Localism and Austerity –
'The Community Can Do It'

Martin Mowbray

COMPARATIVE LOCALIST POLICY

	BRITAIN	AUSTRALIA/VICTORIA
CONSERVATIVE	'The government's approach to the personal social services is founded on the simple fact that the frontline providers of social care always have been, are, and always will continue to be, the family and the community'. Patrick JENKIN (Conservative), British Secretary of State for Social Services, The Guardian, 8 April, 1982. *	'What is 'needed' is the 'cultivation' of 'the community's own mechanism for providing for those in need, the most fundamental of which is the family'. 'Services developed by local effort in response to local needs were the most healthy because they were the most responsive and because people felt truly committed to them'. 'Already a lot of our resources are channelled through community based organizations because we believe they have a better on-the-ground feel for what is required and can provide a more sensitive and personalised service than could the most well meaning bureaucracy'. Fred CHANEY (Liberal), Australian Minister for Social Security, News Releases, F.C. 61/9, 27 February, 1981; 81/25, 16 April, 1981; 82/35 5 August, 1982.
LABOR	'The present government was elected on policies which included protection of the weak and vulnerable in society...the progress of these policies is dependent on...how far (the public) will by their own efforts contribute to 'community care'. All of us, politicians or social workers, have an educative role here'. David ENNALS (Labor), British Secretary of State for Social Services, Social Work Today, 4 January, 1977.* *Cited by Alan Walker (ed.), Community Care, Oxford Blackwell, 1982.	'It is well known that people under stress or crisis first consult their family or friends for assistance. For families isolated from these supports, informal networks provide a means of contact with neighbours and a source of information about services and facilities. The Labor government sees it s role as assisting local communities to support, protect and otherwise care for their own people through encouragement of informal support systems'. Pauline TONER (Labor), Minister for Community Welfare Services, Ministerial Statement, "Community Welfare Priorities", Parliament of Victoria, 7 December, 1982.

The interchangeability of the above quotations suggests a high degree of agreement between the orthodox political parties over appropriate directions for social policy. Despite various disclaimers, especially from labor governments, this coincidence would appear to be substantially explained by the common concern of managers of the capitalist state to reduce or, at least, contain public welfare expenditures.

A key strategy for achieving such economy is through the decommodification of services, involving the tripartite transfer of costs from the central state to the local level, the private welfare sector, and the family. This trend also offers the state a range of managerial and ideological advantages. This paper will elaborate on the nature of these benefits under the general headings of economic management, administrative regulation and ideological efficacy.
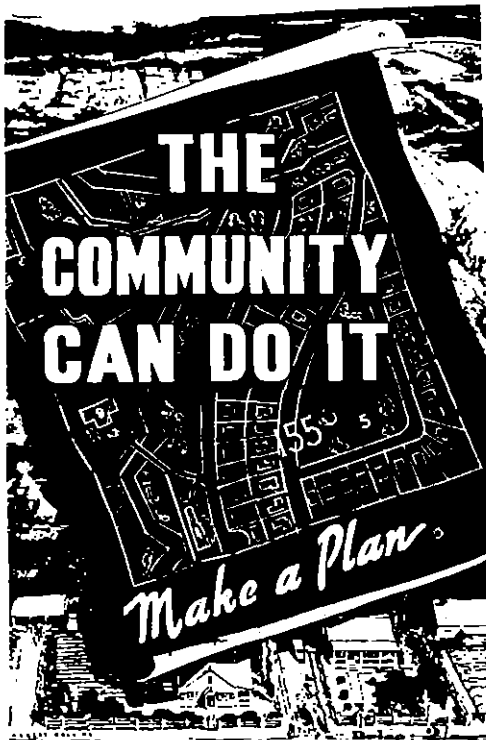
LOCALISM

First it is useful to clarify what is meant by localism and provide a brief historical account of such policies.

Localist policies and programs are taken to include those perceptions and activities which involve specific orientation toward discrete geographical areas, within which it is held that various conditions or problems can be adequately understood and to some degree resolved. Conversely, localist denotes those approaches which distract attention from systemic, international, national or statewide action, or action organized on broad class, ethnic or gender lines. Localist policies generally are accompanied by certain important evaluative symbols such as the romantic concept of community and complementary idealized notions about natural support and cooperation in local social organizations. A corollary of this is the promotion of adherence or sentimental commitment to locality, or territoriality, and confidence in localism.

Cover of Australian Broadcasting Commission Publication, 1945

Localist policies are often promoted in tandem with family policies which are taken here to denote those organized principles and practices which, explicitly or otherwise, promote or rely upon the traditional sexual division of labour within the family. In this women, through their unpaid labour, have primary responsibility for the care of the young, the sick and the old, as well as able-bodied men.

The types of programs that may be analyzed with the aid of the localist concept include those commonly described as community care and community child care, community development, community management and neighbourhood-based social services. Specific examples of contemporary programs with strong localist elements are the Australian Government's Community Employment Program, the N.S.W. Government's Community Tenancy Scheme and the Victorian Government's Family and Community Services Program.

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It is possible to identify various historical periods in which localist policies have been more or less popular and to argue that these fluctuations have tended to match broader political and economic conditions. For example, many of the ideas about urban reform and town planning, such as those concerned with the regeneration of harmonious communal relations and local identity late in the nineteenth century and earlier this century, were developed in the context of the belief that large cities themselves caused problems, especially social unrest and threat to a stable order. Ebenezer Howard's classic blueprint for urban reconstruction, Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Reform, 1898 (renamed Garden Cities of Tomorrow in 1902), is a prominent instance of such early efforts to implement localist principles.

Another example of the politico-economic roots of localist policy is to be found in Australia in the 1940s. With respect to the post-war political situation, considerable anxiety was felt about the problem of how to ensure a stable and non-socialist economy. This was especially acute in the light of the discontent of the 1930s and the growth in popularity of socialist ideas and a widespread favourable regard for the Soviet Union. A major concern of the period was thus with the critical state of democracy and numerous public and private agencies responded by proselytizing the idea of community development. Once the worst fears for the economic stability of post-war society were allayed, with relatively full employment and rising average levels of income and the firm location of an anti-socialist campaign in the labour movement, the enthusiasm for community development markedly waned.

In advanced capitalist countries the Keynesian welfare state served as a major peace formula, in that publicly provided health, education and welfare services worked to ameliorate the class tensions that were a feature of the pre welfare state pre-war period. Whatever else the welfare state achieved, it was at least an interim political answer to fundamental societal contradictions. Along with the greatly expanded welfare state, the first post-war generation experienced an unprecedented economic boom. Levels of income and other standards increased, as did expectations and demands on the state.

During the 1960s certain continuing problems emerged as sources of discontent. Regional unevenness was one danger sign as was the persistance of the disadvantaged position of women, blacks and some other ethnic groups, especially those supplying cheaper labour. Continued prosperity was gradually seen to be uncertain with increased production itself proving unable to cure inequality and oppression. The welfare state came under increasing attack - from the right for its draining effect on incentive and motivation and from the left because it only mitigated problems rather than attacked their source.

The post war consensus began to deteriorate. Disaffection and social unrest grew significantly amongst the under-privileged, blacks, women, immigrants and the young. Several spectacular outbreaks within the major capitalist countries, Britain, France and the United States occurred, not the least of these centred on the issue of the Vietnam War.

With these emerging threats, the localist bandwagon was resurrected. In the United States localism as public policy became central to the Johnsonite 'great society' War on Poverty programs. In Britain it was taken on in the shape of the Community Development Projects and in Australia it was embodied in the Australian Assistance Plan. Each of these was part of a general expansion in

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government expenditure. The political context encouraged more militant social action approaches, given direct service provision with an atypically well funded basis.

The heady days of community action were left behind with the move by governments, conservative and Labor, away from Keynesian economic policies. With the advent of austerity and the new right in various offices of power, localist policies have also taken a conservative thrust. Older approaches have been revitalized and now bear different emphases and implications, ones which complement other, newer programs. Central governments at state and Federal levels have gradually withdrawn support from professional and decentralized direct services, from concern for comprehensive social planning at the local, regional or state level, and from more militant advocacy and community action style approaches. At the same time there has been a contrasting upsurge in emphasis on minimally funded programs designed to utilize existing resources and mobilize cheap labour. There has also been a commensurate increase in rhetoric about self-reliance and self-sufficiency and enthusiastic revitalization of concern for self-help. The latter pressure has come not only from conservative quarters, but from liberal, broad left and various 'alternative life style' factions as well.

ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

Recognition and commendation of the potential of community development and other programs which feature voluntarism and self-help to deliver services inexpensively is now common by both government and non-government organizations. The New South Wales Minister for Youth and Community Services, Frank Walker, told a recent meeting that 'Any government likes programs with lots of volunteers because they are cheap'.[1] Walker's previous Director-General (of the Department of Youth and Community Services, the chief organizational proponent of community development in NSW) reported that:

> The Government has quite dramatically increased the amount of money available in the last five years, so that we have commenced to move into community development away from the old notion of the State providing residual welfare services only. I see the government's role as being more and more important in this community development area.[2]

This refers to the sharp growth in support from the government for various community development programs. Funding levels, compared especially with relative increases in most other areas of government spending (including those within the same department) have shown a remarkable upturn. Historically, support for private organizations had been at an extremely low level. Aside from fee-for-service support on a per capita basis for children in private residential care and small amounts directed to a few other traditional welfare organizations, support for non-government groups was negligible and stable.

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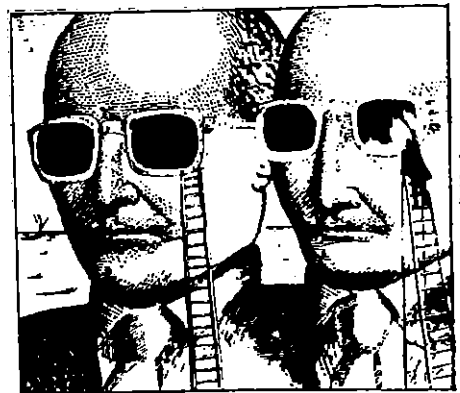
The major departure in the pattern of 'community development' disbursements to non-government organizations began in 1976-77, with a growth of 182 per cent on the previous year. This was followed by similar very substantial increases over the next few years. The changed pattern also included a new 'commitment to community based and participatory organizations', in contrast to the more centralized and bureaucratized services. In 1975-76, $406,713 was paid out of the relevant (Community Services Fund) account. By 1979-80, this amount had grown to over $6 million, over 36 times the amount, in money terms, paid out in 1969-70.[3]

Services Purchased

Some insights into the economic implications of this increase in expenditure may be gleaned from looking at the programmatic outcomes of what is labelled community development. The Neighbourhood Centre funding scheme operated by the Department provides a good example. For 1981-82, $1,322,000 was allocated to 111 centres through NSW (average = $12,000, range - $1,000-$34,583) constituting the largest single part of the Community Organizations and Development Budget. For the 1981-82 funding period the 'community development role' was determined by the Neighbourhood Centre Standing Committee to be the 'priority' program consideration in assessing applications for grants.[4] However, in apparent contrast to the characteristic grandiose rhetoric about the meaning of community development, a review of the funded centres' stated achievements under the heading of community development yielded a much more modest account. Representative activities, selected from Departmental files on funded centres (specifically declared as community development), included advice, counselling and referral services, educational groups and campaigns (on motherhood, children's safety, etc.), support for home help services, refuges, meals on wheels, Community Youth Support Schemes (CYSS) and so on.[5]

What is most significant about this assortment is that it is made up mainly of very ordinary and often traditional health, education and welfare services. There was no reason other than cost why the activities could not have been directly provided by government or other organizations on a fully professionalized basis.

The Value of Volunteers

Given the proliferation of volunteers in non government welfare services the value of their work, compared to fully professional services, is obviously enormous, although little data that might give a definite picture has appeared. The NSW Council of Social Service (NCOSS) in its 1981 Pre-Budget Submission provided an apparently speculative estimate of $148 million as 'the value of the non government welfare sector contribution in voluntary labour alone' in N.S.W. This compared with the combined state and local government expenditure on 'social security and welfare' of $57.7 million in 1979-80. In another apparent 'guesstimate' (based on 'discussions with some government officials') NCOSS asserts that the Department of Youth and Community Services expects three dollars worth of volunteer labour for every one dollar funding.[6]

The Social Welfare Research Centre provides more reliable figures, derived from its study of the Non government Welfare Sector. Hardwick and Graycar report

that volunteers work an average of four hours per week. Converting the total
number of hours worked to full time positions, this represented 125,000 jobs
throughout the country. The commensurate wage bill would be about $1.5 billion,
or 1.1 per cent of G.D.P. The authors also cite a Canadian study that gave the
value of volunteer work at between 1.1 and 3.0 per cent of the G.N.P.[7]

The Outer Western Region of Social Development, Sdyney, from a study of
23 local welfare agencies, reported that paid labour constituted 34.2 per cent
of the average organization's output in hours, as against 65.6 per cent for
unpaid labour.[8]

Such studies of the economics of local service delivery are rare. Agencies
do not as a matter of course have meaningful information of their overall real
expenditure. Use of donated resources (labour, including overtime and
materials) are virtually never regarded as a cost, let alone costed. As only
actual cash transfers, and occasionally the value of rent, are formally
accounted for, local services give the illusion of being cheap. Partial
accounting techniques obscure socially exploitative practices.

Industrial Conditions

The offer of any funding at all has operated as a bait for local groups
which have been generally inclined to under-estimate the complexity and extent
of pitfalls in drafting an adequate budget, especially before a service has
begun. Less obvious outlays, for such items as insurance, rent increases,
advertising, printing and staff training, have been frequently ignored in
anticipating financial needs. Especially prone to underestimation has been the
cost of adequate industrial conditions for workers that would include an
equitable salary, provisions for national wage increases, increments due to
experience and increased responsibilities, leave entitlements, relief to cover
for absence, overtime and so on.

A number of other factors relating specifically to staffing of local non
government welfare agencies also contribute to the apparent cheapness of the
service. There appears to be a general cultural expectation that personnel are
supposed to be devoted to the task at hand before consideration of remuneration.
The work has been historically seen as rather 'selfless'.

ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATION

Although the traditional view that the non-government welfare sector is
in some fundamental way less constrained or more innovative than government is
now barely respectable in liberal academic discourse, it still seems to be
prevalent elsewhere. Expressions consistent with the dominant position range
from Scott's simple and sober faith in the innovative mission of the voluntary sector[10] to the full blown new right sentiments of Moore. The latter writes that on volunteer organizations depends: 'genuine freedom of opportunity' as

*"THE JOB creation schemes have had one
important side-effect. They have
brought responsibility for unemployment
to the local level and have drawn on
people in the community to come up with
their own answers to the unemployment in
their areas".* (SYDNEY MORNING HERALD
20.8.83 : 59)

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'counterweights to balance the monolithic power of the State' and 'the variety, spontaneity and volatility that are both the identifying marks and foundations of democracy'.[11]

When the idea of voluntarism is blended with localism its propensity to lend support to the view that non-government 'community' based services are somehow better than those of government is increased - as a function of the rhetorical appeal to smallness. Benn, for example, sees localism as 'an attempt to curtail the growth of welfare imperialism'.[12] Brown, Hadley and White go further and actually try to place the 'community approach' to social service provision in some sort of naturalistic or fundamental opposition to 'the welfare state approach'.[13] As well as bearing out the view that government services are naturally inferior, such claims camouflage opportunities for the state to maintain or increase its control over services and personal aspects of life. What is represented as devolution of responsibility and power, through joint, government - community involvement schemes, and community management and participation programs, may actually operate in a reverse manner. This is obviously so when ascription of subsidies, or other resources and rights, is made conditional, as it usually is, on compliance with more or less circumscribed conditions.

'The Community Management Model'

The existence of real locally managed services funded by government is called into question by numerous regulations often beguilingly and ambiguously labelled 'guidelines', irrespective of their flexibility or rigidity. These are developed, implemented and supervised by the funding organization - albeit sometimes in conjunction with para-state organizations (such as Councils of Social Service or other 'peak' welfare structures) or even nominal and co-opted 'community' representatives.

Various constraints operate in addition to the guidelines - in relation, for example, to the amount of funds available, legal requirements, administrative procedures, and complex and often subtle social and political expectations. Despite the rhetorical emphasis on self-determination, local initiative and control in the community management model, this is difficlut to reconcile with the extent of the predetermined regulations which extend over the following range: the categories of needs which are recognized as legitimate and relevant; the types of programs, and particular aspects of those programs that are fundable; the level and periods of funding and refunding; the conditions of funding, including necessary legal administrative arrangements, accounting and reporting procedures, contributions from other organizations; number, type and qualifications of paid and unpaid staff; the specific services or facilities and their standards that must be maintained; the groups in the population that must be serviced.

The point is not that any or all these requirements are necessarily unreasonable but, rather, that they amount of an array of centrally regulated constraints that contradict the popular claims that community development programs are essentially premised on local self-determination.

Further controls that favour conservative programs and protect the funding organization from pressure include:

- middle class, caretaker types are most likely to understand the availability of funds and the channels for securing them. These groups are also more likely to appreciate the conditions and have the time and material resources to support the activities expected within the process.

- there is a tendency for organizations, once established and funded, to become more compliant with authority.

- some services are undertaken as alternatives to what their proponents might otherwise consider to be the most effective approach, simply because certain money is known to be available.

- chronic deficiencies in funds relative to demand, and resultant competition, tend to foster compliance with expectations.

- the absence of guarantees regarding the future of funding has the same effect of engendering deference.

- the mounting pressures to supply direct aid services, such as unemployment, homelessness and poverty increases, encroaches on the capacity of many organizations to take other action. This constraint is the most significant for organizations that are disposed to more militant reform strategies such as some refuges, alternative health centres and local aid services. The continual energy-absorbing struggle for refunding detracts from the possibility of other, possibly more disruptive, activities being developed.

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- the rhetorical premium on service to the 'whole community',
  and on non-political, co-operative enterprise, screens out
  groups which acknowledge their partisan politics or
  conflictual perspectives.

- needy clients find it more difficult to make demands on
  volunteer or underpaid staff than they might make of
  professional services.

- contrary to rhetoric, voluntarism on a very personalized
  and local basis can detract from the possibility of
  maximum accountability to consumers promised by the community
  development rhetoric.

IDEOLOGICAL EFFICACY

Localist policy is characteristically couched in terms that are laden
with evaluative connotations. The most ubiquitous and obvious of these is the
word 'community'. Its disarming positive force produces various convenient
effects, such as its capacity to command reverence, and so militate against the
likelihood of critical evaluation. Governments have given practical recognition
to this by their enthusiasm for the incorporation of the community in the
names of all manner of institutions and programs in recent years.

The term 'community' also obfuscates the different interests that a
program so labelled may really serve. A major example of this is that
'community' is well suited for confirming traditional sex roles - by
camouflaging the fact that 'community programs' are commonly dependent for
their viability and popularity on the 'cheap' labour of women. Available
statistics on such programs show clearly the predominance of women.[14]

Various 'community' programs operated by female labour (such as child
care services, playgroups, mother and baby groups, refuges, etc.) have been
fought for by women. These provide necessary services as well as bases for
communication and organization. At the same time they frequently help reaffirm
the traditional subordinate roles of women. In the name of 'the community'
women at the lowest end of the service hierarchy are expected to provide
themselves the labour required for caring for children (or the sick and aged)
at little cost to the state.

'Community' is accompanied by a number of other highly judicious terms in
contemporary social policy, one of the more insidious of which is 'natural',
as in phrases like 'natural caring networks'. Again, this is used in
legitimating the traditional roles of women, as in day care, home care,
neighbour aid and so on. Concomitantly, as the activities referred to are
implied to be basically determined by nature, suggestions that there ought to
be any serious financial recompense have the less force.

'Self-help' is another beguiling and ideologically accommodating notion
with an expanding literature and enjoying renewed popularity. In the United
States, Withorn writes: 'Self-help has emerged as a widely acclaimed "major
thrust' of the eighties' supported by the mass media and Federal government.[15]
In Britain, Henry notes 'the current euphoria about almost any do-it-yourself
"service",... Self help groups are considered both praiseworthy and economically
expedient'.[16] Katz, an authority and evangelist for self-help groups, notes a

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world wide surge of interest in and attention
to self-help groups, and discovery or
rediscovery of mutual aid, small group
assistance to family, neighbours, and friends
via the old principles of self-help and mutual
aid.[17]

Katz therefore finds it not surprising that Australia is part of this movement.

The 'self-help' approach thereby bears various effects such as the
following: firstly, its victim-blaming implications - the existence of
structural inequality is de-emphasized, even affectively abolished, in favour
of explanations that see problems as natural, if not of people's own making,
and within the sufferer's own capacity to solve. Secondly, its capacity to
deflect pressures or obligations to provide services away from government.
Thirdly, its effective replacement of the idea of social class by piecemeal,
frequently mutually antagonistic, bases for organization, along localist,
individual trait, or interest group lines. Fourthly, the blurring of the
distinction between action directed at the cause of problems and that geared
to aid acceptance, adjustment or conformity.
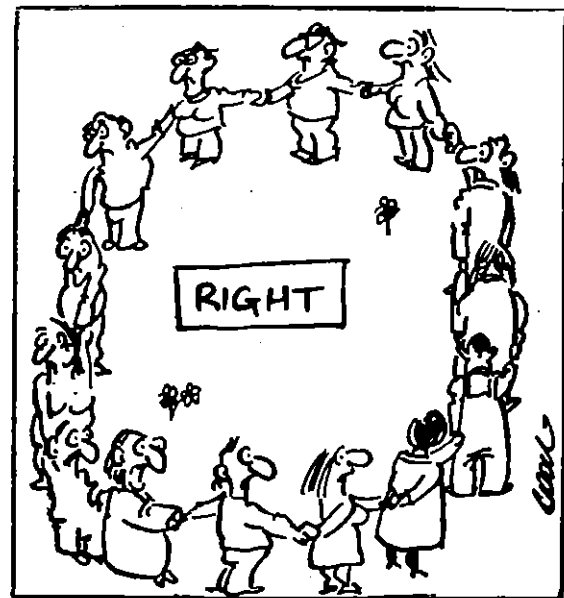
CONCLUSIONS: SOME POSITIVE RESPONSES

It has not been my intention to suggest that work at the local level
cannot be socially constructive. What should be rejected is localism, of
'the community can do it' variety, featuring parochialist perspectives that
try to find local answers to problems that are a function of patriarchal
capitalist society. Such localist ideas deflect action away from broader
collective (class, gender, ethnic or industrial) lines in the favour of the
prevailing pluralist hegemony. Localism also facilitates the state's
containment of potentially disruptive activities as well as of the costs of
meeting various demands for services.

The challenge exists, however, to utilize the opportunities that localist programs do present for non parochial, anti-hegemonic, action at the local level. Potentially fruitful strategies are to be found in the contradictory dimensions of localist policies, a few of which will be reviewed as a conclusion to this paper.

The rhetorical principle of community control, common to localist schemes but so illiberally interpreted, can be exploited. The limitations placed by central government on local autonomy can be much more effectively contested. Rather than operating well within the frequently very vague, centrally determined guidelines, locally constituted groups could try in a concerted way to extract as much independence as possible. The demand for wholehearted decentralized control itself offers the possibility of raising political awareness about the priorities of government policy and the feasibility of reform. Only minimal regulations (that might, for example, preclude anti-social programs being operated locally) ought to be accepted.

Local groups could try to apply their own definitions of need and shape their own responses, with primary accountability to the locality, rather than to central government. Exploration of non-constitutionalist approaches to exercising some degree of local autonomy ought to be pursued. The support that is available for localist programs does offer some scope for developing progressive political consciousness and organizational skills even if much of this has to be unofficial. Even the development, for example, of non-hierarchical and other progressive forms of management can help raise awareness about alternative organizational possibilities as well as provide models for implementation elsewhere. Managerial practices based on worker and consumer control, or the principle of local control itself, might be seen as appropriate to extend beyond the area of consumption and social reproduction to the area of production. Given the state's apparent enthusiasm for locating service provision responsibilities in 'the community', the obvious question to be raised is why should the same principle not be equally applicable to other activities?

The ambiguity inherent in 'community' presents various possibilities that could be turned to advantage. Since the term has no clear descriptive reference, the 'real' community (or its 'real' representatives) or the 'real' needs of the community are contestable. Definition of such matters does not have to be left to the whim of the state. Community care, for example, could be argued to properly mean socialized responsibility for needs and not, as is so common, care given through families by women. Similarly, the view that community-based arrangements are an alternative to state responsibilities ought to be attacked. Socially necessary tasks whether or not they are carried on by 'the community' ought to be properly rewarded. State funding of locally organized programs should be comprehensive and long term. If all-up costs of locally organized reproductive services are recognized, then they could not be so readily cast by the state as cheap options. Community services should be seen in industrial terms and fair recompense for all labor should be fought for.

Whatever advantages there may be for organizing services at the local level, this does not diminish the need for broader levels of cooperation and action on industrial, gender, class or ethnic lines. Locally experienced problems need to be understood in the wider systemic context and appropriate

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organizational links need to be made between different issues at the local
state and national levels. Funding that adequately provides for such
horizontal and vertical cooperation ought to be demanded and a portion of
existing (inadequate) resources should be earmarked for such activity.
In such ways work from a local base may be taken beyond the confines of
localism.

FOOTNOTES

1. Address to the Annual General Meeting of the N.S.W. Council of Social Service, 26.9.83, in answer to a question

2. William Langshaw, Address to Seminar 'Resourcing the Non-Government Sector', Proceedings, Australian Council of Social Service, 1981, p.33.

3. See Department of Youth and Community Services, Community Liaison Bureau, Ten Year Funding Analysis, 1981.

4. 'Funding Principles for Neighbourhood Centre Funding Committee, November, 1981'.

5. I observed the allocation deliberations for two of the five days of the 1981-2 Funding Committee.

6. Bernard Snow, 'Loaves and Fishes', Paper to seminar organized by the N.S.W. Council of Social Service, 30.8.82.

7. Jill Hardwick and Adam Graycar, Volunteers in Non-Government Welfare Organizations: A Working Paper, Reports and Proceedings No. 25, Social Welfare Research Centre, University of New South Wales, Sydney, p.12.

8. Outer Western Regional Council for Social Development, The Voluntary Sector: What it Does and What it Costs, St. Marys, 1977.

9. Hardwick and Graycar, p.12.

10. David Scott, Don't Mourn for Me - Organize, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1981.

11. Sheila Moore, Working for Free: A Practical Guide for Volunteers, Pan, London, 1977, p.24.

12. Concetta Benn, 'Localism: The Latest Fad in Social Service Delivery?", paper presented to Social Policy in the 1980s, ASPAA Conference, Canberra, 29 May, 1982, p.15.

13. P. Brown, R. Hadley and J. White, 'A Case for Neighbourhood Based Social Services', Appendix A, National Institute for Social Work, Social Workers: Their Roles and Tasks (Barclay Report), Bedford Square Press, London, 1982, p.219.

14. See, for example: Jim Alexander, Carole Deagan, Betty Hounslow, Brian McGahen and Myree Schuman, Perennial Problems, Occasional Solutions: An Evaluation of 17 Child Care Centres in N.S.W., Sydney, Social Research and Evaluation Ltd., 1981, Ch. 4. Jean Hamilton-Smith, Volunteers in Social Welfare Agencies in Victoria, Technical Paper No. 6, Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research, Melbourne, 1973, pp.59-60. Hardwick and Graycar, pp.26-7.

15. Ann Withorn, 'Helping Ourselves: The Limits and Potential of Self Help', Radical America, 14 (3), May/June, 1960: 25-39, p.25.

16. Stuart Henry, 'The Dangers of Self Help Groups', New Society, 44 (820), 22 June, 1978: 654-6, p.654.

17 Alfred H. Katz, 'The Strength in Self Help Groups' in Judith Tanenbaum (ed.), We Have the Strength, proceedings of the Forum for Self Help Groups sponsored by the Victorian Council of Social Service, 17.9.77, VCOSS, Melbourne, 1977, p.36-7.

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