

COMMUNITY WORK IN FINLAND AND SOUTH AFRICA

Comparative study

Mirka Haili

Master's thesis
May 2017
Sosionomi (ylempi AMK)



ABSTRACT

Tampereen ammattikorkeakoulu
Tampere University of Applied Sciences
Sosionomi (ylempi AMK)

MIRKA HAILI:

Community work in Finland and South Africa
Comparative study

Master's thesis 55 pages, appendices 1 pages
May 2017

The purpose of the study was to compare community work in Helsinki, Finland and Durban, South Africa. The aim of this study was to analyze how community work is understood and realized in practice and find good practices via comparative study.

The data were collected by interviewing people who work in the field of community work and literature review. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with four groups with 14 interviewees all together.

It was found that the major differences in community work in Helsinki and Durban were in the way community work is organized. In both cities community work was done in the areas where there are high rates of social problems.

The findings suggest that there should be more training for project management, networking and fundraising for community workers in Durban. In Helsinki, community workers are working for the municipality and are the ones helping residents' associations in these organizational issues.

Key words: community work, community development

CONTENTS

| | | |
|----------|---|----|
| 1 | INTRODUCTION | 4 |
| 2 | THE PURPOSE OF THE THESIS | 6 |
| 3 | COMMUNITY WORK – CONCEPT AND APPROACHES | 7 |
| | 3.1 The history of community work | 8 |
| | 3.2 Community work theories | 9 |
| | 3.3 The community work practice | 14 |
| 4 | COMMUNITY WORK IN FINLAND | 20 |
| | 4.1 History of community work | 21 |
| | 4.2 Previous research on community work | 22 |
| 5 | COMMUNITY WORK IN SOUTH AFRICA | 25 |
| | 5.1 History of community work | 26 |
| | 5.2 Previous research on community work | 30 |
| 6 | METHODOLOGY | 32 |
| | 6.1 Data collection | 33 |
| | 6.2 Data analysis | 34 |
| 7 | RESULTS | 36 |
| | 7.1 How the community work is organized? | 36 |
| | 7.1.1 Durban..... | 36 |
| | 7.1.2 Helsinki | 39 |
| | 7.1.3 Why these areas are locations of community work?..... | 40 |
| | 7.2 The object of community work | 42 |
| | 7.3 The role of the community worker | 43 |
| | 7.4 Special knowledge | 46 |
| 8 | DISCUSSION | 48 |
| | 8.1 Discussion of the Results | 48 |
| | 8.2 Ethical consideration, limitation of the study and suggestion for further research | 53 |
| | REFERENCES..... | 56 |
| | APPENDICES | 59 |
| | Appendix 1. Interview questions..... | 59 |

1 INTRODUCTION

One traditional way of understanding social work is in terms of a tripartite distinction as follows casework, groupwork and community work. Community work refers to dealing with whole communities through, for example, community development initiatives. Social work in developing countries generally has more of a community development focus, while social work practice in the more industrialized areas of the world is more likely to have a casework focus. (Thompson 2010, 41-47.)

In Finland, community work has mostly been done in projects. Community work has been seen as an ideal method for social work but still it has not settled in as part of Finnish social work. Karjalainen and Sarvimäki argue that community work needs that kind of special knowledge that has not transferred from the projects to the organizations. (Karjalainen & Sarvimäki 2005, 47.)

Individualistic thinking has been commonplace in Finland for some time, but there have been signs that communities are becoming more valued in our society. In social work we should see the individual as a part of the community. If the people in communities are working for change, it will also change the life of individuals. Bak (2004, 92) argues that the approach taken in South Africa shows that empowering groups and communities can and is being implemented in social work and can inspire social work in other parts of the world, where individual casework is also coming to its end.

When I worked for the City of Helsinki at the services for the homeless I participated in training for an approach called CABLE (Community Action Based Learning for Empowerment). After the training I was more certain of the importance of strengthening communities and that way making a change in the lives of individuals. When I started to think about the topic for my thesis I got a chance to go to South Africa for five months as a student exchange in 2015. I realised that this was a great opportunity for me to learn more about community work in a different environment. I also thought it would be interesting to compare the South African style of community work with the Finnish counterpart and try to learn something new from that comparison.

The purpose of this thesis is to compare Finnish and South African community work. First I am going to study the history and current state of affairs of community work in both countries. Then I am going to describe cases of community work in Helsinki, Finland and Durban, South Africa and discuss about similarities and differences. The aim of this thesis is to better understand the concept of community work and to find new ways to do community work in Helsinki and Durban.

2 THE PURPOSE OF THE THESIS

The purpose of this thesis is to compare community work in Helsinki, Finland and Durban, South Africa. The aim of this thesis is to analyze how community work is understood and realized in practice and find good practices via comparative study. The purpose of this thesis is to ask people who are doing community work in Helsinki and Durban how the community work is organized, why is community work done in the area in which they work, what kind of special knowledge they think they need in their work and what they think is the role of the community worker. The interviews are done in two neighbourhoods in the same area in both cities. As a future Master of Social Services, I am interested in developing the strengths of communities in order to intervene in social problems. I am also interested in the global view in social services.

The research questions are

- 1) How is community work done in Helsinki and in Durban?
- 2) What are the similarities of community work in Helsinki and in Durban?
- 3) What are the differences of community work in Helsinki and in Durban?

3 COMMUNITY WORK – CONCEPT AND APPROACHES

Community work is done internationally, but the practice varies in different countries. Still in all cases it is concerned with improving the lives of individuals and groups in designated areas, communities or geographical localities, and it is nearly always seeking solutions to and working with people experiencing poverty, disadvantage and discrimination. The success of community work anywhere depends on harnessing the vision, knowledge and skills of those who are committed to addressing the shared concerns and key issues that impact on localities and communities of interest. (Popple 2015, 135.)

The International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) and The International Association of Schools of Social Work (IASSW) renew the following Global Definition of the Social Work Profession in 2014. (www.ifsw.org)

Social work is a practice-based profession and an academic discipline that promotes social change and development, social cohesion, and the empowerment and liberation of people. Principles of social justice, human rights, collective responsibility and respect of diversities are central to social work. Underpinned by theories of social work, social sciences, humanities and indigenous knowledge, social work engages people and structures to address life challenges and enhance wellbeing.

The above definition may be amplified at national and/or regional levels.

Commonly-used definitions of social work describe it as work with individuals, groups and communities. Even though community work is not only seen as work done by social workers, it is also seen as a method of social work.

Political and social debate presumes that if community were present, there would be less need for social services, so the social objective of creating or recreating community has become part of many public services, including social work. The ability to work with and in communities is becoming a skill required of many social workers. (Payne 1995, 9; Sutton 2005, 156.)

All social work literally takes place in the community in its broadest sense. The external factors that construct the social conditions of people's lives are often disregarded. A community orientation to social work redresses this imbalance and enables practitioners to see the broader social, economic and political factors that construct social problems. (Teater & Baldwin 2012, 9.)

Social work in the community is more effective than an individualistic social work approach because it focuses on sustaining supportive relationships rather than waiting for their demise. Networking within the community builds an understanding of the resources available to professional staff and service users. Liaison, through information-sharing and sharing of different perspectives, with other statutory organizations would enable practitioners to better understand a community by hearing different perspectives. Using available resources to carry out research and evaluation within the community builds an evidence base from which to make better judgments about the context for individual needs with which the team is working. A community perspective would encourage service users and the local community to be involved in decisions that affect them individually and collectively. (Teater & Baldwin 2012, 10-11.)

3.1 The history of community work

The roots of community work are in the settlement movement. The first settlement, Toynbee Hall founded in 1884 to a poor neighborhood in East-London. Teaching practical skills and intercultural dialogue were characteristic of the British settlement movement. The physical presence in the neighborhood allowed the Settlement to gain distinctive knowledge production, which was based on the idea that only that which is lived can be understood and interpreted for others. The settlement movement still offers community based services and social activities to the families living in poor areas. (Roivainen 2004; Roivainen 2008, 255.)

In the United States of America, the settlement movement was a reformist social movement in which women played a major role. Jane Addams influenced the development methods of community work. Addams founded the Hull House settlement in Chicago in 1889 with her friend, Ellen Gates Starr. The settlement house was a forerunner of modern social welfare programs and professional social work. The social settlement

focused chiefly on the environmental factors in poverty. When Addams and Starr first moved into Hull House, they had vague notions of becoming “good neighbors” to the poor around them, as well as studying the conditions in which they lived. When they studied the conditions in which their new neighbors lived, they began to create a specific agenda of both services and reform. In a move that made Addams and her colleagues contributors to the developing field of sociology, Hull House also undertook an active program of research. (Roivainen 2004; Leighninger 2012, 13-17.)

3.2 Community work theories

Many of the theories and methods that social workers use in practice require or encourage the consideration of the community in various ways. The concept of community and the consideration of its influence on service users are not aspects that are ignored or taken lightly in social work, but rather are something interwoven into several aspects of the profession. Teater & Baldwin (2012) mention systemic approaches, social constructionism, strengths perspective and empowerment approaches, concepts of need and anti-oppressive practice as the core theories, values and critical concepts that serve as the foundation to social work in the community (figure 1). (Teater & Baldwin 2012, 13.)



FIGURE 1. Core theories, values and critical concepts in community work. (Teater & Baldwin 2012.)

Systems theory proposes that a part of a system must be looked at holistically by considering all elements that make up the system and the interaction and independence between them. It enables the social worker to step away from an individualistic approach to social work that is predominantly guiding the practice that takes place within social work settings and challenges them to consider individuals within their environments and how the two interact, and, dependent on one another, respond to changes that occur within the systems. According to the social systems theory, fostering change within a community can create change among individuals. Human beings interacting in a group often stimulate each other to maintain or strengthen relationships, which builds up bonds within the group to make it stronger. Without creating synergy, the group would have to be fed by outside energy or entropy would occur. (Payne 1997, 139; Teater & Baldwin 2012, 14-15.)

The theory of social constructionism is useful for understanding social work in the community. Social construction theory proposes that people explain, describe and account for the world around them as part of interchanges between people in their historical, social and cultural context. The social work task is always to make sense of the reality or the way of viewing the world that a service user expresses. Differences in reality may be based on age, sexuality, religion, class, ethnicity, disability or a whole host of other cultural and social factors that influence the way people make sense of their worlds. The important point is the collective nature of these culturally and socially constructed ways of knowing. (Payne 2005, 164; Teater & Baldwin 2012, 15-16.)

The strengths perspective emphasizes creativity and optimism. The strengths perspective and empowerment approaches are critical to social work practice in the community as they both seek to assess the strengths and resources that are present within an individual, family and community system and to build on these strengths and resources in order to prevent problems or difficulties, creating an environment that fosters empowerment. The strengths perspective concentrates on enabling communities to articulate and work towards their hopes for the future, rather than seeking to remedy the problems of the past or even the present. It requires practitioners to adopt an optimistic attitude towards the communities with whom they work. Empowerment approaches are congruent with systems approaches in that the focus should be on the individuals within their environments, thus the importance of seeing an individual within her/his community and a community within a societal structure and context. (Healy 2005, 151-153; Teater & Baldwin 2012, 16-18.)

According to Doyal and Gough's (1991) theory of human need, it is crucial to have an understanding of need as it relates to social work in the community. Personal autonomy is the minimum necessary level of human agency required for some degree of human dignity. Critical autonomy is necessary for people, collectively and individually, to question and to participate in agreeing or changing the rules. Critical autonomy reflects in social work in the community, in which communities and individuals need their voices to be heard and their views considered and acted on if their needs are going to be met effectively. The other aspect of critical autonomy which is important to community work is that, in order to be effective, it requires people to be knowledgeable and skilful, in particular knowledgeable of different social and cultural opportunities from which they can make comparisons between others' and their own needs. (Teater & Baldwin 2012, 19-21.)

Anti-oppressive practice draws on sociological discourses, especially critical social science ideas, and concepts from the consumer rights movements, to construct understanding of client ‘needs’ and appropriate social work responses to them. Anti-oppressive theorists emphasize that various forms of oppression interact with each other. Anti-oppressive practice is a critical component to working with communities. Anti-oppressive practice is congruent with the strengths perspective and empowerment approach where the social worker and service user work collaboratively to identify needs and goals as well as define, locate and use individual, interpersonal, community and societal strengths and resources to overcome blocked opportunities and resources. (Healy 2005, 172-181; Teater & Baldwin 2012, 22-23.)

Popple (2015) argues that there is no distinct community work theory. He divides community work theories into five categories; pluralist theories, radical and socialist theories, feminist theories, the ethnic minority and anti-racist critique and theories relating to environmentalism and the green movement (figure 2). (Popple 2015, 58.)



FIGURE 2. Community work theories. (Popple 2015.)

Pluralist theories have dominated the debate around modern community work since the early 1960s. Pluralist theories argue that power in modern Western liberal democracies is not located in any single group or type of group. Pluralist theories claim that no group that wishes to affect outcomes lacks the necessary resources, and each may therefore be

effective in some issues. In relation to community work, pluralist theories suggest a role that is active in encouraging and supporting participation in the administrative and political processes as a means of increasing the accountability and accessibility of services. Although primarily concerned with theories of community work practice as opposed to 'grand theories' of society, the pluralist approach nevertheless acknowledges the structural nature of deprivation and recognizes the political dimension to community work. (Popple 2015, 59-60.)

The late 1960's and early 1970's witnessed the emergence of community work theories based upon radical and socialist thinking. A number of research reports came to the conclusion that the main cause of disadvantage was the capitalist system. The key characteristic of most of the community work approaches to practice flowing from this analysis was 'oppositional' work, for example creating federations of community groups to develop more power for tenants or residents. The post-Marxist discourse is seeking to reconstruct three aspects of socialist community development: the state, the working class and the site and nature of community practice. Post-Marxist discourse is constituted by practices, language and texts of community development practitioners and theorists seeking to build a new form of socialist theory and practice in order to better align the 'radical' rhetoric of community development with a clear practice base in neighborhoods. Community workers used these theories to understand the inequality within society. (Twelvetrees 2008, 12; Emejulu 2015, 99-104; Popple 2015, 61-63.)

In the mid-1970s, several women involved in community work began drawing attention to the exploitation of women by men, partly as a reaction to the apparently materialistic and 'macho' worldview of some 'Marxist/socialist' community workers. The developing feminist movement led to a re-evaluation of male-influenced radical and socialist thinking in the 1960s. One of the leading writers in the area of postmodern feminism is Judith Butler, who argues that women's subordination is caused by a number of influences. Her view is that there is no one solution to overcoming this factor. There is a growing awareness among sociologists and other social scientists that class and gender inequality, disability, racism and other categories can be viewed as oppressions that are intersecting and they can be studied in a way that brings greater understanding of those experiencing these disadvantages. Many of these feminist ideas have been accepted by 'socialist' community workers. (Twelvetrees 2008, 13; Popple 2015, 64-67.)

Just as 'black' and anti-racist feminist theory, socialist and radical feminist theory, and postmodern feminist theory have highlighted the need to reconstruct classical Marxist theory in the light of women's experience, so also have the minority ethnic and anti-racist critique emphasized the interrelation between 'race' and class, and to a lesser extent, gender. What is central in this critique is the view that Western capitalism is built on the foundations of imperialism and slavery from which it derived its power and wealth. There is recognition in the critical social sciences that racism operates at an institutional and a personal level as an ideological and material force permeating major institutions in society. In many respects a focus on identity is a central preoccupation of anti-racist social work practice. In relation to community work, there have been two constant themes in the ethnic minority and anti-racist critique. One has been the resistance to racism. The other major theme has been the opportunities that community work has provided to different groups to encourage cultural formations in their own right. (Bartoli 2013, 37; Popple 2015, 67-68.)

In the last 20 years or more, there has been increasing international concern for environmental conservation and the need to restrict environmental damage caused mainly by intensified consumerism in developed economies. There have emerged a number of groups and movements that provide platforms for people to express their concern and to engage in social and community action. Green alternatives to economic globalization are rooted in social and community action and are similar to the different perspectives discussed above in that environmentalism is both a theoretical position and an ideology for action. (Popple 2015, 69.)

3.3 The community work practice

Those who work with communities typically address issues, that is, major causes for concern which affect great many people: unemployment, the needs of people from ethnic minorities, people with disabilities, homelessness, women caring for young children or other people in isolation at home and older people. The primary strategy of community workers is likely to be the campaign. (Sutton 2005, 158.)

The issues that community workers address are also issues that are dealt with in social work generally. The difference is that community work is done in a person's own envi-

ronment instead of offices. Community work also aims to see the big picture behind an individual's issue. Addy (2013) argues that the community worker aims to be close to the 'life world' of those with whom she or he works. Community work starts from the strengths of those being worked with and aims to turn problems into issues which can be worked on together. There is undoubtedly technical expertise, which is useful in its place and there is also the expertise of the professional community worker. Community work recognises that the people being worked with are in a sense 'experts in their own reality'. (Addy 2013, 136.)

There are many forms of activity recognized as community work. Sutton (2005) mentions three; community organization, community development and community action (figure 3). Community workers employ all three approaches, selecting the best strategy for any given situation. (Sutton 2005, 158-159.)



FIGURE 3. Forms of activity recognized as community work. (Sutton 2005.)

Community organization refers to fundamental forms of community work such as good neighbor schemes, involving volunteers in meeting social need, and organizing self-help groups. Strategies employed include developing liaison between community groups, publicizing services available and the promotion of positive relationships among members of different communities. (Sutton 2005, 158-159.)

Community development involves more long-term work. Community development work brings people into communication with each other and enables a dialogue about local issues, which is very important in towns and cities with diverse populations. Community development is aiming for concrete change in the living conditions faced by people, especially those on the margins of society, or who are in some way excluded. Community development programs throughout the world have resulted in the construction of schools, drinking water supplies, clinics and sanitary projects which have improved people's productive capacities and added to the formation of social capital. (Midgley 1995, 115-118; Sutton 2005, 158-159; Addy 2013, 131.)

Community action is a more overtly political approach, challenging the existing sources of power where these are oppressive. Similar strategies are used as those in community development, but community action focuses more on challenge and conflict where it is thought that these will achieve the desired results more effectively than working through consensus and negotiation. Proponents of the community action approach urge local people to take full control over community development activities and rely on their own initiative. Local people should politicize their activities and actively organize to demand the services to which they are entitled. Community action workers are overtly activist and emphasize the importance of political action, confrontation and campaigning in reaching community goals. The community action approach attempts to target the poorest and most powerless groups. (Midgley 1995, 118-121; Sutton 2005, 158-159.)

Twelvetrees (2008) argues that community work is "the process of assisting people to improve their own communities by undertaking autonomous collective action." He divides different approaches to community work in seven categories (figure 4);

- Community development work as opposed to social planning
- Self-help or service approaches as opposed to influence approaches
- Generic community work as opposed to specialist community work
- Concern about 'process' as opposed to concern about 'product'
- The enabling or facilitating role of the worker as opposed to his/her organizing role
- Community work 'in its own right' as opposed to community work as an approach or attitude
- Unpaid community work as opposed to paid community work

(Twelvetrees 2008, 1-3.)



FIGURE 4. Different approaches to community work. (Twelvetrees 2008.)

Community workers who work in neighbourhoods usually operate in two main ways. Community development is assisting existing groups or helping people form new groups. In social planning a worker operates as liaison and in working directly with service providers to sensitise them to the needs of specific communities and to assist them in improving services or alter policies. There are many forms of community work, which involve both community development and social planning. (Twelvetrees 2008, 3-4.)

Some community needs can be met largely from the resources existing within the community – voluntary visiting schemes, play schemes and sports clubs, for instance. In these types of situations the group is involved in a self-help or service approach. Other needs can only be met by changing or modifying the policies of organizations outside the community or by accessing resources from them. These kinds of needs require influence approaches. (Twelvetrees 2008, 4.)

‘Generic’ community workers are able to work in relation to any sector or issue – employment, housing, play, leisure – whatever kind of agency they work for. However, service agencies often appoint what can be called specialist community workers, whose job is both to improve services and to involve client groups or consumers in some way in this process. (Twelvetrees 2008, 4.)

Process goals are to do with changes in people’s attitudes, confidence, technical skills or knowledge, or the development of an organization. Product goals are to do with the changed material situation, for example a successful play scheme. Community work is based on the central idea that product goals should be brought about by a process which ensures that the participants in the action have as much control as possible over all its aspects and that they acquire an enduring capacity to act themselves as a result. In most situations workers have to give attention to both kinds of goals. (Twelvetrees 2008, 5.)

The classic community development work role is that of guide, facilitator, enabler or catalyst where the worker goes at the pace of the group and assists its members to work out what they want to do and how to do it. However, there are times when the worker takes a leadership, directive or organizing role within a group, either informally or even as the secretary or chair, usually because 'product' needs to predominate and because the group members may, at that time, lack the necessary skills or motivation. (Twelvetrees 2008, 6.)

When a worker is facilitating anonymous collective action in the community as his or her main job, this can be called community work in its own right. Also schoolteachers, community center caretakers and many other paid employees may carry out their work in a community work way. Thus, the central ideas related to empowering individuals and groups, understanding the needs of others and taking these into account when actions are taken or policy is made, are not unique to community work. (Twelvetrees 2008, 7.)

The main difference between paid and unpaid community work is that the unpaid workers are usually leaders rather than facilitators. Community development is usually used to describe the autonomous process by which community groups form and grow. The term community development work is used to describe the professional activity of supporting this process. (Twelvetrees 2008, 6-7.)

4 COMMUNITY WORK IN FINLAND

It has been stated that community work has a marginal position in Finland. It has been of minor importance in the development of cities. In some suburbs there are certain buildings or streets where social problems are concentrated and the whole residential area or suburb is not affected. The only cultural difference between cities and rural areas is that there are larger immigrant communities in the cities. Inside mainstream social work, community work has had a marginal position. Community work as a work method is mainly found in the diaconal work and third sector. (Nylund 2013, 94.) When doing a search on the websites of the 10 biggest cities in Finland, Helsinki was the only one where community work was mentioned as a service of the municipality.

On the official website of the City of Helsinki community work is described as a long-term activity to develop neighbourhoods together with residents, resident associations, various organizations and the authorities. Community workers can assist residents in advancing proposals in local networks, in the neighbourhood working groups of City authorities and on neighbourhood forums. Community work provides means to focus on certain problems in neighbourhoods. (City of Helsinki 2015.)

In the Recommendations for the task structure of professional social services staff, Sarvimäki and Siltaniemi (2007) point out that residents' wellbeing is not only dependent on the individual case-work, rather also on preventive measures, as well as working with groups and communities. The aim is to have functional communities and to take into account the social aspects in all policies and decisions. The plans and decisions in housing, education, employment, transportation, local services, leisure and culture have social consequences that impact in the wellbeing of residents and participation in the communities. When reforming social services and the task structure of professional social services staff, municipalities should allocate human resources also in preventive, structural and community-based work. This would enhance the possibility to intervene at an early stage to development of social problems, as well as create operational practices, working methods and multi-stakeholder networks for improving the wellbeing of people and communities, social security and livelihood. (Sarvimäki & Siltaniemi 2007, 52-53.)

Community work in Finland is mostly done in the cities. Community work has an idea that the problems people have are partly caused by the weak social structures in the regions. One of the most significant aims is to empower the citizen and to increase possibilities to affect one's own environment and life. Community work is seen in Finland especially as a method of social work. Kettunen argues that this is changing because NGOs have taken more responsibility for community work. (Kettunen 2013, 55-58.)

4.1 History of community work

While Finland was still an autonomous Grand Duchy within the Russian empire, in the 1860s many new institutions were established, for example Helsinki City Mission, Deaconess Institute and the Salvation Army. For example, the Deaconess Institute started to run orphanages and schools for working class children. In the Sunday schools of Helsinki City Mission, classes were taught by students and permanent teachers. The Salvation Army started so called 'slum centres' in the poor neighbourhoods of bigger cities where 'slum work' was practiced. (Nylund 2013, 91-92.)

In Finland Settlement work and social work have a very close historical connection. The ideas of Settlement movement came to Finland right after Toynbee Hall was founded. When Finland gained its independence in 1917, so-called People's Homes were established in the different Settlements to offer food, education and social work. The development of community work in Finland started from urbanization caused by industrialism. The living conditions changed widely and, as such, there were also new kinds of social problems. Community work came to Finland in 1960s. At the same time, Finnish public social and health services grew to be very strong. Social planning and community work methods were practiced in neighbourhood work to promote interaction and cooperation between residents and authorities' in several intervention initiatives. (Kettunen 2013, 56; Nylund 2013, 93; Roivainen 2008.)

Since the 1970s, community work was developed in Finland by non-governmental organizations, but it became a conscious part of modern social work only after it received legal foundation in social welfare legislation reform in the early 1980s. The Ministry set up a working group to examine the operating conditions of community work. Community work paid special attention to threatened and disadvantaged people. (Roivainen 2008, 255-256.)

The first aim of community work in Finland was to improve the communication of residents and families in the area and to help residents create contacts with the local authorities. There were many pilot projects to develop community work. Local social workers and other officials obtained information of the problems and challenges of neighbourhoods by interviewing the residents. Responsibility for implementing was on the residents. (Kettunen 2013, 60.)

In the 1990s, after the recession, the prevention of marginalisation was emphasized in community work. The clients were mostly the long-term unemployed, families with children and people with mental health issues and substance abuse problems. In the 2000s, immigrants came as a new client group. Since the 1990s, community work has concentrated on working with clients, but the problems and challenges seen are not brought to the attention of policymakers. (Kettunen 2013, 61-63.)

4.2 Previous research on community work

In the literature review, six Finnish studies were selected between 2008 and 2012. One study was about the history of community work in Finland (Kantele 2012), two studies were from the workers point of view (Karjalainen 2008 and Hytti 2013) and three of the studies concentrated of the benefits of community work to the people in the community (Savolainen 2008, Rehtilä 2009 and Linderborg 2012).

Pekka Karjalainen (2008) interviewed community workers and their superiors in Helsinki. The interviewees described the role of community workers with the following expressions: the enabler, networking, geographical area, regular events, resident group activities, dissemination of information to leading officials and supporting the activities of organizations. The difference with community work and other social work was de-

scribed as community work not having the client identified. It is not important to know who is who, but rather what common aims can be achieved. The interviewees defined the mission of community work to be activating residents and networks. The bigger aim is to produce social capital for individuals and communities. The interviewees thought that community work was important also politically. A broader, long-term result could be social peace because working in the field and in informal environments, community workers may notice the conflicts before they come too big. (Karjalainen 2008.)

Katri Savolainen (2008) studied the function of community social work in the field of mental health promotion. Savolainen claims that the strengthening of social capital has come to the forefront as a central objective of policy makers and a function of community social work, when it is a matter of mental health promotion. Through the implementation of the practical functions of community social work, social capital can be strengthened and at the same time its reciprocal relationship with mental health facilitated. The professional practice and tasks of community social work must include some systematic implementation of practical mental health policy. (Savolainen 2008.)

Inkeri Rehtilä (2009) examined three different neighbourhood houses in a residential area. They were potentially open to all citizens and they were connected by community work in the department of social services. She found meanings of neighbourhood houses to the wellbeing of residents. These meanings were support to satisfy basic needs, connecting with others, participation and growth as an independent person. (Rehtilä 2009, 78.)

Kaisa Kantele (2012) studied how community work came to Finnish social work. Community work arrived in Finland mainly from the influences adopted from other Northern countries. Community work was first put into practice in experiments in urban districts in different municipalities at the end of 1970s. The arguments of the social workers pertaining to the need of community work were examined, and classified into three categories; the changing role of social workers, the methods for dealing with new social problems and ideological demands. Community work was shown as an important part of social work's professionalization, and it was seen to expand social work's traditional field of action towards communities and social-political activity. (Kantele 2012.)

Hilkka Linderborg (2012) examined the meanings of group activities, organized as community social work, for ageing Somali men. The study results show that group activities have offered older Somali men new social relations, friends, contacts and peer support – in whole new opportunities for dialogue which is essential for their need of recognition. The group activities have helped the men to sustain their self-esteem and dignity. Linderborg suggests that the organized group activity is a simple but effective form of community social work that does not require many resources and should be utilized further. Group activities can help us see men as individuals with their preferences, particular skills and personalities. (Linderborg 2012.)

Tytti Hytti (2013) analysed how social workers discuss and built community social work in social interaction and how it is perceived in the context of municipal social work. There were many discourses about community social work that came up in the group discussions. One way to see community social work was as work done by actors other than municipal social workers. The other way to define community social work was as going away from the office and meeting the clients in the resident facilities. Community social work was also seen as promoting inclusion, either activating or empowering the clients. Community social work was again seen as influencing structures in the residential area and development work in the area. (Hytti 2013.)

5 COMMUNITY WORK IN SOUTH AFRICA

According to Hennie Swanepoel in South Africa community work is done by government departments on all three levels, nongovernmental organisations including aid agencies, welfare organisations and churches, and community-based organisations such as women's and youth clubs. The clients of community work are usually poor and not well educated. Community work is done in environments of impoverishment. (Swanepoel 1997, 1.)

In the white paper of social welfare (1997) the South African Department of Welfare mentions that community development strategies will address basic physical, psychosocial and material needs. The community development approach will inform the reorientation of social welfare programmes towards comprehensive, integrated and developmental strategies. Community development is an integral part of developmental social welfare. (South African Department of Welfare 1997.)

The majority of South African families and children live in unsafe, unhealthy and disadvantaged communities. The lack of amenities and services in disadvantaged communities impacts on the quality of social services and facilities. The conditions prevailing in communities, coupled with extreme poverty and a lack of family support networks, are some of the causes of the growing numbers of families and individuals who are living on the streets, particularly in urban centres. (South African Department of Welfare 1997.)

On the official website of the eThekweni municipality there is mention of a community-based programme. The purpose of this programme is to create an enabling environment for citizens to participate in improving their quality of life using their maximum strengths. It is a process that empowers communities and encourages them to move away from dependency syndrome. (eThekweni Municipality 2011.)

5.1 History of community work

Welfare in South Africa evolved in the aftermath of colonialism in the early years of the 20th century, when it was essentially modelled on the British welfare system. In pre-colonial times, the welfare needs of individuals were met by society at large as well as through co-operation, communalism and mutual aid as social groups were highly developed. Afrikaner and liberal nationalist agendas characterised descriptions of social work development. Welfare was focused on juveniles and orphans, with an orphanage established by the Dutch Reformed Church in 1814. Social work services and state welfare were later directed mainly to poor white Afrikaners. Both Afrikaner liberal and nationalist writers used discourses of racial pluralism, assuming race groups to be discrete entities and real categories, while generally neglecting economic interests. Prior to 1920 there was no formal social work training and most “social workers” practiced as such on the basis of their social commitment, educational advantage, leadership skills and liberal ideals. (Gray & Lombard 2008, 138; Patel 2008, 66; Smith 2014, 309-313.)

Particularly in 1920-1948, formal social work emerged from the socio-political context, while it also had an impact on the socio-political context. By the 1930s the state was increasingly concerned about urban, unemployed African women. The Race Relations Report at the 1936 social work conference in Johannesburg, attended by social workers of all races, but predominantly “European”, described the remarkable extent to which non-Europeans had benefited from the development of social welfare activities. Women were active in community-based advocacy and self-help groups to address food scarcity during the Second World War; housing needs and permits to remain in urban areas were some of the other issues that concerned them. (Patel 2008, 79-80; Smith 2014, 313-316.)

The partnership between the state and the community-sponsored welfare initiatives emerged prior to 1948 and became an important feature of welfare services under apartheid, and over the years, a substantial number of agencies were formed. The community-sponsored welfare organisations, which included services delivered by Afrikaner women’s organisations and welfare services of religious organisations, were later coordinated by approximately 22 national councils operating in various fields such as disability, corrections, welfare for the aged, child and family care, mental health and chemical dependence. The majority of the community-sponsored social welfare organisations

rendered essentially rehabilitative social work services, and some statutory services were delivered on behalf of the state. The voluntary community-based welfare organisations were largely subsidised by government, and many organisations enjoyed a privileged relationship with government. (Patel 2008, 72-73.)

Concern mounted in the 1950s about the visible “white” working-class youth gang subculture in welfare circles. Public health care, public education, rent control, subsidised housing, employment, social benefits and social welfare services, which included poor relief, community services such as residential care, luncheon clubs for the elderly and rehabilitative social services were provided for those in need. The Black Consciousness movement was committed to social development among rural black communities. It initiated many community-based development programmes founded on the principles of African self-help, community action and communalism. The Black Community Programmes were active in health, education and integrated rural development projects. Gradually, after 1948, various welfare alliances splintered and by 1960 welfare became synonymous with “white” welfare under Nationalist rule. Conflicts of class and exploitation received little attention, subsumed by the liberal narrative which interpreted those conflicts as deriving from race and Afrikaner nationalism. (Patel 2008, 71-81; Smith 2014, 316-319.)

There was a huge growth in black, community-based organisations during the 1980s as the struggle against apartheid intensified, and these non-government organisations gained prominence at this time. The political resistance movements such as the “black” student movements and women’s movements provided an important platform for social work participation and mobilisation. Mass-based community organisations multiplied throughout this period. (Patel 2008, 81-83; Smith 2014, 319-320.)

The concept of ‘people’s power’ informed the creation of alternative formations such as street committees, people’s courts and community development organisations, which were understood to be rudimentary forms of self-government. The organisations experimented with alternative methods of service delivery, which were considered to be more appropriate and legitimate in meeting the needs of the people at local levels, and were community-based in their approach. (Patel 2008, 81-83.)

Alliances were forged and collaborative campaigns and projects were undertaken between professional associations, social movement organisations, professionals and community organisations. The South African National Non-Governmental Organisations' Coalition (SANGOCO) emerged in 1995 to coordinate non-governmental organisations' input into government policy and to ensure that the rich traditions of civil society – forged in the resistance to apartheid – continued to serve the people of South Africa. The funding of non-governmental or not-for-profit organisations changed with the introduction of the State Lottery. (Gray & Lombard 2008, 133; Patel 2008, 81-83.)

There was the Population Development Programme launched in 1984 with the task of stimulating community development activities at local level, and improving the quality of life of the people. In the mid-1980s, the state embarked on a key shift in its policy direction and formulated a national community development strategy through which the welfare sector was urged to move away from remedial approaches to community development. However, this strategy was never implemented, as finance was not available for development activities, and there were suspicions at a local community level that state community development activities were a part of the state's campaign to win the 'hearts and minds' of the people for their reform initiatives. Furthermore, welfare organisations were geared towards remedial approaches and no account was taken of how the change toward community development was to be implemented and managed. The National Security Management System had local and regional configurations which operated at community level, and attempted to co-opt grassroots organisations and the personnel working in state social services, health care and education at local levels to co-operate and advise with the security establishment. (Patel 2008, 74-75.)

The government argued that South Africa was not a welfare state and that a partnership had always existed between the private business sector, the state, and voluntary community and religious initiatives to provide social welfare. The government encouraged individual and community responsibility for meeting needs through market mechanisms, emphasising volunteerism, mutual aid, and reciprocity between consumers and providers, private social work practice and fees for service. Since the majority of the people had been disenfranchised, attempts by the government to promote participation in state social welfare structures and in social development were widely rejected at local community level – a rejection that presented the formal welfare sector with serious legitimacy crisis. (Patel 2008, 77.)

Prior to 1994 the voluntary welfare services and government were collectively referred to as the 'formal welfare sector'. The formal welfare sector was made up of a community social services, a state sector, and services rendered by religious organisations; in later years, social services were offered by large enterprises, especially the mining companies. Access to the latter was available only to employed workers, and residents of the residents of communities where the enterprises were located were excluded. (Gray & Lombard 2008, 132-133; Patel 2008, 76.)

The 1994 elections were characterised by hope for social justice. Over many different generations, opposition grassroots organisations and political and social movements advocated the economic, political and human rights of all South Africans in a common society and drew attention to the effects of this deprivation on their well-being. Voluntary social welfare activities by community groups were established independently of trade union and political organisations to address the needs of the disadvantaged. Independent social welfare activities by disadvantaged communities, including activities indirectly or directly related to resistance to apartheid, have not been well documented. (Patel 2008, 79; Smith 2014, 321-322.)

Social work had long been criticised for failing to engage more fully in community development. In 2001 the welfare Minister reported that 45 per cent of the population lived in rural areas; most rural people were poor; and most poor people were black, with rural women and children the poorest of all. Part of the problem is the lack of infrastructure in these rural areas and, where community-based organisations do exist, they cannot afford to employ professional social workers; hence the need for trained community development workers willing and able to work at the grassroots level. (Gray & Lombard 2008, 136.)

5.2 Previous research on community work

In the literature review, four South African studies were selected between 2001 and 2013. In three of the studies there were interviews of social workers and community leaders (Simpson 2001, Raniga & Simpson 2002, Naidoo 2004) and only one study was from the regular community member's point of view (Vawda, Prinsloo, Mostert & Mazibuko 2013).

Barbara Simpson examined the nature of social work in informal settlements in the Durban Metro region by interviewing social workers and focus groups with community leaders in Bhambayi. In focus groups research participants were asked to talk about what they think that social workers should do. They mentioned counselling with respect to family problems, referring people to resources especially regarding pensions and grants, helping people to start projects, running groups such as life skill groups. Research participants also felt that material aid should be part of the social work. Research participants were asked about the role of social workers in development. It was seen that social workers should concentrate on the "development" of people; educating people about how to deal with problems, helping people to become more confident of themselves and starting group projects. A number of social workers Simpson interviewed told that they used community education to raise awareness about problems in informal settlements. Community education projects focussed mainly on child abuse awareness and AIDS awareness. (Simpson 2001, 28, 202, 205, 256.)

Raniga and Simpson (2002) examined community participation in relation to an abortive attempt to establish a community garden project in an informal settlement. The community committee members who they interviewed felt strongly that community members should be involved in all stages of a community development project. They pointed out that decisions about projects were made by the local authority and the community was then informed. In discussing other development projects in the area committee members again highlighted the fact that they were only informed of projects after the initial decisions had been taken and that they were not involved in the initial planning. (Raniga & Simpson 2002, 182-187.)

Samanta Naidoo (2004) argues that social workers in South Africa can no longer favour practising casework instead of community work. In Naidoo's study, social workers

qualitatively described an array of community work projects as follows: economic empowerment projects (for example gardening projects, baking projects, income generation programmes), development of human and social capital (for example domestic worker empowerment groups, crèche development in informal settlements, school upliftment programmes), poverty alleviation (for example outreach programmes, feeding schemes in schools and crèches) and preventative programmes (for example peer counselling in schools, foster care recruitment programmes, establishment of support centre for children). (Naidoo 2004, 75, 192-193.)

The South African Community Capability Study employed Amartya Sen's capability approach to explore the characteristics of very poor communities. The study highlighted that respect is considered the foundation for building peaceful and strong communities by all respondents. While healthy family relationships and strong communal life are prized, individuals want to be independent and to be able to be and do what they reason to value. (Vawda, Prinsloo, Mostert & Mazibuko 2013, 4-5.)

6 METHODOLOGY

This thesis work is a descriptive and comparative research project. The purpose of the thesis is to compare community work in Finland and in South Africa. I will describe community work in both countries by cases. To collect data I interviewed people who work in the community work field and used documents that are already written about the places that I am studying. I also observed the places where community work is done.

The word ‘case’ is rather challenging to define. Gillham (2010) defines it as

- a unit of human activity embedded in the real world;
- which can only be studied or understood in context;
- which exists in the here and now;
- that merges in with its context so that precise boundaries are difficult to draw.

(Gillham 2010, 1.)

A case can be an individual, a group or a community. A case study is one which investigates the above to answer specific research questions and which seeks a range of different kinds of evidence, evidence which is there in the case setting, and which has to be abstracted and collated to get the best possible answers to the research questions. The use of multiple sources of evidence is a key characteristic of case study research. The case study is a comprehensive research strategy. It comprises an all-encompassing method – covering the logic of design, data collection techniques, and specific approaches to data analysis. (Yin 2003, 14; Gillham 2010, 1-2.)

In this study I will compare community work in Durban, South Africa and Helsinki, Finland. Pentti Luoma (2006) argues that all research in social science is somehow comparative. Comparative research does not differ much from other research in social sciences. In comparative research can be used mostly same methods than in other kind of researches (Luoma 2006.)

The problem in comparing nations is that nations and cultures are not synonyms. There can be many different cultures in one nation or a culture doesn't necessarily appear only in one nation. The purpose of cross-national research is either simply to describe the differences of nations or to explain cross-national similarities and differences.

(de Vaus 2008, 249-250.)

6.1 Data collection

The three types of interviews most often used in this type of research are unstructured, structured, and semi-structured. The type of interview used can be determined according to the paradigm, tradition of inquiry, research questions, purpose of research, analytic strategy, and a host of other factors. Researchers who use an interpretive paradigm often lean toward semi-structured and un-structured interviews. (Bailey 2007, 101.)

In this thesis I decided to use a semi-structured interview style. The reason I chose this type of interview is that I might not get all the necessary information if I use highly structured questions. The aim of this thesis is to understand the concept of community work in Finland and in South Africa. I needed to give the interviewees the opportunity to really tell everything they wish to about their work, so that I could get a full understanding of the topic.

In a semi-structured interview, the interviewer uses an interview guide with specific questions that are organized by topics but are not necessarily asked in a specified order. The flow of the interview determines when and how a question is asked. Interviewees often answer a question before it is asked. If so, the question is skipped. Interviewing requires active listening, not just asking questions. The interviewer might engage in dialogue with the interviewee, particularly if an interpretive or critical paradigm frames the research. However an interviewer must be careful so that he or she does not do most of the talking. (Bailey 2007, 95-103.)

One of the challenges the researcher faces involves interviewing someone who is essentially different from him or her – for example different gender, race, ethnicity or educational status (Bailey 2007, 107). As a researcher I will face this challenge doing interviews in South Africa. The interviewees live in a different culture from my own, so that

might create some difficulties in understanding each other. However, I had been in South Africa for almost four months before the interviews so I had explored the culture. Also the language might become a problem; the interviews are in English, which is not the mother tongue of the researcher or the interviewees.

After the termination of the interview, some respondents continue to talk, about things related and unrelated to the research topic. An ethical question researchers face involves determining whether things said after the tape is stopped can be considered part of the interview. (Bailey 2007, 109.) In this thesis I have decided that I will use also the discussions and observation that I will do when visiting the communities.

Observation is usually undertaken by developing a close interaction with members of a group or “living” in the situation being studied. In qualitative research, an observation is always recorded in a descriptive format. The information can also be collected through other methods such as informal interviewing, in-depth interviewing, group discussions, previous documents and oral histories. Use of multiple methods will enhance the richness of the information collected. The main advantage of observation is that the researcher will gain much deeper, richer and more accurate information. The disadvantage is that there is a possibility that the researcher will introduce his or her personal bias. (Kumar 2014, 157-158.) I will visit the places where community work is done and at the same time observe what is happening in these places. I will make detailed notes of what I observe and use them in my research. I will also collect information using informal interviewing and previous documents.

6.2 Data analysis

In order to analyse and present qualitative data, the investigator must be thoroughly familiar with the field notes, the tape recordings and their transcriptions and any other data collected. The analysis of qualitative research data requires considerable interpretation by the investigators. The two most common approaches are to analyse and present the data in either a categorised or a narrative format. (Bowling 2014, 400-401.)

Coding means relating sections of the data to the categories which the researcher has either previously developed or is developing on an ongoing basis as the data are being

collected. In qualitative coding a single item is permitted to be coded in more than one category in order to permit cross-referencing and the generation of several hypotheses. If the aim is to describe the data in order to generate theory, then the categories can be developed from the data. When presenting qualitative data in a categorised manner, the investigator carries out a content analysis. (Bowling 2014, 401-404.)

The interviews were transcribed to text in order to help in analyzing the data. The transcriptions were done by the researcher. Transcription consists of 34 pages of text with 1,15 line spacing and size 11 font. Two of the interviews were in English and two in Finnish. Once transcribed, the data was organized by topic, and themes coded into categories.

7 RESULTS

7.1 How the community work is organized?

7.1.1 Durban

The interviews in South Africa were held in a township in Durban. It is a poor suburban area with a high rate of crime, violence and HIV. In South Africa, the department of social development funds the organizations that provide services to the community. I interviewed workers from a crèche, a drop-in center for orphans and vulnerable children. The community also had a mobile kitchen that served food every day and support groups for example for people with HIV and foster parents.



PICTURE 1. Durban (Photo: Mirka Haili 2015)

“But then again, the knowledge that they have, it does not equal the salary they should be getting. So that is why we are saying it’s more of voluntary than a proper work.”

The interviewees told that they do not get a salary, but a stipend. Sometimes they have problems with getting the money. They told about a situation in which a person did not get their money for three months. At the crèche, parents pay school fees. The interviewees told that the problem in the crèche is that some parents do not pay the school fees. They will take the child to the crèche even though the parents do not pay. The interviewees told that they keep on providing the services regardless if they get paid or not. They felt that they were doing voluntary work, because they did not get proper salary. All of the interviewees were living in the community where they worked. The story about how the crèche was founded is an example of the dedication that the community workers have.

“I started on 1998 January, after the crèche was closed down for four years because of the political violence that was taking place in the area. So we, a group of women that were doing gardening, we discussed that we can’t keep on doing that, let’s do something else. Because our children were crossing unsafe road to the crèche and pre-schools. And also the day care mothers were looking after the children. But some were good, some were not. Because they normally left the children unattended. That’s how we started the crèche and preschool. I started with about 12 children at that time 1998. It was very difficult, because I wanted to register with the Department of Social Development and it was very difficult if you don’t reach the minimum of 40 children. (...) So we struggled that and at the end we registered with the Department of Social Development after five years. We reached that number, so our application was approved. “

“How did you manage those five years before you got the registration?”

It was very difficult, because other ladies were no more at crèche. They said that we can’t stand this, it’s wasting of time. So I tried to recruit through using community structure to have this 40 children. At the end I succeed.”

The drop-in center was part of a national project where these centers were founded in the areas where there were high rates of poverty, diseases and other social needs. The program started as collaborative work between different departments. At the drop-in center there are community care-givers who provide home-based care for patients with chronic illnesses. There is also psychosocial support for orphans and vulnerable children, food for children in the morning and after school and programs that aim to achieve behavioral change.

The interviewees thought that it was important to get different departments to operate in the community. The people in the community do not necessarily have the money to travel to the city so they need to get social grants, health care and social work services from their area of residence. The interviewees were concerned about the funding for services. They receive funding from the government departments. They told that there is also another potential funder in South Africa, the National Lottery. But accessing their funds is very difficult.

“And then the other part is funds. All of the services that we have mentioned comes in funds. You have to have funds in order to provide services. That’s the most difficult part of it. Because besides paying the salaries, the salaries are the last part of it. Most important is to have funds to provide services to the beneficiaries. Making the change. Without any funds you can never do it. Then again the Department of Social Development now with the government ever changing priorities. You see, this year they might be prioritizing the offended and vulnerable children. You might never know. The next year they might say no, our priorities go to other. What happens to children? So we need other funders and donors to come in so that these programs will be more sustain.”

7.1.2 Helsinki



PICTURE 2. Helsinki (Photo: Tiina Lintunen 2016)

The interviews in Finland were held in East Helsinki. East Helsinki has had problems with unemployment and poverty, and immigrants and refugees are somewhat concentrated in the area's subsidized housing and city-owned apartments. I interviewed community workers who were working for a municipality and people who were living in the area and were active in the community. There are also non-governmental organizations that work in the area. The aim is for the community work to be primarily done by the residents themselves and the community workers' role is to support that work. The interviewees felt that there was no point in having subsequent projects without continuity. It is important that people can rely on the work in the area being ongoing. They also thought that there would more likely be continuity in the community work if there were employees and not only volunteers. In some areas, a community worker is responsible for the resident facilities. One interviewee pointed out that it means that there are not enough resources to do community work, because there is already a heavy workload with running the resident facilities.

7.1.3 Why these areas are locations of community work?

In Durban, the area where the interviewees were working had a background of political violence after the area had been devastated by high rates of poverty, unemployment, diseases, crime, offence, drug abuse and vulnerable children. The interviewees told that people from outside of the community had been interested in it due to its background.

The interviewees addressed unemployment as a reason for community work in the area. They told that they were fighting against poverty in the area. In general, South Africa has high rates of unemployment. Interviewees thought that unemployment had contributed to the high rates of crime. The interviewees told that the government has tried to come to terms with dealing with unemployment, but that is not enough. Finding a job is not easy for the people in the area where the interviews were held, so there has been a programme where they tried to look for other alternatives for people to find income.

“I mean working on your own. It is not really what is in our selves. We come from a background, I’m not trying to be political now, where we were brought up to think working for somebody else will be much more better than working for ownself.”

In Helsinki, the interviewees described the aim of community work to get the local actors to work together and activate the residents of the area. They thought that people need help to improve their skills to work together. Interviewees thought that community work should be done in the areas with the lowest levels of income and high rates of social problems. Segregation is a structural problem caused by issues of municipal planning. The areas have mostly tenements and low income and beyond current generations’ exclusion accumulate there. The interviewees were also worried about the disturbance of the social peace.

“My goal in any case has been to make myself useless and get local actors to work on their own, because no single employee is a miracle worker. It can maybe somehow work out that it gets local people to become active. And it has been done for many years.”

“That people would get along and sometimes do things together. The day-to-day life is really important.”

“And what people are thinking about now is that we should start thinking about the perspective of segregation. In other words, the areas with the lowest income levels and where they have the most social problems, to get a community worker there (...) It’s not the residents’ fault but the fault of urban planning. That’s where low-income people start to pile up and cross-generational social exclusion occurs.”

The interviewees also mentioned side effects of drug use as a reason for the need for community work in the area. There had been a lot of petty larceny and open drug sales in the area. The interviewees told that there had been projects and active residents in the area, but the most vulnerable people were not participating in the projects. The aim of the community work should be to get the voice of the vulnerable people to be heard in the area. They also talked about how there were two groups of people, with others thinking that they are better than the rest. Community work tries to build bridges between different groups. Also building bridges between immigrants and the majority population is needed.

“And then I think it’s a bit like, I don’t know if one can do anything about it but it’s a bit like that side of the fence there and this side of the fence here. It feels like that side of the fence is for the better people and... That maybe somehow we could try to create some sort of bridge or cooperation network between the two sides.”

The interviewees thought that community work is always needed to bring people together, to activate and to animate. At first, community work started in Finland because there were people moving from the countryside to the cities. Now the situation is that there are immigrants moving to Finland and particularly to the cities. All of the sudden there are a lot of new people in the area. In the big cities it happens all the time. Also decaying suburbs are in need of community work. The interviewees thought that community work is above all preventive work. They also thought that the meaning of community work is not necessarily visible before it is no longer there. The interviewees also told that important part of community work is to help residents’ associations with bureaucracy. They told that there are residents’ associations that have very good programming, but they have problems to understand all the bureaucracy and as a result might not get funding.

“Although it’s often said that all social work should aim to make itself unnecessary, I think we always need cooperation. It’s not terribly easy for it to make itself unnecessary. It’s like in a way if one problem is solved, but there will always be new ones. And nowadays people change communities so often that we always need new people to make networks in the background. The glue of the community, that keeps people together in a way. Activates people to act, gets them excited to work, sets up some incentives.”

”Oftentimes community work’s role is visible in a way that it’s easiest to take note of it when it’s not there. When it’s gone, you really know what it meant in the first place.”

TABLE 1. Why is community work done in this area

| Durban | Helsinki |
|---------------------|------------------------------------|
| poverty | activating residents |
| unemployment | low income |
| diseases | social problems |
| crime | segregation |
| offence | vulnerable people |
| drug abuse | drug abuse |
| vulnerable children | immigrants |
| | bringing people together |
| | decaying suburbs |
| | supporting residents’ associations |

7.2 The object of community work

In Durban the interviewees mentioned following groups when talking about their work; vulnerable children, orphans, women, young people, unemployed, drug users, people that are terminally ill, homebound patients with HIV and other illnesses. They also told that most of the people that are beneficiaries of the mobile soup kitchen are adults and mainly men. There are not only single and elderly men but also men that have families and are working. The community workers called a meeting to see the problems that are existing in the families.

“When we spoke we heard stories of abuse. I’m not talking about child abuse now. I’m talking about something you don’t know. Something like men lose their dignities. The same thing when they lose their employment. You will lose your dignity as well in the household. (...) You send a child to do this, the child will say no, you are no longer the households head. So we are saying now, we are not saying men should be superior to women and children. But we are saying now in order to keep the issue of men being household heads then we should assist them to be providers of families as well.”

In Helsinki, interviewees mentioned lonely elderly people, immigrants and those living in rented houses. One interviewee also said that the object of the community work is the neighborhood.

“The target audience for community work can even be a tiny plot of forest. But really of course you think that it’s really the community, the area. It can really be something different for everyone. It can be a specific group of people there too, of course. Sometimes it can be the services.”

TABLE 2. The object of community work

| Durban | Helsinki |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
| vulnerable children | lonely elderly people |
| orphans | immigrants |
| women | neighbourhood |
| young people | |
| unemployed | |
| drug users | |
| people that are terminally ill | |
| men | |

7.3 The role of the community worker

In Durban, community care workers visit households and check on all of the vulnerable and sick people. They also identify the orphans that live on they own. They make sure that the children go to preschool, are clean, get their education and have access to health facilities. They also have school holiday programmes in the communities that promote

social behavioural change. The interviewees told that they help the people to collaborate with the departments, providing them access to services and bringing the departments closer to the people. They also provide HIV and AIDS education. The interviewees told that they should encourage people to participate more. They also thought that it is important to empower people to trust themselves and inspire young people to be leaders. They also think that they should tackle the drug problem by educating people about drug abuse.

The interviewees in Helsinki told that the community worker has many roles. Sometimes they are just the one who makes coffee and sometimes they have to take the role of a leader. The community worker is often a convener and the one who is helping people to make things happen. The community worker is also the one who sees people's strengths. The interviewees told that their mission has been to strengthen the community, get the people together, empower, coordinate and communicate. One interviewee described the community worker as being the motor and the mobilizer and the local people as the subjects. The community worker can help the local people to be heard in the social decision-making.

"When nothing else is really needed, like it may be that you're really just someone making coffee somewhere. Like if you can organize and you offer the space... But then it's often sort of calling people to meet and a bit of sparring. At some point, I was also often the organizer of regional forums and the one who rallied people together and then the leader on top of all of that, because there weren't people who wanted to take on that role."

"And I've always been interested in this bottom-up movement and how to get the potential to build this society and not just oppose everything, like those kinds of plans and actions have already been fretted about and chewed up too much."

"So the bottom-up thing is when people can work well independently and then it's enabled by the city as well."

One interviewee told that there is also a lot of work managing the resident facilities, recruitment, initiation, real estate management and bureaucracy. Many of the employed are immigrants and in that case there is a lot more bureaucracy in the employment. Also

a very big task of the community worker is to activate people to participate and support resident activities. The interviewees also pointed out that sometimes it is hard for people to work together. That is where the community worker is needed. The community worker is a person who gathers people together and helps them to work together for their common good. The community worker also helps residents' associations to get funding.

"Of course I notify them about all sorts of things all the time. There is a lot of information about organizational supports and everything that comes through me, like if there are some seminars or teaching events. Whatever it is that might apply to them, I make sure to pass it on to them."

TABLE 3. The role of the community worker

| Durban | Helsinki |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| outreach worker | leader |
| carer | coffee maker |
| public service liaison | convener |
| empowerment advocate | facilitator |
| encourager | citizen community work assistance |
| facilitator | recognisor of strengths |
| educator | empowerment advocate coordinator |
| | lobbing advocate |
| | superintended |
| | mediator |

7.4 Special knowledge

In Durban interviewees told that they have had several trainings for the work that they do. Some of them were studying in college. There was also an 18-month learnership program for childhood and youth care workers. After the programme, the students are qualified to apply for university. The interviewee who was in the learnership programme described it as a support group; they learn how to manage the challenges in their own lives and then can help others in the same situations. The interviewees also told that it is important for them to have studied HIV and AIDS, because it is a big problem in the community.

In Durban, most of the people who were working in the community were also living in that community. The strength in that is that they know the dynamics that exist in the community. The interviewees felt that they lack expertise in networking, fundraising and project management. They explained that they need a specialist from outside to give them training. They emphasized that it is important for them to learn those things, so that knowledge will not disappear when the specialist leaves the community.

The interviewees told that there are organizations that provide training, for example the Department of Social Development and the National Development Agency. There are trainings for example about capacity training, resource management, financial management, project management and trainings for the organizations to be established and keep them running. The problem is that the organizations do not know about these agencies. The interviewees expressed that there are a lot of organizations that have not registered within the department because they have not had a complete understanding of how to run an effective non-governmental organization.

In Helsinki the interviewees emphasized that community work has its own orientation. The interviewees explained that networking and building social capital are substantive parts of community work that require special knowledge. They also mentioned that a community worker needs good interpersonal skills, a sense of humour, the ability to inspire, strong personality, but also the ability to stay in the background, the ability to come along with different kinds of people, curiosity, knowledge of the laws, the ability to express themselves, the ability to see the potential of people and negotiation skills.

"But professionalism is when you can form your own understanding about things while still keeping those to yourself. Giving others the space."

"Our old-school community workers are hard-headed and independent people. You really have to be a bit unique and independent to be able to do this kind of work. It's for strong people."

"So in a way, the fact that you can't have your own greater agenda, that you can't keep your opinions to yourself when you need to."

8 DISCUSSION

8.1 Discussion of the Results

According to Popple (2015, 59) pluralist theories suggest community work's role is to help various groups to overcome the problems they face in their neighbourhoods or communities, often through mutual support, sharing activities, and by attempting to secure better services for their members. Community work in Durban and Helsinki have this role that comes from pluralist theories. The people that are doing community work in Durban are also living in the community. An important factor of community work is bringing the services to the communities. Social and healthcare services are far away from the communities and the poor people do not have money to get to them. In the communities where I held the interviews, there were for example a mobile kitchen that served food every day and community care givers who provided home-based care for patients with chronic illnesses. Different departments came to the communities regularly to get the services to the poor people. The services in the community have originated in mutual concern for the community and the activity of the people in the community.

In Helsinki there are good local services, so the focus of the community work has been more in how the people in the communities could be more active in improving the community and the wellbeing of all of its residents. The community workers come from outside the community, but they enable the work of the residents' associations. The community workers have been activating people to work together on the issues in the community. These findings are similar with Pekka Karjalainen (2008) who interviewed community workers and their superiors in Helsinki. The interviewees defined the mission of community work to activate the residents and networks. The bigger aim is to produce social capital for individuals and communities. In Barbara Simpson's study (2001) community leaders thought that social workers should help people to start projects. This is similar to what the community workers in Helsinki are doing. In Helsinki the community workers have a degree in social work, so they do have the social view in the community work. In my interviews in Durban it came up that the social workers time is spent mostly in case work. There should be also a social worker who would concentrate more on community work and activating people and helping them to start projects.

Twelvetrees (2008) claims that one difference between unpaid and paid community work can be that the unpaid workers are community leaders rather than facilitators. The paid community development worker really must have the skills to facilitate. Paid workers are usually responsible to a board or manager and have terms of reference requiring them to do particular kinds of work, with the sanctions and supports which go with paid employment. These arrangements both legitimise the work of the paid worker and create expectations about standards of practice which mostly do not apply with unpaid, self-selecting workers. It is possible to use 'community development' to describe the autonomous process by which community groups form, grow and act and to use 'community development *work*' to describe the professional activity of supporting these processes. (Twelvetrees 2008, 6-7.)

I would use the term 'community development' to describe the action in Durban. The services in the community have originated from the mutual concern. People had started to produce services even before they had funding. They do get funding from the government, but in lieu of a proper salary they receive a stipend. They will keep on providing the services regardless if they are paid or not. When speaking of Helsinki, I would use the term 'community development work', because there are community workers that work for the municipality and are supporting the residents' associations in action.

In Helsinki, the role of the community workers is changing. Sometimes they are just providing the space to activities and making the coffee, while sometimes they have to take more of an organizational role so that things will happen. Twelvetrees (2008) describes the roles of community workers either as of enabler, guide, catalyst or facilitator where the worker goes at the pace of the group and assists its members to work out what they want to do and how to do it or as a more directive, leadership or organising role within a group, either informally or even as the chair or secretary, usually because 'product' needs to predominate and because the group members may, at that time, lack the necessary motivation or skills. The worker may change from less to more directive roles and back several times in one meeting. (Twelvetrees 2008, 6.)

I would say that the main role of a community worker in Durban is the empowerment advocate. Teater & Baldwin (2012) also argue that empowerment approaches and strengths perspectives are critical to social work practice in the community as they both

seek out resources and strengths in order to prevent difficulties or problems, creating an environment that fosters empowerment (Teater & Baldwin 2012, 16). Empowerment as a theory holds that individuals who have control and power over their lives, in the sense that they are able to access the necessary resources to meet their rights and needs, are able to develop and thrive (Teater 2010, 55). In Durban, community workers have worked in order for the different departments to be able to come to the communities so that people can access services. There are also community care givers and child and youth care workers that take care of vulnerable people. The services that the people in the communities provide are proof of empowerment in the sense that the people have seen the needs of the communities and have taken the power into their own hands and started to make a difference. The people that I interviewed were clearly empowered by the work that they did. A child and youth care worker told that she had learned skills to be a better mother to her children when she started the learnership programme. People are using the skills and knowledge that they have for the benefit of the community.

Twelvetrees (2008) addresses networking as a central skill in community work. Sometimes, the real work of a committee gets done or the real impetus for a breakthrough is agreed in an informal chat outside a meeting. Networking, which community workers both facilitate and engage in, takes place, at least in part, at a semi-informal level, with individuals meeting, to a degree, as individuals, when they may not be operating entirely in their formal roles. Co-operation in and between networks relies on reciprocity and persuasion, not contracts and coercion. Half the work in all organisations is done through networks and is invisible to management. Networking is a kind of 'bridging social capital' offering the beneficial 'weak ties' which we all seem to benefit from professionally and personally. If a network has provided an experience in the past of good collaboration, there may be more resilience when there are deep-seated conflicts. It is important to network systematically. (Twelvetrees 2008, 8-10.)

In Helsinki networking is an essential part of the work. In Durban, the interviewees mentioned networking as a skill in which they need more training. In Durban community workers felt that they do not have the skills for project management, networking and fundraising. To make the work effective they should have training in these domains. The community workers in Durban are worried of the continuity of the work. Efficient project management would help to get more long-term funding. To make a real difference that lasts in the community, training for project management and networking is needed.

The community workers in Durban are very modest about the knowledge and skills that they have. They are so committed to the work that they are doing, that they will continue providing the services even if they are not paid. Even still, it would be reasonable that they would get proper salary for the challenging work, which requires specialist knowledge. Community workers should make their work visible for potential sponsors and communicate the role that they have had in the development of the community.

Twelvetrees (2008) also claims that community workers do not do the development of the occupation any favours when they emphasise that the community itself has undertaken a project without also indicating that, in order to facilitate it, the worker's role was critical. It is necessary to take potential sponsors to see effective schemes and projects and then carefully talk through with them the reasons why the particular scheme was successful. More research is needed to indicate connections between community development work and increased voluntary action and other outcomes. (Twelvetrees 2008, 10.)

Twelvetrees (2008) points out that community workers need organisational and interactional skills. For instance, when a community group may decide that a particular action will be taken, but neglect to decide who will do it. Interactional skills are needed in forming relationships with other people in such a way that they will seriously consider community workers' advice. A community worker must be able to empathise with the people they work with while retaining a degree of detachment. Community workers need to be aware of the concerns and background of people with whom they are working because, then, they are less likely to make inappropriate comments. (Twelvetrees 2008, 57-58.) Community workers job in Helsinki is partly to advise community groups on organisational questions. Community workers in Durban have been born and raised

in the community where they are working. It can be seen as a strength, as they do know the people in the community and some of them are in the position where they are because of the respect that they have in the community.

I would say that the most important development target in Durban would be training for project management, networking and fundraising. The people in the community have the knowledge of what kind of work is needed there but they do not have the skills to make the projects effective. It is important that the people in the community will have the power to decide what kind of projects there are and how the services are provided. That is why they should have the training for project management instead of someone from the outside coming to lead the projects. In Helsinki the community workers are working for the municipality and a major part of their work is to help the residents' associations in the area with bureaucracy and getting funding. This kind of community worker would be needed in Durban also. There also should be research that shows the outcomes of the community work so that potential sponsors could see the meaning of the community work in the area.

In Durban they have an 18-month learnership programme for child and youth care workers. The interviewee who was in this programme described it as a support group. They learn skills that they need when raising their own families but also learn how to teach these skills to other families. I would recommend Helsinki also to consider similar programmes. Unemployed people could be activated to work for the benefit of the community. There could be a programme for young parents who would be trained to help other families. Or there could be a programme to train people to help lonely elderly people. It would also be interesting to have research on the factors that would get people more active in working for the benefit of the community.



FIGURE 3. Main differences in community work in Durban and Helsinki.

8.2 Ethical consideration, limitation of the study and suggestion for further research

The permission of this research was approved by the City of Helsinki, Bhambayi Settlement and Sakhimpiho Home Based Organisation. The respondents were assured of their confidentiality. There were no names used by the researcher. The participating in the interviews was done voluntarily as was explained when contacting the contact persons in the communities. The raw data was destroyed by the researcher after the final write up. The researcher was able to follow the step by step process of putting together this whole study. These included planning and getting the suitable materials for the study. The researcher was being guided by the reliable theories and current literature.

The research process started on my student exchange in South Africa in 2015. First I studied the literature of community work in South Africa and visited multiple times in

the township where I did the interviews. At the time I also took courses in the University of KwaZulu-Natal, which helped me to get better understand of the concept of social work and community work in South Africa. I did the interviews at the ending of my five months in South Africa, so I was well prepared for the interviews. I got help from the University of KwaZulu-Natal to get contact to the community where I did the interviews. I am aware that cultural differences have contributed to the study.

When I came back to Finland, I started to search for the interviewees in Helsinki. I contacted a community worker who helped me to get the rest of the interviewees. This study was limited in that, in Helsinki there were only four interviewees all together. The reason for getting so few interviewees might be because some of the people who were asked to participate in the interview did not think that they were doing community work. People are also busy and it is hard to find a time that suits for everyone. I was also working at the time so I did not have the opportunity to do the interviews in the middle of the day. Also, because the potential interviewees were working in different organizations it was a little challenging to follow them up. So, an individual interviews could have been easier to be able to collect enough data in Helsinki. Although in Durban the individual interviews might not have worked. In Durban the contact person managed to get 10 interviewees all together. Some of the interviewees were very shy in the interview. It might have been because the interviews in Durban were in English which is not the native language of the researcher or the interviewees. In the group interview the interviewees could help each other with the language. Still, the interviews were rich enough that could answer the research questions of this study. And that is why those responses were used to form a final write-up of this study.

After the interviews were done it was difficult to find time to write the report, because I was working full time at the moment. Transcribing the interviews were time-consuming, particularly with the interviews in South Africa, because they were held in English. Some of the interviewees were shy because of the language, so at some points it was difficult to find out about their speech.

The process was hard, but I have learned a lot from it and I have grown both professionally and personally during this process. I am grateful for the opportunity to get to learn from another culture. Writing in English has also improved my language skills. The guidance I had from Tampere University of Applied Sciences and University of Kwa-Zulu-Natal have helped me to get through this process.

For further research I suggest studying the outcomes of the community work in both cities. In Durban the results of this kind of research is needed to show the potential sponsors the meaning of the community work in the area and to get funding for the work. In Helsinki it is also necessary to make the outcomes visible so that the work can continue in the future. The interviewees also pointed out that they do not have enough time to do the 'real community work' so the research might help them get more resources to community work.

This study focused in Helsinki on the community work done by the municipality. It would be useful to study more on what kind of different organizations and associations there are in the community and what kind of barriers there are for them to work together.

REFERENCES

- Addy, T. 2013. Cable, community development & community diaconia. In Porkka, J. & Pentikäinen, M. (edit.) Community of the future. Juvenes Print Oy.
- Bailey, CA. 2007. A Guide to Qualitative Field Research. Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press.
- Bak, M. 2004. Can developmental social welfare change an unfair world? The South African experience. *International social work*. vol. 47 no. , 81-94.
- Bartoli, A. 2013. Anti-racism in social work practice. Critical Publishing.
- Bowlin, A. 2014. Research methods in health: investigating health and health services.
- City of Helsinki 2015. Community work. <http://www.hel.fi/www/Helsinki/en/social-health/income/resident/community-work/>. Read 6.5.2017.
- Emejulu, A. 2015. Community development as micropolitics: Comparing theories, policies and politics in America and Britain. Policy Press.
- eThekwini Municipality 2011. Community Based Programme. http://www.durban.gov.za/City_Services/Community_Participation/Pages/Community-Based-Programme.aspx. Read 6.5.2017.
- Gillham, B. 2010. Continuum research methods: Case study research methods. Continuum.
- Global Definition of Social Work. 2006. International Federation of Social Workers. <http://ifsw.org/get-involved/global-definition-of-social-work/>. Read 29.4.2017.
- Gray, M. & Lombard, A. The post-1994 transformation of social work in South Africa. In *International Journal of Social Welfare* 2008: 17: 132-145.
- Healy, K. 2005. Social work theories in context. Creating frameworks for practice. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hytti, T. 2013. Yhteisösozialityö – toimintaa, puhetta ja tulkintaa aikuissosiaalityön kontekstissa. University of Helsinki.
- Kantele, K. 2012. Muutosvoimainen yhdyskuntatyö. Kuinka yhdyskuntatyö on tullut osaksi suomalaista sosiaalityötä? University of Eastern Finland.
- Karjalainen, P. 2008. Yhteisyyttä ja yhdyskuntatyötä. In Nupponen, T., Broman, E-L., Korhonen, E., Laine, M. Myönteisiä muutoksia ja kasvavia haasteita. Kokemuksia Helsingin lähiöprojektin v. 2004-2007 ja Urban II –yhteisöaloiteohjelman v. 2001-2006 toiminnasta. Helsingin kaupungin tietokeskus.
- Karjalainen, P. & Sarvimäki, P. 2005. Sosiaalityö hyvinvointipolitiikan välineenä. 2015-toimenpideohjelma. Sosiaali- ja terveysministeriö.

- Kettunen, M. 2013. Yhteisösosiaalityö. Lähtökohdat tavoitteet ja keinot. University of Eastern Finland.
- Kumar, R. 2014. Research methodology. SAGE Publication.
- Leighninger, L. 2012. The history of social work and social welfare. In Dulmus, C & Sowers, K. The profession of social work. Guided by history, led by evidence. John Wiley & sons, inc.
- Linderborg, H. 2012. Hennattuja partoja – Ikääntyvät somalimiehet ryhmätoiminnassa. University of Helsinki.
- Luoma, P. 2006. Johdatusta kvalitatiiviseen vertailevaan analyysiin. University of Oulu. <http://www oulu.fi/sosiologia/node/5047>. Read 22.4.2017.
- Midgley, J. 1995. Social development: The developmental perspective in social welfare. SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Naidoo, S. 2004. The social work profession in South Africa: Quo Vadis? Thesis (Ph.D.) University of Duban-Westville
- Nylund, M. 2013. Perspectives on community development work from Finland. In Porkka, J. & Pentikäinen, M. Community of the future. Challenges and new approaches to community based social work and diaconia for the CABLE approach. Juvenes print Oy,
- Patel, L. 2008. Social welfare & social development in South Africa. Oxford University Press Southern Africa
- Payne, M. 1995. Social work and community care. Macmillan press ltd.
- Payne, M. 2005. Modern social work theory. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Popple, K. 2015. Analysing community work: theory and practice. Milton Keynes: McGraw-Hill education.
- Raniga, T. & Simpson, B. 2002. Community participation: rhetoric or reality? Social work/Maatskaplike wer 2002:38(2)
- Rehtilä, I. 2009. Inhimillinen toiminta asukkaiden tiloissa. Helsinki University.
- Roivainen, I. 2004. Yhteisöt ja yhteisösosiaalityön lähtökohdat. Tampere University Press.
- Roivainen, I. 2008. Yhteisölähtöisen otteen paikka aikuissosiaalityössä. In Jokinen, A. & Juhila, K. (toim.). Sosiaalityö aikuisten parissa. Vastapaino.
- Sarvimäki, P. & Silitaniemi, A. (toim.) 2007. Sosiaalihuollon ammatillisen henkilöstön tehtävärakennesuositus. Sosiaali- ja terveysministeriön julkaisuja 2007:14.

- Savolainen, K. 2008. Yhteisösozialityön tehtävä mielenterveyden edistämässä. Kuopion yliopisto.
- Simpson, B. 2001. Social work in informal settlements in the Durban Metro region. University of Natal.
- Smith, L. 2014. Historiography of South African social work: challenging dominant discourses. *Social work/Maatskaplike werk* 2014:50(3)
- South African Department of Welfare. 1997. White paper for social welfare. Government press.
- Sutton, C. 2005. Social work, community work and psychology. Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Swanepoel, H. 1997. Community development. Putting plans into action. Juta & Co. Ltd.
- Teater, B. 2010. Introduction to applying social work theories and methods. McGraw-Hill Education.
- Teater, B. & Baldwin, M. 2012. Social work in the community. Making a difference. The Policy Press.
- Thompson, N. 2010. Theorizing social work practice. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Twelvetrees, A. 2008. Community work. Palgrave Macmillan.
- de Vaus, D. 2008. Comparative and cross-national designs. In Alasuutari, P., Bickman, L. & Brannen, J. The SAGE handbook of social research methods. SAGE Publication
- Vawda, S., Prinsloo, M., Mostert, A., & Mazibuko, N. 2013. The South African Community Capability Study. The Community Work Programme. Centre for Democratizing Information (CDI).
- Yin, R. K. 2003. Case Study Research. Design and methods. SAGE Publication.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Interview questions

How is community work organized?

Who does community work in this area?

How much is there paid community work and unpaid community work?

Why is community work done in this area?

Is there some special knowledge needed for people who do community work?

What is the role of social work in community work?

What kind of theory does the community workers use as a background of their work?

Who is the object of community work?

What is the role of worker's role in community work?

