

THE WELFARE FUNCTION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT BEFORE AND AFTER APARTHEID*

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Changing social-economic tendencies such as industrialisation and urbanisation, followed by poverty and a housing need, have since the turn of the century affected the social function of the South African government. The welfare function amongst whites was carried out in the spirit of Afrikaner nationalism, although the government reflected an ideology of white reunification and reconciliation. For the first five decades of the twentieth century, the predominant focus of government was to follow a residual welfare approach. Research was done in welfare and they catered for white welfare services. Although the welfare function for the other population groups was not totally absent, the government was clearly reluctant to promote it.

Legal apartheid since 1948 entrenched the Cinderella-focus of the government regarding welfare. Social welfare services, among others, were divided between several government departments, while a distinction was made between departments for whites, blacks, Coloureds and Indians. The financial implications were alarming. Naturally the effect was felt by everyone, considering that less was available for certain groups than would have been the case if one departmental welfare structure was responsible for everyone.

For a further eighteen years, long after Dr HF Verwoerd died, welfare was divided between a number of government departments. The South African government's homeland policy, as part of its ideological motive rooted in Afrikaner nationalism, was seen as the ultimate attempt to, amongst other things, manage black South Africans' welfare interests in a separate and inferior way. In the early eighties the Coloured and Indian people were accommodated within a new constitutional dispensation where they were given the opportunity to manage the welfare function of the government among their own people. This approach made place for a new government vision regarding welfare after the constitutional transformation in 1984 and lasted for a period of over ten years. The acknowledgement of all people's right to participation in government, together with the overwhelming positive association with freedom and human rights, the democratic chosen Government of 1994 set above a new ideological way of thinking about welfare, along social developmental lines. What this entails and how it compares with the Government's welfare function, before and after apartheid, will be the heart of the discussion. Although the main concern of the paper is to point out how Government envisioned welfare concerns, the influence ideology had cannot be ignored and will be reflected where applicable, especially in section 3.

1. THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PROVISION OF SOCIAL SERVICES – A HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS

1.1 Trends before 1902

Social care is an integral part of all societies throughout the world. Assistance to the needy or the destitute forms part of human society, and it is therefore not strange that social welfare and the existence of organisations aimed at providing social service had virtually always been evident

in civilised countries before a specific government¹ intervened constructively. The indigenous communities of South Africa who lived here before white settlement, were no exception. The members of these communities lived in close contact with each other and depended on each other in the search for food, shelter and clothing.²

Exposure to Western ideas, cultures and traditions brought about a change in the traditional life of the indigenous communities as well as the Europeans coming to South Africa. The *Verenigde Oost Indische Compagnie* (VOC), the British government and later the Boer republics, regarded the black, Coloured and Indian communities of the country as a rich source of labour. It is known that there were possible use and misuse of these people on the labour market.³ The colonial and republican governments did not play an active role in the provision of social welfare services in the 250 years after the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck from The Netherlands at the Cape in 1652.⁴ As the need arose, various laws were promulgated from time to time, in order to assist the destitute. Amongst these was the Law on Meesters en Dienstboden of 1856, which brought about better circumstances for workers. By means of the law of Friendly Societies of 1882, it was ensured that organisations were founded to provide financial assistance and the provision of food and other important items to the needy.⁵

The discovery of minerals in the 1860's in South Africa brought about large urbanisation of all communities in the country. All communities found it difficult to adjust to city life and the industrial environment in which they found themselves. High levels of poverty amongst both the white and black communities would be rife till deep into the twentieth century.⁶

The South African War (1899-1902) and the devastation following that not only brought a change in the political role of the government, but also brought a change in the approach to welfare service instituted by the government. The British Administration in South Africa located thousands of burgers in the former Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek and Oranje-Vrijstaat, and

¹ A government consists of a set of legal and political establishments that have the legal and executive power to regulate the relations between members of the community and between communities and outsiders. These institutions have the power to make decisions about maintaining law and order in the community and other mutual goals. Governments differ in size. A government within tribal context can comprise of a headman or of a headman and a council of elders. On the other hand, the present-day so-called super powers and international authorities can be constituted from the representatives of various countries. Till recently it was possible for certain authorities to govern kingdoms that not only included their own people, but also people and countries of various national ethnical groups and languages. Examples of these are the British Empire who ruled over countries such as India, Australia and South Africa as well as France who were the rulers in Canada and the Ivory Coast. The present-day government includes various levels, namely local, provincial and national role players. Compare H.J. Kotzé and J.J. van Wyk, *Basiese konsepte in die politiek* (Johannesburg: 1980), pp.161, 175-176; M. Hall, *The changing past: Farmers, kings and traders in Southern Africa* (Cape Town: 1987), 200-1860, p.63.

² Compare W.D. Hammond-Tooke (ed.), *The Bantu-speaking peoples of Southern Africa* (London: 1974), pp.60-78; M. Wilson and L. Thompson, *A history of South Africa to 1870* (London: 1982), p.41.

³ T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa: A Modern history*, 4th edition (Macmillan: 1991), pp.20-22.

⁴ H.J. van Aswegen, *Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika tot 1854* (Pretoria: 1989), pp.80-82.

⁵ M.C. Potgieter, *Maatskaplike sorg in Suid-Afrika: 'n Ontleding van die aard, omvang, funksieverdeling en finansiering van die dienste gelever deur die Staat en Partikuliere Welsynsorganisasies* (Stellenbosch: 1973), pp.27-28; H. Tennant and E.M. Jackson (ed.), *Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1895 vol. III, 1887-1895* (Cape Town:1906), pp.2950-3436.

⁶ W. Beinart, *Twentieth-century South Africa*, pp.61-63; T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa ...*, pp.183-187. Also see section 2 and 3 of this article.

provided compensation in the form of food, shelter, clothing as well as agricultural equipment.⁷ Compensation structures were put in place as soon as possible, with the assistance of the British crown in order to normalise the lives of the white communities in particular. However, the government was not planning to take on the role of welfare totally upon itself. The aim of relief camps and communities which were established everywhere with the approval of the government, was eventually to be independent.⁸ All communities in South Africa were affected by the South African War.⁹ Although the British government assisted all the communities, all people were not treated equitably,¹⁰ and this contributed to a delay in the development of proper welfare service rendering.¹¹

1.2 Welfare service structure during the period of British administration 1902-1910

A wish for peace, conciliation and unity - especially amongst the white English and Afrikaans-speaking groups - directed government reasoning.¹² Compensation in a post war state was part of this political and ideological¹³ process, and also part of policy paradigm with regard to welfare service structures, called the institutional model.¹⁴ The various organised and collective schemes to establish groups of whites as relief camp workers¹⁵ in previously determined areas or simply to make agricultural allocations in the rebuilding process,¹⁶ is evidence of this. The government's approach therefore mainly focussed on intervention to deliver dividends in the long term. These types of schemes were meant to help the poor whites to eventually help themselves, as well as to create job opportunities through innovation. The only stage where the

⁷ Compare J. Esterhuizen, *Die ekonomiese en maatskaplike toestand van die gewese Republikeinse burgers in die Transvaalkolonie, 1900-1910* (sn:1965), pp. 66, 68, 79, 92; R.T.J. Lombard, Stigting van die Vaalhartsbesproeiingskema as heenkome vir hawelose blankes", *Contree*, 24, (1988), pp.13-20.

⁸ Compare C.J.P. le Roux, "Grondtoekenning en landelike vestiging in die Oranjerivierkolonie/Oranje-Vrystaat, 1900-1912", *Contree*, 27, (1990), pp.12-17; D.A. van der Bank, "Mushroom Valley-onderstandskamp", *Contree*, 30, (1991), pp.5-9.

⁹ See T. Pakenham, *The Boer War* (London: 1979).

¹⁰ P. Warwick, *Black people and the South African War, 1899-1902* (Cambridge: 1983), p.165.

¹¹ Compare the aspects debated in section 2 and 3.

¹² Compare T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa ...*, pp.205-206.

¹³ Although the concept ideology is comprehensive by nature, it can in short be described as a system of interdependent ideas of social groups and or societies, which justify their specific political, social, moral, religious and economic interests. An ideology serves as a logical and fundamental justification of a group or society's behavior patterns, attitudes, objectives etc. The premise of an ideology is accepted as truth and as dogma, rather than as tentative philosophy or theoretical formulation. Terminology Committee of Social Work, *New dictionary of social work*, p.37; also compare R.L.Barker, *The social work dictionary*, p.355; I. Liebenberg, *Ideologie in konflik*, pp.13-17; H.J. Kotzé en J.J.van Wyk, *Basiese konsepte in die politiek*, p.78; I.Liebenberg, *Ideologie in Konflik*, pp.14-15.

¹⁴ The institutional model is conceptualised as an emphasis on interventions that play a 'front-line' role, treating social provisions as a normal integral part of society. A large-scale government involvement, collective involvement, and universality of coverage and long term provision usually accompany the intervention. See J. Midgley, "The developmental perspective in social welfare. Transcending residual and institutional models", *Social Work Practice*, 1(96) March 1996, p.1; N. Gilbert, H. Specht & P. Terral, *Dimensions of Social Welfare Policy. Third edition* (New Jersey: 1993), pp.8-9.

¹⁵ Compare D.H. van der Bank, "Mushroom Valley - 'n onderstandskamp", *Contree*, 39, (1991), pp.5-9.

¹⁶ Compare C.J.P. le Roux, "Grondtoekenning en landelike vestiging in die Oranjerivierkolonie/Oranje-Vrystaat, 1900-1912", *Contree*, 27, (1990), pp.12-17.

hand-out approach was followed by the British administration, was directly after the war (1902-1903).¹⁷

Increasing focus on the poor white problem was to the detriment of the Coloured community. Some of the Coloureds in the Cape Colony, for instance, lost their jobs or were reduced to unschooled labour.¹⁸ Another smaller group, the Indians, were confined to Natal and the Cape in 1902. Their social, economic and political positions were no better than those of the Coloureds. In fact, they were regarded as an immigrant community to be repatriated to India as soon as possible.¹⁹

The resettlement of black people who had occupied and worked on white farms during the war (1899-1902), was left to the Native Refugee Department. Black people expected the British government to allocate these farms to them.²⁰ Dissatisfaction reigned when it became obvious that this expectation would not be realised. Money saved by blacks who had worked for the British forces during the war, were used in some instances by black syndicates to buy farms from impoverished white farmers.²¹ The reconciliation policy of the British government where white interests were put first, gave rise to dissatisfaction amongst black people about this form of welfare assistance to which they seemed less entitled.²²

Despite of a favouring support to poor whites, the report of the Transvaal Indigency Commission appointed by the Government in 1908 to investigate the living conditions of its inhabitants, was published. The conditions of the white sharecroppers were described as very low by the commission. There was a shortage of money and land as well as initiative.²³

It appears as though the British administration instituted some legislation between 1902-1910 and also established some commissions in order to familiarise themselves with regard to the nature of the South African community.²⁴ It appears from the legislation that white requirements indeed enjoyed precedence.²⁵ Especially the English-speaking and well-to-do white women in the Cape Colony played a leading role in the upliftment schemes and social welfare.²⁶

The deprivation and withholding of political rights to the black, Coloured and Indian communities obviously put them in a worse economic and social position. The creation of social prosperity amongst black, Coloured and Indian communities therefore probably was not a high priority for the British administration.²⁷ The possibility also exists that those people concerned

¹⁷ Compare T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa ...*, pp.205-206; Reader's Digest Association of South Africa, *Illustrated History of South Africa: the real story* (Cape Town: C1989), pp.330-331.

¹⁸ P. Warwick (ed.), *The South African War, the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902* (Harlow: 1980), pp.203, 351.

¹⁹ I.J. van Eeden, *Armoede in sosiologiese perspektief* (Pretoria: 1980), p.50.

²⁰ C.M. de Necker, *Die rol van die owerheid in die voorsiening van georganiseerde maatskaplike welsynsdiens in Suid-Afrika, 1902-1995* (MA dissertation, PU for CHE: 1998), pp.33-34.

²¹ Anon., *Further correspondence relating to affairs in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony* (in continuation of [Cd.3025] and [Cd.3028] p.87; P. Warwick, *Black people and the South African war 1899-1902*, p.165.

²² Compare P. Smit, "Historiese grondslae van swart verstedeliking in Suid-Afrika", *Suid-Afrikaanse Historiese Joernaal*, 19, (1987), pp.7-29; L. Chisholm, "Class, colour and gender in child welfare in South Africa, 1902-1918", *South African Historical Journal*, 23(1990), pp.100-121.

²³ T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa ...*, pp.319,544.

²⁴ B.M. McKendrick, *Introduction to Social Work in South Africa* (Pinetown: 1978), p.10.

²⁵ M.C. Potgieter, *Maatskaplike sorg in Suid-Afrika ...*, p.30.

²⁶ Compare L. Chisholm, "Class colour and gender in child welfare in South Africa, 1902-1918", *South African Historical Journal*, 23, (1990), pp.100-121, Dec. 1991.

²⁷ G.B. Pyrah, *Imperial policy and South Africa, 1910-10* (ca. 1960), pp.96-97, 195.

with government matters before 1910 were aware that they were only serving on an interim basis and wanted to rather leave welfare and social care to their *successors*. Furthermore, unemployment was regarded as a temporary matter which did not require direct government measures.²⁸ Although there was no explicit Department of Welfare, all the other government departments were in one way or another involved in the welfare of South Africans.²⁹

1.3 A structured Government focus on social welfare service established, 1911-1948

After the brief period of British Administration, a period of 38 years followed during which the Government was made increasingly aware of its social duty. This occurred within the framework of an established political-ideological view of which the policy principles were slightly amended or adapted as the years passed.

With the establishment of the Union Cabinet in 1910 under leadership of the South African Party (SAP),³⁰ reconciliation and unity amongst especially the whites, as the most important political-ideological paradigm of the time, was accepted by the new leadership.³¹ Mutual quarrels in the party over the interpretation and realising of this paradigm in bond with the British Crown, soon led to the founding of the National Party (NP)³² in 1914.³³ White discord was enhanced by external catalysts such as the First World War,³⁴ industrialisation and problematical community tendencies such as unstructured urbanisation and poverty.³⁵

The Government, true to its ideological paradigm, wished to work for the social and economic upliftment of the whites as far as possible and especially that of the Afrikaans-speaking whites. Without scruples further legislation was promulgated in order to achieve these ideals. There was no deviation from the policy of British administration; in fact, this was rather developed further. This applied to, for example, economical structures for the advancement and reservation³⁶ of employment for whites, which included the availability of and opportunity to obtain employment. Under the National Party administration of 1924, these ideals became more evident.³⁷

Supportive of this vision of the Government's welfare role, was the stamp of satisfaction, in fact of approval, given to the accomplishment of, for example, voluntary welfare assistance. Several government departments,³⁸ church welfare efforts, the Helpmekaar Beweging,³⁹ the National

²⁸ Compare E. van Heyningen, "Poverty, self-help and community: The survival of the poor in Cape Town, 1889-1910", *South African Historical Journal*, 24, (1991), pp.128-143.

²⁹ C.M. de Necker, *Die rol van die owerheid* ..., p.41.

³⁰ T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa* ..., p.231

³¹ Compare G.D. Scholtz, *Die ontwikkeling van die politieke denke van die Afrikaner, Deel V, 1899-1910* (Johannesburg: 1978), p.577; B.J. Liebenberg and S.B. Spies (eds.), *South Africa in the 20th century* (Pretoria: 1993), pp.55, 61.

³² The Re-united National Party established in 1934 by Dr. D.F. Malan, is the political party connected with the 1948 Apartheids government and not the 1914-NP.

³³ F.A. van Jaarsveld, *100 Basiese dokumente by die studie van die Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis 1648-1961* (Goodwood: 1980), pp.206-209; I. Liebenberg, *Ideologie in konflik*, p.24.

³⁴ Compare T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa* ..., pp.245-247.

³⁵ W. Beinart, *Twentieth-century South Africa*, pp.74-133.

³⁶ B.J. Liebenberg and S.B. Spies (eds.), *South Africa* ..., pp.56, 74; R.E. van der Ross, *The rise and decline of apartheid. A study of political movements among the Coloured people of South Africa 1880-1985* (Cape Town: 1986), p.69.

³⁷ B.J. Liebenberg and S.B. Spies (eds.), *South Africa* ..., pp.180-200.

³⁸ Government departments such as Education, Forestry, Native Affairs and Health initiated various schemes in the years after 1910 in order to improve social conditions. *Die ekonomiese opkoms van die Afrikaner 1939-1965* (sa. 1966), p.18.

Joint Council⁴⁰ and the Vroue Landbou-unie,⁴¹ were amongst these. The FAK⁴² also followed, as well as the intervention of especially white academics to the white uplifting problem. Funds made available by Carnegie of the United States of America for researching white poverty in the early thirties, were eagerly accepted. Decisions were made during congresses about welfare by, amongst others, sociologists, psychologists and economists. The Government was therefore made increasingly aware that welfare in South Africa needed attention, and of the request for direct government involvement.⁴³ The role that the private welfare initiative played in order to make the Government aware of its role, was very prominent⁴⁴ during this period. The Carnegie Commission's report of 1932 was of particular importance.⁴⁵

In the midst of political discordance and economical setbacks such as the 1929-1933 drought and depression, the most urgent call was always for white unity and conciliation.⁴⁶ Due to especially economic setbacks, the almost impossible was realised in 1933 when the NP Government of General Hertzog and the SAP, as opposition parties under the leadership of J.C. Smuts, extended a hand of friendship to each other. An era of conciliation and unity under the banner of a coalition government, the United Party, arrived. Also within this governmental structure the ideological paradigm of white unity and power was enhanced further. An upliftment of this unity above any other authority (British Crown) or power (multitude of communities) still brought its differences to parliamentary debates.⁴⁷ A structured selective welfare focus by the Government followed from 1937 and the rendering of welfare services to other groups in South Africa, became more evident.

During the period after 1937, up to and including the taking over of government of the Herenigde Nasionale Party in 1948, several welfare structures were put in place, whilst others were consolidated.⁴⁸ These developments gave momentum to an ideological paradigm which was drawing closer around white Afrikaner Nationalism.⁴⁹ More welfare provision was made to other communities, but it was not comparable to the quota provided to the whites. This state of affairs, together with the discovery of more gold deposits in the interior, as well as the Second World War (1939-1945), were not economically advantageous. Politically it enhanced territorial

³⁹ Compare with W. Keizer, *Die ekonomiese opkoms van die Afrikaner, 1939-1965*, p.18.

⁴⁰ J. Grobler, *A decisive clash: A short history of black protest politics in South Africa, 1875-1976* (Pretoria: 1988), pp.72-74.

⁴¹ Compare I. Liebenberg, *Ideologie in konflik*, pp.26-27.

⁴² Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings. See T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa ...*, pp.290-292.

⁴³ W. Keizer, *Die ekonomiese opkoms van die Afrikaner, 1939-1965*, p.18.

⁴⁴ M.C. Potgieter, *Maatskaplike Sorg in Suid-Afrika ...*, pp.34, 36-37.

⁴⁵ D. Joubert, *Toe witmense arm was: uit die Carnegie-verslag* (Kaapstad: 1972); Carnegie Commission, *The poor white problem in South Africa* (Stellenbosch: 1932).

⁴⁶ Compare *De Westelike Stem*, 17 May 1929; 1 July 1930.

⁴⁷ Compare B.J. Liebenberg and S.B. Spies, *South Africa ...*, pp.275-284.

⁴⁸ M.C. Potgieter, *Maatskaplike sorg in Suid-Afrika ...*, pp.35-36; E. Theron, *H.F. Verwoerd as welsynsbeplanner, 1932-1936* (Stellenbosch: 1970).

⁴⁹ Historically the concept 'Afrikaner' refers to the white ancestors of European descent, who settled after 1652 in South Africa. The use of the concept 'Afrikaner' was probably used for the first time in 1707. Since then this group of people have developed an unique language and tradition. The concept Nationalism refers to a loyalty and emotional connectedness to a specific community or nation. Afrikaner Nationalism is an ideological paradigm that gained support from especially the thirties of this century. Dr. D.F. Malan and the purified National Party is associated with this paradigm. See H.J. Kotzé en J.J. van Wyk, *Basiese konsepte in die politiek* (Johannesburg: 1980), pp.117-118; C.C. Saunders (ed.), *An illustrated dictionary of South African history* (Sandton: 1994), pp.7-11. Also compare with NP policy principles in F.A. van Jaarsveld, *100 Basiese dokumente ...*, pp.206-209; I. Liebenberg, *Idiologie in konflik*, p.28.

division and gave rise to racial conflict⁵⁰ - in itself it cost the Government several thousand rands, which probably had to be taken from elsewhere - and was also to the detriment of the provision of welfare service. Nevertheless, by 1948 there was, in spite of the gaps, considerable progress in the Government's social welfare function, based upon the residual model⁵¹ in the rendering of social services. With this it moved away from the institutional model and the political-ideological paradigm of conciliation and unity.⁵²

This breaking away process is especially visible in the First Economic Peoples' Congress of 1939,⁵³ followed by a second one in 1950. Personal responsibility for the upliftment of, for example the white Afrikaner economically and socially, was discussed during these conferences. Some development and ground level upliftment was in fact realised by means of this.⁵⁴

1.4 The apartheid government and welfare service diversification 1948-1994

A new government was mandated in the 1948 elections by the white voters. This government, known as the Re-United National Party (NP) Government, established further welfare services as well as the planning and development of diversified services on a racial basis. Racial diversification on the basis of colour was influential on the Government's ideologically initiated philosophy of life,⁵⁵ and this was a process accomplished over a number of years.

All processes of welfare service rendered by the Government can be taken back to the political ideology of Afrikaner Nationalism.⁵⁶ The Re-United NP's takeover had clear guiding principles for the general policy with respect to the four different communities in South Africa. Generally speaking, specific ideas concerning the focus on welfare for the different communities were maintained. Amongst other matters was the political diversion of the social, residential, industrial and political ideologies.⁵⁷ Deborah Posel describes it as follows: *However distant and elusive the ideal of total segregation, it served an important ideological purpose in legitimating the state's immediate, more 'practical' plans. Arguably, the principal function of state ideology is to depict the exercise of power in terms which legitimise it as morally right. Ideologically, total segregation was characterised as a moral defence of white political supremacy, since Africans and whites would enjoy 'equal rights' in separate territories. By describing its 'practical' policies as the first step along the road towards the ideal of total segregation, the state provided whites with a way of redescribing the existing realities of white domination as the means towards a moral end. This rhetoric also conveyed the impression of direction and*

⁵⁰ Compare B.J.Spies and S.B.Liebenberg, *South Africa ...*, p.304; Compare A.J.H. van der Walt, 'n Volk op trek of 'n kort geskiedenis van die ontstaan en ontwikkeling van die Ossewa Brandwag (Johannesburg: 1994), pp.48-53; B.J. Liebenberg and S.B. Spies, *South Africa ...*, p.304.

⁵¹ The residual model appears to favour limited and selective state intervention, a high degree of personal responsibility, the extensive involvement of non-profit organisations and the full utilisation of the market. See J. Midgley, "The developmental perspective in social welfare: Transcending residual and institutional models", *Social Work Practice*, 1(96), March 1996, p.2.

⁵² See section 1.4

⁵³ W. Keizer, *Die ekonomiese opkoms van die Afrikaner vanaf die Eerste Ekonomiese Volkskongres van 1939 en 'n ontleding van sy huidige posisie in die landseksonomie* (s.a.: 1966).

⁵⁴ Ekonomiese Volkskongres, *Verslag van die Tweede Ekonomiese Volkskongres, 4-6 Oktober* (Johannesburg: c.1950).

⁵⁵ Compare T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa ...*, pp.327-328; D.Posel, *The making of apartheid 1948-1961. Conflict and compromise*, (Oxford: 1997), p.69.

⁵⁶ See section 1.3 for an explanation of Afrikaner Nationalism.

⁵⁷ Compare I. Liebenberg, *Ideologie in konflik*, p.30; F.A. van Jaarsveld, *100 basiese dokumente ...*, pp.243, 245, 249.

foresight to policies which were often fundamentally reactive, with little systematic thought given to their long-term implications.⁵⁸

Within the framework of overseas welfare paradigms, the political ideology that was followed after the NP take-over, was closely related to racism. George and Page reasoned that racism: *In the worst cases ... are compounded by religion, nationality or colour, and they are sometimes sanctioned by the legal system of the country ... There is no doubt that, in white society, black people suffer more from racism than other ethnic groups ... There is abundant evidence that employment opportunities and earning levels of many immigrant groups are below those of the rest of society, even when educational standards are taken into account. It is well documented that the educational achievements of children from some ethnic background are lower than those of other children for a variety of reasons: socio-economic conditions of the family, neighbourhood values towards education, and school factors relating to teachers' attitudes and curriculum content. Housing conditions are inferior, health conditions worse and mortality rates higher.*⁵⁹ The exclusive white Afrikaner Nationalistic ideology as maintained by the Government, reflects some of these typical tendencies as spelt out by George and Page. The thought, among other things, was conveyed that the white community was superior and that the black communities were inferior. Concerns such as the whites' national capitalism, national cultural, guardianship and supremacy over the other communities in South Africa, was inherently part of the ideological paradigm of the Government,⁶⁰ which also filtered through to the Government's role in welfare service.

The Government did, however, provide more welfare services to all other culture groups at this stage. Each of these groups was placed under the management of its own government department, whilst policy development was left in the hands of the white central government. The South African government initially ordered its Department of Social Welfare to render services to white, Coloured and Indian communities, whilst the Department of Native Affairs,⁶¹ who had handled the affairs of the black community in South Africa since 1910, continued with this work. In 1951 the separation of services commenced when a section for Coloured Affairs was established within the Department of Interior Affairs. An independent Department for Coloured Affairs was formed in 1951. A department for the Indians followed two years later.⁶² Welfare responsibility for their own communities on government's level, was mainly omitted up to and including 1984, when the new constitution was accepted. According to the constitutional paradigm of the Government shortly after 1948, each black group would be afforded the opportunity to develop its own homeland⁶³ and to develop to a fully-fledged nation. The Act on

⁵⁸ D. Posel, *The making of Apartheid ...*, p.69.

⁵⁹ V. George and R. Page, *Modern thinkers on welfare* (London: 1995), pp.311-312.

⁶⁰ I. Liebenberg, *Ideologie in konflik*, p.32.

⁶¹ The Department responsible for the development of the black communities in South Africa, was up until 1958 named the Department of Native Affairs. Several name changes followed after 1958. For the purpose of this article the name used in a specific timeframe will be kept to. A comprehensive list of all the Departments responsible for the different communities appears in the Table in section 3.

⁶² Unie van Suid-Afrika. Departement van Volkswelsyn, *Jaarverslag van die Departement van Volkswelsyn vir die tydperk 1 Oktober 1937 tot 31 Maart 1949* (UG 36/1950), p.6; Republiek van Suid-Afrika, Departement van Kleurlingsake, *Verslag vir die tydperk 1 Januarie 1959 tot 31 Desember 1961* (RP 11/1963), p.20; Departement van Indiërsake, *Verslag van die departement van Indiërsake vir die tydperk 3 Augustus 1961 tot 31 Desember 1970* (RP 51/1971), p.1.

⁶³ The concept Homeland(s) refers to the authorities and self-governed areas founded by the National Party during their reign of the apartheid policy. Since 1 August 1978 these areas were officially known as "Black States" and by name were the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Gazankulu, Lebowa, KaNgwane, Qwaqwa, KwaZulu and Ciskei, as well as the South-Ndebele Territorial

Bantu Authorities of 1951 made provision for this.⁶⁴ For the South African Government, this form of diversification, in view of its ideology, was completely acceptable and morally justifiable.⁶⁵

Irrespective of the fact that there was no sign of an integrated welfare service in South Africa, the welfare focus of the Government was intensified. More attention was paid to child, youth and family welfare. The needs of the elderly, physically handicapped and the extremely poor were inspected and gratuity contributions were improved. The Government's contribution to social welfare service was, however, directly influenced by the association between the Government and voluntary initiative. The Government saw itself in the role of co-ordinator, whilst the private organisations who were in direct contact with the destitute would have been the obvious bodies to assist.⁶⁶

The division of responsibility of social welfare services amongst various government departments and the direct control of this assistance by whites continued to 1984. In the new Three Chamber Parliament, the Coloured and Indian communities also received representation in the Government.⁶⁷ The implication of this for welfare was that the Coloured and Indian communities had a bigger say in the provision of welfare services to their communities. The welfare of the black community was divided between the Government of the various homelands and the Department of Co-operation Development.⁶⁸ By 1994 the original Afrikaner Nationalism ideology was no longer the dominant Government approach. Liberalising and selective group integration were new ideological aspects the Government considered. However, in broad terms it still complemented mainly the residual model.

The main idea with the provision of welfare services was, according to the Government, that the individual should be helped in order to help himself. Government schemes and services that were rendered to the various population groups more or less all followed the same pattern. Unlike the period prior to 1948, the idea was more that of remediation and prevention than of upliftment. For instance, crèches, children's homes, old age homes, settlements for the destitute and institutions for the disabled were provided. The extent of this assistance and the finances coupled with it, however, never showed an even distribution amongst population groups.⁶⁹

The drafting of a welfare policy for the delivery of welfare services for South Africa's four main groups was handled by the white Department of Social Welfare (later called the Department of Social Welfare and Pensions and still later the Department of Health and Welfare) until late in

Authority. See I.O.H.M. Mapena, *Policy for urban blacks in the Republic of South Africa*, p.1. Compare also National Archive (NA), Pretoria, Department of the Prime Minister (URU); File 6686, Tape 1347, Department of the Prime Minister/Minutes no. 1347, 23 September 1975; File 6755, Tape 95, Department of the Prime Minister, Minutes no. 95, 3 February 1976; File 6930, Tape 299, Department of the Prime Minister/Minutes no. 299, 4 March 1977.

⁶⁴ F.G.N. Harman, (red.), *Ons vir jou Suid-Afrika* (Pretoria: 1979), p.196.

⁶⁵ Compare D. Posel, *The making of apartheid, 1948-1961* ..., p.69.

⁶⁶ Republiek van Suid-Afrika. Departement van Nasionale Gesondheid en Bevolkingsontwikkeling, *Maatskaplike welsynsbeleid en strukture van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika, April 1988*, pp.4-5.

⁶⁷ B.J. Liebenberg and S.B. Spies, *South Africa* ..., pp.477-480.

⁶⁸ Compare Table in section 3 for an exposition of the different government departments involved in social welfare services since 1910.

⁶⁹ Republiek van Suid-Afrika, Departement van Volkswelsyn en Pensioene, *Struktuur van en beleid ten opsigte van welsynsdienste in die Republiek van Suid-Afrika*, pp.3-9.

the eighties. The projects of the various communities were co-ordinated by frequent contact in the Interdepartmental Consultative Committee on social welfare matters (ICC).⁷⁰

As services were established, attention was paid to the expansion of skilled services. By the sixties more attention was paid to specialising and the integration of group work and voluntary welfare organisations.⁷¹ By the seventies better co-ordination with voluntary welfare organisation and regional offices on local level were requested.⁷² In comparison with the tendency abroad, the South African Government repeated its point of view that South Africa was definitely not a welfare state. It was felt that that individual should learn how to become independent and that the community should be involved in this goal. In order to accomplish this, it was advocated that more power should be granted to districts and local governments,⁷³ once again typical characteristics of the residual welfare model.

The Second Carnegie Report which dealt with the poverty of blacks and ways of enhancing development was published in 1984. As was the case in the 1932 report, the investigation was encouraged by private initiative. The Government could not ignore the shocking revelations that were made. The report emphasized that urgent action was necessary and the realisation by all role players should be that only more involvement with welfare services could help change the circumstances in the country. The Carnegie Commission however, pointed out that there were no instant solutions. Among others it was suggested that steps should be taken to start a pension scheme for black pensioners as soon as possible.⁷⁴ In 1985 the Government was in the process of paying attention to the possibility of privatising welfare services. It is possible that the Government, within the phase in which the ideological paradigm was visibly moving as a result of shortage of funds, wanted to make a move with limited financial implications. The welfare community strongly criticised the Government⁷⁵ for its lack in vision.

In the meantime the separate provision of services to the four main population groups in South Africa continued. By 1990 the primary welfare services were well established, and co-operation between national, regional and local government enjoyed further attention. The black, Coloured

⁷⁰ All government departments who provided social or welfare services, were represented on this Committee. Republic of South Africa. Department of Social Welfare and Pensions, Report of the Department of Social Welfare and Pensions for the period 1st April, 1962 to 31st March, 1964 (RP 32/1964) pp. 2 - 3; Report of the Department of Social Welfare and Pensions for the period 1st April, 1964 to 31st March, 1966 (RP 67/1966) p. 3; en Jaarverslag 1976 (RP 30/1978) p. 27.

⁷¹ Unie van Suid-Afrika, Departement van Volkswelsyn, Jaarverslag van die Departement van Volkswelsyn vir die tydperk 1 Oktober 1937 tot 31 Maart 1949 (UG 36/1950), p. 5; Department of Social Welfare and Pensions, Report of the Department of Social Welfare and Pensions for the period 1st April, 1964 to 31st March, 1966 (RP 67/1966), pp.2, 21.

⁷² Republic of South Africa, Department of Social Welfare and Pensions, *Report of the Department of Social Welfare and Pensions for the period 1st April 1966 to 31 March, 1970* (RP 83/1970), p.iv; *Verslag vir die tydperk 1970-1971* (RP 96/1971), pp.22-23; Departement van Kleurlingsake, *Verslag van die Departement van Kleurlingsake vir die tydperk 1 Januarie 1959 tot 31 Desember 1961* (RP11/1963), p.20.

⁷³ Republic of South Africa, Department of Social Welfare and Pensions. *Report on the period 1972-1974* (RP 91/1975), pp.1,3,4.

⁷⁴ F. Wilson and M. Ramphela, *Uprooting poverty. The South African Challenge. Report for the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa*, pp. 342 - 342; C.C. Saunders, "Putting the history of white poverty on the agenda", *South African Historical Journal*, 28, (1993), pp.242-248.

⁷⁵ Compare L. Patel, *Restructuring social welfare. Options for South Africa*, pp.48-49.

and Indian communities at this stage felt that the individual communities could be better served by one government department for welfare instead of the four different departments.⁷⁶

The democratic election of April 1994 and the takeover by the African National Congress saw the establishment of a Department of Welfare where the needs of all communities could be served on an equal basis for the first time. The idea of privatised welfare services was also abolished.⁷⁷

2. A DEMOCRATIC PARADIGM WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF WELFARE SERVICE RENDERING, APRIL 1994 - DECEMBER 1997

On 27 April 1994 South Africa reached a milestone in its history. For the first time members of all the communities could go to the voting polls to elect the government of their choice. Black, white, Coloured and Indian political parties competed for representation within the dispensation of a democratically⁷⁸ elected government. After the elections the African Nation Congress (ANC) controlled government could start its work. This new government of South Africa, in contrast with the previous apartheid government, chose to follow a democratic socialist ideology of social welfare.⁷⁹

The ideological paradigm of democratic socialism,⁸⁰ as pointed out by George and Page, states that this approach puts the so-called welfare state on the road as beacon to reflect complete socialism. Socialism appears in many forms and some forms are not far removed from welfare capitalism. Developments these past few years have shown a movement away of the traditional ideas that welfare could be entrusted only to professional people or bureaucrats. At present it is called a client and citizen participatory model of social services.⁸¹

2.1 THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF SOUTH AFRICA⁸²

According to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa,⁸³ social welfare is located in national and provincial departments of welfare. At present local government has a limited

⁷⁶ Compare Table in section 3; Republic of South Africa, Department of Welfare, *Verslag van die Departement van Welsyn vir die jaar 1994 (RP 104/1995)*I, p.2.; M. Wiechers, "Menseregte en Maatskaplike Werk", *Maatskaplike Werk/Social Work*, 24(1) (1988), pp.2-5; F. Lund, "State restructuring of welfare", *Transformation* (1994), pp.22-27.

⁷⁷ Republiek van Suid-Afrika, Departement van Welsyn, *Verslag van die Departement van Welsyn vir die jaar 1994 (RP 104/1995)*, p.2.

⁷⁸ In its original meaning, democracy refers to people of a country that rule themselves. Later this basic definition was enlarged to include political and economical equality or justice. Today democracy points to the complexity of political, economical and social relationships of the human being. Modern thinkers agree that enhanced social movability is the logical result of political democracy. Oppressed communities especially make use of political power to ensure representation and to convince the government of their economical and social needs. See J. Dunner, (ed.), *Handbook of world history*, (London: ca.1995), pp. 274, 283; J. Kruger, "Regstaat, kultuurstaat, welvaartstaat: bestanddele van 'n nuwe staatsmodel?", *Stellenbosch Law Review*, 5(1), (1994), pp. 15 - 32.

⁷⁹ L. Patel, *Restructuring social welfare. Options for South Africa*, pp.151, 156-159.

⁸⁰ Democratic socialists have been the most fervent supporters of the welfare state, but they have always seen it as a staging post towards socialism. They advocate universalist social services partly because they believe that the very nature of such services creates a more altruistic social climate, which is an indispensable ingredient of a socialist society. V. George and R. Page, *Modern thinkers on welfare*, p.131.

⁸¹ V. George and R. Page, *Modern thinkers on welfare*, pp.132-133; Compare also A.W. Stadler, "A contribution to the conditions of democracy debate", *International Affairs Bulletin*, 12(3), pp.25-34.

⁸² The Interim Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 200 of 1993 was replaced by the Constitutions of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996.

welfare function.⁸⁴ Previously, welfare functions were combined with health and/or were split across various other government departments. Since the new Government came into power, one independent national Department of Welfare was established. Unfortunately, in many of the provinces, health and welfare are still in the same department, a situation that is viewed as not ideal, because of the unequal status welfare enjoyed in comparison to health in the past.⁸⁵

According to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, the powers and functions at the national and provincial levels of Government are concurrent. The national department is responsible for national norms and standards, for the rendering of services, and to ensure that uniformity in the implementation of specific functions is maintained. Provincial departments are responsible, in conjunction with the national department, for the planning, development and rendering of services. However, where mutual co-operation between national and provincial departments is essential, powers are allocated concurrently.⁸⁶

The White Paper proposes that effective mechanisms should be developed between national and provincial departments in order to reach consensus on concurrent powers. It is expected that these mechanisms should facilitate a co-operative spirit between national and provincial levels of government, unify commitment to the broad goals of developmental social welfare and promote a needs-sensitive and consensus approach to decision-making in provinces.

The new Constitution of the Republic of South Africa provides for a Bill of Rights. The Bill of Rights also introduced a new paradigm for social welfare. Government cannot exercise absolute power and control anymore, because democratic principles apply in the new dispensation. The White Paper for Welfare and the Social Welfare Action Plan (SWAP) stress participation in decision-making and also expect organisations in civil society to deliver social services and developmental programmes to ensure that the decision-making structures of the organisations are representative of consumers of services, members of communities being served and other relevant role players.⁸⁷

The Bill of Rights not only provides for fundamental rights (first generation rights)⁸⁸, but also for welfare and economic rights, which involves questions about social priorities and the distribution of resources. This places an obligation on the Government not only to protect rights, but to somehow provide for rights. While this would mean that Government is obliged to put in place policies and programmes to realise these rights, citizens and lobbying groups are increasingly weighing up what they are receiving from Government as opposed to what they are offered by the Constitution.⁸⁹

⁸³ Republic of South Africa, *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, Act 108 of 1996.

⁸⁴ Republic of South Africa, Ministry of Welfare and Population Development, Department of Welfare, *White Paper for Welfare*, (Pretoria: 1997), pp.13,15. See the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Section 156 and read together with Schedule 4B.

⁸⁵ Editorial, "Towards a single Department of Welfare at a national and provincial level: A argument for", *Maatskaplike Werk/Social Work*, 31(2), (1995), pp.iv-vi.

⁸⁶ Republic of South Africa ..., *White Paper for Welfare*, p.15.

⁸⁷ Republic of South Africa, *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* (1996); Republic of South Africa, *White paper for Welfare* (1997); Ministry for Welfare and Population Development, *Social Welfare Action Plan (Draft document)*, (1998).

⁸⁸ First generation rights are civil and political rights, while second generation rights are economic, social and cultural rights. These rights are interdependent, but cannot be protected in the same way. Second generation rights require positive state action and in particular state expenditure. Compare M.Robinson, *Human rights for South Africans* (Cape Town: 1990), p.9.

⁸⁹ M.F.Howes, "The implications of a human rights culture in social work practice", *Maatskaplike Werk/Social Work*, 32(3), (1996), pp.205-214; B.Porter, "The importance of including social and

2.2 STEPS TOWARDS THE DEMOCRATISATION OF SOCIAL WELFARE IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.2.1 The Reconstruction and Development Programme

Even before 1994 the ANC had drafted a programme explaining the future development of South Africa. This programme, known as the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), was the ANC's election manifesto in which provision was made for social welfare services, education, training, health services, transport, housing, job creation, land reform, provision of water and sanitary services, electrification, telecommunication and environmental management. The RDP was regarded as an integrated, social-economic policy framework joining the South African communities and resources in the final dismantling of apartheid, also with regard to separate welfare services and the reconstruction of the country.⁹⁰

With the drafting of the RDP the ANC also welcomed inputs from private welfare organisations in order to involve them as well as non-governmental organisations (NGOs)⁹¹ in the process. This is a typical example of human involvement. Because of the hardships that some groups experienced during the apartheid policy, the RDP was specifically seen as directed at promoting reconciliation and development by means of the involvement of all South Africans.⁹² It is an integrated and self-sufficient programme visualising management by the inhabitants of the country at provincial level. The RDP argues that national, provincial and local governments should be involved in planning, more in accordance with international norms and standards. Therefore, there would not only be a national department of welfare, but also provincial departments of welfare to co-ordinate and implement the comprehensive task.⁹³

With the RDP the ANC also planned to adapt the existing social welfare policy, programmes and support services to the changing South Africa, and specifically to assist the historically disadvantaged communities.⁹⁴ Certain objectives were set with regard to the establishment of basic welfare services to all South Africans, the redressing of the imbalance of welfare service rendering of the past, the empowerment of the individual, family and communities, and the acknowledgement of the role that voluntary welfare organisations and other community-based welfare organisations could play in the provision of welfare services.⁹⁵ The RDP is explained further in section 2.2.3.

economic rights in the South African Constitution - A Canadian perspective, unpublished paper; J.Boulle. *Input to the constitutional assembly on social and economic rights*, unpublished paper. P.Bulger, "Self-help, self-reliance the keys. Pretoria cannot afford its noble intentions", *The Star*, 13 June 1998, p.12.

⁹⁰ African National Congress, *The reconstruction and development programme: a policy framework*, (Johannesburg, 1994), p. 1; F.N.M. Mazibuko, "Social workers and social policy: related functions and skills in practice", *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, 32(1), 1996, pp. 148 - 161.

⁹¹ In colloquial language, non-governmental organisations are often referred to as NGOs (Non-governmental Organisations). For the purpose of this study, the abbreviation is used.

⁹² African National Congress (ANC), *The reconstruction and development programme: A policy framework*, pp. 2-3, 52 - 57.

⁹³ Compare ANC, *The reconstruction and development programme: a policy framework*, p. 54.

⁹⁴ Compare ANC, *The reconstruction and development programme: a policy framework*, p. 52; V. Sewpaul, "The RDP: implications for social work practice and social welfare policy development in South Africa", *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, 27(1), (1997), pp. 1 - 9.

⁹⁵ Compare ANC, *The reconstruction and development programme: a policy framework*, pp. 52 - 53; F.N.M. Mazibuko, "Social workers and social policy: related functions and skills in practice", *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, 32(2), (1996), pp. 148 - 161.

The first step towards a democratisation of social welfare in South Africa was the establishment of a unifying idea in the form of the RDP, paving the way for an alternative way of thinking on how to mobilise as much human resource potential as possible towards a better life for all.

2.2.2 The Department of Welfare, April 1994 - December 1995

Since 1 July 1994, welfare has had a fully-fledged new Department of Welfare working at national level.⁹⁶ The first task of the newly united Department of Welfare was the establishment of a united welfare policy capable of tackling the problems of the respective communities. To attain this goal, a subdirector Policy Development was instituted to compile a specific welfare policy. The subdirector also had to investigate matters such as primary welfare services, welfare legislation, as well as statutory councils and committees.⁹⁷

The Department's welfare objectives were summarised as the facilitating of the development of each person's potential and to make individuals independent. Another function of the department was to establish a welfare policy for South Africa, the promotion of social development, social welfare services, and effective liaison and communication services. All organisations and individuals also had to be assisted with administrative tasks as well as legal assistance.⁹⁸

The Department also saw the redressing of the imbalances of facilities for the respective communities that had existed in the past, as a further task. Among others, work groups were appointed to investigate a national welfare development strategy, comprehensive welfare legislation and the establishment of social welfare programmes.⁹⁹ The new development paradigm is currently being adopted in legislation and included in welfare programmes.

After 1994 the Department gave attention to:

- the extension of services to children, the aged, the disabled and to offenders in the disadvantaged groups;
- involvement in international organisations e.g. the World Summit on Social Development in 1995, while meetings of the Preparation Committee at the United Nations were attended. Further inputs were made at the Fourth World Congress for Women: Action for Equality, Development and Peace in Beijing during September 1995¹⁰⁰ and the
- dissemination of information, video cassettes and posters in Swaziland, Kenya and Mauritius.¹⁰¹

Changes in the country on political-ideological level and shifted paradigms at Government level also affected the social work profession. Since the mid-nineties, specialists and trainers seriously started to consider to what extent democratization could also be embodied in the choice of contents for prospective social workers. The Africanisation of syllabi in social work was

⁹⁶ Editorial, *Social Work Practice*, 2,(1994), p.1.

⁹⁷ Republiek van Suid-Afrika, Departement van Welsyn, *Verslag van die Departement van Welsyn vir die jaar 1994*. (RP 104/1995), pp. 5 - 7.

⁹⁸ Republic of South Africa, Department of Welfare, *Report of the Department of Welfare for the year 1995 - 1996*, p. 6.

⁹⁹ Republic of South Africa, Department of Welfare, *Report of the Department of Welfare for the year 1995 - 1996*, p. 9.

¹⁰⁰ Republiek van Suid-Afrika, Departement van Welsyn, *Verslag van die Departement van Welsyn vir die jaar 1994* (RP 104/1995), p. 4.

¹⁰¹ Republiek van Suid-Afrika, Departement van Welsyn, *Verslag van die Departement van Welsyn vir die jaar 1994* (RP 104/1995), p. 15.

announced at certain universities by 1995.¹⁰² Analysis of the White Paper for Welfare and the SWAP leads to the tentative conclusion that the Government is presently busy with a process of deprofessionalisation. The central role of social work in the welfare field is being eroded. Although it is not overtly stated, academics are already reacting to it in a negative way.¹⁰³

In 1995, after the initial adjustments of the previous year, the Department of Welfare was able to announce its newly formulated objectives. The department's future aspiration would be to handle the development, implementation and monitoring of a social welfare policy. Together with this, it was envisaged that social development as well as communication and liaison services would be promoted.¹⁰⁴ The respective roles of the Government and the NGOs are currently being revised with the aim of eliminating fragmentation and duplication.¹⁰⁵

The ANC Government's White Paper on Social Welfare was first published in 1996. In this document the focus is on social welfare as instrument of reconstruction and development. Individuals' potential and self-development play an important role in the future work of the Government with regard to welfare. Social services are integrated with economic reconstruction and development. The White Paper states clearly that South Africa is not a welfare state.¹⁰⁶ The individual is assisted to help himself and consequently also the whole country.¹⁰⁷ This premise is contained in the principle of ubuntu, which means caring for each other's well-being in a spirit of mutual support. Ubuntu means that people are people through other people. It acknowledges both the rights and the responsibility of every citizen in promoting individual and societal well-being.¹⁰⁸

The establishment of a department of welfare with its focus on welfare as an instrument of reconstruction and development could be seen as a second step towards a democratisation of social welfare in South Africa.

¹⁰² Compare H. Strydom, "Die inhoud van 'n kursus in multikulturele maatskaplike werk", *Maatskaplike Werk/Social Work*, 31(2), (1995), pp. 115 - 125; R. Taback, "The movement towards indigenization of social service delivery in South Africa", *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, 27(3), (1991), pp. 268 - 271.

¹⁰³ M. Gray, "Social Work ..., Adapt or dye", *Maatskaplike Werk/Social Work*, 31(3), (1996), pp.vii-viii; W.A. Mitchell, "The end of Social Work", *The Social Work Practitioner-Researcher*, 9(3), (1996), pp.157-158; Ministry for Welfare and Population Development, *Department of Welfare, Social Welfare Action Plan (Draft Document)*, 1998.

¹⁰⁴ Republic of South Africa, Department of Welfare, *Report of the Department of Welfare for the year 1995-1996*, p.6.

¹⁰⁵ Departement van Welsyn, 'n Bylaag oor die konsepwitskrif vir Maatskaplike Welsyn, 'n Nuwe missie vir Welsyn in Suid-Afrika, Februarie 1996, p.1; Departement van Welsyn, 'n Bylaag oor die Konsepwitskrif vir Maatskaplike Welsyn, NRO's: Die Regering se welsynsvennoot, Februarie 1996, p.4.

¹⁰⁶ The term welfare state generally refers to countries which undertake to protect and/or to provide for their population in the manner once thought to be the field of the family, religious institutions, voluntary organisations or the marketplace. The welfare state also expressed an ideology that government, as an embodiment of the popular will, was responsible for providing welfare, just as it provided education, defence, roadways, and so forth. See D.Macarov, *Social Welfare. Structure and Practice* (Thousand Oaks: 1995), p.7.

¹⁰⁷ Republic of South Africa, Department of Welfare, *Report of the Department of Welfare for the year 1995 - 1996*, p. 8; P. Rankin, "Developmental social welfare: Challenges facing South Africa", *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, 33(3), (1997), pp. 184 - 192.

¹⁰⁸ Republic of South Africa ..., *White Paper for Welfare*, p.6.

2.2.3 New directions

The end of 1995 saw a shift in emphasis regarding the RDP. Reform of different financial institutions such as the Development Bank, as well as the transformation of the country's economic policy strategy, were aspects which played a role. The Government's new policy strategy entailed an extensive ten-year development programme for the improvement of the social-economic infrastructure.¹⁰⁹ A year later, President Nelson Mandela announced the closure of the RDP office.¹¹⁰ The closure of this office was ascribed, among others, to the undesirable idea that the RDP was a prosperity programme of the Government which freely *distributed* to the poor.¹¹¹ A new economic model, the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy, was announced in August 1996. This was received with enthusiasm by the business sector, academics and the international community. Fierce opposition from labour unions and the South African Communist Party (SACP) was, however, experienced because the GEAR was based on the implicit acknowledgement that the extension of the free market was the most speedy way to bring about economic growth and development.¹¹²

The ANC's new approach to the RDP is currently that it is no longer an isolated programme for the poor, but is aimed at the total transformation of society, an idea which eventually aims at leavening to each sector of society, and specifically the business sector.¹¹³ Structurally, RDP projects are currently decentralised to the different state departments, which also have to indicate in their budgets what they do towards the RDP, while the economic and planning function has been taken over by the Office of the State President.¹¹⁴

The Government's shift in emphasis from the RDP to economic growth has certain implications for the RDP philosophy. Where the idea previously was that social development does not take place automatically as the economy develops, but is interdependent,¹¹⁵ it seems that the focus is currently first on economic development, and subsequently on social development.

On 22 September 1997 Sake-Beeld¹¹⁶ however, reported that the R300 million the Government had budgeted for the relief of poverty within the framework of the RDP, still lay untouched at the Treasury. Three programmes that had already been identified at that stage with a view to allocation of these funds, were (1) the Department of Public Works' job creation programme by means of the building of infrastructure, (2) the Department of Water Affairs' job creation programme for among others the deforestation of alien vegetation, and (3) the Department of Welfare's programme for the creation of income aimed at relieving poverty among women, children and the youth. Reports such as these created the impression that the RDP no longer held the same priority for the Government as was suggested during the 1994 elections and in the early years of the Government of National Unity.

¹⁰⁹ J. Jacobz, "Klemverskuiwing in HOP vind plaas", *Sake-Beeld*, 2 November 1995, p.5.

¹¹⁰ Politieke redaksie, "Sluiting van die HOP kantoor is afgehandel", *Beeld*, 5 Desember 1995, p.4.

¹¹¹ Anon., "HOP grootliks met uitdeling verwar", *Sake-Beeld*, 18-04-1996. Beeld is probably referring to typical programmes of the Department of Welfare such as the preferential programme for unemployed women with children under five years and a new system of grants for families with young children. Compare Republiek van Suid-Afrika, *Die grondslag vir 'n beter lewe gelê, Die Regering se half-termynverslag aan die nasie*, pp. 42-43.

¹¹² W. Naude, "Kom GEAR in rat?", *Woord en Daad*, 1998, pp. 11-13, 16-17.

¹¹³ T. du Plessis, "Mbeki nou SA se 'transformasie tsaar'", *Naweek-Beeld*, 20 April 1996.

¹¹⁴ *Naweek-Beeld*, 18 April 1996.

¹¹⁵ Republic of South Africa ..., *White Paper for Welfare*, p.2.

¹¹⁶ H. Swart, "Regering het geld vir armes nog nie bestee. Plan teen armoede gou bekend", *Sake-Beeld*, 22 September 1997, p.3.

However, one cannot merely accept that with the commencement of GEAR the South African Government shifted its ideology from social democratic to a market-oriented neo-liberal ideology. It should currently be accepted that it was a pragmatic move, necessitated by the crisis in the economy, as well as international pressure. The results of GEAR, as well as the coming elections in 1999, will determine which ideological direction the Government will take.¹¹⁷

The RDP nevertheless provided the Department of Welfare with the paradigm shift of viewing welfare from a personal-deficiency perspective to a social development perspective.¹¹⁸ The White Paper on Social Welfare¹¹⁹ accordingly states as a national goal to facilitate the provision of an appropriate developmental social welfare service¹²⁰ to all South Africans, especially those living in poverty, those who are vulnerable and those who have special needs.¹²¹

Whilst the White Paper provides the policy framework for developmental social welfare in South Africa, it does not conceptualise developmental social welfare clearly enough. As Macarov¹²² argues, the social development model of social welfare has less clarity than the other models of social welfare, i.e. the residual and the institutional approaches.¹²³ Since 1994 and while the process of the development of the policy document for social welfare was going on, a debate was forming on how developmental social welfare should be understood.¹²⁴

The White Paper on development of social welfare as evident in the name of the new welfare department, namely Department for Developmental Social Welfare, is strengthened further by the statement in the White Paper that *Social security, social services and related social development programmes are investments which lead to tangible economic gains and in turn lead to economic growth*. This implies that the Department of Welfare sees social development as an alternative approach to welfare and not as an expansion of existing approaches to welfare. It presupposes that development would take place through welfare and not the other way around, namely that welfare would be achieved through development. While it is widely agreed that South Africa needed a new approach to welfare, some South African welfare analysts feel that social development should be one approach alongside other approaches to welfare in South Africa,¹²⁵ while others feel the developmental approach transcends the other approaches.¹²⁶ As an

¹¹⁷ Compare W. Naudé, "Kom GEAR in rat?" *Woord en Daad*, 1998, pp.16-17.

¹¹⁸ V. Sewpaul, "The RDP: Implications for social work practice and social welfare policy development in South Africa", *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, 27(1), (1997), pp.1-9.

¹¹⁹ *White Paper for Welfare*, p.5.

¹²⁰ Developmental social welfare, according to the White Paper, refers to social welfare as one of the dimensions of social development and is in line with the approach emerging from the World Summit for Social Development, 6 to 12 March 1995. Compare *White Paper on Welfare*, p.68.

¹²¹ Departement van Welsyn, "Supplement on the Draft White Paper for Social Welfare, 'n Nuwe Missie vir Welsyn in Suid-Afrika", February 1996, p.1; Republic of South Africa, *White Paper on Welfare*, p.5.

¹²² D. Macarov, *Social Welfare. Structure and Practice*, p.7.

¹²³ See footnote 14 and 51 for a definition of the institutional and residual approaches.

¹²⁴ M. Gray, "Towards an understanding of developmental social welfare", *Social Work Practice*, 1, 1996, pp. 9-13; A.Lombard, "Developmental social welfare in South Africa", *Maatskaplike Werk/Social Work*, 32(2), (1996), pp.162-172; J.Midgley, *Social Development: The development perspective in social welfare*. (London: 1995); P.Rankin, "Developmental social welfare: Challenges facing South Africa", *Maatskaplike Werk/Social Work*, 33(3), (1997), pp.184-192.

¹²⁵ M. Gray, "Towards an understanding of developmental social welfare", *Social Work Practice*, 1, (1996), pp.9-13; P.Rankin, "Developmental social welfare: Challenges facing South Africa", *Maatskaplike Werk/Social Work*, 33(3), (1997), pp.192.

¹²⁶ V. Sewpaul, "The RDP: Implications for social work practice and social welfare policy development in South Africa", *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, 27(1), (1997), pp.1-9.

alternative approach, social development is more radically oriented at the macro-level, encourages multiple levels of intervention and invests in human resources.

The question arises of how the Government's acceptance of the GEAR strategy affects the Department of Welfare. Although it is still too soon after the publication of the White Paper to say, a preliminary analysis of the draft submission of the SWAP (Social Welfare Action Plan)¹²⁷ emphasises some important matters. The combating of poverty by means of social development remains the primary focus of welfare in South Africa, and that poverty is seen as an economic problem. Social development is seen as the foundation of economic prosperity and growth. One of the functions of welfare is seen to be to meet basic human needs when shortcomings in the economic system affect the capacity of poor families to meet their needs. The welfare system should also attempt to compensate for the effects of extreme inequality in the distribution of income. Developmental welfare services would include facilities, social relief programmes, social care programmes and programmes directed at the enhancement of social functioning.

Three points about which the SWAP is very clear, are in the first instance, that people should be released from dependence on the welfare system of the Government. Developmental programmes should increase the capacity of individuals to meet their own needs and assist in equipping and preparing people for employment in both the formal as well as the informal sectors of the economy. Secondly, the SWAP stresses the partnership between Government and civil society in the provision of social welfare services. The partnership will be complementary; leaving room for the autonomy of the parties, for joint decision-making, for joint responsibility, representation and a commitment to excellence. The third point that transpires from the SWAP is the reorientation of welfare personnel towards developmental social welfare goals and priorities is described as a paradigm shift towards developmental social welfare that needs to take place. In order to reach this goal, the Government foresees the retraining of professional welfare personnel and the utilisation of other categories of welfare personnel.

The effects of the implementation of new policies are already being felt in the South African community. The principle of self-help as invoked by the concept ubuntu is especially causing an uproar and a crisis in community. Radical cuts in social assistance schemes for older people and a shift of responsibility from the Government to the individual, family and community, is taking place,¹²⁸ as well as cuts in state subsidies for private welfare organisations.¹²⁹ While the supposition is that people must help each other, the reality is that people have stopped caring. Saunderson-Meyer¹³⁰ argues that there are several theories explaining this. One is that in the 'me'-generation with its growing materialism, sympathy rarely extends beyond the immediate family. Other theories are that people are less affluent with less disposable income, work longer hours with less free time and are also swamped by organisations asking for money. A last very practical problem is that donations to welfare organisations in South Africa are not tax-deductible. Self-help and ubuntu therefore appears to be a sound idea, but are experienced as not really serving the welfare of the people.

¹²⁷ Ministry for Welfare and Population Development, *Department of Welfare, Social Welfare Action Plan (Draft Document)*, 1998.

¹²⁸ M. Ferreira, "Of pensions, cares and homes for the aged," *Southern African Journal of Gerontology*, 7(1), (1998), pp.1-2.

¹²⁹ S. Lawson, "Private welfare organisations in limbo as subsidies pondered," *Eastern Province Herald*, 31 December 1997, p.5.

¹³⁰ W. Saunderson-Meyer, "In South Africa, charity begins, and ends, at home", *The Saturday Paper*, 4 October 1997, p.8.

It can be tentatively concluded that there is a lesser fascination with the welfare state in government circles with the focus on employment, self-help and partnership. However, as Bulger¹³¹ argues, generations of South Africans grew up with the expectation that if the struggle against apartheid were won, Government would somehow provide. To convince South Africans that Government alone cannot deliver and that self-help and self-reliance is the key to a better life, will be no easy task.

Government, and more specifically the Department of Welfare, is in a potential ideological whirlpool. On the one hand democratic socialist ideals and sentiments prevail, but on the other hand economic realities are forcing the Government to take into account the market to guarantee the welfare of the poor in South Africa. Although developmental social welfare may transcend the socialist vs market model of welfare, it remains to be seen if the Government, together with the citizens of South Africa, can succeed in actualising the transcendation.

3. THE WELFARE FUNCTION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT DURING AND AFTER APARTHEID - A COMPARISON

A comparison between the social function of the Government during apartheid and the social service of the current Government can at best be done tentatively. While a thorough analysis of the previous Government's policy decisions and implementation is possible, it is still too early in the term of the new Government to really come to definite conclusions. It is, however, still important to attempt to do so, because South Africa is currently still in a sensitive process of transformation regarding the rendering of social services. A variety of factors from the past and present affects that process.

Such a comparison could also provide valuable information to other developing countries that are involved in their own distinctive processes of developing a meaningful social structure and policy. A fact that also becomes clear from this comparison is that, regardless of the government of the day's social policy, certain ideas with regard to the rendering of social services from 1948 to 1997 have survived.

A comparison between the previous and the current Government is done by means of the following criteria:¹³²

- Ideological paradigm
- Underlying values
- Primary focus of social welfare
- Government approach and strategy with regard to social welfare
- Target systems towards welfare structures

¹³¹ P. Bulger, "Self-help, self-reliance the keys. Pretoria cannot afford its noble intentions", *The Star*, 13 January 1998, p.12.

¹³² The identification of criteria was done by means of D.G. Gil, "Framework for analysis", in which the social policy of a government is analysed. Gil's approach was combined with the historical method. According to this, criteria were identified as a result of the main events indicated within the provision of social services by specific governments in South Africa as discussed in the text. See D.G. Gil, *Unravelling social policy*, Revised 4th ed., (Vermont:1990).

3.1 Ideological paradigm

3.1.1 *Afrikaner Nationalism vs. Black Nationalism within the political framework of democracy*

Virtually all processes of rendering social services by the apartheid government can be taken back to the ideological paradigm of Afrikaner Nationalism. According to that approach, the upliftment of whites was regarded as a priority in all fields. It was morally justified and entrenched in legislation. With diversification the apartheid government felt it was subjecting each community to equality and democratic principles.¹³³ However, racial discrimination occurred in this process. The diversification of services between the groups, as well as the distinction made between the quality of services, were evident from legislation. Whites enjoyed more social benefits than the other ethnic groups. During the eighties this was replaced by a softening of racial discrimination and selective group inclusion. Apartheid legislation was gradually relinquished. Afrikaner Nationalism was less evident, and space was created for a more liberal version of Afrikaner Nationalism.

When the ANC took over government, the principle of equality was entrenched in a Bill of Human Rights. It was presumed that race was no longer valid as a principle for decision-making. A consequence of this approach was that a united Department of Welfare was established in 1994. However, it seems that the racial principle is still a factor in the rendering of social services, although not as blatantly as in the apartheid era. In essence the current Government's vision of upliftment focuses on the historically disadvantaged communities. These communities mainly reflect black, Coloured and Indian communities. It could therefore be argued that this approach is similar to the ideology of Afrikaner Nationalism, followed during the apartheid period, now moulded in Black Nationalism.¹³⁴ The former government had prioritised white interests, while the latter currently regards the upliftment of mainly black communities as a priority.

3.1.2 *A residual vs. a social developmental approach to welfare*

The apartheid government was always most emphatic that South Africa was not, and would not become, a welfare state. Although it could be argued that specifically for whites there were elements of a welfare state present, the global approach was undoubtedly residual. The Government saw its role mainly as co-ordinative, while the private initiative was experienced as the obvious bodies to provide direct services. The main focus of service rendering was on man's ability to uplift himself and if this were to fail, remedial action was to be taken. The apartheid government wanted to take the residual approach even further, as is evident from policy

¹³³ Compare F.A. van Jaarsveld, *100 Basiese dokumente by die studie van Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis, 1648-1961*, pp.243-252 in which the colour policy of the National Party is discussed - and traces of democratic principles are visible.

¹³⁴ Black nationalism which can be conceptualised as a patriotism and love for what is associated with black people and belongs to black people, has early origins in South Africa. It can, however, be argued that the roots of black nationalism are embedded in the Black Conscious Movement starting in the sixties. The movement's aim basically was to rebuild and recondition the mind of the oppressed in such a way that they would be ready forcefully to demand what was rightfully theirs. In essence this is visible in the Government's present approach to welfare. Compare T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa ...*, p.378-379; A. Marx, *Lessons of struggle. South Africa internal opposition, 1960-1990* (Cape Town: 1992), pp.5,6,10-14.

proposals of 1985,¹³⁵ namely the privatisation of welfare. Although privatisation was in line with trends in Western Europe and the United States,¹³⁶ it was not regarded as an option for South Africa due to several reasons.¹³⁷ It was also contrary to the findings of the 1984 Carnegie Report regarding poverty, which recommended greater government involvement in the rendering of social services.¹³⁸

Both the previous government and the current ANC Government reject the institutional approach to welfare. On an overt level there is very clear consensus between the two governments' policy viewpoint. As elements of a democratic socialist ideology are present in Government thinking, a welfare state is in fact seen as the ideal. The ANC Government, however, chooses a third welfare approach, namely the development approach. A limited economic growth, as that which is currently experienced in South Africa, makes a welfare state unaffordable, though. The social developmental welfare approach is regarded as a desirable alternative to address poverty effectively in South Africa. This is achieved by identifying deficiencies in the social environment hampering people's independence. The current Government seems to be unwilling to support remedial services. This does not seem possible, however.¹³⁹ In effect the Government also applies elements of the residual approach. Both the previous and current government regard the rendering of social services as a partnership between the Government and the voluntary private sector and the community.

3.2 Underlying values

3.2.1 Self-help as central theme

Even though previous governments as well as the present government faced extreme dependency from a large sector of the community (in the past white communities, now black communities),¹⁴⁰ they are of the opinion that the individual is primarily responsible to help himself and not to be dependent on the Government. Internal meanings attached to self-help by the respective governments differ. The viewpoint of the apartheid government with regard to self-help was on the one hand based on an unwillingness to accept a more comprehensive responsibility for the welfare of all citizens in the country. On the other hand there was the conviction that a lack of independence indicated a lack of character in a person. The ANC Government accepts a radically different interpretation of self-help and independence. Self-help is seen as the ultimate aim of man, and in order to achieve this, external factors (deficiencies in the societal system) as well as internal factors (man's inherent potential for capacity), have to be developed. Therefore the assumption is made that man will be enabled to function independently as soon as his inherent potential as well as his social environment develop.

¹³⁵ Republic of South Africa, Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, *Report on an investigation into the present welfare policy in the Republic of South Africa*, (Pretoria: 1985), B. McKendrick, (eds.), *Introduction to Social Work in South Africa*, (Pinetown: 1987).

¹³⁶ V. George and R. Page, *Modern Thinkers on Welfare*, (London: 1995), p.9.

¹³⁷ See section 1.4.

¹³⁸ See section 1.4.

¹³⁹ S. Lawson, "Private welfare organisations in limbo as subsidies pondered", *Eastern Province Herald*, 31-12-1997, p.5; X. Xundu, "Racism is denied", *Eastern Province Herald*, 9 December 1997, p.7; Republic of South Africa, Ministry of Welfare and Population Development, Department of Welfare, *"Social Welfare Action Plan, (Draft Document)"*, 1998.

¹⁴⁰ Compare H. Giliomee, "Politieke geskiedenis van 1924-1933 herhaal homself", *Beeld*, 15-06-1998, p.11. This article shows that dependency due to extreme poverty placed South African Governments, from early years, in a stranglehold to provide for a range of needs.

3.2.2 Professionalism vs. deprofessionalism

Whereas the apartheid government saw and developed the rendering of social services as a professional task, it seems that the current Government takes on a stance of deprofessionalism. Where the provision of social services was previously seen as a scientific/professional and specialised task, it is currently being propagated as a task that can be executed by a wide variety of welfare personnel (with more limited training). The deprofessionalism corresponds with international trends of not entrusting welfare services only to professional persons. This also reflects what Gilbert, Specht and Terrell call *a continuing cycle of competing values*.¹⁴¹ According to these authors, participation becomes a dominant value when trust in leaders and professional persons have been lost - *when leadership and expertise are perceived to be unresponsive*. At the moment it seems that confidence in professional people in South Africa is low.

3.3 Primary focus of social welfare

Both the previous and current governments regard poverty as the primary focus of social work service rendering, but according to different conceptual frameworks. Within the apartheid system the terminology of *combating of* and *upliftment from* was used.¹⁴² On the other hand the current terminology is *people development* and *empowerment out of poverty*.¹⁴³ In essence, the welfare approach of both governments is the same with regard to poverty.

3.4 Government approach and strategy with regard to social welfare

When following the residual approach to welfare, the apartheid government by implication accepted that the family and the market were the appropriate sources of satisfying needs. Welfare was a security net that temporarily assisted those people whose needs could not be satisfied by means of the usual structures in society. The rendering of service was remedial in nature and focused on fixing the shortcomings of the individual rather than eliminating shortcoming in the societal structure, for instance the economy. The welfare policy of the ANC Government is that social and economic policy is interdependent, and that poverty is primarily an economic problem. That is why the White Paper on Social Welfare states emphatically that welfare is an instrument of reconstruction and development. The focus of welfare is therefore not on personal defects, but on the development of the potential of the individual, as well as economic empowerment.

3.5 Target system towards welfare structures

Gil states that *every social policy tends to be aimed primarily at specific groups of a society who constitute the 'target segment(s)' for the intended effects of the policy. The remainder of the population, 'the non-target segment', is likely to be subject to indirect influences, most of which may be unintended, and some of which may be of limited significance only*.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ N. Gilbert, H. Specht & P. Terrell, *Dimensions of social welfare policy*, Third edition (New Jersey: 1993), pp.223-225.

¹⁴² See Section 1.

¹⁴³ See Section 2.

¹⁴⁴ D.G. Gil, *Unravelling social policy...*, p.76.

Table 1

Government departments responsible for the welfare services among the most important races in South Africa, 1910-1997

Year	Black	Coloured	Indian	White
1910	Department of Native Affairs	Various Union-government departments (Education, Labour, Agriculture, Housing, Forestry, Internal Affairs etc.)		
1935		Department of Labour and Social Welfare		
1937		Department of Social Welfare		
1951		Division for Coloured Matters within the Department of Internal Affairs	Department of Social Welfare	
1958	Department of Bantu Administration and Development	Department of Coloured Affairs	Department of Social Welfare and Pensions	
1959			Department of Indian Affairs	Department of Social Welfare and Pensions
1961				
1969		Administration of Coloured Affairs and Department of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs		
1977	Department of Co-operation and Development	Department of Coloured Relations	Department of Indian Affairs	Department of Social Welfare and Pensions
1979				
1981				
1982		Department of Health and Welfare		
1984	Administration: Council of Representatives		Administration: Council of Delegates	Administration: House of Assembly
1986	Department of Development Planning constitutional Development Services			
1994-1997	Department of Welfare with 9 Provincial Departments of Welfare			

* An abridged version of a paper delivered at the Joint World Congress of the IFSW and IASSW on *Peace and Social Justice - The Challenges Facing Social Work*, Jerusalem, Israel, July 5-9, 1998.

During and even prior to the apartheid era, this segmentation to which Gil refers, was clearly visible. Table 1 gives an outline of several government departments, which had been responsible since 1910, for providing social welfare services to black, white, Coloured and Indian communities in South Africa. It is clear from the table that the provision of social services to the communities was fragmented and that that process had, in fact, started with the unity and reconciliation phase of the British Government. Seen in its entirety, it appears that the departmental activities with regard to black people over decades are more stable, but are considerably more isolated from the other colour-diversified groups. Stabilisation did not, as is evident from the delivering of social services by the Government, necessarily mean progression. With regard to the interests of the Coloureds within the Government, their position seems more variable and unsure. Merely the change in name of the department concerned with Coloured affairs has surely brought about financial and manpower implications. Likewise, this applies to the government departments that took the interests of whites to heart. For the Indians, the role of Government in their needs seems to have become a reality only since 1961. For both the Coloured and Indians, a new, although separate, structure was established in 1984 after a new constitutional system was accepted. Since 1994, a united Department of Welfare for all racial groups was established for the first time in the history of South Africa. By means of this, focused racial segmentation was relinquished.

An united Department doesn't mean an united service, though. Presently there are nine provincial welfare departments which enjoy a great deal of autonomy accorded to it by the constitution. The implication is nine parallel, territory bound services in which there are definite differences on ground level. Though race focused segmentation was relinquished, territory focused segmentation was introduced, and with it the problems of fragmentation and duplication were retained, although in different way.

4. CONCLUSION

To conclude: South Africa more or less followed the same pattern of welfare development than the rest of the Western world up to 1948, but subsequently diverged from it. When the National Party came into power in 1948 it allowed the development of welfare to slow down, while there is evidence that the welfare involvement of the Government reached a reasonable peak in 1948. After 1948 the ideal of total segregation led to welfare services based on a principle of race. Although services to black people were from the start managed by a separate government department, services to Coloureds and Indians were also separated from white services as from 1951. Although the Government did provide more welfare services to all population groups, services to the Coloured, Indian (up to 1984) and black groups were under control of the white government. It was also inferior to whites' services.

While the welfare focus of the South African Government intensified, the welfare state in the western world reached its peak by 1975 and subsequently became subjected to intensive negative scrutiny. A reasserting of individualism over collectivism and a significant shift from universalism to selectivity occurred.

Following the elections and new government of 1994, flagrant racism as a principle was abolished. The new Government is presently following a dualistic approach to welfare. On the one hand previously disadvantaged groups are targeted through the social security system as a way to redistribute wealth. On the other hand a developmental approach is envisioned through which the capacity building of individuals to meet their own needs and assistance in equipping and preparing people for employment will be the focus. As a result welfare services to white people are declining, while services to the Coloured, Indian and especially the black people are escalating.