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What has enabled WASSUP, a water and sanitation based community based organisation (CBO) to emerge and endure over a period of time

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WHAT HAS ENABLED WASSUP, A WATER AND SANITATION BASED COMMUNITY BASED ORGANISATION (CBO) TO EMERGE AND ENDURE OVER A PERIOD OF TIME



A research report on a study presented to
The School of Architecture and Planning
Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment
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For the Master of the Built Environment (MBE) Housing

By

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DECLARATION

I do hereby declare that this research report is submitted as my original work. It has not been submitted to any other institution. The sources used in the report are duly acknowledged.

Signature: ..... Date: 2014/05/15...

ABSTRACT

The government of South Africa is faced with the challenge of delivering housing to all its citizens that live in informal settlements. The lack of housing implies that the many affected families do not have access to basic services and amenities such as water, sanitation and electricity. Some community based organisations (CBOs) have played a pivotal role in facilitating access to the important socio-economic services by the marginalised urban poor communities, especially those in informal settlements. The primary aim of this research was to investigate what has enabled Water, Amenities, Sanitation Services and Upgrading (WASSUP) as a sanitation and water based CBO to emerge and endure over a period of time. The study adopted a qualitative approach and the researcher interviewed 11 key informants. He interviewed five key informants from WASSUP, one from Diepsloot Arts and Culture Network (DACN), one representing Sticky Situations and Global Studio, one from Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) and another one from Joburg Water. The researcher further interviewed the local ward councilor and one community development worker (CDW). Semi-structured interviews were used to collect data from the participants. The data was analysed using the Thematic Content Analysis. The study found out that WASSUP is an effective CBO that emerged in response to the sanitation challenge in Diepsloot's reception area. The CBO has managed to endure largely because of the support from the ward councilor and the other voluntary based organisations in the area as well as some government agencies. The CBO has developed both administratively and in its relationship with the different stakeholders in Diepsloot and beyond. It is hoped that the recommendations will assist in creating a supportive and an enabling environment for voluntary based organisations at local government (LG) level. This information will further contribute in formulating sustainable solutions to the many housing and the built environment challenges at LG levels.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
CBO	Community based organisations
CIPRO	Centre for Intellectual Property Registration Office
COSATU	Congress of the South African Trade Union
DACN	Diepsloot Arts and Culture Network
DBSA	Development Bank of South Africa
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
IRIN	Integrated Regional Information Network
JDA	Johannesburg Development Agency
JOSHCO	Johannesburg Housing Company
LGs	Local Government
NGO	Non-governmental organisations
NPO	Non-profit organisations
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SARS	South African Revenue Office
SEDA	Small Enterprise Development Agency
SLA	Service Level Agreement
STATS SA	Statistics South Africa
USAID	United Sates Agency for International Development.
UNCHS	United Nations Centre for Human Settlements
WASSUP	Water, Amenities, Sanitation Services and Upgrading
UN	United Nations

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The research explores what has enabled WASSUP as a water and sanitation based organisation to emerge and endure over a period of time. This study investigates how this community based organisation (CBO) emerged, its roles, its relationships with the local government, with the community and other organisations in Diepsloot and beyond. Also important in this study is the focus on its governance, funding and the role of the community in constituting this CBO. The participants both within WASSUP and other supporting organisations and agencies point out that despite the many challenges the CBO has faced, its operations have greatly restored the dignity of the community of Diepsloot.

1.1 Background to the research

This chapter outlines the nature of this study against the background of high rates of unemployment, poverty and other challenges that South Africa has to contend with in housing delivery. The global population has grown enormously and the developing world is expected to contain many cities with large populations (Goodland, 1995: 6). This invariably adds a lot of strain on the resources, especially on housing and the built environment. UN-Habitat (2009:138) indicates that about 62.2 % of the sub-Saharan population lives in slums. Statistics South Africa (Stats SA) (2011: 57) indicates that 13.6 % of the population lives in the informal dwellings in abject poverty with no access to basic services and amenities such as housing, electricity and water. Instead of problematising informal settlements and informality, Huchzermeyer (2001) argues towards a qualitative understanding of the urban poor, the reasons that give rise to informal settlements and informality and how these communities mitigate their challenges. Lefebvre (2003) and Purcell (2008) posit that the inhabitants have to be given opportunities to contribute solutions to the various housing and the built environment challenges that confront them.

Housing has attracted a lot of attention from the World Bank (WB) (Pugh, 1994) and the government of South Africa (SA). It is because of its inherent potential to improve the urban poor communities' access to basic services such as sanitation, water and education. Pugh (1994) and Charlton and Kihato (2006) further note that housing delivery can have a multiplier effect in

creating employment opportunities and hence contributing to economic growth. In addition, a house itself provides warmth, security and enhances the dignity of the occupants. Furthermore, Olufemi (2004) posits that housing is one important resource towards home-making and through which residents can also mobilise politically to demand better service delivery. It can be argued that it is important for local governments and the residents to jointly assume collective ownership of their neighbourhoods in order to address challenges the challenges faced by the urban poor. From this perspective, local leadership becomes important.

The urban poor communities still have to contend with numerous housing related challenges. In South Africa, the housing backlog is exacerbated by huge poverty, unemployment and inequality in the country, lack of service delivery in terms of sanitation, roads, water and electricity to mention a few (Rust, 2007; Ngoasheng, 2012). The Green Building Council of South Africa (GBCSA) (2012) notes that the improvement of living conditions is important in creating sustainable built environments. But it also argued that reforms in energy use and alternatives require collaborative awareness campaigns, education and empowerment workshops that would educate the ordinary South Africans on the benefits of 'greening' the built environment. It is the collective responsibility of the government, the citizens as well as the private sector, the GBCSA argues.

In South Africa, the state is mandated to ensure that its citizens realise the socio-economic rights related to basic needs such as housing (RSA, 1996). It is the government's responsibility to provide and hence cushion the urban poor from the effects of poverty and inequality. To augment government efforts in housing delivery, the community driven approaches have received growing support from government in scholarly work (Mansuri & Rao, 2004). There is an assumption that community driven approaches involving CBOs and the residents "include beneficiaries in their design...[and] communities have direct control over key project decisions" (Mansuri et al, 2004:1-2). The literature argues that community involvement makes for a better outcome in service delivery.

Mansuri et al (2004) and Magadla (2013) argue that community based approaches to tackling community challenges offer the best opportunity for grassroots participation. The successful

slum upgrading programme in India which was initiated by the Self-Employed Women's Association is one of the leading best practice examples of what the 'small-but-effective' CBOs are capable of achieving (Mansuri et al, 2004). Mansuri et al (2004) argue that most developing countries lack the financial wherewithal to initiate full scale government-led developmental projects, hence the growing support for the grassroots initiatives that can best utilise the local resources.

Related to these debates on the importance of CBOs, NGOs and NPOs in development, this research explores a specific community based organisation, WASSUP, and specifically sheds light into what has made it to emerge and endure over a period of time. The research looks into the emergence of WASSUP as a CBO, its way of governance, its relationships with the local government as well as the other CBOs in the area. The study also interrogates the financial position of WASSUP, and more importantly the role of the community members in the day to day activities of the CBO. Housing and the maintenance of the built environment is largely a collective responsibility of the residents and the local government and the research concludes that the endurance of WASSUP is largely founded on how the CBO has successfully negotiated its relationship with the various stakeholders in the neighbourhood.

1.2 Problem statement and rationale of the study

As noted in the previous years, the housing conditions and the general socio-economic circumstances of the urban poor in SA have not improved as much as widely expected in 1994 (Devey & Moller, 2002). 2011 Census recorded 25.6% unemployment for men and 41.2% that for women (Stats SA, 2011). Habitat International (2003:123) indicates that the problem of informal settlements and homelessness is a "direct consequence of poverty and the grossly unequal distribution of wealth". South Africa has become the most unequal society in the world, making housing and built environment challenges more common (Bhorat, Westhuizen & Jacobs, 2009; Craven, 2010). Globally, the urban population has since continued to grow at an unprecedented scale (Creswell, 2012; Hart, 2010). SA has not been spared from rural-urban and other forms of migration which invariably poses environmental and socio-economic challenges in the built environment.

The challenges of inequality, unemployment and poverty in SA required the government to come up with responsive interventions. Rust (2008) argues that the government should be commended for coming up with the housing subsidy which has become a prominent feature in SA housing policy. The government subsidy was as a result of the lack of access to housing finance by the low income earners, especially from the banks (Mills, 2007; Gilbert, 2008; Rust, 2008). Briefly, the criterion for qualifying for a 40 square meter subsidy house is that one should have dependents, earn a combined salary of R3 500 and should never have owned a house before (Rust, 2008:4). Still, there is still many people that earn more than R3 500 and yet too little to qualify to access housing from the market (Rust, 2008). The overall housing shortages and the difficulties some people have in accessing housing contributes to the proliferation of informal settlements that lack essential services such as sanitation, water and electricity.

The foregoing challenges require concerted effort by all the stakeholders, both at national and local government to create sustainable housing and the built environment. From this perspective, the situation suggests that government and the community will need to work collectively to ensure the realisation of the right to housing and create sustainable livelihoods. In essence, housing is more than a physical structure but a process of "creating sustainable, integrated, housing settlements and generating wealth through asset creation" (McLean, 2006:55). But the relationship between the poor communities and the government has sometimes been characterised by litigation. This has been largely due to the lack of communication and consultation between the community and the government. An example is the famous Olivia Road court case where the City of Johannesburg applied for a court ruling to evict the residents from the inner city (Constitutional Court, 2008). With the lack of trust towards the government and the lack of confidence in its ability to address problems on time, the residents resort to mobilising themselves with the help of some CBOs.

The community based structures are viewed as the best in addressing the many socio-economic challenges faced by the urban residents, especially those in the informal settlements (Magadla, 2013). CBOs are known to target poverty effectively and also include the communities in their planning and implementation of programmes (Krishna, 2003). These community structures are critical as they are also known to link the communities with both the local government and the

private sector resources (Magadla, 2013). However, Krishna (2003) argues that some CBOs function poorly due to the lack of funds.

This study has investigated a particular CBO in a particular context. Comparatively little is understood about how CBOs function and survive under the dynamic political and economic challenges. The study has investigated the role of WASSUP and its significance, not only in improving the built environment of the community of Diepsloot but also how it has created opportunities for stakeholder collaboration. The aim, questions and objectives of the study are outlined below.

1.3 The aim of the research

The purpose of the research is to investigate what has enabled WASSUP to emerge and endure over a period of time.

1.4 The overall research question

What has enabled WASSUP, a water and sanitation based community based organisation to emerge and endure over a period of time? The sub research questions are;

- What is the nature of WASSUP as a self-help initiative?
- What is the nature of the relationship between WASSUP and other voluntary based organisations in Diepsloot?
- What is the nature of the relationship between WASSUP and the local government?
- What is the relationship between WASSUP and its funding partners?
- What are the challenges that WASSUP has had to contend with and how has it overcome these?

1.5 The research objectives

- To explore the nature of WASSUP as a community based initiative.
- To investigate the nature of the relationship between WASSUP and voluntary based organisations in Diepsloot.
- To explore the nature of the relationship between WASSUP and the local government
- To investigate the nature of the relationship between WASSUP and its funding partners.

- To find out the challenges that WASSUP has had to contend with and how it has overcome them.

1.6 The unit of study

WASSUP is an acronym for Water, Amenities, Sanitation Services Upgrading (WASSUP, 2011). As a voluntary CBO, it emerged in 2007 and was launched in 2009 (Global Studio, 2011) as a collective initiative between Global Studio, the residents in Diepsloot, University of the Witwatersrand, University of Johannesburg and Sticky Situations (WASSUP, 2011). Global Studio and Sticky Situations are the principal sponsors of this CBO. Its main area of operation is Diepsloot Extension 1 which is wholly informal settlements as noted by Himlin, Engel and Mathotho in 2005. As a CBO, WASSUP focuses mainly on fixing toilets, public health and environment campaigns, and also refuse collection and water management (Global Studio, 2011). It is argued that the organisation has remarkably improved the lives of 70 000 residents who previously have not had access to adequate sanitation (Sticky Situations, 2012).The involvement of communities in the programmes has reportedly reduced vandalism of public infrastructure due to improved ownership of the community facilities (*ibid*).

1.7 Conclusion

As mentioned earlier, South Africa is faced with the triple challenge of unemployment, poverty and inequality. The population that lives in the informal settlement lacks the basic services and therefore has their dignity affected. It is becoming evident that the government alone is not able to provide housing and create jobs for all the deserving poor citizens. It therefore becomes the collective responsibility of all the stakeholders to ensure that the urban poor access basic services and amenities. CBOs have played a critical role in improving the housing conditions and extending the essential services such as sanitation and water. Despite the many challenges affecting the CBOs, WASSUP has managed to restore dignity to people in some sections in Diepsloot by repairing toilets and taps. The study outlines what has enabled the organization to emerge and endure over a period of time.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to gain an understanding on what has enabled WASSUP to emerge and endure, the researcher engaged with a range of literature on voluntary based organisations and co-operatives. The chapter seeks to define the voluntary sector, provide the historical development of this sector both internationally and in SA and also look at the challenges that the sector has faced across time and space. Co-operatives are also discussed and how they are a significant sub-sector of the voluntary sector. The chapter concludes by outlining the main points drawn from the literature review and hence the issues that the research investigates going forward.

2.1 The definition of CBOs, NGOs, NPOs and the civil sector

It is important to get a conceptual understanding of the nature of the CBOs, NGOs, and NPOs and how these relate with the civil society. Cepel (2012) classifies these institutions under the non-profit sector organisations and emphasises that they are an integral component of the civil society. Clark (1993) and Cepel (2011) further point out that this sector is voluntary and self-governing in nature. These are organisations that are non-profit making, self-governing and more importantly a link between the state and the rest of civil society (Ranchod, 2007; Cepel, 2011). Anderson and Hoff (2001: 77) concur with Cepel (2011) in that the sector acts as an "an intermediary institution between the people...[and] a core contribution of social capital formation". In most instances, it is through these organisations that the state would be able to reach out to the communities. The relationships that are hence formed between the state, communities and the organisations become the basis for collective responsibility and trust amongst these stakeholders. The scope of their operation may vary from context to context. In SA they may register with the government under the NPO Act (RSA, 2008) and apply for partial subsidy funding from the government for programmes such as poverty alleviation, protection of children, capacity building and rights awareness education to mention a few (Phofi, 2010).

Dujardin (2009:1) defines the sector as "being formal; private; independent; not distributing profit...involving some degree of voluntary contribution of time...in the form of free participation to the organisation". In distinguishing between the CBOs and the NGOs, Ranchod (2007: 21) describes the former as organisations that are more locally based and formed and have

an important role of "filling in the gaps left by the government". She further explains that CBOs are smaller than the NGOs, less formal and as well their funding is usually limited. Magadla (2013) argues that the sad reality is that most CBOs in SA are less formal because of lack of resources and hence it is difficult for them to connect with the prospective funders. Regarding their formation, Magadla (2013) further explains that CBOs are mostly formed by grassroots individuals as compared to the NGOs that are largely initiated by external individuals and corporates which provide funding for the services, salaries and skills development of the staff.

Regardless of whether the sub-sector is NGOs or CBOs, these organisations are a component of the civil society. Carothers (2000: 18) in Atibil (2012: 39) describes the civil society as;

> A broader concept, encompassing all the organizations and associations that exist outside of the state...and the market. It includes the gamut of organizations that political scientists traditionally label [as] interest groups — not just advocacy NGOs but also labor unions, professional associations..., chambers of commerce, ethnic associations and others.

Ranchod (2007) and Atibil (2012) emphasise that the civil society in general provides a watchdog and oversight role on government policies and formulation. One of the biggest concerns of the civil society in SA is poor or the lack of service delivery. Ranchod (2007:2) describes the civil society as;

> The arena of uncoerced collective action around shared interests, purposes and values. In theory, its institutional forms are distinct from those of the state, family and market, though in practice, the boundaries between state, civil society, family and market are often complex, blurred and negotiated. Civil society commonly embraces a diversity of spaces, actors and institutional forms, varying in their degree of formality, autonomy and power. Civil societies are often populated by organisations such as registered charities, development non-governmental organisations, community groups, women's organisations, faith-based

organisations, professional associations, trades unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, coalitions and advocacy groups.

As already mentioned, the civil society is made up of organisations focusing on different development areas in their beneficiary communities. It can be those that seek to provide an alternative route to democracy (Tocqueville, 1835/1904 in Atibil, 2012), associations independent from the state (Carothers, 2000 in Atibil, 2012) and those that are in a radical and a conflictual nature either with the state or the dominant forces (Anheier and Salamon, 2006). These viewpoints may change from time to time depending on the social and the political context.

2.2 The global development of the voluntary sector

The genesis of the non-profit sector can be traced way back to the 1600s (Hall & Midgley, 2004). It should be noted that this sector started and developed in Europe before it spread into other areas of the globe (Thomas et al, 2010; Cepel, 2011; Davies, 2010). Its growth has largely been influenced by the local and the global socio-economic and the political climate (Davies, 2010). Krishna (2003) argues that the voluntary sector at first did not intend to develop the capacities of the beneficiary communities but rather responded to the social needs of the communities. Freire's (1972) book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* was a reaction against the charity nature of the voluntary sector and argued that the handouts rather 'dwarfed' the initiative of the beneficiaries and hence helped perpetuate their poverty. Hence Freire (1972) encouraged communities to be self-reliant, have collective resources and cultivate the local social capital amongst themselves. Mansuri et al (2004) also trace the history of community-based forms of development back to Gandhi's conceptions of local self-reliance as an antithesis to colonial domination.

The church was also active in the voluntary sector around the 1700s as it focused on feeding the poor, providing temporary shelter and also mediating in their misunderstandings and disputes (Payne, 2005). The Christians, Jews and Roman traditions were also active in organising their support along these services (Phofi, 2010). At the same time, the Bhuddist organisations in East Asia and the Islamic organisations in the Middle East also provided support to their destitute and

needy individuals (Davies, 2010; Phofi, 2010). The main focus of the non-governmental organizations and the civil society sector as a whole was charity. Payne (2005) further argues that most organisations under the sector were faith based. As the sector grew over centuries, it played an important role in targeting poverty by focusing on building capacities of the beneficiary communities.

The period 1800 to 1940s witnessed an unprecedented growth of the voluntary sector in Europe (Davies, 2010). From only 6 in 1854 the sector grew to 163 in 1945 and then to 60, 000 in 2007 (David, 2010: 4). The sector's focus also widened to include humanitarian work, security and development through building capacities of the beneficiary communities (Lindenberg and Bryant, 2001; Davies, 2010). The ending of slavery and the founding of the League of Nations is also attributed to the contributions by the NGOs and the voluntary sector at large in campaigning for equal rights in Europe (Davies, 2010). Amongst those organisations that helped in promoting the workers' rights were the Salvation Army and the London Charity Organisation Society (Payne, 2005; Phofi, 2010).

The development of the sector in Africa, especially North African Franco-phone countries was largely as a result of the failure of states to provide public goods (Thomas et al, 2011). The UN Development Agencies were at the forefront to fund the international NGOs (Thomas et al, 2010; Atibil, 2012) and the efforts were supported by USA, France, Britain, the World Bank and the IMF (Phofi, 2010). Between 1953 and 1993, the number of NGOs worldwide has since grown six fold (Davies, 2010) and the sector in this period was focused on addressing issues such as HIV, poverty, education, sanitation and housing to mention a few. Thomas et al (2010) points out that the founding principles of 'not-for-profit' and 'non-profit-distributing' for the voluntary sector may have changed as shown by some NGOs in DRC that pay salaries and even distribute profits amongst founder members.

Related to this discussion, the study on WASSUP seeks to find out the socio-political context under which the organisations was formed and what contribution is it making in building the capacities of its members and the community it is serving. The study also investigates if the organisation emerged as a result of the state's failure to provide public goods and why it focuses on sanitation than other challenges in Diepsloot.

2.3 The development of the voluntary sector in South Africa

The earlier operations of the voluntary sector in South Africa were aimed at maintaining white supremacy during the colonial and later the apartheid rule (Payne, 2005). Marsh (1970) in Phofi (2010:14) posits that the NGOs and the voluntary sector in South Africa were heavily influenced by the Elizabeth Poor Law in Europe around 1600s. The latter influenced governments to assume responsibility to cater for the poor and enter into partnerships with willing organisations to bring services to the communities. In SA, service provision around the 18th century was divided along racial lines and services to the black communities were inferior (Phofi, 2010; Payne, 2005). The establishment of NGOs such as Child Welfare in 1900s and the spread of the Dutch Reformed Church, albeit still premised on serving white supremacy had an effect in increasing the voluntary sector (Payne, 2005).

There were however organisations that opposed the apartheid regime and its disenfranchisement of the black racial groups (Patel, 1996). These civil society organisations were responding to inequality, poverty and the lack of civil rights and freedoms of the poor, mostly black people in the country (*ibid*). These included the trade unions that organised grassroots communities and popular support to champion the rights and freedoms of the majority poor people. Ranchod (2007) emphasises that the fight against apartheid was a cohesive element between the ANC and the civil society organisations.

The period 1990-1994, according to Phofi (2010) was a defining epoch in the history of the voluntary sector in SA. The civil society continued to grow and the number of NGOs increased remarkably. The ANC had been unbanned, crime and poverty were on the rise and forming partnerships with the civil society was envisaged by the government as the best strategy to broaden democracy in the country and also address social problems. The majority of the NGOs had extended their services to include other racial groups in responding to alcoholism, poverty, education to mention a few in the country (*ibid*). The emphasis on equality and the need to uphold the rights and dignity of all the people in the new Constitution in 1994 also meant that services could also reach to all the racial groups.

The NGOs increased further after 1994 and so did other civil society organisations. COSATU played a crucial role in lobbying for the interests of its members and the society as a whole (Ranchod, 2007). This lobbying role by COSATU (which was also focusing on workers' rights) was due to the high inequality, poverty and unemployment in SA (Ranchod, 2007). After 1994, international funding dried up for the voluntary sector as the international donors channeled their resources to the democratically elected ANC government (Patel, 2005; Phofi, 2010; Ranchod, 2007). According to the constitution of South Africa, the government is obliged to fulfill the socio-economic rights such as housing, water, education and health to mention a few. The NPO Act, promulgated by the government in 1997 was meant to facilitate multidisciplinary CBO programmes (RSA, 1997). Hall and Midgley (2004: 13) in Phofi (2010: 21) however emphasise that "NGOs are not a panacea for solving social development problems" they simply facilitate and strengthen communities.

The historical development of the voluntary sector is affected by the socio-historical, the political and the economic imperatives (Payne, 2005). Funding is cited as one major drawback that affects the voluntary sector. This study seeks to find out if funding is affecting WASSUP and how it has managed to endure in the midst of this challenge. The research also finds out why WASSUP has focused on sanitation.

2.4 The legislative framework governing NGOs in South Africa

In SA most voluntary based organisations came about through conscious arrangements and involvement with the state. The government through its various departments came up with policy frameworks on how best it could partner with the voluntary based sector organisations in providing public social goods. The policies are meant to help these organisations to comply with the governments' requirements as they render services to their beneficiary constituents on behalf of the state. In the case of NPOs supported by the Department of Social Development, non-compliance to these policies may result in funding being withdrawn and in some cases to deregistration from the NPO Directorate (DSD, 2013).

In respect of NPOs, the NPO Act, 71 of 1997 is the main regulatory law meant to create an enabling environment for the NPOs in terms of registration, accountability and governance

among other things. Registration with the NPO Directorate is voluntary and once the NPO is registered, it has to transform into a formal entity to access funding from DSD. As a formal entity, the organisation is required to have a governing body, a constitution and registered people that benefit from the programme/s it runs (DSD, 2013; DSD, 1997). The Department of Social Development has been mandated to assist with the registrations of NPOs and forms are available from the respective sections of the Department (DSD, 1997). Once completed the applications forms are sent to the NPO Directorate that is responsible for registrations and de-registration (*ibid*). The NPOs are required to furnish the NPO Directorate about their operations through narrative reports on an annual basis (DSD, 2013). Failure to send the reports may result in de-registrations of the (DSD, 2013). According NGO Pulse (2013:1), "36 513 organisations have been de-registered, 35 217 are on a warning (non-compliant) while only 29 019 are in good standing (registered), out of the approximately 85 000 registered on the NPO Directorate database".

The Department of Social Development has come up with the Codes of Good Practice for South African NPOs and these are mainly guidelines on governance, management, fundraising and relationship with donors for NPOs (DSD, 2013). Most importantly, the documents emphasises on the ethical responsibility in terms of honesty, integrity, fairness and respect among others. These are values that are very necessary when dealing with people, not only from disadvantaged communities but from across classes and are enshrined in the constitution (RSA, 1996).

In order to access funding from DSD, NPOs are required to submit their Business Plans together with their registration certificates (DSD, 2013). This Business Plan is treated as an organisation's wish list and DSD may not necessarily fund all the programmes or items listed therein (DSD, 2013). If approved, the organisation will sign a Service Level Agreement (SLA) which is an agreement between the NPO and the government and funds will be released on a quarterly basis (DSD, 2013). The officials from DSD will monitor how the funded organisations render the services to the beneficiary communities. The funded NPO is also required to send monthly statistics, quarterly expenditure statements and six-monthly progress reports to DSD and funding for the previous financial year is determined by compliance to these requirements (*ibid*). The funding is mainly to enable the organisation render the necessary services and not erode the

NPO's autonomy. The organisations are independent, self-governing but may request advice from DSD.

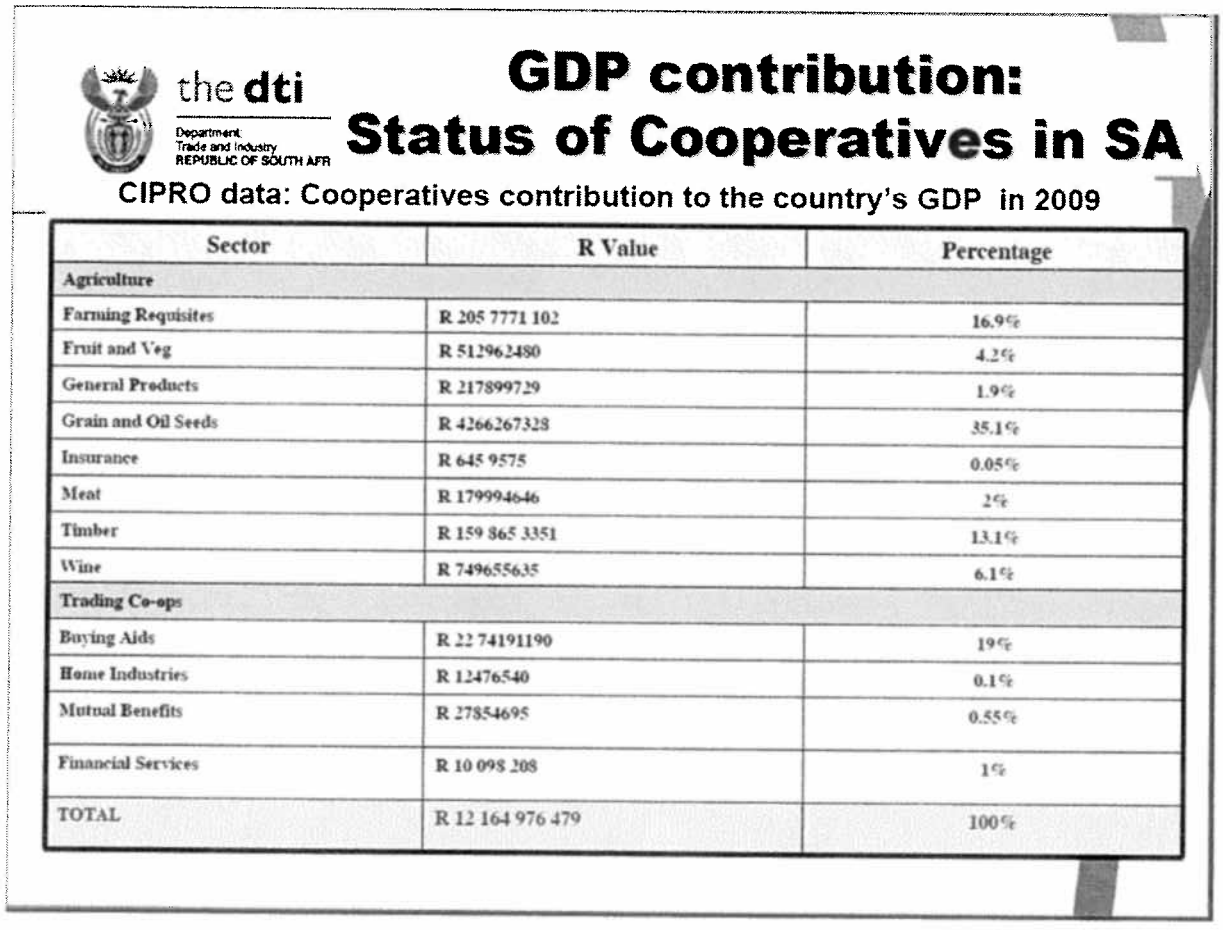
2.5 Understanding co-operatives

This section focuses on co-operatives and their characteristics. Co-operatives are a sub-sector that aims at fostering independence of the community members by building their capacities. According to South Africa Foundation (2003:9), a co-operative is defined as "an autonomous association of persons united voluntarily to meet their common economic, social, and cultural needs and aspirations through a jointly-owned and democratically controlled enterprise". Membership to this enterprise is voluntary. This section helps in understanding WASSUP as a co-operative in terms of its structure, the supports it gets from the government and more importantly how it contributes to the economy. More importantly the section will shed light on what has enabled WASSUP to emerge and endure over a period of time.

Co-operatives have continued to grow remarkably in SA and this suggests they are making a meaningful contribution to the socio-development of communities. This growth may also suggest easier registration processes like accessibility of the relevant departments and officials to help in the process. This sector is also one government strategy meant to foster economic growth (RSA, 2004). Co-operatives have over the years been largely commercial most of which are agriculture and trading based (*ibid*). Figure A shows how co-operatives contributed to the GDP in 2009. In the same year, co-operatives contributed over R12 billion to the total GDP of SA with grain and farming based co-operatives contributing 35% and 16.9% respectively to this amount. It is important to note that Figure A does not have any sanitation and water based co-operatives. Figure A serves to emphasise the inclination of DTI towards economic growth, job creation and alleviation of poverty.

As of 2009, there were 22, 030 registered co-operatives according to the Centre for Intellectual Property Registration Office (CIPRO) (RSA, 2010). CIPRO is a company that is responsible for the registration of businesses and intellectual property rights (Companies & Intellectual Property Commission) (CIPC) (2014). The increase in the number of co-operatives and the positive role they play in economic growth is largely due to the support the sector gets from DTI. DTI

provides start-up financial assistance and continuous advisory support to co-operatives (DTI, 2010, 2012).



Sector	R Value	Percentage
Agriculture		
Farming Requisites	R 205 7771 102	16.9%
Fruit and Veg	R 512962480	4.2%
General Products	R 217899729	1.9%
Grain and Oil Seeds	R 4266267328	35.1%
Insurance	R 645 9575	0.05%
Meat	R 179994646	2%
Timber	R 159 865 3351	13.1%
Wine	R 749655635	6.1%
Trading Co-ops		
Buying Aids	R 22 74191190	19%
Home Industries	R 12476540	0.1%
Mutual Benefits	R 27854695	0.55%
Financial Services	R 10 098 208	1%
TOTAL	R 12 164 976 479	100%

Figure A: Co-operatives' contribution to the GDP (RSA, 2010)

Co-operatives are an integral component of the grassroots development strategy (RSA, 2004). The literature reveals that co-operatives are a strategy that fosters self-reliance because they create opportunities for income generation, create jobs and also encourage resource mobilisation by the members (RSA, 2012) (RSA, 2004). Kofi Anan, as recorded in RSA (2004: 2) commended co-operatives for engendering "equity, solidarity, self-help and mutual responsibility". These are the same values that are embraced by the NGOs, NPOs, CBOs and the broader voluntary sector. However, the main distinctive feature of this sub-sector is its focus on economic development through profit-making and job creation in respect of its members. The profit-making nature of the co-operatives enables its members to share the proceeds and at the

same grow their entities. Commenting on DRC, Atibil (2012) suggests that most NGOs Are re-registering as co-operatives because the members need to make profits and earn a living. This is because most NGOs in DRC operate from sporadic funding which is mainly allocated to service delivery rather than salaries and/or stipends (*ibid*).

This study then seeks to find out if WASSUP contributes to the economy and whether it resonates with the principle of self-help, building capacities and mutual trust. Another dimension that the research establishes is the rational for registering WASSUP as a co-operative instead of any other non-profit sub-sector and if the members are still content with this status.

2.6 The legislative framework for the co-operatives

While the NGOs and their funding is regulated by the Department of Social Development (DSD) that of co-operatives falls under the mandate of the DTI (RSA, 2004). DSD has a welfare approach to access to services while DTI emphasises on growth, economic development and employment creation. The DTI focuses on creating an enabling environment for this sector through providing a legislative framework and providing funding to qualifying co-operatives (DTI, 2012). The main legislative frameworks regulating the co-operatives are the Co-operatives Act of 2005 and the Integrated Strategy on the Development and Promotion of Co-operatives of 2012. This strategy further emphasises on job creation and income generation. DTI (2012; 11) acknowledges that most co-operatives are semi-formal and survivalist in nature and it is the duty of the government to transform them into "the mainstream economic life...without destroying their identity" (*ibid*).

The Cooperative Development Policy (CDP) of 2004 strongly supports the development of a strong cooperative body in South Africa, especially in the context of the huge inequality and high levels of poverty (Oldewage-Theron & Slabbert, 2010) and the disenfranchisement of the rural population from participating in the mainstream economic development (RSA, 2004). It is also important to note that the CDP forms the foundation for the new Co-operatives Act, 14 of 2005. It emphasises the government's commitment to provide the necessary enabling environment in terms of the financial, marketing and building capacity for the emerging co-operatives in SA.

In the CDP, the government further commits itself to ensure that co-operatives will be represented through such institutions as the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) Advisory Board and the Cooperative Board (RSA, 2004). Both these institutions are in the office of the DTI minister. In terms of finance, the CDP indicates that the government will extend loans to the sector, especially the emerging co-operatives through such institutions such as Umsobomvu Youth Fund, National Empowerment Fund and the Industrial Development Corporation (RSA, 2004).

As already alluded to, the CDP laid a foundation for the Co-operatives Act, 14 of 2005. The government through this Act further values the core principles of self-help and self reliance (RSA, 2004; RSA, 2005). The Act outlines the definition of co-operatives. For example, a primary cooperative is one that is formed by a "minimum of five natural persons whose object is to provide employment or services to its members and to facilitate community development" (RSA, 2005:10). In the case of a primary co-operative, five people are required to apply and register such a cooperative after which a certificate is issued by the DTI as proof of such registration (RSA, 2004). Under the Act, the co-operatives are supposed to have a constitution and Section 14 (a-hh) stipulates the details to be included in this document (*ibid*). The co-operatives are further required to keep their financial and administrative records in order.

Both the Act (RSA, 2005) and the Cooperative Development Strategy recognise the autonomy of the co-operatives and the emphasis that such institutions are supposed to rise from below and earn legitimacy and support from the community. The Commission for the Promotion and Advancement of Co-operatives (COPAC) (2013) strongly argues that even though the state is mandated with providing a legislative framework for co-operatives their relationship with the government should remain non-partisan as the opposite may erode this autonomy.

2.7 The development of co-operatives

The development of co-operatives is recorded to have followed the same development trajectory as that of the NGOs in terms of the socio-historical, economic and the political factors. Satgar (2007) argues that the 20the century Afrikaner empowerment programme aimed at ensuring food production in SA was indeed a cooperative strategy. Co-operatives in SA are traced back to the

development of the Afrikaner agricultural sector (RSA, 2004; Satgar, 2012). The crucial role of co-operatives in the post-apartheid era is manifested in the growth of self-help groups in credit, labour and housing to mention a few. Satgar (2007:3) posits that this sector is known to be synonymous with such terms as "projects, self-help groups, mutual societies, village banks, credit unions, consumer store...[and word] association is often used to describe co-operatives". Co-operatives as opposed to other NGOs and NPOs make profits that can be shared by the members or invested. RSA (2004) envisage co-operatives as a crucial platform to empower the community members. It is the members that determine the priority target areas and members are involved in decision making, more than is the case with other organisations under the NGO and the NPO sector.

The contribution of co-operatives in improving living conditions and creating a platform for citizen participation has been proven internationally. Canada has a strong cooperative base which enjoys a cordial relationship with the government (RSA, 2004). Spain's Department of Labour regulates the co-operatives and there is a Co-operatives Advisory Council comprising the presidency (*ibid*) and this signifies the importance of the sector. One important aspect concerning co-operatives in Spain is that The Co-operatives Apex Organisation lobbies for the sector in terms of policy and financial assistance (*ibid*). On retirement, the government in-fact pays the individuals' pensions into co-operatives of their choice to discourage the sole dependence on grants (*ibid*).

Kenya also has a well co-ordinated policy for this sector which is communicated and implemented across all government tiers; national, provincial and district levels (RSA, 2004). Above that there is a ministry for co-operatives, operational guidelines and ethics, the Co-operative Bank plus the Co-operative Tribunal that would lobby and advocate on behalf of the sector (*ibid*). Kenya has aligned the operation of the co-operatives with the standards prescribed in the education curriculum developed in the Co-operative College. This sector has contributed to poverty alleviation, community participation, and self-help and grassroots development (*ibid*).

Conceptually, the bottom up approach to development has long been advocated for as the best model because it is argued to represent the voice of the poor (Pithouse, 2008; Huchzermeyer, 2004). It would seem the co-operatives offer one of the best models for developing communities.

As already alluded to, it is very important to have an idea of how post-1994 voluntary organisations in SA embrace in practice this grassroots development agenda. This research brings out the challenges that WASSUP has had to contend with and the initiatives it has come up with to ameliorate its circumstances. More importantly the research investigates what kind of support WASSUP receives from the government and how this helps sustain the CBO over a period of time.

2.8 The challenges faced by the voluntary sector

Despite the positive report by Dujardin (2009) regarding the voluntary sector, he also argues that some experience severe financial challenges. Most of the organisations that face financial challenges are those that fall outside the sub-sector of co-operatives because they cannot make profits and help sustain or grow their operations. In his discussion of the DRC, Dujardin (2009) further elaborates that some of these organisations are founded for the sole purpose of accessing donor funds for use by the founders and most are mere briefcase 'entities' with no valid registrations in the DRC. Dujardin (2009) argues that most funders of these voluntary based organisations end up controlling the operations. This erodes the autonomy of the beneficiary organisations.

In SA, those NPOs, NGOs and CBOs that receive funding from the government are required to serve a certain number of beneficiaries, required to submit different types of statistics and to follow the relevant norms and standards in their operations (RSA, 1997). The department officials would conduct regular visits to monitor and evaluate if the institution complies with the relevant regulations (RSA, 1997). In SA, some government departments like DSD monitor both the organisations they are funding as well as those that they do not (RSA, 1997). This is so because DSD is the custodian of vulnerable categories such as children and the elderly and as such has to monitor all the organisations (funded and non-funded) that render services to this category.

Generally, Dujardin (2009) criticises the philanthropic tendency of the voluntary sector. He argues that most of these organisations give out hand-outs instead of tackling the structural issues that impinge on the realisation of the socio-economic rights, especially in African countries. The

White Paper on Social Welfare (1996) presents a paradigm shift that intends on adopting a developmental approach to welfare (RSA, 1996). This seeks to focus on capacity building of communities through education and skills training to foster independency and self-reliance (RSA, 1996).

The challenges that the voluntary CBOs have had to contend with in Ghana and even Zimbabwe are the lack of coordination with state because of the absence of formal structures that could incorporate and legitimise their roles as CBOs (*ibid*, 141). The land-buying companies in Kenya that had emerged in response to the lack of capital by the individuals and the rigidity of government regulations also encountered several challenges (*ibid*) such as the lack of a coherent housing policy in Kenya, lack of capacity and managerial skills, lack of communication skills, leaders who did not share power and information amongst themselves to mention a few (Tostensen et al 2001). These case studies concur with Motholo et al's (2010) findings that participation may breed either productive or destructive outcomes and neither is it a linear process that guarantees real participation by the communities. There are other structural factors that may either engender or choke the spirit of self-help, self-reliance and the participatory initiatives by the voluntary sector.

Based on the challenges that the voluntary sector faces, this study interrogates if WASSUP resonates to these narratives and how does it manage to negotiate and endure. The study also finds out if the funding that WASSUP receives comes with conditions and how those impinge on the organisations' autonomy and self-governance.

2.9 The debate on self-help in housing: drawing on Turner and Burgess

Funding, legalities and standards in service delivery continue to pose challenges for voluntary based organisations and self-help initiatives at large. The Turner-Burgess debate conceptualises whether self-help under the neo-liberal economy could work or is just a limited solution to the many challenges faced by the urban poor communities. Turner (1972; 1978) is one of the well known proponents of self-help and the utilisation of the local resources in housing and his ideas have direct implications for decentralisation, service delivery and governance at large. In his book *Dweller Controlled Housing Process*, Turner (1972) strongly emphasises the use-value rather than the exchange value of housing. He strongly argues that housing has a functional

purpose and hence a use-value. He writes from the perspective of the heterogeneous urban poor whose priority is to access urban livelihood opportunities and as such, he deems the rigid municipal standards regarding housing as unnecessary and counterproductive.

According to Turner (1972), the strict legalities and standards regarding housing processes breed informality rather than 'order' because very few families can afford to meet the standards and hence resort to informal alternatives. Once in the informal alternatives, the affected are disenfranchised from the necessary urban services and amenities (Purcell, 2002). Purcell (2002) advocates for reforms in the "social, political, and economic relations...[to] reframe the arena of decision-making" (Purcell, 2002:101). Where there is a lack of services such as sanitation and water in the informal settlements, it is mostly the voluntary sector that comes to the rescue. The study on WASSUP helps to determine if self-help alternatives are a solution to solving community challenges that have not been adequately attended to or have been ignored by the government.

Turner (1978) in his book *Housing in Three Dimensions* supports co-operative self-reliance, local initiatives and decentralised system of governance. He believes that local means of production create spaces for the participation of the local communities and the utilisation of the local resources in housing (Turner, 1978). He strongly argues that housing is a "useless thing unless it is an activity in which one is free to participate in a significant and responsible way...This is the value in housing" (Turner, 1978: 1138). He argues that the capital intensive technologies may be wasteful rather than being effective in addressing housing challenges and maintaining the built environment. According to Turner (1978: 1139), the maintenance of the housing is the principle which gives the housing stock more duration and resistance to wear and tear rather than the materials used. The summary of his conceptualisations in housing are as follows;

> When dwellers control the major decisions and are free to make their own contributions in the design, construction, or management of their housing, both this process and the environment produced stimulate individual and social well-being. When people have no control over nor responsibility for key decisions in

> the housing process...environments may instead become a barrier to personal fulfillment and a burden on the economy (Turner, 1972: 1222).

In essence Turner's (1972) ideas of dweller control over the housing process are becoming less likely as housing and other developmental programmes and policies are drafted and controlled by professionals in adherence to professional standards. It is likely that some indigenous materials and resources may be deemed unsafe and hence not meeting the minimum standards. The case of El Monira Ela Geddida (AlSayyad, 1993:38) where locally sourced materials were rejected by the local authorities illustrates the strong influence that professionals have in determining housing standards.

But in contrast to Turner (1972), Burgess (1982), a Marxist argues that self-help is just a limited response to address housing delivery challenges because of the inevitable economic capitalist interests in the housing delivery process. The influence of the capitalist interests means that the resources and the standards in the housing delivery process are structured to facilitate the accumulation of profits by the monopoly suppliers rather than benefiting the urban poor majority. Burgess (1982) argues that standardisation is a requirement not only in the housing delivery process but across other production processes in the political economy.

Both Turner (1972) and Burgess (1982) concur that responsive policies are required to address the lack of housing for the urban poor. They differ in that Burgess (1978) conceptualises self-help as a limited solution to housing challenges while Turner (1972) argues that it is a process towards mitigating these challenges. The study helps brings to fore the challenges that WASSUP faces under the broader political economy, especially on funding for the CBO and the extent to which this funding helps it meets its operational costs.

2.9.1 The contributions of the voluntary sector

In the face of the lack of service delivery in SA, the voluntary sector has played a critical role in both the housing delivery process and targeting poverty (Rust, 2008; Mills, 2007). The neoliberal political economy has made it difficult for the state to deliver the socio-economic rights for the majority urban poor communities (Smith, 2004:6). Mathekga et al (2006) and Krishna (2004) argue that the local resources and institutions can contribute immensely to targeting poverty. The

voluntary sector, especially the CBOs is commended as the best strategy that involves communities in development issues and programmes that are meant to bring change in their lives (Magadla, 2013).

The literature points out that some communities in SA receive top-down piece-meal solutions to their challenges (Shepherd, 1998; Benit-Gbaffou, 2008). Participation as a development imperative is regarded to be a common objective of both the communities and the local government as a means of "creating spaces for the less vocal and powerful to exercise their voices and begin to gain more choices" (Cornwall, 2003:1325). Participation by the communities is in fact seen to be the barometer of democratisation, argues Pahad (2009). Hence it is important for the three (local government, communities and CBOs) to maintain a cordial relationship as a foundation for social capital and participation by all the stakeholders.

Pahad (2008) argues that it is important for any government to investigate the factors that discourage people from participating in the community programmes that are aimed at improving their living conditions. Benit-Gbaffou (2008) gives a clue into why some people do not participate in their community programmes. A deeper analysis is however required to have a fuller understanding into the community dynamics that prevent people from participating in their community programmes. This study on WASSUP helps interrogate some of these community dynamics.

In their report, Mathoho, Greenberg and Benit-Gabffou (2010) provide insight around issues of participation within and between the voluntary sector organisations and also with the local government s using examples from Gauteng. The Johannesburg Housing Company (Joshco) is recorded to have encountered challenges in facilitating in-depth participation from tenants and its buildings because of the many issues at stake for discussion (electricity rates, leases, rents, residents' participation) that delayed progress. Instead, Joschco preferred working with the Tenants Committees to prevent delays that could have had an adverse impact on the cost of the project (*ibid*: 9). Mathoho et al (2010) further reported that there was some political influence and pressure from SANCO and the ANC local branch, with the latter adopting a watchdog rather than a more productive role in the negotiations and planning. The report however commends

Joshco for having managed to initiate and encourage participation, especially for women (Mathoho et al, 2010: 10).

The other project analysed in the report is the Bantu Bonke Hydroponics which was originated by the Midval Municipality and also funded by the Ford Foundation (Mathoho et al, 2010). The participation element in this project was compromised by the technical nature of the initiative, leading to the lack of understanding of the project by the beneficiary community (Mathoho et al, 2010). The report indicates that the community was excluded from the planning phase and yet ironically they were expected to take ownership and sustain the project after it was handed over to them (*ibid*). Even though the project was a success at the end, the lack of communication by the project managers could have had serious repercussions on the community ownership and the ongoing sustainability of the project (Mathoho et al, 2010).

One of the key findings in the report by Mathoho et al (2010) is that there may be some contestation of views and ideas between the beneficiary communities, the local governments concerned and the voluntary sector organisations on how the project is to be implemented. These contestations may stifle participation within and between these stakeholders. Participation within the community is as important as within the various groups involved. Otherwise the involvement of the voluntary sector and its operations may instead perpetuate inequality and fuel further power contestations as some groups and individuals in the community may benefit more than others.

Ghana implemented decentralisation of government as one way to target poverty in the urban areas and improve service delivery. Accra as a city has grown extensively and the government has not been able to keep up with the demands in terms of housing, and service delivery (Tostensen et al 2001). Despite much anticipated improvement of services through decentralisation, the local governments in Accra have not been able to deal with the issues of lack of electricity, infrastructure and services, hence the increase of NGOS and CBOs providing these services (Tostensen et al, 2001:132). Zimbabwe has also been going through the challenge of housing and some co-operatives have come to the rescue by providing alternatives in providing housing (*ibid*). In other contexts too, the relationship between the local government and the voluntary sector is key to how services are delivered.

Dujardin (2009) analyses the role of the voluntary sector (NPOs, NGOs and CBOs) in African French countries where the states have sometimes failed to provide public goods. She first defines the non-profit sector as a voluntary sector and a third way of approaching development. In her definition, she identifies five distinguishing characteristics of this sector as "being formal; private; independent; not distributing profit...involving some degree of voluntary contribution of time...in the form of free participation to the organisation" (Dujardin, 2009: 1). In her analyses, Dujardin (2009) applauds the positive contributions of this sector especially in the African countries. She however suggests that the success of the voluntary sector in Africa may not be compared with the contributions it has had in Europe where it originated. Volunteerism in Europe may have matured while still developing in Africa when captured by most literature.

The voluntary sector takes advantage of its three characteristics to effectively target poverty and providing other public goods under their mandate (Clark, 1998; Cepel, 2011; Dujardin, 2009). These are their *proximity* to the beneficiary communities they serve, their small *size,* which both reduce their *response time* to the constituents' challenges (Dujardin, 2009). Most of the organisations under the voluntary sector, especially the NPOs and the CBOs are founded by individuals that have a history within the beneficiary communities (Dujardin, 2009; Clark, 1999) and this enhances their understanding of the socio-economic deprivation of the area they serve. This is one characteristic that is lacking from the local government officials (Mathekga eta al, 2006). Dujardin (2009) further argues that the size of the NPOs and CBOs makes decision making easier as compared to the bureaucratic system characterising most public departments. With a big bureaucratic public institution, officials may not be able to react promptly to the changes presenting in the beneficiary communities (*ibid*).

Dujardin (2009:7) draws examples from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Benin to illustrate how the NGOs and NPOs managed to access funding and facilitate participation of the local community in a "democratic and decentralized mechanism". In these two countries the respective governments had failed to provide public goods such as education and health care (*ibid*). Between 1998 and 2000, Benin had 2,700 NGOs and NPOs, while DRC had 1, 322 in 1996 and this operative sector facilitated participatory development, which it continues to do (Dujardin, 2009:8).

Magadla (2008) further reiterates that most CBOs have challenges with funding. Clark (1999) agrees with Magadla (2008) in that CBOs are less formal in structure, are formed by locals (grassroots individuals) as compared to most NGOs that are formed by external entities which provide funding for the services, salaries and skills development for the staff. The important contribution by the CBOs is testified by Afesis-Corpan, an NGO in the Eastern Cape. Afesis-Corpan indicates that the CBOs it partners with in the Eastern Cape C have positively altered the realities of people and families living with HIV and AIDS. Hence Magadla (2008) is encouraging the government to continue engaging with this sub-sector and provide them with opportunities for training, skills development and funding.

This study helps to identify the roles and contributions of WASSUP in its beneficiary community. It also explains the relationships within the CBO and between the various stakeholders and how these relationships either engender or stifle participation within and beyond the stakeholders. Furthermore, the research on WASSUP helps to establish the funding available to it as a CBO and how it has accessed it while most CBOs cited in the literature struggle to break through.

2.9.2 The relationship between the voluntary sector, the state and the local government

Cepel (2011) posits that state-civil society relations differ from one context to the other and are shaped by the economic, political, and the socio-cultural factors. Finland, just like other Nordic countries enjoys cordial relations between the state and its civil society because of deep democratisation (Alapuro, 2005). The government of Finland funds the non-profit organisations and associations characterised by the high level of participation by the citizens in voluntary organisations (Cepel, 2011). Finland as a country encourages active voluntary organisations that invest in building social capital and hence enjoys good state-civil society mutual relationships (Kangas, 2004 in Cepel, 2011: 333). It is because of the high level of trust between the state and the civil society (Cepel, 2011) involved that there has been blurred distinctions between the two institutions (Alapuro, 2005). Rothstein, 2001 in Cepel (2011: 333) hence concludes that there is "no competition or conflict but a close relationship between the state and civil society in those countries".

In his analysis of the 13 voluntary organisations, Cepel (2011) concluded that the voluntary sector, the state and the local government in Joensuu, Finland share the same goal of improving the socio-economic conditions of the citizens. He found out that the civil society is represented and the NGOs form part of the Regional Council as part of the efforts to widen democracy. There has been tremendous support for the civil society and its voluntary associations throughout Finland. The state has limited funds though to support the voluntary sector (Cepel, 2011: 343).

Just like Cepel (2011), Thomas, Muridian, Groot and Ruijter (2010), in their study of the NGO-State relations in Kerala, India regard the voluntary sector as the main complementary force in addressing the citizens' issues. The history of this sector shows that the voluntary sector is an important alternative to the state and the market in providing essential public goods (Thomas et al, 2010). The 'either-the-state-or-civil-society' debate on development is counter-productive since each of these can be more effective and build synergy with cooperating with the other instead of competing and confronting each other (Cepel, 2010; Thomas et al, 2010). To illustrate the importance of establishing and fostering "synergistic relationships", (Thomas et al (2010: 360) draws from the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh that owes its success to the mutual relationship it shares with the state. The authors argue that the state-civil society relationship is however socio-politically dynamic and hence the voluntary sector is confronted with the challenge of maintaining a balance between keeping this synergistic partnership and remaining relevant within the broader civil society that has a watchdog role (Ranchod, 2007).

Parayil (2000) and Dreze and Sen (2002) posit that Kerala has scored resounding success in human development and advancing women empowerment. Thomas et al (2010) attributes this success to the sound relationship between the numerous voluntary organisations and the state and its local government s in Kerala. However, this synergy went through a litmus test after the 1990s' decentralisation that led to the local government having the administrative and the fiscal powers (Thomas et al, 2010). The implication of decentralisation was that the local government implemented wider consultation with the communities and hence 'encroaching' into the space previously the domain of the NGOs (*ibid*). It was imperative for the NGOs in Kerala to be more innovative in order to remain relevant in addressing rampant poverty (Thomas et al, 2010). They

borrowed strategies from the Grameen Bank, implemented the principle of self-help, changed their leadership and widened their membership and entered into partnerships with the new stakeholders.

Contrary to the complementary state-civil society relationship explained by Thomas et al (2010) and Cepel (2010) in Kerala and Finland respectively, Atibil (2012) alludes to the acrimonious and a cautious state-civil society relationship in franco-phone African countries. The author relates to the case where the Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN) has even complained of the stringent laws in these countries (especially Benin and the Democratic Republic of Congo) that have served to obliterate the existence of the voluntary sector (Atibil, 2012). The government of Egypt (under President Mubarak) indicated that it had a constitutional mandate to regulate and did not intend to cripple the operations of the voluntary sector in Egypt (*ibid*).

Swaziland is one of the many countries whose relationship with the state has not been good (Atibil, 2012). The government of Swaziland blamed the sector for having overstepped their boundary of humanitarian aid to demanding government accountability (*ibid*). Gary (1996) and Hyden (2006) attribute this weak relationship to the lack of governance (in the case of the government) and also argue that there has been very little transformation of Swaziland and other African governments from colonial authoritarian administration. On the one hand, Whitfield (2003) argues that this lack of trust may be linked to confusion, even within government of what 'civil society' is and its role in development.

The state-civil society relationship in Ghana went through some transformation between 1980s and 1990s when President Rawlings took over as president (Atibili, 2012). According to Atibil (2012), Rawlings' government transformed from an antagonistic approach with the civil society groupings to embracing to extending democracy to the communities, a development that was most welcome by the majority of the citizens. However, this approach was opposed by the elite representatives of civil society who pursued individual rights and policies that maintained their elitism (Atibil, 2012:51) and this ignited a confrontational relationship between the state and the

civil society. This also serves to confirm that civil society may not always serve in the best interest of the community (Atibil, 2012).

Still in Ghana, the religious civil organisations also had some confrontational relationships with the government in 1989 when they were by law required to register their operations (Atibil, 2012). While the religious bodies did not view themselves under the control and/or the scope of the state, the latter insisted it had the right to protect its citizens and hence the registration of all the religious bodies. The government however changed its tone after the return to multiparty democracy and with pressure from the International Finance Institutions for the government to "loosen" up and benefit the trust of both the elite and the grassroots (Atibil, 2012: 56). In 1992 after the general elections, the Atibil (2012) highlights that there were significant changes in civil society-state relationship that saw development becoming a collective responsibility of different stakeholders. This is despite the continued skirmishes between the two, with the government insisting that the voluntary sector had to consult with the government, avoid duplication of efforts and had to reconsider its spatial distribution in the beneficiary communities (Atibil, 2012). In sum, the relationship is viewed as having been characterised by animosity, caution and suspicion.

In South Africa the ward committees play a vital role through which the citizens can participate in decision making (Ranchod, 2007). But these spaces can be characterised by political intolerances that only serve to create a gulf between the ward councillors and the communities (Benit-Gbaffou, 2009; Mathekga et al, 2006; Ranchod, 2007). The civil sector then plays an important watchdog role over state spending and legislation and shows disagreement through strikes, campaigns, media, civil disobedience and mass marches to mention a few (Ranchod, 2007: 3). The South Africa National Civic Organisation (SANCO) and the Congress of the South African Trade Unions are some of the most powerful civil society organisations whose role is to influence policy and "provide voice for local citizens' pushing the government to be more accountable in terms of service delivery (Ranchod, 2007:17). Their active role levels the playing field for the CBOs, NGOs and the NPOs.

As already alluded to, the relationship between the state and the civil society has been changing across time and space (Cepel, 2011). Jeppson, Grassman and Syedberg (2007: 127 in Cepel, 2011: 127) highlight that until the 18th century in Europe there was no difference between the state and the civil society. Despite having gone through some historical development challenges, Finland with its social welfare system still enjoys positive civil society-state and local government relationship (Cepel, 2011). However, Cepel (2011) also points out that the state has often abused its power by threatening to close down the voluntary sector.

The need for a synergy between the different agencies is a prerequisite for the benefit of both the communities that are served and the agencies themselves (Krishna, 2003; Ranchod, 2007). Krishna (2003) posits that this synergy is optimal when these agencies understand the roles they play in the partnership and there are accountability mechanisms. The need for effective CBOs cannot be overemphasised, especially in South and the rest of the developing world characterised by poverty, unemployment and inequality (Krishna, 2003). Rodrick (2001: 35) in Krishna (2003) further insists that the different agencies working in the communities need to earn legitimacy through appropriate institutional designs that are "filtered through local practices and local needs".

It is without doubt that if the different players appreciate each other and cobble their resources they will greatly benefit in targeting poverty in their constituents. Krishna (2003: 362) alludes that the work "carried out under the rubric of social capital indicates that organised and engaged community associations can significantly enhance performance of government agencies". The author emphasises that CBOs are helpful in providing information to their beneficiary communities and also in their capacities.

Clark (1993) indicates that the foregoing relationship between the stakeholders should be based on mutual trust, respect and common purpose but this ideal is rare as the state is often suspicious that NGOs and CBOs intend to erode their political power. On the one hand, some NGOs and CBOs may "use selective reportage in order to heighten criticism of the government" (Clark, 1993: 5) resulting in confrontations between the two at the expense of the beneficiary communities. The Zimbabwean government claims NGOs employ distorted and selective reportage to get funding from the sympathetic donors and also to further the 'regime change'

agenda in the country (*Herald Online*, 2013). In most instances where services, amenities and social welfare are provided by NGOs, the government may be uncomfortable because of their responsibilities that are being taken over by private institutions (Clark, 1993). This may be experienced in those countries with struggling economies and a highly vigilant civil society. The government may have to create institutions for collaboration with the NGOs/CBOs, set out realistic NPO regulations to nurture a trustful relationship with the voluntary sector and this will help the countries deal with the many challenges they face, argues Clark (1993).

The literature review advises that voluntary organisations have to be innovative and network with other 'like-minded' institutions to remain relevant and buoyant in the face of challenges. The research study establishes which other organisations WASSUP relates and borrows ideas from and also if this relationship is benefiting it or not. As already mentioned, the nature and the benefits thereof of its relationship with the state and relevant local government will be established.

2.9.3 Conclusion

The key literature helps in informing the researcher about the issues to explore and the kinds of questions to pose to the participants. The literature notes that voluntary based organisations can adopt various characteristics. They can take the structure of NPOs, CBOs and NGOs. These can register with any government department that supports their programmes. The research establishes which characteristics WASSUP has adopted and its reasons for adopting this route. The study also explores if the definition of CBOs and the voluntary organisations referred to in the literature review resonates with WASSUP. CBOs are defined as self-governing, informal, survivalist and playing an intermediary role between the state and the community.

The literature reveals that the state-voluntary sector relationship is important for effective joint collaboration and creating social trust in the community. However, the relationship between the two can be conflictual characterised by confrontation. The study finds out which government department/s relates with WASSUP and the nature of this relationship (whether it is conflictual, providing a watchdog and oversight of state or providing an alternative route to democracy). The other relationship this study explores is that between WASSUP and the ward councillor from the

local government. The relationship between WASSUP and other voluntary based organisations in the area and beyond is also investigated and how the CBO benefit from this.

In the literature review, it is indicated that the voluntary sector originates from different contexts. In some cases, the sector arises as a result of the failure of the sate and then having to lobby for support and struggle for government recognition. The sector may also come up from deliberate arrangements with the state. The study hence establishes how WASSUP originated and its significance as a co-operative as compared to other sub-sectors of the voluntary based organisations.

It is also revealed in the literature review that some CBOs are survivalist in nature and they lack the necessary resources and skills while some are characterised by power contestations. The research investigates if these characteristics resonate with WASSUP. More importantly, the access of the organisation to opportunities for funding is also investigated and how the CBO has grown and endured whilst many such organisations cited in the literature are struggling to breakthrough. Power dynamics and conflicts within WASSUP are also explored in the study.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Research design refers to the framework that guides the researcher in conducting his/her research (Henn, Weinstern & Ford, 2006). This chapter outlines the research design and the rationale for choosing a qualitative approach. It also explains the choice for purposive sampling in selecting the participants that have the information which would benefit the study. The chapter further illustrate how the researcher got access to the interviewees, how and when the interviews were conducted. The researcher also shares his experience of the interview process. The ethical considerations and the limitations of the study are also discussed in the chapter.

The unit of analysis which the researcher sought to understand in its entirety in this research is WASSUP co-operative as a CBO in Diepsloot. Figure A shows the location of Diepsloot while Figure B shows WASSUP's area of operation in Diepsloot. As already indicated earlier, WASSUP stands for Water, Amenities, Sanitation and Services Upgrading programme. The research used a qualitative approach as this facilitated the study of participants in their real life contexts and helped the researcher to get an interpretive understating of human experience (De Vos, Strydom, Fouche & Delport, 2010). This was necessary in order to explore what has enabled WASSUP to emerge and endure over time.

3.1 Diepsloot in context

Diepsloot is located 40 kilometres north of Johannesburg central and 20 kilometres north of Sandton (Himlin, Engel and Mathoho, 2005). It was established in 1995 with people that had been evicted from informal settlements in Honeydew, Sevenfontein and Alexandra (Himlin, et al, 2005). The area is closer to livelihood opportunities such as Johannesburg, Sandton, Northgate and Randburg. Diepsloot has a mixture of housing typologies; it has bonded houses (Extension 3), RDP houses (Extension 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11) and shacks of informal settlements (Extension 1, 12 and 13). Shacks are in fact found also in all the other areas in Dieplsoot although more pronounced in Extension 1, 12 and 13. Some of the RDP houses are flanked by shacks and in some instances with some shops built with corrugated iron sheets. As reported in Himlin (2005) and Stats SA (2011), unemployment is very high in Diepsloot as well as crime rates.

The extensions with shacks lack the essential adequate public amenities like toilets and water and sewage reticulation services. On average, 25 families share one toilet. The residents in these areas have had to contend with intermittent burst sewer pipes, a feature not exclusive only to Extension 1, 12 and 13 but to entire Diepsloot (Himlin et al, 2005). Water shortages and improper solid waste disposal often leading to serious air pollution and health hazards are also common in the area. Among other challenges in the area, there is lack of road maintenance, public transport and street lighting in the area. The entire Diepsloot community is serviced by two clinics, 4 primary schools, 1 library and 3 community centres (*ibid*).

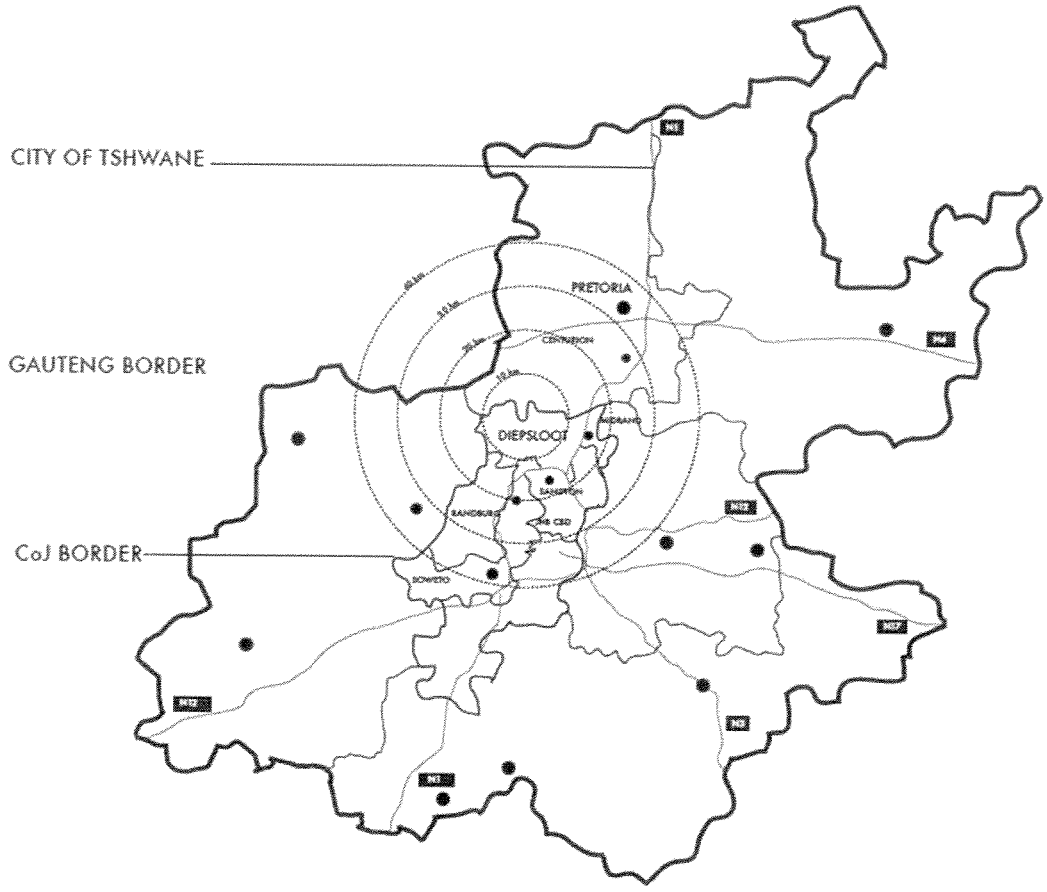


Figure B: Location of Diepsloot in relation to other cities in Gauteng (WASSUP July-Dec 2012 Report)

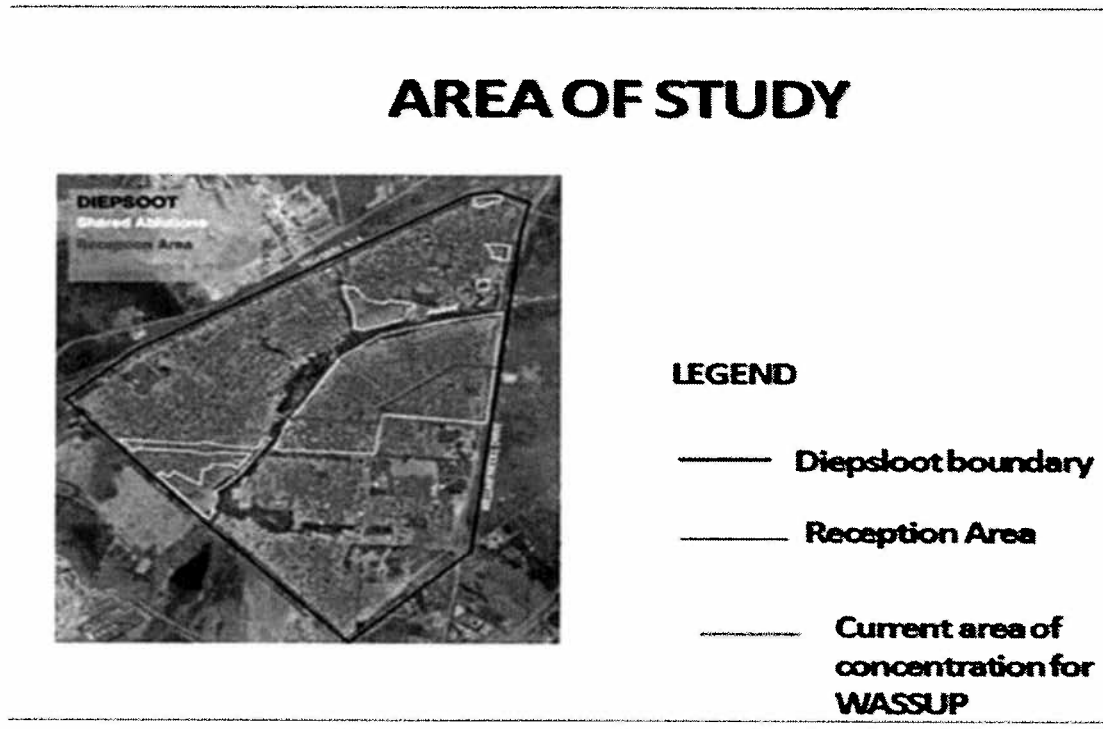


Figure C: WASSUP's area of operation in Diepsloot (WASSUP July-Dec 2012 Report)

3.2 Approach

The approach used allows participants to be experts in their environment (De Vos et al, 2010), allowing them to give an insight of what exactly WASSUP is and the characteristics that have helped to sustain it. This approach gave a grounded understanding of what WASSUP is as a CBO and those aspects that make it relevant to the community of Diepsloot. Furthermore, the qualitative approach also enabled the researcher to understand WASSUP from different viewpoints. Marlow (2005) argues that it is not possible to get this insight through a quantitative approach (Bryman, 2004; Buckingham & Saunders, 2004).

The researcher conducted 11 semi structured interviews. He interviewed all the five WASSUP members and six key informants from the local government, support NGOs (Sticky Situations & Global Studio), JDA, Joburg Water and Diepsloot Arts and Culture Network (DACN). Purposive sampling was used to select the participants based on the information they could give which

would benefit the study (Rubin & Babbie, 2005; De Vos et al, 2010: 232). The selection of the informants was also based on a specific criterion in that they have known and understood WASSUP right from its inception, the challenges it has had to contend with and the impact it is making in the community of Diepsloot. The key informants are individuals in key positions who have in-depth knowledge about the emergence of WASSUP and its aims, characteristics, roles, relationships in Diepsloot and what has enabled the co-operative to endure over a period of time.

Four of the participants are full time members of WASSUP as well as founders of this organisation. The other one member of WASSUP interviewed is now with the organisation on a part time basis. He is a professional plumber and is now employed elsewhere. The study also interviewed one key informant from DACN. DACN has been integral in the formation of WASSUP and continues to partner with this CBO, not only in educating the community on how to maintain toilets and water tapes but in broader environmental awareness issues.

The other key informant who was interviewed is the founder of Sticky Situations who also represented Global Studio. Both Sticky Situations and Global Studio provide technical and advisory support to WASSUP. It is important to note that this person is also one of the founders of WASSUP and also serves as the facilitator in the CBO. The study was further privileged to interview 2 key informants (the ward councillor and one CDW) from the local government. As already explained earlier, the ward councillor is the principal government authority whose views and perceptions on WASSUP are very key to the study. The Community Development Workers (CDWs) as field workers, work closely at the grassroots community level with the WASSUP team. The study further interviewed two other key informants, one from JDA and the other from Joburg Water. These two entities have continued to provide both technical and financial support to WASSUP. Table A shows the breakdown of the 11 participants and the dates of the interviews.

Table 1: Participants and the dates of the interviews

	Participants	Date Interviewed	Organisation
1	Interviewee A	02/10/2013	WASSUP
2	Interviewee B	24/09/2013	WASSUP
3	Interviewee C	25/09/2013	WASSUP
4	Interviewee D	24/09/2013	WASSUP
5	Interviewee E	19/10/2013	WASSUP
6	Interviewee F	02/10/2013	DACN
7	Interviewee G	14/10/2013	LG
8	Interviewee H	14/10/2013	LG
9	Interviewee I	08/10/2013	Sticky Situations/Global Studio
10	Interviewee J	30/10/2013	JDA
11	Interviewee K	13/12/2013	Joburg Water

All the WASSUP participants interviewed plus the two local government key informants (ward councillor and a CDW) and one from DACN stay in Diepsloot. This is important in that these provide first hand experiential information regarding WASSUP in terms of its formation and most importantly its impact in servicing toilets and water taps in the area. While all the interviewees could speak English, only one had difficulty in understanding and speaking in English. The researcher then requested the services of an interpreter because the participant preferred responding in Tsonga, a language the researcher is not fully conversant with. All the interviews were tape recorded to enable the researcher to capture the full account of what took place in the sessions (Greef, 2011).

The researcher did not encounter any major challenges in accessing and arranging for interviews with the WASSUP members. The researcher conducted all the interviews with this team in Diepsloot on separate days convenient to each member. The challenge was encountered in securing appointments with the ward councillor and the key participant from Sticky Situations/Global Studio because of their busy schedules. The key participant from DACN introduced the researcher to the ward councillor and continued to be a liaison between the two.

The researcher finally secured an appointment with the councillor and it was conducted in his office in Diepsloot. The interview with the key participant from Sticky Situations/Global Studio took place at her home in Northriding when she came from her overseas trip. This key participant further linked the researcher with the other key participants from JDA and Joburg Water.

3.3 The research instrument

As already alluded to, semi-structured interviews were used together with the interview schedules. Semi-structured interviews allowed for flexibility and control by the researcher during the interview process (Babbie & Mouton, 2004; Buckingham et al, 2004).It was also possible to clarify unclear responses and observe non-verbal behaviour in semi-structured interviews (Buckingham et al, 2004). Warria (2008:27) posits that semi-structured interviews are rooted in grounded theory as they allow for reformulating and categorising the interview structure according to the participants' responses. Reformulating and categorising of the interview questions are the key characteristics of a qualitative research process which is cyclical (Greenstein, 2009). The interview schedule is attached as Appendix C.

In interviewing the participants, the researcher used an interview schedule with a set of pre-arranged questions. This assisted the researcher to think deeply about the range of questions to cover and also prepare for the anticipated challenges (Fouche and Schurink, 2010: 352). The interview schedule comprised of thematised questions. As Maxwell (1998: 85) posited, the thematised questions greatly reduced the amount of data that the researcher had to deal with and more importantly "functioning as a form of preanalysis that simplifies the analytic work required".

3.4 Ethical considerations

The researcher had to adhere to certain ethical considerations. Ethics involve responsibilities that the researcher has to observe regarding the participants (Monette, Sullivan & Jong, 2005). As required by the university, the researcher first filled an Ethics Clearance Form detailing the ethical considerations applicable to this study. Furthermore, as Ross and Deverell (2010) emphasise, the participants were fully informed about such aspects as their right to accept or

decline their involvement in the study. The participant information sheet also explained further regarding the research and its aims. After reading and explaining it to them, the participants were asked to sign a consent form, one for participating and the other for having the interview tape recorded. See Appendix A for the Participant Information Sheet and Appendix B for the Consent Form. The researcher also informed to the participants that they would not have any material benefits from participating in the study.

Strydom (2010: 119) emphasises that information/data from research has to be handled in a confidential manner and the participants will have to be told how this would ultimately be done. The research made use of codes, e.g 'Participant A' instead of using their real names and this is to avoid linking the responses to the specific named interviewees and this ensures anonymity (De Vos, 2010). The research only addresses some participants with their appointment titles such ward councillor. The researcher is obliged to give a copy of the research report to WASSUP as part of an agreement that they participate in the study.

3.5 Limitations and challenges of the study

The research is qualitative in approach, making it possible for the researcher's bias through his own perceptions and realities to influence both the interviews and the results thereof (De Vos, 2010).The researcher made concerted efforts to maintain an unbiased position.

The biggest challenge was to gain access to some of the key informants, especially the ward councillor and those from JDA and Joburg Water. Even though the researcher had made prior appointments with the ward councillor through his secretary/personal assistant (PA) securing an interview with him was very difficult because of his commitments.

The other limitation could have arisen from some of the participants withholding some of the information, especially that which concerns conflict in the organisation and with some members in WASSUP and the community. Some of the participants may not want to speak or express their views honestly, maybe for the fear of being victimised should their views differ from those subscribed to by the majority of the WASSUP members. This is despite the researcher having

explained the aspect of confidentiality. The study only interviewed those with an interest in WASSUP and the findings might be skewed in favour of this category.

3.6 Conclusion

WASSUP is the unit of study and a qualitative approach was used to understand the circumstances around the emergence of this CBO as well as the factors that have enabled it to endure over a period of time. The study interviewed participants from WASSUP and the key informants from other NGOs and agencies that have closely with WASSUP since its inception. Altogether 11 interviews were conducted. Semi-structured interviews together guided by an interview schedule gave the interviewees a platform to speak freely about WASSUP. All the interviews were tape recorded to capture the verbal component of the interview responses which were later transcribed immediately by the researcher to avoid loss of important details. Among other limitations, the researcher had challenges in gaining access to some of the key informants.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

The aim of the study is to find out what has enabled WASSUP as a water and sanitation based CBO to emerge and endue over a period of time. This chapter presents and discusses the findings of the study. The section also gives an outline of the key themes that emerged from the interview with the participants. The findings will also be discussed through integration of the research objectives and the literature on CBOs and other voluntary based organisations. The discussion will be illustrated, where necessary by the verbatim responses from the participants. The findings are organised thematically, responding to issues arising in the literature review.

4.1 Feedback from the participants

4.1.1 Registration and the Legislative frameworks

The study found out that WASSUP is a registered organisation. It is registered with DTI as a co-operative under the Co-operatives Act 14 of 2005. It was registered in 2011 after almost four years in existence and two years in operation. The visit by Global Studio and its interaction with the community in 2007 prompted the formation of WASSUP. Since 2007, WASSUP as an idea underwent planning and wide stakeholder consultation processes until it started operating in the community in 2009. Global Studio consulted with the community, the local government, Joburg Water, JDA as well as DBSA among others. According to the Co-operatives Act 14 of 2005, WASSUP is a primary co-operative, meaning that it was formed by a minimum of five members. WASSUP was also registered with the South African Revenue Services (SARS) and at present still has to renew this registration status as it has since expired.

The interviewees also highlighted the challenges the WASSUP members faced in having the CBO registered. They cited the lack of registration information as the major challenge and the main reason why WASSUP remained unregistered for more than two years after it started operating. The team attended a workshop organised by Small Enterprise Development Agency (SEDA) where they got some relevant registration information for the first time. After this workshop, the members claim they did not get any meaningful assistance from the officials at DTI on how to fill in the registration forms. One WASSUP members interviewed pointed out that;

> The constitution we were given was blank, nothing was explained to us...whether registering as a cooperative was the only choice or something else could do (Interviewee A, 02/10/13).

The other WASSUP member further indicated that the choice to register as a cooperative was mainly because the government was at the time emphasising on the need for members of the communities to come together and form such bodies. It is possible that the team might have registered the entity as an NPO and been supervised and monitored by the Department of Social Development rather than a co-operative monitored by DTI. Up to date, co-operatives are viewed by the government as pivotal in facilitating bottom-up development and targeting poverty through self-help initiatives (RSA, 2004; Magadla, 2013).

The challenges faced by WASSUP during its registration process resonate with those echoed by Magadla (2013) in his advocacy for more recognition of co-operatives by the government. Magadla (2013:3) calls for more visible help and information desks for co-operatives as he argues that most CBOs fail to comply largely because they "... neither understand the professional jargon nor do they know where to begin". It can also be argued that, had information been readily available and registration processes explained to the WASSUP team at the onset, the CBO might be better equipped in terms of access to funding and also operational efficiency. Atibil (2012), in his analysis of the Democratic Republic of Congo's (DRC) voluntary based organisations concluded that most NGOs changed their registration status to co-operatives and vice-versa while many closed down mainly due to the lack of pre and post-registration information support.

4.1.2 The nature of WASSUP as an organisation

The emergence of the organisation

The emergence of WASSUP as an organisation can be traced back to the arrival of Global Studio team in Diepsloot back in 2007.Global Studio is a grouping of international research students, mainly in the field of architecture who have an interest in participatory development in the communities. This team came to Diepsloot in 2007 and engaged in an in-depth participatory study with the community to find out the most common challenges and how these could be ameliorated. The respondents in this research indicated that the group from Global Studio held

meetings with the community leadership, slept in the shacks and experienced the lack of sanitation and water in the area.

From the list of concerns ranging from the lack of housing, lack of proper roads, unemployment and crime identified by the residents in the area, the lack of toilets and water was cited as the major drawback in Diepsloot. In an area with a population of over 15 900 people and a density of 1 076 people per square kilometre (Himlin et al, 2005), one toilet is being shared by an average of 20-25 families and water taps break down most often. As an organised community through the leadership structures, the people of Diepsloot indicated they were committed to any efforts aimed at addressing these concerns. In turn, Global Studio committed itself to providing "ongoing support...including expertise, advice and opportunities" (WASSUP, 2012:5).

With the pressing need to address the foregoing concerns and the will from the community, WASSUP started operating in 2010, although planning meetings had been on-going since Global Studio students left in 2007. Fortunately, one member of the Global Studio group came back to SA and continued being an important link between the Global Studio and WASSUP. With her support and that of the community and the councillor, the organisation was formed with the primary aim of fixing the toilets, drainages and also the taps in the area. It is notable that this focus by WASSUP does not resonate with the DTI's emphasis on creating decent sustainable jobs and alleviating poverty by co-operatives (RSA, 2004). When asked about this disjuncture, one WASSUP member said;

> What we were passionate with was fixing toilets and we just lacked information on which government [department] to register with. (Interviewee A, 02/10/13).

The organisation continued with conducting these repairs to toilets and taps, even before its formal registration as a legal entity. It is very encouraging to note that partners such as the Johannesburg Development Agency and Joburg Water started supporting WASSUP even before the organisation attained its formal registration status. The JDA and Joburg Water officials interviewed for this research emphasised though that the agreement between WASSUP and the City of Johannesburg was very informal and supportive in nature rather than structured and contracted. JDA supported the organisation with funding while Joburg Water officials would go

on site and provide technical support on how far from the toilets could the CBO fix the drainages. The interviews revealed that the agreement between WASSUP and Joburg Water is that the CBO would fix drains within 6 metres from the toilets beyond which is the responsibility of Joburg Water.

It is pleasing to note the participatory approach route taken by Global Studio in facilitating a dialogue over a common challenge of sanitation in Diepsloot. The interviews revealed that Global Studio did not determine and impose to the community but rather empowered the members to come together and voice out their needs. All the participants indicated that they were pleased with the consultative process initiated by the Global Studio team which ensured that the community leadership, the community members and the local voluntary based organisations as well as other government agencies like JDA and Joburg Water were involved in the process.

Based on the interviews, the community was empowered, first in terms of being educated on the adverse environmental and the health impact the lack of sanitation had on their lives. Secondly, Global Studio emphasised the residents' responsibility and what they could do through working together with WASSUP and the community structures in maintaining their taps, toilets and the environment at large. Shepherd (1998) argues that the participation of the community on issues that involve them is a very crucial non-tangible variable towards social justice and equity. This is also supported by Turner (1972) who also posits that housing is a process and has a *use-value* to the occupants, enhanced through their participation in building and the subsequent maintenance. Housing goes beyond the physical structure to include care and maintenance as well as the social relations that develop in the community to mention a few dimensions (*ibid*).

The foregoing participatory process followed is contrary to how most NGOs are formed and how they remain controlled by external individuals and institutions (Jordan, 2004; Magadla, 2013; Mansuri et al, 2004). Jordan (2004) indicates that most CBOs are formed by locals who through community leadership and institutions determine their priority needs and assume responsibility to address them. WASSUP as a CBO was formed through structured and organised community involvement and hence the community assumes ownership and continues to support the CBO. However its focus does not resonate with the economic development and employment creation strategy as emphasised by the Co-operative Development Policy in SA (RSA, 2004).

The roles of WASSUP as an organisation

The research found out that the organisation is still working in Extension 1. Its area of operation is shown in Figure D.

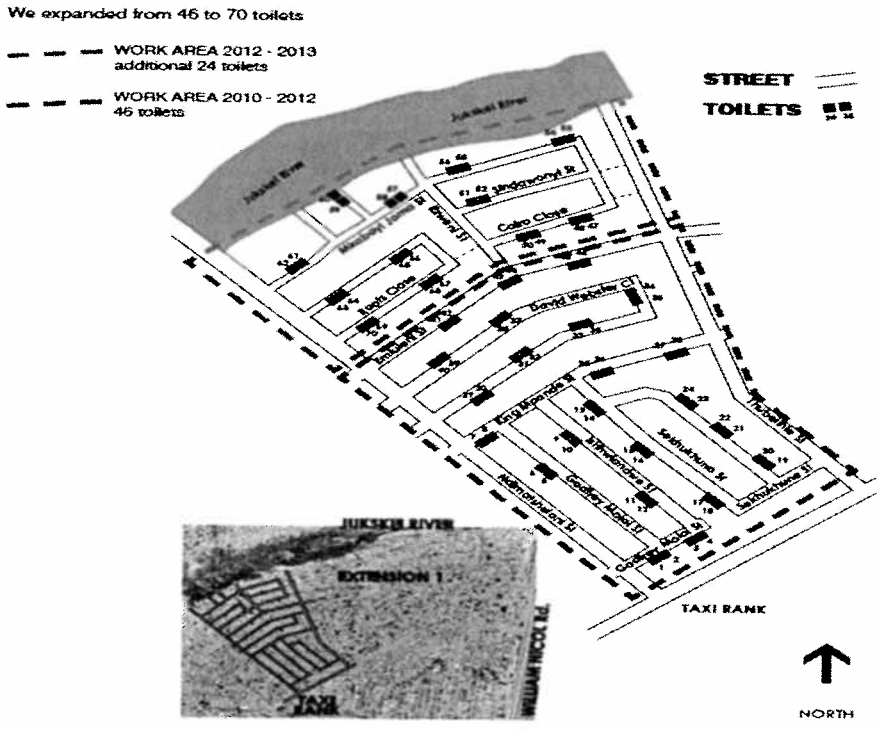


Figure D: WASSUP's work area (WASSUP July-Dec 2012 Report)

On average, the organisation repairs 8 toilets per day. The WASSUP members interviewed indicated that they do not erect new structures of toilets and taps but maintain the current units. They maintain old municipality toilets that have not been receiving any form of maintenance. The team shared that it replaces mainly cisterns and clears blockages in the toilets. See Figure E for WASSUP team at work. The agreement with Joburg Water is that WASSUP should not work on major blockages, especially those that are further away from the toilets. These should be reported to Joburg Water.



Figure E: WASSUP team at work (WASSUP July-Dec 2012 Report)

The WASSUP members work as a team and they go to the field every day, from Monday to Friday. The secretary who is also a WASSUP member maintains a time sheet which is later used in paying stipends and reporting to the funding stakeholders like JDA. It is also important to explain that the office bearers of the organisation are the ones that go out in the field as a technical team. When at work, the members use tools (mainly plumbing) and the materials provided by the co-operative, thanks to the funding from Development Bank of SA and JDA explained below. They indicated that they are able to attend to most problems, thanks to the training that the members received from one professional plumber who used to be a full time member of the CBO.

When in the field, the WASSUP members wear work suits, as shown in Figure F. One WASSUP participant pointed out that the uniform identifies them with the organisation, brings pride and dignity, especially when the community members appreciate them while at work or walking on the streets in Diepsloot. She pointed out that;

> It's good to know that people appreciate us in the community because of what we do. Because we now have uniforms people can identify us and they usually come and say thank you and support us to keep with what we are doing (Interviewee D, 24/09/13).

The other members further indicated that to the community, the uniform is a symbol of the team's commitment not only to repairing toilets but also taking care of the entire environment in the area. This is so because WASSUP has been very pivotal in organising environmental awareness campaigns which have been consistently supported by the community, the ward councillor and other NGOs and DACN. It is also through WASSUP that other government agencies like JDA and Joburg Water are visible in the improvement of the Diepsloot built environment.



Figure F: WASSUP members in uniform (WASSUP July-Dec 2012 Report)

From the interviews with all the participants, it also came out that WASSUP contributes a lot towards saving water in the community. One of the key participant from JDA interviewed indicated that;

> WASSUP is playing a critical role in saving water because they attend to water leakages on time. We appreciate what they do and they need our support (Interviewee J, 30/10/2013).

The councillor also appreciated what WASSUP is doing in the community and indicated he appreciates most the campaigns that the CBO conducts in the community. He explained that these campaigns are not only related to water and sanitation but he believed they are a powerful platform in which WASSUP and other CBOs foster community ownership and responsibility in terms of the environment. The WASSUP members and those interviewees staying in Diepsloot further appreciated this sense of ownership hence developed and they claimed it had invariably contributed to reducing crime and other social ills in the area.

The literature indicates that most CBOs are effective in targeting the felt needs of their beneficiary communities. The interviewees from WASSUP and also those that stay in Diepsloot appreciated the CBO for focusing on sanitation and also acknowledged their commitment in what they do. The key participant from DACN further indicated that it has been easy for the community and the voluntary sector in the area to support WASSUP because of the good job that they do. When asked to explain further, he responded by saying;

> WASSUP did its research very well. They found out that sanitation has been the real challenge and they are tireless in making sure that our taps and toilets are in order. The relevant NGOs here are happy to partner with WASSUP on sanitation and broader environmental issues affecting Diepsloot (Interviewee F, 02/10/13).

The partnerships thus formed through WASSUP with DACN, local government and other stakeholders provide an opportunity for the continuous reformation of the social, political and the economic relations important for housing. Such consultative processes according to Purcell (2009) are an important recipe that ensures all-stakeholder participation in the decision-making processes. The processes that include the grassroots housing occupants are supported by Turner (1972, 1978) who argues against what he sees as the arbitrary housing decisions by the authorities. He in fact views housing as a verb whose intricate value is to be determined by the occupants and hence the need for the latter to be involved throughout the decision making processes. WASSUP may not be facilitating full participation of the occupants as advocated by Turner (1972, 1978), but it should be appreciated that the CBO was formed after the residents were consulted and the members constituting it are also from the community of Diepsloot.

Members constituting WASSUP

It came into light that WASSUP is a registered co-operative in terms of the Co-operatives Act 14 of 2005. WASSUP's senior participant identified the organisation as a primary cooperative defined as "...formed by a minimum of five natural persons whose object is to provide employment or services to its members and to facilitate community development" (RSA, 2005:11). WASSUP had 12 members when it started in 2009.

The organisation now has only four fulltime members and one part time plumber. The decrease in the number is attributed chiefly to the financial constraints that WASSUP experienced after it started operating. The lack of funding affected the organisation's capacity to pay out stipends to its members. Hence the other members left the organisation for better livelihood opportunities. It is also important to remember that as opposed to the 'non-profit-sharing' and the 'non-profit-making' principle for NPOs (RSA, 1997; Cepel, 2011; Thomas et al, 2010), it is in the co-operatives' definition to meet the economic needs and aspirations of the members (RSA, 2005:6). The WASSUP participants indicated that WASSUP does not bar members who find employment elsewhere as everyone is aware that the stipend payout is too little to live on. One member revealed that the stipend amounts to R150 per day translating to R1500 in a fortnight.

The WASSUP members reiterated that their organisation provides opportunities for the team to network with other stakeholders in the community and beyond. They indicated that some of those who left WASSUP had got jobs through this network. For instance, one woman left WASSUP after she got a position of public relations officer in the councillor's office while another man got a job as a plumber at one private company. As stated earlier, the plumber continues to help WASSUP on a pert time basis. About this network, he indicated that;

> I appreciate WASSUP because it gave me an opportunity to sustain my family financially and my current employers scouted me from WASSUP. My employers liked what I was doing at WASSUP and they do not have problems that I still come to help part-time (Interviewee E, 19/10/13).

All the WASSUP members also appreciated the opportunity that the organisation had given them to earn a living through the fortnightly stipend payouts. They claimed that this contributes towards giving WASSUP some credibility in the community. However, it should be noted that

the scale of job creation by WASSUP is very small than that envisaged by DTI in respect of co-operatives. DTI reiterates that the main rational for co-operatives is to create jobs and promote self-reliance and invariably contribute to poverty alleviation and economic growth (DTI, 2004).

One important feature of some of the members of WASSUP is their history and connection to the vital institutions, both in Diepsloot and in the country as a whole. The chairperson is a former member of SANCO while one of the two women is a former member of the ANC Women's League in the area. These individuals brought special skills such as community organisation, social action, communication and networking. There was however no formal process of choosing the team members into WASSUP. One key informant from local government indicated that;

> They did not choose to work with each other. The previous ward councillor and CDW chose to bring people from different stakeholders together (Interviewee H, 14/10/13).

She explained that the choice by the ward councillor was based on the good leadership qualities that the members had shown previously in their various capacities in the community. The participant further indicated that most of the members had been in the ANC's structures in Diepsloot. The current ward councillor expressed his satisfaction over the WASSUP leadership and explained that the choice was based not on political affiliation of the members but on merit. The two key informants from JDA and Joburg Water as well as the one from Sticky Situations/Global Studio attributed most conflicts that the team had at the onset of the organisation to the fact that the members had not known each other. They however applauded the members for having worked on their differences to build the wonderful team that WASSUP is.

At inception, all the members except one did not have any training on plumbing or on the administrative aspect of running a cooperative. Only one member had a certificate in plumbing. This plumber was recruited by one member who had joined earlier. The plumber is said to have played a critical role in giving basic informal training to the other team members. The participants further appreciated the various platforms through which they had been able to access training like attending the Toilet Summit in Durban in 2012, a conference in New York in 2010 and the regular workshops presented by Small Enterprise Development Agency (SEDA). They pointed out that these platforms provided valuable opportunities for the team to learn on

managing WASSUP and also network with other organisations. The facilitator (key participant from Sticky Situations/Global Studio) indicated that she used her networks in arranging these opportunities and the requisite funding.

The lack of due processes followed in selecting members and the involvement of the councillor in picking up candidates resonate the informal nature typical of most CBOs. Mathekga and Buccus (2006) and Benit-Gbaffou (2009) point out that most local government initiated projects fail because politicians are elected and in turn elect their portfolio teams based on political credentials rather than their competency and proficiency. This invariably leads to their lack of legitimacy, especially if they are not competent. It is fortunate that the WASSUP team is committed and resolved the conflicts that its members had in the beginning. Most of these conflicts revolved around the time to start and finish work and tasks allocation.

The role of the community and its relationship with WASSUP

Ife and Tesoriero (2007) emphasise that projects and programmes should be sanctioned by the community right from the onset. The community is a crucial sustaining element for any development in the area. The role of the community in WASSUP's day to day running has been to a great extent supportive according to findings from this research[1]. Despite the composition of WASSUP membership being handpicked by the ward councillor and the CDWs, the organisation is enjoying positive support from the community because of the positive impact it has in enhancing the dignity of the community members in Diepsloot.

The interviewees maintained that the good relationship between WASSUP and the community facilitates easy and timeous reporting of breakages and faults on the toilets and taps as community members communicate freely with the WASSUP members. The latter ensures fast responses in terms of repairs. The WASSUP members all emphasised that early reporting is crucial for their planning and also in saving water in the case of water leakages. This communication is further made easy by the fact that all the WASSUP members are from Diepsloot and most community members know where they stay and hence they can report faults at any time of the day. It is also in the best interest of the WASSUP members to get these reports

[1] The research has not probed extensively the opinions of the general community members regarding WASSUP's roles in the community

early, firstly because they also stay in the same community and secondly they get stipends for the units they attend. On this, one WASSUP member interviewed said;

> Most community members know where we stay, we use the same public facilities and they know that we are also affected if these facilities are not working. They have taken a responsibility of reporting broken toilets and drainages to us upon themselves (Interviewee E, 19/10/13).

The organisation maintains a daily log sheet on which WASSUP members sign every day they go in the field to do repairs. The daily activities by each member are also recorded on the sheet and the consolidated report is important for making the fortnight stipend payouts.

The WASSUP members informed the researcher that the community had started appreciating their efforts in maintaining toilets and drainages. They indicated that some community members would clean the toilets and the working area before the team arrives to carry out repairs. They further pointed out that some community would want to help with the repair task while some would want to buy the material for repairs. On the other hand, WASSUP members reiterated their concern over vandalism and theft of cisterns, especially the plastic ones which are at times stolen to make fire in winter. The organisation's partnership with DACN was mentioned by all the participants as having greatly raised awareness through edutainment and hence contributed to the decrease in vandalism. On this, one WASSUP member said;

> The community members have been very supportive. We like the fact that they have been attending our campaigns on sanitation and environment. These campaigns have educated the community members on collective ownership of public assets and vandalism and theft of cisterns has greatly come down (Interviewee A, 02/10/13).

The literature indicates that CBOs are small but effective in responding to community challenges. WASSUP is small in size and decision-making on issues brought forward by the community is easy as all the members work together as field workers. However the involvement of the community in terms of "...key project decisions...including of investment of funds" (Mansuri et al, 2004) is limited in WASSUP. Contrary to the organisation's constitution, AGMs

are limited to the reading of annual reports instead of also electing new members. The councillor seems to support the continuation of leadership in WASSUP. He said;

> The current leadership is doing so well. New leadership may affect the effectiveness of the good job that the organisation is doing as they may be interested in benefiting financially (Interviewee G, 24/09/13).

According to the Co-operatives Act, 2005, co-operatives are supposed to have AGMs and elect new leadership. WASSUP is a co-operative, a CBO that is formed within the community and as such the leadership should be democratically sanctioned. This gives the organisation some credibility which may also attract potential donors and sponsors.

Governance in WASSUP

The interviews revealed that WASSUP as an organisation has a matured system of governance, i.e. the manner in which members resolve issues/conflicts and take decisions. The organisation has a constitution as directed by the Co-operatives Act, 2005 which details the different portfolios and their responsibilities. However, the size of the organisation makes the members relate very informally with all exercising a collective responsibility over the organisation. More so they are always together in the community as field workers. This informality resonates with most literature regarding CBOs.

The organisation currently has a chairperson, deputy chairperson, a treasurer and a secretary. The chairperson and the treasurer clearly articulated their duties in the organisation as stated in the Act. They pointed out that even though they also carry out field work duties, they also perform their constitutional duties after their field tasks. The secretary and the deputy chairperson only identified themselves as field workers. According to the constitution, the organisation is supposed to hold its annual general meeting (AGM) every year where it would elect new members and also read the annual report.

As suggested earlier on, the councillor indicated that AGMs would better focus, as they do currently on reading out the annual reports and not elect the next board. He explained that this would eliminate potential conflicts and avoid attracting members who are driven by the popular notion that WASSUP has a lot of money. The WASSUP members and one key informant from

Sticky Situations/Global Studio indicated that some community members and even some CDWs think that WASSUP is contracted by the government and hence receives relevant funding. The community probably feels entitled to benefit directly from this 'funding', especially because they were involved in some of the processes of forming WASSUP.

It is in this regard that the councillor is of the view that the AGMs should not focus on electing new office bearers because the new board may be interested in financially benefiting from the CBO instead of service delivery. As explained earlier, the councillor's views are contrary to what is prescribed in the Co-operatives Act, 2005 which stipulates that CBOs are community owned and should have democratically constituted leadership.

In terms of decision-making in WASSUP, all the participants pointed out that Tuesday meetings are used as platforms to discuss operational and other issues and come to a consensus as a collective. These meetings are held at Diepsloot Social Development every Tuesday and are attended by CDWs, the councillor, the representative from Sticky Situations/Global Studio (who is also the facilitator for WASSUP) as well as the DACN chairperson. The WASSUP members applauded these meetings as platforms for sharing expertise, knowledge and views, hence reducing potential conflicts. The participants from JDA, Joburg Water and Sticky Situations/Global Studio all agreed that WASSUP had developed and matured in the manner in which it resolves conflicts and take decisions.

The WASSUP participants pointed out that the conflicts that come up are around simple misunderstandings like tools getting lost and tasks allocation and these are normally resolved easily without any need for mediation. The senior local government official attributed the lack of major conflicts within the team to the commitment and passion that the team members have on their work. Their commitment was also echoed by one key informant who said;

> One thing that they know best is to repair toilets and fix the taps plus run their own administration... [and] this reduces opportunities for conflicts. (Interviewee I, 8/10/2013).

Governance in WASSUP is more informal with and resonates with most literature that describes governance of CBOs. Unlike most NGOs that run huge projects, have consistent funding, many staff members and bureaucratic in governance, CBOs are more

informal, mostly initiated by community members who know each other and have limited funding (Cepel, 2011; Anderson & Hoff, 2001; Mansuri et al, 2004; Magadla, 2013. The conflict in the foregoing is minimised by the unity of purpose that members have over ameliorating the common presenting challenge.

4.1.3 The relationship between WASSUP and other bodies in Diepsloot

WASSUP relates with both the public and private organisations and entities in Diepsloot. The network established by WASSUP with other stakeholders, although localised is a crucial step to the bigger ambition of building global partnerships emphasised in the Millennium Development Goals. From the interviews, the organisation's success in the area is attributed to and hinged on these partnerships.

DACN is the organisation that partners with WASSUP most frequently. DACN has artists that help in creating awareness through edutainment in street performances, workshops and also through the graphical painting of toilets. The key informant from DACN as well as WASSUP members appreciated the role played by DACN in capturing the attention of the community in awareness campaigns. In assisting WASSUP, DACN artists come up with performances and productions that are meant to educate the community about sanitation and the environment. This strategy provides education as well entertainment, mostly referred to as edutainment by Diepsloot. It is *edutainment*. On this partnership, one WASSUP member commented;

> Without DACN which provides edutainment, we definitely would not be able to hold successful campaigns on sanitation and environment. Edutainment captures the attention of the spectators and makes education meaningful and relevant (Interviewee A, 02/10/13).

DACN charges a nominal fee to enable it to buy costumes for the artists. The artists are also paid stipends to keep them motivated to work for their community. DACN has since become a very helpful partner with WASSUP and the relationship between the two was described as fruitful, cordial and mutual by the participants.

Ntle ke tlako is one NGO that does refuse collection in Diepsloot on a regular basis. The WASSUP members indicated that it became very easy to liaise with this organisation because

they are all interested in maintaining the environment. They work together mostly in the community awareness campaigns.

4.1.4 Funding and finances

WASSUP has had funding had challenges since it started operating. The difficulties it has gone through confirm the 'survivalist' nature of most CBOs as pointed out by Magadla (2013), Antibil (2005) and Cepel (2011). The organisation has had to survive with very limited funding from the DBSA and JDA. The WASSUP members, the facilitator and officials from both JDA and Joburg Water all echoed concerns over the organisation's future financial sustainability.

The organisation started operating with a zero bank balance and it did not even have an account as it was not registered as a legal entity. When JDA recognised that the organisation was doing very well and being dedicated in repairing taps, clearing drainages and fixing toilets it agreed to inject an initial donation of R60 000. As it did not have an account, WASSUP leadership negotiated with DACN for the funding to be channelled through its (DACN) bank account. The JDA official explained that the funding was part of the agency's social responsibility through its corporate social investment (CSI) budget. As already mentioned, the agency did not impose any stringent *conditionalities* on this funding but rather gave it from a supportive position. The JDA official emphasised that;

> This donation is to support... [and] in a mutual arrangement so that they are able to look after a few toilets (Interviewee J, 30/10/2013).

The second tranche of funding amounting to R60 000 for the organisation also came from JDA in 2011. This was after the organisation had attained a legal registration status with DTI. The conditions still remained loose with only quarterly progress reports required from the cooperative. The JDA official maintained that they supported the organisation chiefly because of the visible role it played in the community of Diepsloot, especially with minimum funding and other forms of support.

The interviews further revealed that DBSA also donated an amount of R620 000 in 2011 and this has not been exhausted. However, the interviews revealed that WASSUP had to wait for almost two years before this funding went through. Furthermore, DBSA channelled the funding through

the City of Joburg (COJ) and the bank has not shown any interest in knowing how the money is used either by conducting field trips/inspections or by requesting some reports. The facilitator and the JDA official described DBSA as 'non-existent' in terms of having an interest on how this funding is being used. The funding had to take this route of channelling the money through COJ because the bank had not given out such a large amount directly to small community groups whose operational capacity is not ascertained. The key participant indicated that this unusual step by DBSA of funding WASSUP was as a result of the impact the CBO was making in the community of Diepsloot. The WASSUP members expressed their concerns whether the funding would be continued when this tranche gets exhausted.

All the interviewees appreciated the facilitator (who is also from Sticky Situations and remains a link with Global Studio) for her tireless support to source funding and training opportunities for the organisation's members. They further indicated that the facilitator is the backbone of the organisation in terms of financial sustainability. The JDA official revealed that she in-fact trusted the facilitator would be accountable for the funds the agency donated through its CSI budget. The facilitator also negotiated an opportunity for the team to attend an exhibition in New York in 2011. The WASSUP participants indicated that the team received sponsorships in terms of tickets, accommodation and pocket money while in the USA on this trip.

The funds received from JDA and DBSA have been utilised to buy material needed by the team in its daily repairs. The facilitator as well as the official from JDA applauded the team for its improved administrative capacity to purchase the material, file the receipts and also compile weekly worksheets and maintain time sheets. The worksheets are an integral component of the six-monthly reports while the time sheets are used by the individual members to claim for their stipends on a fortnight basis. A time-sheet is attached in Appendix F.

As discussed earlier, one WASSUP member revealed that each member receives a stipend of R150 per day and this amounts to R1500 per fortnight (in a normal Monday to Friday week) which most members appreciated. It is important to note that unlike in NPOs, co-operatives are there to help their members generate income and distribute profits amongst themselves (RSA, 2005). Plans are underway by the team to grow WASSUP into a business entity that would serve the community and generate income on the other hand.

As already mentioned earlier, the team has developed in terms of both financial administration and collective responsibility. There has been a lot of innovation in a bid to reduce opportunities of financial loss. One participant indicated that, at first the team would withdraw cash to buy materials and would not bring any accompanying receipts for the purchases made. The facilitator indicated that WSSUP is now adopting electronic purchasing system where members would swipe for on-point-of-sale purchase and other member/s would have to approve the transaction. The team also pointed out that the SEDA management workshops that they attended have greatly capacitated them in terms of writing skills, organisational responsibility and accountability. These are some of the organisational strengths that help sustain the organisation.

The role played by the facilitator in sourcing funding and linking the organisation with the resources is very appreciable. However, the key informant from JDA and the facilitator herself is of the strong view that this has somehow fostered dependency on her as an individual. The facilitator further indicated that she had at some instances 'sat back' and hoped the leadership of the organisation would pursue the contacts she would have given them. To her disappointment, there has not been any initiative taken by the leadership to fundraise or approach sponsors. This confirms Magadla's (2013) assertion that most CBOs and other voluntary based organisations lack the marketing skill, chiefly he argues due to the lack of experience and training.

The meagre financial support available to WASSUP versus the huge role the CBO plays in restoring the dignity of the people in Diepsloot concurs with Turner's (1972, 1978) ideas on self-help. WASSUP as an initiative is a project driven by the team that is locally based and using local skills. Turner (1972, 1978: 1138) emphasises that housing is a "useless thing unless it is an activity in which one is free to participate in a significant way", even with the minimum resources. Through WASSUP the community members as individuals and as a collective are now able to contribute on issues not only relating to taps and toilets but their built environment in meetings, campaigns and the AGMs.

However it must be pointed out that WASSUP is contributing within the very narrow parameters of the communal sanitation arrangement. WASSUP, as important as it is to the community of Diepsloot contributes very minimal to the full dweller control over the entire housing process as being advocated by Turner (1972, 1978).

4.1.5 The role of the local government in WASSUP

Krishna (2003) emphasises the importance of the CBOs and local governments forging a working mutual relationship with each other. Mathekga and Buccus (2006) further attribute the collapse of most government-initiated development initiatives to the failure by the local government to recognise the grassroots CBOs, most of which have access and knowledge of the community. The interviewees had different perceptions altogether regarding WASSUP's relationship with the local government in Diepsloot.

The local government ward councillors are viewed by the participants as having been key in WASSUP's operations, right from its onset. The interviewees indicated that the planning meetings for the formation of WASSUP were supported by the local councillor who attended most meetings, if not all of them. Even though the key participant from Sticky Situations/Global Studio's efforts are regarded as the main driving force behind the formation of the organisation, all the interviewees including her agreed that her energy would not have resulted in any positive returns if the ward councillor had not given her access to 'his people'. The ward councillor pointed out that the idea of WASSUP was very appealing and the local government was convinced that it would address the long standing challenge of the lack of sanitation and more so act as a bridge between the government and the community (Krishna, 2003).

Another key participant from the local government official interviewed explained that the local government had a responsibility to link the CBOs with the necessary resources and help build their capacity. When she was asked to explain why WASSUP had remained unregistered for almost 2 years despite the positive contributions it was making in improving sanitation in the area, she indicated that the late registration could be attributed to the members' lack of decision on which government department to register with. Even when the members had got the cooperative registration forms, it would seem the local government did not help link the members with any individual or institutions that could explain the jargon in the documents to the members.

In its daily operations, some local government officials are visible in the field, especially in organising and actively participating in awareness campaigns. One participant indicated that the

ward councillor as well as the CDWs has been very supportive. The councillor himself pointed out that;

> I'm always there in their campaigns with DACN and in their weekly meetings if I'm not committed...[and] they come to me for advice and when they don't have funds I always give them emotional support (Interviewee G, 14/10/13).

The participants responded that WASSUP shares a very cordial relationship with the local government, especially the councillor. However, one participant pointed out that WASSUP has not received enough recognition and support, not only from the local government but the entire community. In responding to the question about the role of local government and the nature of support it renders to WASSUP, the councillor pointed out that there was no funding from the local authority. He pointed out that even if there was no funding from the local government he was happy that the government through the City of Joburg was supporting WASSUP in the sense of JDA that has provided funding on two occasions to the CBO. He further appreciated the fact that WASSUP was a credible CBO that could act the role of "filling the gaps left by the government" as referred to by Krishna (2003:21).

Contrary to other contexts where the local government would feel threatened by some CBOs and other voluntary based organisations (Clark, 1993), the councillor indicated that the local authority and WASSUP had complementary responsibilities and roles. He reiterated that the local authority was working towards creating a truly enabling environment for WASSUP and other CBOs. He further appreciated that the local authority was now able to reach to more community members through WASSUP which plays a deepening role (Krishna, 2004) in Diepsloot.

The relationship has not been without challenges though. The facilitator (key participant from Sticky Situations/Global Studio) and the WASSUP members refereed to one project of tarring the roads in the area where WASSUP had difficulties to gain the support of the CDWs who demanded payment as they alleged that WASSUP had enough funds to make these payments. It seems there has been lack of communication between WASSUP, the local government officials and the CDWs. The WASSUP members as well as the councillor informed the researcher that

most community members including some local government officials like the CDWs believe WASSUP has a tender from the government to repair toilets and taps and hence the CBO has a lot of money. Hence some CDWs always see working with WASSUP as an opportunity to make more money.

4.2 WASSUP's strengths and weaknesses

This section looks at the strengths and the weaknesses of WASSUP. It reflects on the interviews conducted by the research as well as the researcher's analysis and his experience of the study.

Strengths

WASSUP has matured from an idea to being a formidable organisation that has brought service delivery in terms of the maintenance of toilets and taps as well bringing other government entities (JDA and Joburg Water) to the community of Diepsloot. Even though the idea was brought through Global Studio in 2007, it is appreciable that the community was consulted and sanitation was singled out as a strongly felt rather than a perceived need in Extension 1 in Diepsloot. Focusing on sanitation by WASSUP makes it more credible because this need was identified by the community itself. Ife and Tesoriero (2000: 267) emphasise that the community is supposed to be involved in all the processes that will bring change in their lives. The community was involved in the needs analysis and need-definition up to the formation of WASSUP. However, the nomination of the office bearers by the councillor and the lack of elections of new office bearers in the AGMs exclude the community from participating fully in WASSUP's decision making processes.

It is also important to note that the WASSUP team stays in Diepsloot experiencing the same conditions (lack of sanitation) with the broader community that they serve. Freire (1972) insisted that grassroots communities should assume a leading role in their political and socio-economic emancipation. Mathekga and Buccus (2006) further insist that community leaders would better understand the local rhythms and their culture to effect meaningful development that targets poverty. One WASSUP member indicated that the strength and the success of WASSUP was based on the experiential knowledge and understanding of the team. He said;

> Diepsloot is very dirty... [and] I wonder if someone from outside would respect the people here and get dirty for the people whom he doesn't know. The team members are committed because they are also cleaning their own environment (Interviewee E, 19/10/13).

All the team members further reiterated that they are committed to working with WASSUP and hence they have not left since the organisation was formed. Most of the members have worked with various stakeholders like SANCO and the Women's League and they understand local structures better than would some from outside.

The organisation has a good network with the other CBOs in the area. The UN emphasises that partnerships are crucial platforms for sharing skills and experiences (UNDP, 2013). The partnerships are also crucial building blocks to creating global networks and partnerships. When JDA concluded that it would assist WASSUP in terms of finances, DACN offered that its account could be used to channel through this funding. This was due to the mutual trust that the two had. Joburg Water (which has assisted with materials and monitoring), Sticky Situations, Global Studio, SEDA and Ntle ke tlako are amongst other key organisations that continue to offer support to WASSUP.

Getting approval from these entities, especially Joburg Water, JDA and DBSA has been extremely motivational for WASSUP. The financial assistance, albeit little, that has come through to the organisation has greatly assisted in funding the administrative and operational costs. The support from the councillor who has been attending most of the routine meetings also continues to motivate WASSUP. In these meetings, the councillor would appreciate the role played by WASSUP and hence appeal for the community to support the organisation. The senior local government official and one CDW further indicated that they have assisted the organisation to get a container to use as an office and storage facility. This assistance would not have been possible if WASSUP did not nurture this cordial relationship with the local government.

When asked about the organisation's strengths, the facilitator pointed out that the team has over the years evolved to appreciate working as a team work. Despite the members coming from various institutions, they were held together by their collective responsibility of improving sanitation conditions in Extension1 in Diepsloot. This commitment was very evident during the

time when WASSUP members were not getting any stipend. Even when funding started trickling in, the passion and the commitment in what they do prevented possible corruption and misunderstandings amongst the team members. Passion for the community is a very necessary ingredient for CBOs. The facilitator further indicated that this team spirit and commitment was strengthened by the members' attendance to workshops and networking with other organisations, both locally and internationally.

The weaknesses and the challenges

Despite the notable success of WASSUP, the organisation has not been without challenges and weaknesses. The financial sustainability plan and future hope of the organisation is evidently hinged on the facilitator. All the participants concurred that the facilitator played a very essential role in forming WASSUP and establishing networks with other organisations and institutions for funding, training and workshops. The participants from both Joburg Water and JDA reiterated the concern that the board did not have any strategic plan to wean itself from depending on the facilitator.

In as much as the WASSUP members have displayed their unequivocal commitment and dedication to WASSUP and have remained even at the most challenging time when there were no stipends some indicated that the fortnightly payouts were just too low to sustain them and their families financially. Two of the four fulltime members indicated that should they get better paying jobs elsewhere they would leave and commit themselves to WASSUP on a part time basis. One member stressed that;

> We appreciate the stipends but they are far below the poverty datum line and it's difficult to support our families...[and we will definitely] leave because the organisation does not bar us from doing that (Interviewee A, 02/10/13).

The members further acknowledged the experience that WASSUP is providing them with and hoped they would climb through to formal employment using networks established through the organisation. It is in the best interest of the organisation and the members thereof to intensify their fundraising initiatives and improve their financial status; otherwise it will continue losing

members who take formal employment elsewhere. This is more important in the light of the fact that there is no on-going funding into WASSUP at the present moment.

As already stated earlier, the organisation does not have its own space for offices and store rooms. This has been limiting the quantities of materials that the team could purchase. As a result of this lack space, members would divide the material amongst themselves and keep it in their homes. Furthermore, WASSUP has been operating without transport and this has impacted negatively on its operation and its ability to undertake other projects in Diepsloot. The lack of resources, especially that of offices confirms what Magadla (2013), Cepel (2011) and Escobar, (1992) write about the informal nature and the volunteer-driven support regarding most CBOs. They lack various components, especially the financial resources to stipend the staff and to grow the organisation into a longer term business.

4.3. Conclusion

WASSUP as a water and sanitation based CBO emerged as an intervention to address the community challenge of sanitation in some sections of Diepsloot. These sections had been without measures to mitigate the challenges of broken toilets, burst sewer pipes and leaking taps among others. WASSUP has managed to endure because it won the support of the local government, especially the ward councillor, the other voluntary organisations in the area as well as other government entities. Lack of funding has been a major challenge for the CBO. The funding from JDA and DBSA has been inadequate. The WASSUP members have been resolute and determined throughout to serve the community.

CHAPTER 5: MAIN FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the main findings and conclusions of the study. These main findings are also directed at the main research question and the objectives of the study. Recommendations for further research and policy will be outlined later in the chapter.

The research looked into what has enabled WASSUP as a water and sanitation based CBO to emerge and endure over a period of time. The literature on CBOs indicates that most CBOs struggle to gain support both from the government and the private sector and they lack the essential resources such as funding to discharge their duties. The research on WASSUP as a CBO highlighted these challenges and how the organisation has managed to endure over a period.

Various literature was used by the researcher to gain an understanding into the nature of CBOs, the voluntary sector and co-operatives. The literature helped inform the questions to explore in the study. The study employed a qualitative approach in investigating what has enabled the CBO to emerge and endure over a period of time. The interviewees selected through purposive sampling shared very important information on how WASSUP emerged and what is it that sustains it. The research may have found some of the keys answers to the research questions but not all of them.

5.2 Summary of the main findings

The study found out that WASSUP is a registered co-operative founded in 2007 and was formally registered with DTI in 2011. As a primary co-operative, it was registered by 12 members and only four are remaining serving both as board members and also as field workers carrying out the repairs of the toilets, taps and drainages. The co-operative registered with the DTI and by law also with SARS. It has also obtained a BEE (Black Economic Empowerment) certificate from SARS.

Based on the interviews with WASSUP members, the organisation however does not have economic growth, job creation and poverty alleviation on its agenda as expected of co-operatives by DTI. This is because the organisation employs only five people at the moment and there is no economic activity taking place in WASSUP apart from paying stipends using donor funding. The organisation however intends to grow the entity into a business entity.

The organisation did not get any meaningful help in terms of advice and financial support from DTI. The members had to contend with the challenge of whether to register as a co-operative or an NPO. Even after they had decided to register as a co-operative with DTI, they did not get any help from the same department and neither from the local government's CDWs whose function among others is to provide information for the community members and CBOs. The WASSUP members indicated that a successful registration process was due to their passion and hard-work and their determination to work on sanitation in Diepsloot. The interviews revealed that the facilitator played a crucial role.

The mismatch between DTI policy of supporting co-operatives and the lack of any form of help extended to WASSUP by the department raises serious concerns on those organisations wishing to register as co-operatives. This may hinder prospective organisations registering as co-operatives under DTI. Some voluntary based organisations may opt to register as NPOs because of the support, albeit minimum the DSD gives to such organisations as indicated in Phofi (2010). The lack of support by DTI is also worrisome as organisations registered under it may not operate according to the policy objectives and guidelines of co-operatives.

Based on the interviews, the emergence of WASSUP is very much rooted on the visit by Global Studio in 2007. Global Studio conducted a participatory research by talking to some individual members and also held group community discussions with the community as well as with the local leadership. The residents emphasised the lack of toilets, water and blocked drainages as having serious consequences to the health of the community members, especially the children. The interviews indicate that WASSUP was successfully registered and continues to operate with the support of the community largely because it is targeting a community felt-need. According to the interviews, Diepsloot had been experiencing serious challenges of sanitation and it is not likely that the local government would have on its own initiated interventions to mitigate this

challenge. The local government and WASSUP are now working together to improve the sanitation conditions of the area.

As a sanitation-based CBO, WASSUP repairs toilets, taps and drainages in Extension 1 which is commonly referred to as the reception area in Diepsloot. This area is wholly informal settlements, characterised by high levels of poverty (Himlin, Engel & Mathotho, 2005) and the lack of sanitation. Each toilet is shared by an average of 25 families. WASSUP buys the material and they repair broken units. The team does not install any new units. On average, 8 toilets are fixed per day but this largely depends on the extent of the damages. Drains that are further away from the toilets are left for Joburg Water to attend to as the organisation lacks the necessary tools and equipment to do so. The team has uniforms/work suits to use carrying out the repairs. The team also paints the toilets to keep them clean as this has proved to improve the collective responsibility by the community to keep the units clean. DACN collaborates with the cooperative both in painting of these toilets and also in the awareness campaigns to 'edutain' the community on the environment.

The study found out that WASSUP has established networks with a number of other CBOs, the local government and other institutions in and around Diepsloot. The interviews revealed that WASSUP has continued to operate over the years largely due to the sound relationship it has forged with these CBOs. As a collective, WASSUP and these organisations share skills, share responsibilities and also advice. Joburg Water, JDA and DBSA are important partners that have extended funding to WASSUP. The organisation has always enjoyed the support of the local government councillor in Diepsloot. His support has invariably contributed a lot to the sustenance and endurance of WASSUP as a CBO.

The interviews highlight that WASSUP has been working under very limited financial and material resources. The CBO however learnt to manage its finances responsibly and as result WASSUP received more funding. Had it not been for the efficient management of its finances, the organisation would not have managed to endure over a period of time. The WASSUP also had opportunities for learning and training both locally and internationally. The team members indicated that they benefited by acquiring skills and getting also motivated to continue working hard for the community. The CBO has managed to sustain itself and endure over a period of time because of these opportunities.

The passion the WASSUP members share about improving sanitation in the community of Diepsloot has greatly contributed to the unity of purpose within the team. It is because of this passion that members quickly learnt to resolve their misunderstandings and initial conflicts. The WASSUP members as well as other key participants commended the team for working as a collective and respecting one another. This unifying purpose has contributed to the endurance of WASSUP as a CBO. It is also important that the team continues to get the stipends to keep the members motivated. For the organisation to keep going, it is also crucial for the team members to keep the interest of the CBO at heart to avoid potential conflicts.

In summary, the interviews revealed that WASSUP as a CBO emerged out of a need to address the challenge of sanitation in the area. The organisation has the support of the local government namely the councillor and also other government entities like JDA and Joburg Water. WASSUP emerged as a CBO widely supported by the community. The community participated in determining their need and continue to support WASSUP as it is enhancing their dignity by making sure that toilets and water taps are in good working order.

WASSUP has managed to endure chiefly because of the dedication of its team members. As a result of this dedication, WASSUP has attracted funding, though little from JDA and DBSA. This funding has motivated the team members as they are able to pay themselves stipends and also buy material required to do the repairs. As an accountable team, WASSUP has been keeping records of their financial transactions and also writing reports of their operations. Despite the lack of support from DTI in terms of funding and advice the organisation has managed to emerge and endure over a period of time.

5.3 Recommendations

5.3.1 Recommendations for co-operatives and other voluntary based organisations

The central focus of this research was to study WASSUP as a CBO in order to gain an understanding into what has enabled it to emerge and endure over time. The study investigated various issues including its emergence, community support and participation, funding and its relationship with the other stakeholders. Its emergence and dimensions relating to community support and participation were important to explore as they defined the legitimacy of WASSUP

and hence ownership by the community. WASSUP owes its existence and good reputation largely to its huge support from the community as well as the ward councillor.

The study explored other aspects such as funding for the CBO, the relationships that it has with other voluntary-based organisations and the local government as well as governance. For a CBO to function effectively, it is important for it to work hard in and get recognition from the prospective funders. The funding which may eventually come through may hardly be adequate to cover all its financial requirements and this calls for financial prudence from the CBOs. WASSUP has been very strong in financial and resource accountability. The organisation has endured mostly due to the dedication and commitment of the members who have learnt to resolve conflicts amongst themselves and prioritise repairing toilets, taps and drainages in the community.

Based on the interviews conducted during this study, the following recommendations are made in respect of CBOs and the voluntary based organisations in general.

- The study recommends that CBOs make a thorough research on the needs of the community through consulting widely with both the community members and the leadership thereof. This gives an opportunity for the community to participate in determining its needs and thereafter take ownership of the programmes aimed at mitigating their challenges. WASSUP emerged and has endured wholly because Global Studio conducted a participatory research in which community members and the local leadership pointed out several housing related challenges such as sanitation, jobs and crime as affecting them in the area. The organisation has continued to get support from the community, the local government and from other institutions. It is hence that CBOs establish partnerships with relevant organisations.
- The study further recommends that CBOs take responsibility to raise funds. WASSUP has been receiving sporadic funding from JDA and DBSA. The funding has been inadequate to cover the full operational costs for the CBO, including paying stipends for the members. WASSUP is not certain if DBSA funding will continue once the current tranche runs out. On this note, DTI and the local government are also challenged to honour their policy obligations of supporting CBOs.

5.3.2 Recommendations for policy on co-operatives and DTI

The study helped bring out some of the challenges that WASSUP has had to contend with right from their registration up to their activities. The research also helped to point out WASSUP's strong points which, if possible may need to be modelled to other co-operatives and the voluntary sector as a whole. Based on WASSUP's experiences, the following recommendations are made.

- It is important that information on which type of organisation to register as be readily available to CBOs. WASSUP lacked information in this regard and they did not get any support in interpreting the model constitution the members got from DTI. They further lacked knowledge on what constitutes co-operatives and what their main focus is. WASSUP is contributing very little towards the focus of co-operatives as emphasised by DTI. DTI outlines the focus of co-operatives as that of creating jobs, self-reliance and alleviating poverty. It is recommended that DTI should make this information available to all CBOs wishing to register as co-operatives and assist them work through what their options are.
- Post-registration-support in terms of funding and advice is also very important, not only for co-operatives but also the voluntary sector as a whole. If DTI is committed to creating a vibrant co-operative sector which would contribute to economic growth and alleviation of poverty, it should make a follow up with the co-operatives registered under it and capacitate them through funding and training. WASSUP as a cooperative has not received any funding and training, later on visit or communication from DTI. The CBO has endured because of the financial, advisory and technical support it has received from JDA and DBSA and the facilitator.

5.3.3 Recommendations for WASSUP

WASSUP is impacting positively in the socio-development of the community of Diepsloot. The members would like to see the organisation growing to service other sections in Diepsloot and also compete for sanitation tenders in other areas in Johannesburg. It is highly recommended that;

- WASSUP engages in fundraising activities to sustain its operations. This would help shift the responsibility of sourcing funding from the facilitator to the organisation and its board.
- WASSUP capacitates itself with administrative training for it to be more credible and more formal. This might help the prospective donors and other stakeholders to take the organisation seriously.
- The organisation should also expedite the process of getting its own structure for office purposes and for material storage. This would not only help to improve its administration and records management but it would also be able to buy the material in bulk and hence realise the economies of scale savings.

5.3.4 Recommendations for local government

- The study recommends that local government needs to fully acknowledge what WASSUP has achieved and take this as an opportunity to learn and reflect. This will inform its relationship with other CBOs. WASSUP has achieved despite a range of difficulties and the state needs to know what this CBO has done to achieve this and improve its performance accordingly.

5.3.5 Recommendations for further research

The main aim of this study was to investigate WASSUP as a CBO. The study may have found very important answers to the research questions but not necessarily of them. Further research may need to explore further into aspects that this study did not find answers to. The research found out that the organisation as a co-operative had to contend with several challenges, many of which emanate from the lack of support from the government in terms of registration information, capacity building and the lack of funding from the DTI.

Perhaps it is necessary to research further into why the pre and post-registration support is not readily accessed by some CBOs wishing to register as formal entities. Because of limited time, this study did not explore the views of the ordinary community members regarding WASSUP. Further research may investigate further the views of the community members and more importantly the community dynamics and politics that are at play within WASSUP.

5.4 Concluding Comment

This study showed that CBOs play a very critical role in bringing service delivery and investing in infrastructure development in the urban poor communities. Infrastructure and services are critical elements requisite in housing and the built environment. WASSUP has encouraged some government entities to adopt an active role in the community of Diepsloot. COJ, JDA and the local government are now visible in the community of Diepsloot because of the relationship that WASSUP forged with them. It is also an important structure through which grassroots participation and bottom up development has unfolded.

Despite the commitment by the government to support co-operatives (RSA, 2004, 2005) and self-help initiatives, WASSUP had to operate for almost 2 years without due registration mainly because of lack of support from the DTI. It is still without funding from the government. The organisation has survived mainly because of the commitment of its members which has attracted goodwill from a few funders and support from other CBOs and NPOs as well as the local government leadership. The support from the community has remained pivotal to the emergence as well as to the continued existence of the organisation. The CBO has contributed greatly to restoring the dignity of the residents in the area by repairing the toilets which could be a potential housing and an environmental hazard if not attended to.

This research concludes that WASSUP emerged and continued to endure because of its relevance to the community of Diepsloot. CBOs have an impact in addressing numerous housing related challenges such as sanitation, lack of water and energy to mention a few. It is evident that housing cannot be separated from infrastructure and services as these are integral in creating sustainable neighbourhoods. As it is taking longer for the government to provide housing to all, it is imperative for the local government s to create an enabling environment for CBOs to operate and remain sustainable.

CBOs experience numerous challenges such as the lack of skills and finances. It is important that CBOs become more innovative towards financial sustainability. Effective leadership remains critical to enable the CBOs in addressing poverty and linking the organisation with the relevant stakeholders. The more effective and more knowledgeable the CBOs' leadership is the less dependence they are on government funding which may erode their independency and

autonomy. However, to become more effective and knowledgeable requires concerted effort from the state.

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Appendix A: Participant information sheet

Good day,

My name is Mzwandile Sobantu and I am currently enrolled for a Master of the Built Environment (MBE) Housing degree at the University of the Witwatersrand. As part of the requirements for the degree, I am conducting research into what has enabled WASSUP to emerge and endure over time. It is hoped that this information will contribute knowledge on what WASSUP is, its roles and its relationships and how it contributes to improving the built environment of its constituent community. More importantly it will shed light into those unique qualities that have sustained WASSUP over time.

I therefore wish to invite you to participate in my study. Your participation is entirely voluntary and refusal to participate will not be held against you in any way. If you agree to take part, the discussion will last approximately one hour. You may withdraw from the study at any time and you may also refuse to respond to any questions that you feel uncomfortable with answering.

With your permission, discussion will be tape-recorded. No-one other than my supervisor will have access to the tapes. The tapes and the interview schedules will be kept for two years in a lockable cabinet and then destroyed. Please be assured that your name and personal details will be kept confidential and no indentifying information will be included in the final research report. A pseudo name will be used instead of your real identification details.

Please feel free to ask any questions regarding the study. I shall answer them to the best of my ability. I may be contacted on 0787423658 and my supervisor, Ms Sarah Charlton is reachable on 0117177717. Thank you for taking your time to consider participating in the study

Yours sincerely

Mzwandile Sobantu

Appendix B: Consent form

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATING IN THE STUDY

I hereby consent to participate in the research. The purpose and procedures of the study have been explained to me. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may refuse to answer any particular items or withdraw from the study at any time without any consequences. I understand that my responses will be kept confidential.

Name of Participant:.....

Signature: .....

Date: .....

CONSENT FOR AUDIO-TAPING OF THE INTERVIEW

I hereby consent to the tape-recording of the interview. I understand that my confidentiality will be maintained at all times and that the tapes will be kept in a lockable cabinet and destroyed two years after any publication arising from the study or six years after completion of the study if there are no publications.

Name of participant:.....

Date: .....

Signature: .....

Appendix C: Interview schedule

STICKY SITUATIONS AND WASSUP CHAIRPERSON

THEME 1: REGISTRATION AND THE LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORKS

1. Under which statutory provision/s and/or Law is WASSUP registered?

   -To ascertain its registration, is it a legal entity (some have been found to be operating briefcase NGOs in DRC)
   -To ascertain its status (a cooperative, an NPO)
   -Also find out the norms and standards of the department WASSUP is registered with

2. Did the organisation receive any registration certificates from the relevant bodies for such registration?

   -What is the organisation registered for? Which services is it registered to render?
   -The certificate is to be seen to confirm its registration and the validity of the registration

3. With which government department/s is WASSUP registered?

   -This confirms the type of registration and status. Coops are under DTI while NPOs are under DSD while some are not registered with the latter). Some NGOs have been found to change from coops to NPO status and vice versa to be able to access funding and also to avoid *conditionalities* set by the relevant government departments.

5. Are there any conditions that WASSUP has to adhere to in line with the relevant legislative regulations?

6. Are WASSUP's operations still in line with the purpose it is registered for?

7. What are the challenges that the organisation faces in complying with these regulations?

   -financial/funding, admin capacity, cooperation from the local government and the community

THEME 2: THE NATURE OF WASSUP AS AN ORGANISATION

1. How did WASSUP emerge as an organisation?

   -For what reason was it set
   -A felt need by the community or perceived by the founders

2. What are the roles of WASSUP as an organisation?

   -Overall objectives
   -Day to day duties of the organisation
   -Who does this and with who
   -How do you recruit these people
   -The skills/training they have
   -The tools/eqpt they use
   -How do they prioritise
   -How do they get to know about the needy areas/toilets
   -Any evaluation/quality control of the work done

3. What is the role of the community in WASSUP?

   -Is the community involved in identifying critical toilets for repairs/
   -Is the community involved in the actual work done?
   -Is the community involved in the evaluation of the work done?
   -Any regular meetings with the community? How often?

4. How do the community members benefit from WASSUP?

5. How is WASSUP governed?

   -Is there a board or a management committee running WASSUP?
   -How is the structure elected or appointed?
   -How are decisions made/taken in WASSUP?
   -Any constitution or regulations governing the day to day activities of WASSUP?

6. What training on the administrative and financial management does the management have?

7. What are the unique characteristics specific to WASSUP that have sustained the organisation?

   -Governance, training, relationship with the community, the quality of their services

THEME 3: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WASSUP AND OTHER BODIES IN DIEPSLOOT?

1. Which institutions (international or local) that you work or relate with in Diepsloot?

   -How did you start this relationship?

2. Describe the nature of the relationship you have with these institutions?

3. What services do these organisations provide to the community?

4. In what forums does WASSUP meet with these organisations?

5. How and in what way has the broader civil society been helpful in lobbying for you in terms of policy and funding?

   -

THEME 4: FUNDING

1. What form of funding and from whom does WASSUP receive this for the services it renders to the community?

   -Was it solicited or voluntary funding?
   -local or international funding institutions/organisations
   -Government funding
   -Fundraising

2. What are the conditionalities for this funding?

   -Compliance with funders or legal requirements – reporting, auditing

3. Briefly describe how this funding assists WASSUP?

   -Is the funding enough?

4. What are the challenges regarding funding?

THEME 5: THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT

1. Which local government officials, councillors are important for your work?

2. In what way are these important to your work?

3. What form of support do you get from the local government?

4. May you describe the relationship WASSUP has with the local government.

   -mutual, conflictual, beneficial

5. What do you understand are the responsibilities of the local government in your work?

6. How do you communicate with these officials?

   -forums, telephonically, through reports, through emails

7. What form of challenges does WASSUP have with the local government?

   -Examples?????

8. How were these resolved?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: FOR WASSUP COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKERS

THEME 2: THE NATURE OF WASSUP AS AN ORGANISATION

1. What are the roles of WASSUP as an organisation?

2. What exactly is your role as a community development worker?

3. What is the role of the community in WASSUP?

4. What is the nature of the involvement of the community in your day to day activities?

6. How do the community members benefit from WASSUP?

7. How is WASSUP governed?

8. What form of training did you receive?

9. Briefly describe how you were recruited into WASSUP.

10. What form of benefits do you get in return for what you do?
-salary, training and skills development

10. Why have you continued working in this organisation?

11. What are the unique characteristics specific to WASSUP that have sustained the organisation?

12. In your own view, do you think the community appreciates what you do?

13. What are the challenges that you face with in your daily activities as a community development worker?
-Conflicts, how do you resolve them? Examples???

THEME 3: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WASSUP AND OTHER BODIES IN DIEPSLOOT?

1. Which organisations do you work with in your day to day activities in the field?

2. What type of services do these institutions provide?

3. May you briefly describe your relationship with these institutions?

4. What sort of conflict, if any have you encountered with these organisations and how have you resolved them?

   Examples

5. Other than meeting in the field, what in what other platforms do you meet with these organisations?

   what do you discuss in these forums?

5. In what has your relationships you have with these organisations/institutions been helpful or unhelpful?

THEME 5: THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT

1. In your day to day activities, which local government officials and or its employees have you interacted with?

2. What form of support do you get from the local government?

3. How do you communicate with the local government officials in Diepsloot?

4. Do you have forums or regular meetings with the local government officials in the area?

5. What are the challenges that you have had as WASSUP development workers in relating to the local government in your day to day activities?

   -conflicts, Examples??

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: FOR THE OTHER CIVIL LEADERS IN DIEPSLOOT (FROM ARTS & CULTURE, WOMEN AND YOUTH)

THEME 2: THE NATURE OF WASSUP AS AN ORGANISATION

1. May you please describe WASSUP and its roles as an organisation?

2. In what ways is WASSUP important to the development of the Diepsloot community?

3. How is the community involved in WASSUP's activities?

4. What do you think are the unique characteristics specific to WASSUP that have sustained the organisation?

THEME 6: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WASSUP AND THE CIVIL SOCIETY?

1. What is the role of your organisation in the Diepsloot and how do you relate with WASSUP?

2. May you briefly describe the relationship you have with WASSUP.

3. In what way does WASSUP and other community based organisations benefit from your organisation?

   -conditions for help/assistance.

4. What regular meetings/communication with WASSUP and other similar organisations in Diepsloot?

   -What do you discuss in these meetings?

4. Who else sits in the meetings or which other organisations or bodies attend these meetings?

5. In what ways does WASSUP benefit from the broader civil society in Diepsloot and in SA?

6. What are the challenges that your organisation and the civil society have had to contend with in your relationship with WASSUP and other community based organisations?

7. How have you resolved these challenges?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: FOR THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL

THEME 1: REGISTRATION AND THE LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORKS

1. How long have you known about WASSUP?
2. Is WASSUP registered with the local government and relevant certificates issued?
3. What other regulatory laws that govern WASSUP and other community based organisations?
4. May you please briefly talk about the compliance of WASSUP and other CBOs to the relevant regulations?
5. What are the challenges the organisations like WASSUP face in complying with these regulations?

THEME 2: THE NATURE OF WASSUP AS AN ORGANISATION

1. How did WASSUP emerge as an organisation?
2. What are the roles of WASSUP as an organisation?
3. What is the role of the community in WASSUP?
4. To what extent was the community involved in constituting the organisation?
5 How does WASSUP fit into the local government's community developmental plan?
6. What are the aims of WASSUP as an organisation?
7. How do the community members benefit from WASSUP?
8. In what way is the local government involved in the governance of WASSUP and other community based organisations?
9. What do you think are the unique characteristics specific to WASSUP that have sustained the organisation?

THEME 4: FUNDING

1. What form of funding that the local government or the central government gives to WASSUP and other organisations?

2. If so, what are the conditions/requirements for accessing such funding?

3. How does the local government monitor/audit the use of this funding?

4. What other form of support other than funding do you give to WASSUP and other organisations in your constituent?

THEME 5: THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT

1. May you please briefly describe your relationship with WASSUP?

2. How does WASSUP fit in or contribute to the local government's development plan for Diepsloot?

3. What form of support do you provide to WASSUP for its rendition of services?

4. How does WASSUP and other civil society organisations participate in local government policy?

5. In what forums does the local government meet with WASSUP and the civil society organisations and how often does this happen?

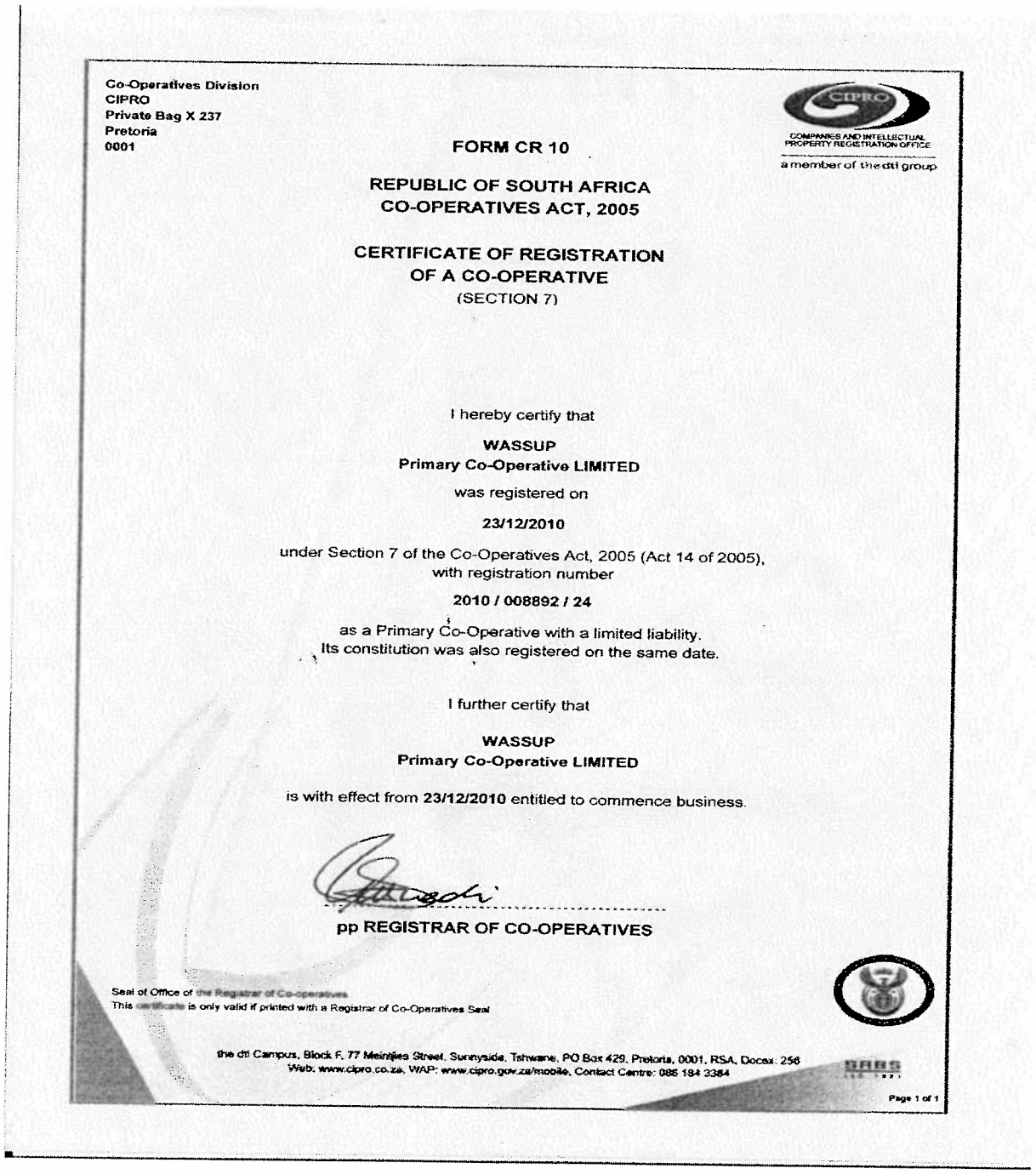
6. What are the common challenges that the local government faces in its relationship with WASSUP and other community based organisations in Diepsloot?

   Conflicts and how have they been resolved-Examples??

7. In your own view, what is the future of WASSUP and other community based organisations in the Diepsloot?

8. In your own view, what is the future of the relationship between the local government and the civil society in Diepsloot?

Appendix D: WASSUP registration certificate



Co-Operatives Division
CIPRO
Private Bag X 237
Pretoria
0001

COMPANIES AND INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY REGISTRATION OFFICE
a member of the dti group

FORM CR 10

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
CO-OPERATIVES ACT, 2005

CERTIFICATE OF REGISTRATION OF A CO-OPERATIVE
(SECTION 7)

I hereby certify that

WASSUP
Primary Co-Operative LIMITED

was registered on

23/12/2010

under Section 7 of the Co-Operatives Act, 2005 (Act 14 of 2005), with registration number

2010 / 008892 / 24

as a Primary Co-Operative with a limited liability.
Its constitution was also registered on the same date.

I further certify that

WASSUP
Primary Co-Operative LIMITED

is with effect from **23/12/2010** entitled to commence business.

pp REGISTRAR OF CO-OPERATIVES

Seal of Office of the Registrar of Co-operatives
This certificate is only valid if printed with a Registrar of Co-Operatives Seal

the dti Campus, Block F, 77 Meintjies Street, Sunnyside, Tshwane, PO Box 429, Pretoria, 0001, RSA, Docex: 256
Web: www.cipro.co.za, WAP: www.cipro.gov.za/mobile, Contact Centre: 086 184 3384

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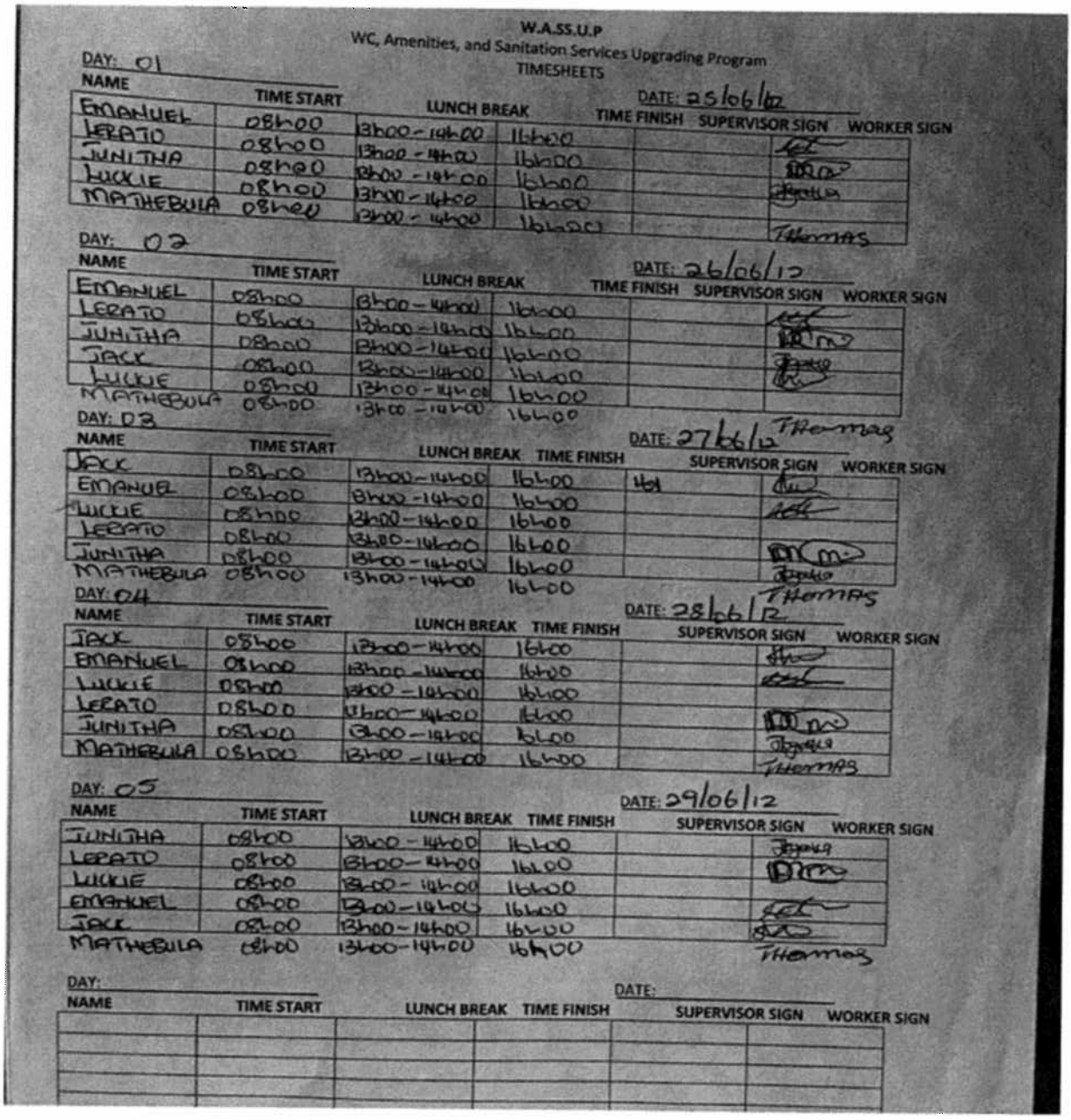
Appendix E: Time sheet WASSUP team



W.A.SS.U.P
WC, Amenities, and Sanitation Services Upgrading Program
TIMESHEETS

DAY: 01 DATE: 25/06/12

NAME	TIME START	LUNCH BREAK	TIME FINISH	SUPERVISOR SIGN	WORKER SIGN
EMANUEL	08h00	13h00-14h00	16h00		
LERATO	08h00	13h00-14h00	16h00		
JUNITHA	08h00	13h00-14h00	16h00		
LUCKIE	08h00	13h00-14h00	16h00		
MATHEBULA	08h00	13h00-14h00	16h00		THOMAS

DAY: 02 DATE: 26/06/12

NAME	TIME START	LUNCH BREAK	TIME FINISH	SUPERVISOR SIGN	WORKER SIGN
EMANUEL	08h00	13h00-14h00	16h00		
LERATO	08h00	13h00-14h00	16h00		
JUNITHA	08h00	13h00-14h00	16h00		
JACK	08h00	13h00-14h00	16h00		
LUCKIE	08h00	13h00-14h00	16h00		
MATHEBULA	08h00	13h00-14h00	16h00		

DAY: 03 DATE: 27/06/12 THOMAS

NAME	TIME START	LUNCH BREAK	TIME FINISH	SUPERVISOR SIGN	WORKER SIGN
JACK	08h00	13h00-14h00	16h00		
EMANUEL	08h00	13h00-14h00	16h00		
LUCKIE	08h00	13h00-14h00	16h00		
LERATO	08h00	13h00-14h00	16h00		
JUNITHA	08h00	13h00-14h00	16h00		
MATHEBULA	08h00	13h00-14h00	16h00		

DAY: 04 DATE: 28/06/12

NAME	TIME START	LUNCH BREAK	TIME FINISH	SUPERVISOR SIGN	WORKER SIGN
JACK	08h00	13h00-14h00	16h00		
EMANUEL	08h00	13h00-14h00	16h00		
LUCKIE	08h00	13h00-14h00	16h00		
LERATO	08h00	13h00-14h00	16h00		
JUNITHA	08h00	13h00-14h00	16h00		
MATHEBULA	08h00	13h00-14h00	16h00		THOMAS

DAY: 05 DATE: 29/06/12

NAME	TIME START	LUNCH BREAK	TIME FINISH	SUPERVISOR SIGN	WORKER SIGN
JUNITHA	08h00	13h00-14h00	16h00		
LERATO	08h00	13h00-14h00	16h00		
LUCKIE	08h00	13h00-14h00	16h00		
EMANUEL	08h00	13h00-14h00	16h00		
JACK	08h00	13h00-14h00	16h00		
MATHEBULA	08h00	13h00-14h00	16h00		THOMAS

DAY: DATE:

NAME	TIME START	LUNCH BREAK	TIME FINISH	SUPERVISOR SIGN	WORKER SIGN