demand for skills in international practice demands more discussion and exploration of the relevant issues, especially those that have ethical implications vis-à-vis power relations and cultural competence. Terms like cultural competence are loaded. They are often assumed to mean acquiring the most tokenistic knowledge of another culture and should be treated with caution (Dominelli, 2000). Becoming aware of cultural differences is recognised as important by practitioners and academics wishing to practice in more ethnically sensitive ways. Social workers who want to cross borders to work or study must consider the following factors:

- Considering one's cultural competence, including linguistic abilities in deciding where to go. English-speaking practitioners often assume that they can go anywhere and be accommodated. They are less inclined than speakers of other languages to learn new ones. Culturally competent practice dictates that social workers develop the language skills necessary to do their work. Being well-trained in social work skills and theory is not enough.
- Applying cultural competence to both the client's culture and the professional culture. Before leaving for a period abroad, an individual should become immersed in the social welfare policy and social work culture of the country concerned. This will help in interviews and ease their integration into a new professional culture. Establishing email contact with a social worker in the adopted country can be useful once a job is obtained. This will also help with understanding the policies and professional culture of the new location.
- Knowing their personal genealogy may facilitate getting work permits in another country if it privileges those that have a parent born in that locality. For example, people of Commonwealth origins have the luxury of relatively easy access to employment in other member countries; the European Union provides even easier access to citizens from member states for specified periods.
- Taking time to understand the visa process, its limitations, costs and required documentation before searching online or published databases of employment opportunities. This will help in deciding what positions to look for and save thousands of dollars in legal expenses.
- Taking notes of the experience and using the opportunity of working overseas to learn new ways of practice, becoming stretched professionally and presenting or publishing articles based on these experiences.

Recommendations

In conclusion, I make some recommendations for improving access to opportunities for social workers seeking employment in another country. For the USA, CSWE could compile a database of institutions in other countries that provide degrees that are deemed equivalent to the American BSW or MSW. This should be relatively easy as CSWE already provides a Foreign Equivalency Determination Service that 'evaluates foreign academic credentials in social work to determine their equivalency to accredited Baccalaureate and Master's degrees in Social Work in the United States' (CSWE, 2003). As its website states (www.cswe.org), 'equivalency determinations are necessary

to establish educational qualifications for employment, graduate school admission, membership in the National Association of Social Workers, state licensing and/or certification'. Because this service is essential for trans-national professionals in social work, it should be easily accessible, relatively inexpensive and have a swift turnaround period. Educational institutions around the world could pay to access the database by subscription or on a case-by-case basis.

The promotion and development of 'standards' for social work curricula will ease comparability amongst the 3,000 social work programmes that exist at tertiary level across the world. I have mixed feelings about this recommendation given the academic dominance of the North, but think it should be given consideration. The IASSW and IFSW recently developed a 'document on global qualifying standards for social work education and training' that attempts to deal with the preponderance of the North, in general, and American schools, in particular, as these numerically outnumber by a substantial amount, those of any other country at the moment. A weighting is necessary if their numbers are not to hide the diversity of models in social work education across the globe. The qualifying standards are to 'reflect some consensus around key issues, roles and purposes of social work' (IASSW, 2004: 2). In my opinion, the challenges that were faced in the development of this document have led to standards that do an admirable job of being inclusive of diverse conceptualisations of social work and 'take into account each country's or region's socio-political, cultural, economic and historical contexts while adhering to international norms and standards' (IASSW, 2002: 2).

Schools of social work across the globe could build more collaborative relationships that include student and faculty exchanges, research collaborations and teaching partnerships that use technology to bridge the gap of thousands of miles of distance between them. These opportunities would allow students and faculty to broaden their conceptualisations of social work and include content that covers diverse notions of social welfare. They could also help in working with diverse populations, whether locally-born or from overseas and facilitate knowledge exchanges that are not as common as they could be given the technological advances of the last 20 years. The diversity of overseas documents is not reflected on courses despite the internet opening access to them. The dominance of British and American social work journals and texts drown out other voices that are just as credible and valid (Link and Ramanathan, 1999: 3).

I also recommend a strengthening of additional language requirements for social work degrees. The ease with which populations are moving across borders requires practitioners to have the language capacity to serve others. As Katherine van Wormer found during her period in Norway, the preponderance of English makes it much easier for those from English-speaking countries to converse with others in English instead of learning to communicate in the local language. Being fluent in other languages would enhance the ability to work with immigrants and refugees in social workers' countries of origins and increase their ability to successfully communicate with others when they cross borders.

Professional competence should take precedence over nationality in the immigration procedures and decision-making processes to enable professional migration to respond to the labour needs of a country. This is not a problem-free solution, but it provides a better rationale for decision-making than the randomness of birth country. Clear and streamlined documentation processes would reduce some of the major hurdles encountered during the migration process by cutting back on time-consuming administration and paperwork. Online document submission and tracking would expedite processing, provide increased access and curtail demand for legal assistance. By addressing inequities inherent to the global economy, the processing of *people* could be more equitable, especially regarding the directional flow of knowledge and expertise. Social work educators can address these issues by developing curricula that better address the needs of practitioners traversing borders to work.

Acknowledgements

Note

1. In 2001–2002, almost a quarter of new social workers in Britain were foreign recruits. Hetherington, P (2004) *Working Wonders: Peter Hetherington on How Training for Social Work is Being Taken Seriously Again.* Available from website http://education.guardian.co.uk accessed 10 January 2004.

Challenges in Internationalising Social Work Curricula

LENA DOMINELLI

Introduction

Globalisation has become implicated in education by increasing the reach of private providers, including in tertiary level provisions by: promoting harmonisation of awards; easing exchanges of educational materials with mass travel and new information technologies; blurring institutional borders as universities set up 'satellite' campuses in other countries; fostering forms of distance learning that no longer require face-to-face staff-student interactions; and extending the global reach of professions.

Social work has a history of activity in the international arena that predates the current version of globalisation that can assist in meeting the challenges of internationalising social work curricula today. The profession's first transnational conference occurred in Paris in 1928 when its key organisations covering education, practice and policy were formed (Kendall, 1991). These organisations continue today as the International Association of Schools of Social Work (IASSW), International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) and International Council of Social Welfare (ICSW) respectively.[1] IASSW, IFSW and ICSW also jointly own the journal, *International Social Work*, as a dissemination vehicle. Each has members in all regions of the world. These organisations see international collaboration as a source of inspiration and exchanges, and by working together, promote the profession's interests and voice in the international domain, especially amongst the United Nations (UN) and its related organisations. IASSW has held consultative status at this level since 1947. An analysis of their endeavours as portrayed in their websites (www.iassw-aiets. org; www.ifsw.org; www.icsw.org) reveals that they endorse reciprocated learning over imperialist ventures. Reciprocated learning entails a process of shared learning, mutual respect, recognition of locality specific knowledges and egalitarian partnerships. The values of reciprocated learning, above all, those of mutuality and the celebration of diversity are central in meeting current educational challenges.

Learning from each other has become urgent in a globalising world that has brought people together in unprecedented ways. But, there are dangers associated with this process, especially if it becomes embroiled in imperialistic ventures. Key perils to guard against include the: devaluing of local knowledges, promotion of neocolonialism through educational activities (Dominelli, 2005a) and denial of the 'communities of resistance' that people form when reclaiming local knowledges and expertise (Whitmore and Wilson, 2000). The tension between reciprocated learning and imperialist ventures is one that has to be constantly (re)negotiated and addressed in social work education and practice within specific contexts. Imperialising scenarios can be shifted through reciprocated learning.

In the British context, the imperialising thread in social work education has resulted from the imposition of the British welfare system, curricula and educational structures with little regard for

the customs and traditions of a locality. In response to imperialistic ventures, reciprocated learning has been extended in the local sphere by the processes of 'indigenisation', i.e., bringing social work education under local control by incorporating local traditions. I prefer to call this process not indigenisation but devising a 'locality specific curriculum' (Dominelli, 2000) to challenge power relations encapsulated in language.

Words used in specific contexts reflect particular worldviews, assumptions and forms of social organisation. In a globalising world that has a lengthy record of migration between countries and interaction amongst peoples, it is not easy to define 'indigenous' knowledge beyond that which occurs in a specific locality. These localities have been subjected to encounters with others from outside the locality for many years. Thus, the meaning of 'local' cannot be restricted to an ossified, unchanging one unaffected by others. Moreover, Western colonisers have identified 'indigenous' people as 'aboriginal' people and linked these to notions of underdevelopment to establish hierarchies of knowing and being that privilege the West. I use 'locality specific knowledge' instead of 'indigenous knowledge' when I refer to local people drawing upon their histories, contexts and traditions in reclaiming and developing local knowledge bases, but understand that other authors wish to apply their own terminology.

I explore challenges encountered in internationalising social work curricula and suggest principles that facilitate the creation of reciprocated, mutually beneficial egalitarian relationships in developing internationalised curricula within reflexive and constantly unfinished processes of curriculum development and exchanges in this chapter. I end it by highlighting guidelines for future exchanges of curricula, students and staff. These promote anti-imperialist approaches to education and training in the profession whether the site of learning is the nation-state in which one lives, another where one works, or the internet.

Promoting Reciprocated Learning Opportunities

A short chapter cannot cover the whole of the activities that social work educators have undertaken in sharing curricula across borders. Their enterprise has been marked by examples of both reciprocated learning and imperialist ventures. I touch on both in this chapter, using indigenisation responses to (neo)colonialist educational ventures and some of IASSW's work to illustrate efforts at promoting reciprocated learning. IASSW has had two key concerns threading through its history: facilitating exchanges of social work curricula to enable academics to learn from one another and raise standards, particularly amongst those who expressed an interest in doing so; and to form a global community of social work educators who could learn from each other (Kendall, 1991, 2000).

Social work educators espousing the ideals of reciprocity have not always realised this goal in practice, especially in countries where professional education began later than in their own and overseas expertise was given an authoritative voice and precedence over local knowledges (Razack, 2002), a point Stubbs and Zaviršek also make in this book. Reciprocity has been contested by those who define 'best practices' from a vantage point of the 'West is Best' and policymakers who absorb social workers in realising imperial ambitions on behalf of the nation-state or its agencies (Lorenz, 1994; Furniss, 1995).

IASSW's efforts at promoting shared learning occur within the context of a volunteer organisation undertaking its own fund-raising. So its ventures are limited by the resources at its disposal. The values underpinning its work are those governing reciprocated learning. Major players in the organisation, amongst them Alice Salomon – one of its founders, were determined that these exchanges should value the contributions of others and be rooted in relations of reciprocity rather than having one group or person speak from a position of authority and impose their standards on

others (Salomon, 1937). Realising this ambition in practice can be complex. I comment on several recent examples below.

The development of social work education in Hong Kong owes much to a report on its condition by Dame Eileen Younghusband from the UK (Younghusband, 1960). The Report's status at local level was enhanced by Hong Kong's position as a British colony at the time. Its influence remains visible in Hong Kong's educational structures and curricula although these have been reshaped by the processes of 'indigenisation' that drew on Chinese philosophy, culture and traditions, especially after it rejoined the Chinese mainland in 1997 (Chan and Chan, 2005). Educators in Hong Kong also engage in exchanges of curricula, educators, students and practitioners in various countries including the USA, the UK, Australia, New Zealand, Sweden, and closer to home, mainland China. Their efforts have highlighted the importance of being aware of both dangers: being colonised or colonising others (Chan and Chan, 2005).

Imperialist Venture or Mutuality in Curriculum Exchanges?

IASSW supports individual and group projects that promote reciprocal interactions amongst participants. The ideal of those from outside a locale supporting those within it from the vantage point of local peoples has consistently guided such endeavours and underpinned work undertaken. In one scheme, IASSW funded educators from Hong Kong to develop schools of social work in China under the auspices of Iris Chi, their representative on the IASSW Board. This work included creating a website to promote the creation of practice curricula and offers a model for working across differences even when there is much in common. The *Global Qualifying Standards* (IASSW-IFSW, 2004) spells out the principles of reflexive reciprocated learning for social work to guide future activities involving curriculum sharing across international borders. Reflexivity, as Sewpaul and Jones (2004) argue in their article, is a commitment and an action that promotes shared learning in non-oppressive circumstances.

Getting the right combination of people and experiences together, promoting equality and facilitating dialogue across differences are fundamental elements in the realisation of these principles in specific partnerships. Vishanthie Sewpaul's skills in listening to different voices as Chair of the Global Qualifying Standards Committee for IASSW, facilitated frank discussions and negotiations on the IASSW Board to produce a document that reflects a diversity of opinions, its contested nature and the organisation's reluctance to accept the need for a global statement on qualifying standards (Sewpaul and Williams, 2004). The document presents basic principles that are open to local interpretation and use without prescribing one model curriculum for all schools of social work across the world. As a document constantly in the making rather than a finished product, its effectiveness in supporting schools to develop the curricula they want while supplying guidance that will enable them to compare their endeavours with those elsewhere will be monitored and amended regularly to ensure that it does not become a straight-jacket for those using it. And, it enables the profession, rather than multinational corporations freed by GATS to 'do' education to lead in clarifying norms appropriate for locality specific curriculum development.

Commitment to equality, mutuality, reciprocity and interdependence in exchange relationships in social work education has also permeated interactions amongst social work organisations active in the international arena. Implementing these principles is problematic in practice, requiring constant reflection on how to further egalitarian relationships between participants in actual situations. IASSW's collaboration with the IFSW in developing the international definition of social work, ethics document, global qualifying standards and joint congresses followed these principles. As its President at the time these were being drafted, I was responsible for ensuring that IASSW's contribution to these joint ventures adhered to the principles of equality and reciprocity;

and acknowledged different structures, resources and diversity and in both the processes whereby the work was conducted and its final products. Imelda Dodd, as President of IFSW, did likewise for this body.

After years of quiescence in Africa, the IASSW has fostered the resurrection of the African Region under the auspices of Lengwe Mwansa. This initiative bore fruit at a conference in Nairobi in 2005 with the formal launch of its regional structures to promote regional networking and curricula-sharing. The vibrancy of the region is also evident in its providing the site of IASSW's 2008 World Congress which is being hosted by schools of social work in South Africa, under the leadership of Vishanthie Sewpaul, also their representative on the IASSW Board.

Similar initiatives to grow locality specific curricula are being pursued in Eastern Europe where Darja Zaviršek, another member of the IASSW Board, is creating a sub-regional structure for the Balkan Region. This builds on the efforts of Sven Hessle who obtained Swedish funding to develop schools of social work in the area after the devastation caused by inter-ethnic conflicts (Hessle and Zaviršek, 2005). These initiatives depict the internationalisation of social work curricula and how it draws on different models and players. In these, the political nature of education has been carefully negotiated to ensure reciprocity between players of different sizes and with diverse resources at their disposal.

European settlers' denial of 'aboriginal' knowledges and cultures accompanied by the forcible removal of children from their families of origins has been linked to imperialistic social work practices that had the explicit aim of turning 'aboriginal' children into 'Englishmen and women' by placing them in residential schools run by Europeans who prevented them from contacting their families and beat them for using their mother tongues (Haig-Brown, 1988; Furniss, 1995). Their plight has been well-versed in the literature (Bruyere, 2001; Tait-Rolleston and Pehi-Barlow, 2001), while Thomas and Green and Cyr explore the consequences of these colonial policies in this book through 'indigenous' healing perspectives that are turned into tools for teaching.

The fall of the Berlin Wall in Eastern Europe depicts contemporary imperialist ventures in education. Here, some Western consultants ignored legacies of social work education and practice that had preceded the Communist period and survived during it. Instead, they engaged in opportunistic curriculum-building that assumed an educational vacuum in the social professions of these countries (Dominelli, 1992). They could have searched for local knowledges, found those that were there and built upon these, but did not. Yet, as Elena Smirnova-Iarskaia (1999) has documented, considerable experiences of social work in the voluntary sector existed in the former Soviet Union. In this book, Zaviršek and Stubbs identify the lengthy history of social work in Central and Eastern Europe ignored by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that bring Western practices and ways of addressing social issues into the field.

Mutuality in exchanges has only recently become widely discussed in social work writings (see Dominelli and Thomas Bernard, 2003; Dominelli, 2005a; Razack, 2002; Bristow, 2006). Before that, it was *assumed* that exchanges between the West and other parts of the world were benign and that imperialist intentions applied neither in the educational sphere of the academy nor in fieldwork practice. Sadly, the history of curricula exchanges in social work indicates that it has not been immune from imperialist ventures.

Academics and practitioners in Western countries have begun formally to acknowledge that they can learn from others and improve their own understandings by being exposed to other cultures. Multiculturalism was one attempt whereby they engaged with difference within their own countries, even though success in promoting racial equality has been low. Cultural competence approaches (Lum, 1999) also risk getting into a cul-de-sac by essialising identities and presenting them as fixed and immutable rather than dynamic and changing (Dominelli, 2000, 2004a). This is a

danger that the European Union (EU) risks replicating in its intercultural approaches to educational diversity (Dominelli, 2006a).

The EU has also become interested in issues linked to parity in education. From the 1980s, the EU has challenged the assumption that nation-states are sovereign in education, insisted on harmonising educational qualifications in the professions and initiated a number of directives aimed at bringing these to fruition. Its latest intervention, the Bologna Declaration, awaits full implementation across the continent and progress in bringing disparate systems of educational practices together is patchy. This enterprise has been complicated by the contentious nature of regulations whose benefits have been questioned. For example, Nordic educators associate the Bologna process with lowering standards because it has reduced their period of study for a social work qualification from four years to three (Juliusdottir and Petersson, 2004). In Britain, the Bologna protocols have yet to be realised. One argument for turning two year qualification in social work into a three year degree was compliance with European rulings on the professions. This regional initiative has implications for internationalising social work curricula as successful applicants of EU-funded exchanges have to accept stipulated regulations, e.g., modular structures and using the European Credit and Transfer System (ECATS). ECATS rejects uniquely structured educational models, but provides comparability across awards, at least in theory.

In the USA, the Council for Social Work Education (CSWE) has a long history of engaging with international issues, sending educators and materials to other countries. The Marshall Plan and Fulbright Fellowships were crucial in bringing American ideas about social work into Europe after the Second World War. Countries in other parts of the world especially the Caribbean, have requested support in devising accreditation standards and developing their curricula as they sought to 'indigenise' and free themselves from the British influence upon their educational structures brought about by colonisation. CSWE has engaged member schools in debates about these issues, but the tensions between those advocating that the USA provides the highest standard for others to follow and those who endorse locality specific knowledges as the starting point for any educational discussion about standards persist.

Educators who played key roles in extending American horizons about the presence of models of excellence in curriculum construction overseas, have convinced CSWE to include the teaching of international social work in the curricula of American schools seeking accreditation. This discussion is fairly new, and applauds the benefits of learning from others. The Education Policy and Accreditation Standards (EPA) Committee initiated this shift in policy and received major endorsements in this direction from its members during the 1999/2000 Annual Programme Meetings (APM). Many schools have yet to integrate such teaching into their curricula (CSWE, 2003) while those committed to international social work help by providing guidance on and exemplars of the relevant curriculum materials (Hokenstad et al., 1992; Hokenstad and Midgely, 1997; Healy, 2001; Healy et al., 2003; Link and Healy, 2005).

From the above discussion, it is clear that the picture for internationalising the social work curriculum is a complicated one. The privileging of Western models of teaching and learning, particularly those emanating from English-language groups, occurs alongside the mutual sharing of curricula and reclaiming of locality specific knowledges. Simplifying these experiences and creating dichotomous versions of exchanges in social work in the absence of mutual dialogue in contested terrains can distort events and opportunities for growth. Stephen Webb (2003) highlights the dangers of imperialising social work while imposing a grand narrative interpretation of the history of social work across the world and in doing so reveals how difficult it is to substantiate postmodern claims that recognise diversity in approaches to the discipline.

Reclaiming Locality Specific Knowledges; Learning from Others through Egalitarian Relationships

The dangers of engaging in educational imperialism through exchanges of social work educators, students and practitioners have been identified by Razack (2002), Dominelli and Thomas Bernard (2003) and Dominelli (2005a) amongst others. These include desisting from:

- Engaging in imperialist ventures;
- Assuming that one-size fits all;
- Devaluing local knowledges;
- Opportunistic appropriation of local resources for overseas institutions and/or individuals; and
- Taking unilateral control of local developments.

The processes of reclaiming local knowledges take many forms and have impacted upon social work theories and practice in different ways. For instance, Maori people of New Zealand/ Aotearoa developed Family Group Conferences (FGCs) to avoid unhelpful non-Maori welfare interventions involving their children and resume control over their lives. FGCs have been transferred to social work education and practice in Western Europe and North America (Jackson and Nixon, 1999), in a reversal of the usual flow of knowledges. In this book, the chapters by Gale Cyr and Jacquie Green and Robina Thomas, communicate First Nations visions of social work education and practice built on local knowledges. The struggles to retain their currency and relevance despite attempted genocide and cultural oppression specifically aimed at destroying their languages, cultures, religions and knowledges were heroic. By becoming 'communities of resistance' (extended) families, religious leaders and Elders ensured that traditional organisational knowledges and ways of knowing including in oral form were passed on to younger generations and other peoples, thereby ensuring the survival of endangered cultures and their civilisations (Haig-Brown, 1988; Hill, 2000; Bruyere, 2001; Tait Rolleston and Pehi-Barlow, 2001; Graham, 2002).

'Aboriginal' groups have created their own vehicles to disseminate their reclaimed knowledges, develop their own systems of governance and schools of social work and mainstream their efforts. White (2003) has recently created an annotated bibliography to assist those wishing to acknowledge, develop and sustain First Nations courses. Sustainability for such initiatives is precarious, given highly stretched local resources and resistance to those who question existing educational interests.

Schools that advocate for 'indigenous' courses or challenge existing power structures, ways of knowing, and pedagogic processes can become mired in controversy that endangers their existence. After operating for 49 years, the Maori programme in the School of Social Work in Victoria University, Wellington, Aotearoa/New Zealand, was closed down without regard to the investment of energy, time and resources by both Maori and Pakeha (European-origined) educators and communities in developing the curriculum in egalitarian directions. The course became contentious when people questioned the authenticity and validity of 'indigenous studies'. The investigating University authorities decided that: the course lowered academic standards by promoting indigenous teachings (views opposed by staff, students, alumni and community Elders); brought the University into disrepute; and was not cost-effective (personal communication), making closure the only possible option despite representations to the contrary.

Experiencing International Curricula

The processes of engaging in international exchanges of curricula, staff and students carry advantages and disadvantages. Those participating in exchanges often claim the experience as a 'life changing' event involving a process of personal growth (Dominelli and Thomas Bernard, 2003). Care has to be taken if mutuality and reciprocity amongst participants are to feature in their interactions. Some authors identify the importance of contextualising exchanges (Heron, 2005) and preparing adequately beforehand if the privileging of Western knowledges, experiences and points-of-view is not to occur through lack of forethought (Razack, 2002; Sewpaul, 2003). Practical considerations like: meeting immigration requirements for visas; financial viability during exchanges; welcoming and inducting visiting staff and students; being integrated into a receiving course, practice setting and student body; support in acculturation, language learning and assessment; health insurance; risk assessments; travel arrangements; accommodation; safe departures; and debriefing after events also need careful thought (Dominelli and Thomas Bernard, 2003).

Evaluations of these exchanges have highlighted how participants value different aspects of the experience. Some may not share definitions about priorities, activities or end-products (Lawrence et al., 2003; Kohli and Faul, 2005). Others identify the importance of obtaining formal inter-institutional agreements before embarking on international collaborations (Cornelius and Greif, 2005). This may counter the work being viewed as the personal prerogative or project of an individual person and avoid the persistent question, 'Did you enjoy your holiday?' when staff and students return from overseas exchanges (Dominelli and Thomas Bernard, 2003). Such reactions indicate that internationalising the curriculum is not a priority in many schools of social work (Razack, 2002).

Abye Tasse, now President of IASSW, highlighted in discussions about international social work education at the APM in Atlanta, Georgia in 2003 that internationalising the curriculum is a Western preoccupation. People living in the Southern hemisphere have already had their curriculum 'internationalised' either through experiences of colonialism where Western models of knowledge production, acquisition and transfer were imposed upon local ones or globalisation had penetrated indigenous knowledges, re-culturalised them and integrated them into a global system that privileges the West. In this book, Abye instances the implications of this insight for Ethiopian migrants living in the West and those returning to Ethiopia. Lincoln Williams shows the same permeability of cultures and systems with regards to Caribbean peoples in Chapter 18. Both authors show that resistance to being taken over educationally, socially and politically characterises these experiences.

Conclusions

Respecting local knowledges and valuing diversity are essential underpinnings of non-exploitative relationships in internationalising social work curricula and fostering mutuality and plurality in exchanges. This form of internationalisation is about reciprocated learning and mutually rewarding encounters in which each partner both contributes to and gets something from its relationships with others. In this context, identifying the dangers that have to be addressed and taking active steps to avoid them are necessary. Key to these are linking action, analyses and theories that demystify relations of oppression and neo-colonialism in education; and refusing to propagate educational imperialism through coursework and placements. I summarise these points of guidance as follows:

- Accepting curricula in other countries as also bearers of high standards and therefore as bringing something to an exchange;

- Appreciating many ways of teaching and learning;
- Developing new collaborative networks and opportunities for learning that interrogate hegemonic models of teaching and practice;
- Valuing students' experiences, knowledges and skills;
- Questioning funders' priorities if these skew educational experiences or undermine the values of equality and respect for diversity;
- Preparing academic staff, students and practitioners adequately for overseas educational exchanges whether physical or virtual;
- Reflecting reflexively upon one's culture and the assumptions that underpin one's values and ways of relating to others;
- Being open to learning from others and valuing what they offer in a spirit of mutual dialogue and reciprocated exchange; and
- Respecting others and treating them with dignity, even if disagreeing with their views.

These can guide engagement in 'communities of resistance' that aim to establish an egalitarian world order (Whitmore and Wilson, 2000). Social work educators can make modest contributions to their creation in the discipline through curriculum development initiatives and exchanges of practitioners, students and staff that endorse the richness of locality specific knowledges and produce innovative and transformative shifts in international social work that better prepare the professionals of the future. Transnational collaborations can hold educators, practitioners and service users accountable to each other in producing curricula that model these aspirations in pedagogic practice.

Note

1. I have been involved in these organisations in various capacities since 1984, including serving as President of IASSW from 1996–2004.

Conclusions

LENA DOMINELLI

Introduction

Globalisation provides the macro-level context within which social work education, policy and practice take place. Meso- and micro-level contexts have to be taken into account whether this is in redefining communities, practice, educational curricula in social work or globalisation itself. These unfold in many forms and are often contentious. I conclude the book by focusing on these developments from a social justice perspective.

Globalisation's role in collapsing the boundaries of communities and erecting new ones is a major context explored in this book. Some authors have drawn on empirical studies to highlight varied responses in the field and yielded theoretical innovations especially on aid and migration, e.g., Hoogvelt, Small, Abye. Contributors to this book have considered how communities have altered under globalisation. Their boundaries have been redefined and redrawn physically and/or virtually as people adopt, adapt to or resist changes that emanate from global processes. People have (re)invented and (re)invigorated past identities and practices to exercise agency and (re)develop communities. Traffic has not been one way, towards homogenisation and a coherent world order accepted by all. People have: challenged taken-for-granted assumptions about social terrains; collapsed boundaries around time, space and place; and redrawn relationships between individual citizens and nation-state, points made in the chapters by Askaland, Abye and Small. Healy suggests that these changes require a rethinking of social work theory and practice and carry substantial implications for how social work education is taught and practised. A key message from Hoogvelt, Thomas and Green, Stubbs and Levin is that social workers as professionals charged with enhancing people's well-being have a key role to play in meeting the challenges of globalisation. To do this, Zaviršek shows that countries without formal curricula are quickly developing the necessary knowledge and skills needed. White argues that the issues raised become even more relevant as people trained in one country move around the planet to work in another.

One curriculum cannot apply everywhere, not least because there has been resistance to imperialising endeavours by local service users, policymakers, practitioners and educators. Cyr contends that social work practitioners and educators have to operate within and respect locality specific contexts with their own legislation, values, traditions and commitments. A respectful plurality and mutually is also advocated by IASSW and IFSW in their definition of social work, ethics document and global qualifying standards (www.iassw-aiets.org; www.ifsw.org).

Globalisation's Impact on Social Work

Resilience in revitalising globalising communities draws on people's existing strengths. This view emerges as strong theme in the contributions here. Globalisation has given resilience a new twist by extending its tentacles to the present and requiring recovery work that detracts peoples' energies from doing other things. The chapters by Thomas and Green, and Cyr exemplify that addressing the

damaging impact of 'deficit' models continues to occupy aboriginal peoples. They resist colonial and neo-imperialist ventures to heal through strengths-based interventions. Their narratives of survival, shared insights and new models for practice in revitalising communities provide grounds for optimism and hope for a better future and reveal that tradition can supply material relevant to contemporary societies. So, their story is not just about past historical events. This insight is shared by Hessle, Stubbs and Zaviršek in their respective chapters and indicates the relevance of including a study of the history of social work on courses. Past mistakes can be avoided if the threads that link today to the past are followed to understand how they shape tomorrow according to Cyr, Askaland and Moosa-Mitha.

Levin argues that hegemonic discourses and power set the parameters that people accept as given and are significant in shaping their perceptions of practice, position in it and potential for action. A crucial dynamic within these is that people absorb feelings of low self-worth articulated through dominant discourses and believe they can do little to alter their condition. Analysing the damage these do in undermining peoples' resistance is a crucial underpinning of healing processes, as Thomas and Green and Cyr emphasise. Sewpaul and Hőlscher reveal how social workers facilitate healing processes by helping to form self-care plans that promote people's strengths and create alternative roles and models of working that resist oppressive situations. Desai and James indicate that strengths-based approaches are crucial in rethinking responses to disaster.

A concern with social justice, human rights, the dignity of the person, respect for differences and valuing diversity feature strongly in the ideologies and practices of social work in communities that foster diversity. For Moosa-Mitha, poor interpretation and implementation on the ground undermines children's agency. Noble shows that active citizenship promotes mutuality and reciprocity in encounters between academics, practitioners and students in wealthy Western countries of the North and low-income ones in the South. These concepts are irrelevant if not contextualised to work out their meanings in specific localities. Others have focused on newly developed or reclaimed knowledges for practice even when globalising forces pull in opposite directions. Embedding knowledge in localities illustrates resistance to the subjugation of local knowledges and marginalised peoples' capacity to protect their knowledges, survive the ravages of brutal repression and heal despite a shortage of resources and support from the dominant society in which they are now located. These offer new paradigms of thought and action with innovations in social work theory and practice for developing a curriculum based on struggles of agency and heroism, as Thomas and Green, Cyr and Moosa-Mitha demonstrate in their contributions.

Practitioners and service users have participated in redefining 'success' in community regeneration as small steps in helping others develop networks of interaction that meet their needs rather than achieving material rewards of a substantial kind. The significance of proceeding along this path in South Africa has been highlighted by Sewpaul and Hőlscher and Gray and Mitchell. Moosa-Mitha, Askaland and Desai makes similar points in relation to children's rights, tourism and disaster relief respectively. So do Abye, Hessle, Small and Williams in their chapters on migration. Ledwith and Asgill claim that social work education and practice have developmental roles to play in devising new models and (re)theorising social relations to expose power dynamics and create new narratives of empowerment across 'raced'/gendered divides. Under alternative ways of thinking about the world, the politics of aid have to be turned round because their current operation has been depicted as exploitative while enriching the 'Lords of Poverty' (Hancock, 1989) who profit from it, as James and Hoogvelt claim.

Desai suggests that interventions in disaster situations can be led by social work educators establishing 'best practice' guidelines that have meaning for people beyond the localities within which they are developed. These include lessons about knowing communities; using communities as resources to support children, regardless of biological parentage, although a wariness about

who offers assistance does not go amiss in situations that predators can abuse; and empowering marginalised peoples through supportive interventions that voice their aspirations. These concerns are echoed by Popple and Pattison. Initiatives developed in a minority community can resonate with those living in majority communities and support change in both. Social workers can become enmeshed in problems and regulations that convert professionals into bureau-technocrats who poorly serve people. Desai illustrates how creatively redefining situations can overcome limitations imposed on practitioners by gatekeepers who control resources or are responsible for their safety.

Social work has been affected by globalising processes and imperialist ventures as part of the welfare state. Under neoliberalism, these forces have changed the nation-state's role from a provider of services to commissioning them. Embedded in micro-level practice, the purchaser-provider split is a key tenet of case management. In it, social workers as case managers do not engage in relationship-based social work, but manage packages of services or care delivered by others employed in the commercial and voluntary sectors. As Burkett reveals, a mix of providers is a major plank of Western neoliberal welfare regimes implanted elsewhere requiring community responses. State withdrawal from welfare provision is evident in the structural adjustment policies advocated by those favouring neoliberal developments in low-income countries, as Gray and Mitchell's chapter demonstrates for South Africa. These can cause untold suffering amongst those excluded from the market-place. Hoogvelt asks social workers to advocate against this state of affairs.

Western social work theorists have highlighted how the spread of case management enables a 'mixed economy of welfare' in which the state, commercial providers, the voluntary sector and civil society flourish in providing services to those in need (Hadley and Hatch, 1981). This has been presented as a new development, but as Hoogvelt, Desai and James show in their chapters, there has always been a 'mixed economy of welfare'. What is new is the balance between its different elements. It now privileges market provisions over others. Contractual relations between the state and other providers exist in an arrangement known as 'contract government'. This presupposes the hidden hand of the state in the form of various subsidies and behind it, the taxpayer, whose money makes these possible, paves the way for the market and ensures that workers desist from creating problems for employers to enhance global competitive advantage and profit-margins (Dominelli, 2004a).

At the micro-level of practice, case management subjects social workers to greater managerial control, a loss of professional autonomy and deprofessionalisation, and offers users tokenistic choices in service provision because their options are limited by resource availability and ability to pay (Dominelli, 1996; 2004a). Several contributors to this book reveal that globalisation has promoted residualism in welfare services by:

- Undermining public welfare provisions in favour of market-oriented ones that rely on private (for-profit) providers and civil society including the voluntary sector to deliver services to those in need;
- Reinforcing contractually defined relationships between those who commission services and those who provide them; and
- Reducing rights-based claims to the personal social services.

This situation is unlikely to change in the near future without active interventions that introduce other models for practice because globalisation under the aegis of neoliberalism has internationalised social problems including people smuggling and child trafficking and produced the General Agreement on Trades and Services (GATS). GATS includes under its remit, health, education and the personal social services as items ripe for privatisation and profit maximisation.

Chapter 1 highlights GATS' intention of achieving these objectives by opening public or universal provisions to multinational corporations providing services to those who can pay while excluding those who cannot. GATS' implementation carries enormous implications for social workers and will be monitored by the World Trade Organisation (WTO).

In summary, responding to communities in a globalising world involves social workers in empowering forms of practice and reciprocated learning. In micro-level practice, contemporary global forces have changed public policies, service delivery and social work practice, education and training. Contributions to this book highlight the following developments:

- Changes in daily practice routines;
- Changes in the nature of the worker-client relationship;
- Cutting public expenditures and containing costs. e.g., commissioning services by care managers;
- Decreased professional autonomy;
- Competence-based social work that allows non-social workers to do work previously undertaken by social workers;
- New managerialism and increased managerial control;
- Changes in the relationships between workers and their employers;
- Changes in relationships between social workers and other employees;
- Increased global movement by companies offering services in the health and social care arena;
- Internationalisation of social problems, particularly those involving:
    - poverty
    - migration of diverse populations
    - intercountry adoptions
    - sex trade in children
    - prostitution
- Training in one country and working in others and encompassing the:
    - harmonisation of qualifications
    - recognition of different qualifications
    - transferability of skills.

The meso-level requires policies that promote welfare and well-being and look after the planet that provides the wherewithal for nurturing all. Desai argues that practitioners and educators can work alongside those asking for services to promote a humanity rooted in equality, reciprocity and justice. Social workers can advocate for the elimination of injustice and progress locality specific forms of knowledge that encompass shared bonds that unite humanity and celebrate its diversity and richness. Social work educators can ensure that curricula used to train practitioners are infused with the knowledges, values and skills necessary to equip them for the task of revitalising communities in a globalising world. In this way, social work education and practice in the international arena can better meet the challenges of globalisation to secure social justice for marginalised, socially excluded people and promote equality.

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