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INTRODUCING A COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT APPROACH INTO SELECTED COLOURED COMMUNITIES

Mary FitzGerald.

A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Arts, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg for the Degree of Master of Arts

Johannesburg 1977

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DECLARATION OF CANDIDATE

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work and that all the assistance obtained in its preparation consisted of professional guidance and supervision and that all the field work associated with the study was conducted by me. No part of this dissertation has previously been submitted to, or is to be submitted to, any other University for a degree save to the one in which I am now a candidate. The information used in this dissertation has been obtained by me while working under the aegis of the Centre for Social Development of the University of the Witwatersrand.

Mary FitzGerald

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A B S T R A C T

The text of the present study concentrates on the introduction and practice of community development in a situation where hitherto the people who constitute the local communities in the human sense had not interacted with one another in the interests of two developmental goals i.e. "personal growth" and the "common good".

Since meaningful interaction in groups is the sine qua non for the harmonious attainment of these desirable goals and since this participation has to be attained on a voluntary basis, the process through which development is encouraged is all important.

In the present study, the writer engaged in community development practice and the text illustrates the classic (process) approach dynamically applied to a South African community situation.

The record covers a period of nine months during which time two otherwise apathetic communities undertook several projects featuring both criteria of community development i e. human growth and active concern for the common good. The worker's role in the introduction of the community development process is illustrated in the text.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank:

(i) My supervisor, Professor C Muller for her faith in me and for her unfailing interest, support, stimulation and constructive criticism.

(ii) Mr. J. O'Neill, now in Australia, who was my first teacher in Community Development.

(iii) Mr. M.C. O'Dowd, adviser to the Centre for Social Development.

(iv) Mr. T.R. Batten, author, teacher and consultant of international standing, for his interest and wise counsel.

(v) The Chairman's Fund of Anglo American Corporation of South Africa which provided the financial resources needed by the Eldorado Park Community.

(vi) The people of the Eldorado Park and Kliptown Communities who by their acceptance and friendship reinforced my faith in the inherent capacity of human beings to grow and develop.

PART ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is concerned with the dynamics of introducing a community development approach into the Coloured communities of Eldorado Park and Kliptown.

The text describes the activities undertaken by the writer in her role as a community development worker, the involvement of individuals and groups as co-participants in these activities and the outcome thereof. Taken together this way of operating constitutes the non-directive approach to development of people within communities.

In practising non-directively, the community development worker is required to operate in terms of the process approach as formulated by writers such as Batten, Biddle, Brokensha et al and Carey.

The body of the text of the study is devoted to the practice of the process approach to community development in Eldorado Park and Kliptown.

2. MOTIVATION FOR THE STUDY

Arising from an initial undertaking to conduct a nation-wide study into community needs and resources of interest to the Roman Catholic Church in South Africa, the realisation of the merits of a study of this nature became apparent. It was consequently deemed advisable to examine the feasibility of implementing a community development process.

This had as prerequisite the introduction of this approach into defined communities.

The writer's information on the social, educational and welfare needs and resources of the Eldorado Park and Kliptown communities was obtained from the following sources:

2.1. During 1976 the writer held an appointment as a practice teacher to undergraduate students who did their field-work placements in the selected communities.

2.2. Fact-finding projects were written up in the form of dissertations by undergraduate students of the School of Social Work. The writer made a detailed study of these.

The information thus obtained demonstrated the existence of a wide gap between community needs in respect of educational, social and welfare provisions and the availability of appropriate resources.

3. HYPOTHESIS

The hypothesis which the study was designed to prove or disprove was that:

> "The community development process would lead to citizen participation resulting in self-help projects aimed at improving the life-style of the people in the communities."

4. METHOD OF STUDY

Field-work was undertaken by the writer in the Eldorado Park and Kliptown areas for a period of nine months.

A detailed diary was kept of informal conversations and discussions and of formal conversations and discussions with individuals and groups in the communities.

Since the approach followed by the worker constitutes the core of the study, this aspect is dealt with fully in Part Three of the text.

The outcomes hereof are interwoven with the content of Part Three and feature again in Part Four.

5. DESIGN OF THE DISSERTATION

The study is divided into four parts. Part One deals with the Introduction, Motivation for the Study, the Hypothesis, Method of Study, Design of the Dissertation, Potential Usefulness of the Study and Clarification of Concepts.

Part Two is devoted to a social profile of community life and living within Eldorado Park and Kliptown.

Part Three incorporates relevant literature and selected extracts from the community development worker's diary which illustrate the implementation of the process approach to community development.

Part Four is the Summary followed by Conclusions and Recommendations.

The Bibliography has been divided into two sections, namely a list of the basic texts directly relevant to the theme of the study and suggested reading which gives attention to other approaches to community development.

6. POTENTIAL USEFULNESS OF THE STUDY

It is anticipated that the study as documented in the text will have value for training programmes for community development workers. The approach adopted in the present study and the illustrations taken from practice outlined in Part Three will contribute to the very scarce supply of indigenous teaching material.

7. CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPTS

7.1. Black

When used in the text, the concept "Black" refers to a member of an indigenous -egroid group often referred to as "Bantu", "Native" or "African".

7.2. *Coloured**

In terms of the Population Registration Act, No. 30 of 1950, a Coloured is one 'who is not a White person or a Native'. For the purposes of this study, "Coloured" refers to a person of mixed racial origin.

7.3. The Commission of Enquiry into matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group (i.e. The Theron Commission)

This Commission, consisting of 18 members, under the Chairmanship of Professor Erika Theron, was appointed by the State President on 23 March 1973, and signed its report on 9 April 1976. Its mandate was:

"(1) To inquire into, to consider and report on -

(a) the progress of the Coloured Population Group since 1960 in -

(i) the social sphere, including housing and health, community development and education;

(ii) the economic field including commerce, industrial, agricultural, general economic development and occupational participation;

(iii) the constitutional field;

(iv) local government;

(v) sport and cultural fields.

---

* See also p.29.

(b) hindrances in the different fields which can be identified as being obstacles.

(c) any other relevant matters within the scope of the designated field of inquiry which may come to the attention of the Commission and which, in its opinion, necessitate inquiry.

(2) To make recommendations on the grounds of its findings as to the manner in which development can be further promoted in respect of the assigned fields.'

(The Theron Commission Report, A Summary, 1976, p.iii).

In the study, it is referred to as "The Commission Report".

7.4. Community

The concept of functional community as opposed to structural community has been adopted for the purposes of this study. As used in the study "community" is whatever sense of the local common good citizens can be helped to achieve (Biddle 1965, p.77).

7.5. Community Development

The term "community development" as used in this study refers to:

7.4.1. A process of involving people in their own development;

7.4.2. A structure-forming process through which a vehicle is created for the collaborative carrying out of development;

7.4.3. An educational process whereby people learn to make decisions and to implement them and to deal with related administrative aspects of these processes.

7.6. Community Development Process

Biddle's (1965, p.79) definition of the community development process as:

> "..... a progression of events that is planned by the participants to serve goals they progressively choose. The events point to changes in a group and in individuals that can be termed growth in social sensitivity and competence."

has been adopted for the purposes of this study.

7.7. Eldorado Park

When "Eldorado Park" appears in the text, it will apply to the older section Coloured residential area built by the Department of Development to house families who were relocated from Johannesburg, Albertsville, Kliptown and Noordgesig. (See map on p. 5A).

7.8. Kliptown

"Kliptown" refers to a slum area bordering on Eldorado Park and adjacent to the Black (African) township of Soweto. (See map on p. 5A).

7.9. Urban Foundation

Refers to a developmental agency financed by private enterprise. The objectives are to make available to Communities knowledge, skills and finance to bring about environmental improvement.

7.10. Worker/Writer

The writer of the study, who in her role as community development worker, was responsible for the introduction of the community development process in the selected communities. She was associated with the Centre for Social Development of the University of the Witwatersrand.

PART TWO

SOCIAL PROFILE OF THE COMMUNITIES OF ELDORADO PARK AND KLIPTOWN

2. INTRODUCTION

Situated twenty-five kilometers south of central Johannesburg are Eldorado Park and Kliptown, in which an estimated 50,000 Coloured people reside.

The process described in Part Three of the study was carried out in Eldorado Park ("Eldorado proper") and in Kliptown. (Refer to map p. 5A).

The two communities differ in many important respects and will, therefore, be discussed separately.

2.1. Eldorado Park

Eldorado Park is the first section of a housing complex which was built to accommodate Coloured families who were relocated from Albertsville, central Johannesburg, Kliptown and Noordgesig approximately ten years ago*. (1967)

Up to April 1974, 8,543 Coloured families in the Transvaal had been relocated in areas demarcated for their use in terms of the Group Areas Act (Act 36 of 1966)**. (The Commission Report, Table 9.3., p. 212).

The Commission Report (1976, p. 212, 9.35) states that the implementation of the Group Areas Act occasioned frustration and bitterness for the majority of the Coloured people. Many families were forced to leave certain White areas and this caused financial loss, particularly for those who owned proper[illegible] in those areas.

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* It was not possible to obtain an exact date from the Department of Community Development.

** In terms of the Group Areas Act (Act 36 of 1966) separate residential areas were demarcated for the use of the four major racial groups in South Africa, i.e. for Blacks, Whites, Coloureds and Asiatics.

The situation was further aggravated by the negative effects which involuntary relocation, based on discrimination on the grounds of colour, had on the Coloured people's feeling of self-worth.

Other factors which, according to the translated summary of the Report of the Commission (1976, p.(ii)), added to the bitterness and frustration experienced as a result of the relocation were:

a) the often inhospitable nature and isolated situation of areas to which Coloured persons were removed;

b) the fragmentary nature of the declared areas which therefore, despite declared policy, could not lead to the development of separate Coloured municipalities;

c) financial loss by Coloured persons and instances of huge financial gain by Whites as a result of forced removals;

d) removal from places of residence of their own choice (often stipulated to take place at inconvenient times, for example during working hours) to less comfortable houses with higher rentals;

e) the disruption of orderly communities by removal to new areas in which no account is taken of the factors which had previously bound such communities together;

f) lack of variety in the houses provided;

g) lack of community facilities, such as halls, post offices, libraries, public telephones and police, sometimes even years after establishment. Even schools were sometimes provided only months after resettlement;

h) indiscriminate mixing of sub-economic and economic houses;

i) resettlement had caused the monthly expenditure on travelling to and from work to absorb a large part of their income;

j) fear and uncertainty making Coloured persons feel "rootless" because some areas "changed colour" a number of times;

The failure to provide welfare services in the new housing complexes which could inter alia have helped people who had previously lived in slums to accommodate themselves to a new

style of living has, in many instances, resulted in the continuation of a life-style characteristic of slum dwellers. (The Commission Report, p.219, 9.76).

Eldorado Park is situated on barren, sandy soil where there is very little vegetation. It is twenty-five kilometers distant from the centre of Johannesburg, where the majority of the people are employed. All the factors discussed above are relevant to the Eldorado Park community and will be presented under the following headings:

2.1.1. Housing

The Department of Community Development, a government department having a separate ministry, was responsible for the provision of housing in Eldorado Park.

Housing styles fall into three main types depending on the bread-winner's income. These are:

a) economic houses which can be bought or rented;
b) sub-economic houses;
c) sub-economic flats.

a) The economic houses are generally individually designed and consist of a lounge/dining-room, three bedrooms, a kitchen, bathroom and toilet. Water and electricity are laid on. These houses are well-kept. The home ownership ones, in particular, reflect their owners' pride in that they are tastefully furnished with well-kept gardens.

b) The sub-economic houses are semi-detached and vary in size from one to three bedrooms. They are ceilingless and have no inside doors, and are interspersed among the economic houses. While some have water and electricity laid on many have neither. This results in the need to use night-soil buckets situated in sheds in the yards and to obtain water from an outside tap.

Some tenants have made an effort to improve the appearance of their homes, but many of the houses are in a state of deterioration. "Munchieville" (see map p. 5A) exemplifies this. The yards and

streets are used as dumping ground for household refuse and this section of Eldorado Park, which has been occupied for approximately ten years, already has many of the external characteristics of a slum.

Overcrowding is an enduring feature in these homes. This results from two factors, namely the high fertility rate among the Coloured people, i.e. 42 per 1 000, which, according to the Report of the Commission (1.16) is among the highest in the world, and the tendency to have three generations sharing a home.

c) The sub-economic flats. The four flat complexes in Eldorado Park consist of three-storey buildings of uniform design. The rooms are small. Stone stairs give access to the flats and there are no balconies.

The outer walls are unplastered and the blocks of flats present a stark picture, built as they are on barren, unfenced ground.

Many of these flats, which are designed to accommodate a family of four, house up to ten people.

2.1.2. The Roads in the Area

The Commission Report(1976, p.126, 6.64) states that the roads in the Coloured townships in South Africa are in "a very poor condition".

Of the roads in Eldorado Park, only two are tarred. In rainy weather, many roads are flooded. On the other hand, for the greater part of the year the prevailing dry conditions give rise to dust which is stirred up by passing traffic. Not only is this a health hazard but it creates problems for families with regard to laundry and keeping the interiors of homes dust-free.

The safety of pedestrians is constantly threatened by moving traffic for which there are only two "STOP" signs and no other cautionary road signs. Children, the elderly and disabled persons are at a chronic disadvantage when they leave their homes.

Street lighting is provided on alternate streets and on winter nights darkness and smog inhibit the mobility of the people generally.

2.1.3. Recreational Facilities

Eldorado Park has a sports stadium which cannot be used at night due to lack of flood-lighting. The short twilight in the southern hemisphere, especially during winter months, means that in the absence of lighting outdoor sporting activities cannot take place after working hours.

There is one swimming pool which is generally grossly over-crowded in warm weather.

The Asiatic and Coloured section of the Johannesburg City Council administers a community centre in the area. Programmes for different age groups are organised by the staff. None of the community groups with whom the writer worked participate in these programmes.

The lack of parks and playgrounds results in the children playing on the streets where they are exposed to continual danger from traffic.

There is neither a public library nor a cinema in the area.

2.1.4. Health Care Facilities

One clinic, located on Ascot Road, is staffed by doctors and nurses from Coronationville Hospital which is situated about twenty kilometers distant from Eldorado Park. The clinic does not accept new patients after midday. Services are not available at night with resultant problems for the people when emergency situations arise.

An ambulance service operates twice daily to transport patients in need of hospitalisation to Coronationville Hospital.

Free treatment is provided for patients who are in receipt of social security pensions, but others are charged a fee of one rand (R1) for treatment at the clinic.

Two private medical practitioners are available for consultation between the hours of nine and ten each morning and a dentist runs a private practice at the local shopping centre.

2.1.5. Educational Facilities

Of the four primary schools in the area, the medium of instruction in three is Afrikaans. This reflects the predominance of Afrikaans-speaking families in the community.

Each primary school has a staff complement of twenty-seven teachers and an annual enrolment of approximately nine hundred pupils.

There is one dual-medium high school which has a staff complement of forty teachers and an average annual enrolment of approximately twelve hundred pupils. This high school caters for pupils from seven primary schools, three of which are situated outside of the selected community.

Children who lack the intellectual capacity to cope with the school curriculum are placed in an "adaptation" class after assessment by a visiting school psychologist who is employed by the Department of Coloured Education.

The teachers responsible for the adaptation classes have had no special training to equip them for their task.

No facilities exist for the education of mentally or physically handicapped children. In mid-1977 technical training was not yet available in the area.

Each school has a school committee, some members of which are nominated by the Regional Board of the Department of Coloured Affairs (Educational Section), the others being elected. The school committees are responsible for the selection of teachers, while the school principal is responsible for the internal professional control of the school. None of the schools has a Parent/Teachers Association.

Features common to all the school buildings are drabness, absence of aesthetically appealing architectural style and the sameness of all the units. The unattractive

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Features common to all the school buildings are drabness, absence of aesthetically appealing architectural style and the sameness of all the units. The unattractive

picture which the building presents is accentuated by the barren ground on which they are built which does not lend itself to the construction of sports fields or gardens.

2.1.6. Churches

The map on p. 5A shows the location of the three churches in Eldorado Park which are staffed by two ministers (Anglican and Methodist) and one pastor (Church of the Nazarene). Of these ministers, two also serve churches in other areas and do not live in the community.

No accurate figures on active church membership are on record. The three churc have active women's groups. The Methodist Church has a small men's group and a youth group which has a membership of twenty. The Church of the Nazarene's youth group has an active membership of seventy-eight. The age range of this group is twelve to forty years.

2.1.7. Postal and Telephonic Services

The nearest post office, which also houses the telephone exchange, is situated on East Road in Kliptown approximately four kilometers from Eldorado Park. The area has a postal delivery service few private telephones and no public telephone.

2.1.8. Law and Order

Situated on Beacon Road in Kliptown, five kilometers from Eldorado Park, are the buildings housing the local law enforcement officers of the South African Police and the Magistrate's Court. Part of the buildings serve as a detention centre for persons under arrest.

In the absence of a telephone service in the community, calls for assistance have to be made in person at the police station which is open throughout the day and night. The absence of public transport is relevant here.

2.1.9. Public Transport

There is no train service and public transport within the area has not yet been provided in Eldorado Park. It is thus necessary for the people to walk approximately two kilometers to the nearest Public Utility Transport Company bus-stop.

In the absence of a schedule, users of buses are uncertain with regard to travelling times.

2.1.10. Shopping Facilities

Eldorado Park has two shopping centres which consist of small retail units run by Chinese and Indian shopkeepers. The majority of the people travel to Johannesburg to shop at the supermarkets.

2.1.11. Conclusion

Du Sautoy (1969, pp.143-150) discusses the problems inherent in resettlement schemes where an area is needed for another purpose and all the people have to be removed elsewhere "in the over-riding national interest". He states that even a slum clearance scheme which removes people to better housing (for which they have to pay more rent) miles away from their place of work is unlikely to be seen by the people themselves as improvement. He stresses the need for educational help "even in such mundane matters as how to operate a modern W.C." for people who are resettled from slum areas. It cannot be taken for granted that the people will be delighted with modern amenities which they do not know how to use properly and "a worse slum may result" since people may continue their old habits inside a house not adapted to them. This describes the existing situation in "Munchieville" and other parts of Eldorado Park.

Du Sautoy, as a result of his experience as a community development worker involved in resettlement schemes in Ghana, suggests that where a large resettlement scheme is planned it would pay the government to put community development workers in the area long in advance to do other work with the people.

The workers' role would then be to gain the people's confidence in order to create a more favourable climate in which to discuss resettlement with them. Where workers have previously been helping the population in terms of its felt-wants, it is likely that it would be easier for the people to accept the news of the proposed relocation from them than from officials who are strangers to them.

This would enable community development workers to mediate between the government and people, to help the people to stand the shock of relocation and to assist them in settling into their new surroundings. Failure to make relocation services available to people who resent being moved results in their making no effort to improve their new surroundings. They develop a tendency to wait for the authorities who "put them there" to provide for all their environmental needs. This pattern is very evident in the Eldorado Park community.

2.2. Kliptown

Kliptown, which in the 1950's was a White residential area, has all the physical characteristics of a slum. According to Clinard (1970, p.3), while the slum is generally characterised by inadequate housing, deficient facilities, overcrowding, a lack of sanitary facilities, sociologically it is a way of life, a sub-culture with its own set of norms and values. These norms and values are reflected in poor sanitation and health practices, deviant behaviour and characteristic attributes of apathy and social isolation.

Clinard emphasises the comparative nature of the definition of an area as a slum and states that it should be judged physically according to the general living standards of a country. Judged by the general living standards of the other racial groups in South Africa, especially of the White group, Kliptown is a slum.

A social profile of Kliptown will be presented under the following headings:

2.2.1. Housing

From time to time the South African press carries highly emotional reports on the housing conditions in Kliptown. The writer agrees that it is difficult to write factually about the conditions under which the people in the area live and believes that the term "housing" is a misnomer for the majority of the shelters in which the residents are accommodated.

There are some well-constructed houses in Kliptown which were built by White and Coloured families who have long since been moved elsewhere. Many of these houses, which are in a state of deterioration, are now owned by the Johannesburg City Council (Local Authority) and are rented by families who are on the Council's waiting list for new homes in Eldorado Park, Extension Six (S). (see map p. 5A).

The remainder of these houses are the property of White and Indian absentee landlords. These are rented to families who occupy single rooms for which the rent varies from R10 to R12 per month. The landlords allow families to erect shacks in the yards of the houses. A twelve foot square area, to be used for the erection of a shack, costs an average of R4 per month.*

The writer, in an effort to ascertain the number of families living in President Street, Kliptown, visited the thirty-nine houses in the street. The average number of people in each house was eight. It was found that fifty-four families lived in shacks in the yards of these houses.

The shacks, which are self-constructed from scrap material or corrugated iron, are windowless. As a result of poor workmanship, the roofs leak in wet weather. Many are built on low-lying ground bordering on a swamp, and are subjected to frequent flooding due to water running down the "streets" from East Road on the one side and to the Klipspruit river overflowing its banks on the other side.

* These properties have recently been purchased by the Department of Community Development.

Clinard (1970 p.8) mentions that poor slum housing is invariably associated with poor facilities and community services. This statement is pertinent to Kliptown. Seventy-eight families known to the writer share two water taps and ten night-soil buckets, situated in outside sheds. There is no electricity in the area, with the result that the streets are unlit at night, making it unsafe for the people to leave their homes.

Kliptown provides "housing" for the lowest income group. Most of the Coloured families who live there are dependent on Social Security grants - generally disability pensions are R408 per annum (basic parent allowance). They are, therefore, not in a position to pay the rent of a sub-economic house.

Many of the families do not qualify for housing in a Coloured residential area due to the fact that the fathers are Black. A Coloured woman who marries or cohabits with a Black is classified as Black in terms of the Population Registration Act (Act 30 of 1950). Housing for these families can be obtained in the Black township of Soweto, but since the wives are Coloured they find this solution unacceptable. These factors mean that the majority of families in Kliptown are unhousable at the present time.

2.2.2. The Roads in Kliptown

Two roads in the area are partially tarred. The remainder are in a very poor condition and many are impassable for traffic. There are no footpaths and the roads are generally used as a dumping ground for household refuse and as a playground for children in the absence of parks and playgrounds. Because of the congestion in the "houses" adults spend most of the daylight hours sitting by the roadside.

2.2.3. Recreational Facilities

There is one cinema in the area, located in a condemned building on East Road. This is frequented by

adolescents from Kliptown and from the nearby Black township of Soweto and is generally overcrowded.

2.2.4. Health Care Facilities

There is a municipal health clinic on Union Avenue and two others - one on Dartmoor Avenue, Nancefield, and a second on Ascot Road, Eldorado Park - approximately three and four kilometers from Kliptown respectively.

The clinics are used only in case of emergency, even though the majority of the people are in receipt of social security grants and are therefore eligible for free treatment.

The nearest hospital is Coronationville, as in the case of Eldorado Park. Two private practitioners, a doctor and a dentist, have consulting rooms on Union Avenue.

2.2.5. Educational Facilities

There are two Afrikaans-medium primary schools in Kliptown, with a staff complement of twenty-seven teachers each. These schools have an average annual enrolment of approximately eight hundred pupils each. According to the principals, school attendance tends to be irregular and there is a high (unspecified) drop-out rate.

Every effort has been made to beautify Kliptown Primary School Number One. The interior and exterior are attractively painted and the grounds are laid out in flower-beds of various shapes. The teachers and pupils are responsible for the gardening.

The second primary school is an unattractive, drab pre-fabricated structure. No attempt has been made to improve its appearance.

The high school, which adjoins Primary School Number One, is also Afrikaans-medium and has a staff complement of thirty teachers. The pupil enrolment for 1977 was six hundred. In June 1977 the number of pupils had dropped to approximately three hundred. This attrition

could, according to the principal, be partially attributed to the economic depression which made it necessary for many pupils to find employment.

The majority of the high school pupils travel daily from Eldorado Park because of overcrowding in their local high school. Few are actually resident in Kliptown.

Many Kliptown children do not attend school and have never done so. These generally are Coloured children whose births have not been registered or the offspring of Black fathers and Coloured mothers who do not qualify for registration as Coloureds in terms of the Population Registration Act (Act 30 of 1950).

2.2.6. Churches

The writer has had contact with four of the seven churches in Kliptown - the Assemblies of God, the Roman Catholic Church, the Free Baptist and the United Baptist Churches. It was not possible to establish contact with other denominations as services are held sporadically and the writer was unable to obtain the ministers' addresses.

With the exception of the Roman Catholic Church, very few Kliptown residents were present at the services attended by the writer. Their congregations, according to the ministers, live mainly in Eldorado Park where these denominations do not have churches at present.

2.2.7. Post Office / Police Station

The local Post Office and Police Station are situated in Beacon Road (see 2.1.7. and 2.1.8. on page 12).

2.2.8. Public Transport

There are three Public Utility Transport Company bus-stops on East Road, Kliptown, within easy walking distance of most of the residents.

2.2.9. Conclusion

The Kliptown people live under congested, unhealthy slum conditions. The residents can be divided into two broad categories:

a) Permanent residents who have lived either in Kliptown or in other slum areas all their lives. These people have many of the characteristics of the "D" type of slum dweller described by Stokes (in Clinard 1970, pp. 41-42). They have little hope of social mobility through assimilation or acculturation in the social and economic life of the community. They tend to be apathetic and passive. This type of "slum of despair" does not, according to Clinard (p. 44) pass away with economic growth. Since economic skill and education are necessary to rise above the level of poverty, there is little hope of escape for the majority of the Kliptown residents.

b) Temporary residents, most of whom have lived in Kliptown for many years but who have never become adjusted or reconciled to it. Many of these families, known to the writer, have resisted the slum culture, succeeded in educating their children and in maintaining a relatively good standard of living. These people have the characteristics attributed by Stokes to the "C" type of slum dweller - hope and aggressiveness but limited opportunity to move into better neighbourhoods.

Clinard (1970, p. 126) identifies and discusses four main objectives of urban community development applicable to the slum. These are the development of community feeling, self-help, indigenous leadership and cooperation between government and the people in the use of services. Apathy, suspicion, social pathology and the existence of factions within slum communities, however, make the task of the community development worker difficult.

Batten (1971, pp. 61-62) in discussing community development projects in apathetic or disorganised communities refers to the problems which the existence of factions within such communities can cause for the worker.

These factions may be based on kin, on religion, on politics or on economic status. It is important for the worker to get to know the factions and their leaders in order to avoid becoming too identified with them. The worker should endeavour to work with all of them to develop a greater interest in the welfare of the whole community. This presents many difficulties in practice.

Dunham (1970, p. 93), Warren (1963, p. 324) and most United Nations definitions of community development lay stress on development of the whole community. In practice, however, a more pragmatic approach has to be adopted especially in disorganised communities such as Eldorado Park and Kliptown. In situations of this nature the worker has perforce to begin the process with a nucleus group within the community.

PART THREE

THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROCESS IN THE ELDORADO PARK AND KLIPTOWN COMMUNITIES

3.1. INTRODUCTION

Throughout history, when social/environmental conditions became intolerable or held scant possibility of improvement, groups of people moved to new areas or emigrated. This they did in the hope of being able to set up communities more to their liking, e.g. the Utopians, the Owenites or the present-day so called "intentional communities" in the United States of America (Sanders in Carey 1975, pp.10-11).

The term community development gives a form suited to the twentieth century to this long-standing human tendency of membership of a group to act collectively to improve the life-style of the group as a whole.

Community development as it is understood in the 1970's has become increasingly popular since World War II. This has in part resulted from the emphasis on community planning and action which encouraged citizen participation in the setting and implementation of goals on a self-help basis.

In the United States of America the forerunners of community development were extension education programmes in rural areas dating back to the frontier settlements in the eighteenth century. The British style of community development likewise evolved from education, in this case "mass education" projects, in Britain's colonies in Africa. For the reason that mass education did not contribute to social and environmental betterment, the British Colonial Office in 1948 defined and adopted the term community development to replace "mass education" (Brokensha and Hodge 1969, p.26).

Like any emerging profession, community development has begun to develop its own body of applied theory which takes the form of principles of action for effective practice. Problems arise in this connection: the principles enunciated by the individual writer/practitioner reflect those of the discipline from which he

comes. So, for example, the psychologist (e.g. Haggstrom) stresses aspects of motivation and of the psychological implications of community development. Sutton, a sociologist, pays special attention to the importance of social structure and social forces. The educator stresses the educational value of community development, e.g. Wale, quoted by Biddle (1965, p.248),who states that "community development is an educational process. It is this first, last and all the time." Other disciplines, e.g. economists, stress sound planning, programming and the use of appropriate technology.

Community development lacks a body of tested theory on developmental change and the connection between community development and other types of development. No systematic disciplined attempt has yet been made to examine and clarify the factors which cause some community development programmes to fail while others are highly successful.

The discussion will deal briefly with the different ways of viewing community development. Since in the present study the process approach was adopted and since the fieldwork was undertaken in an urban setting, the literature on the process view and on urban community development will be interwoven with extracts from the diary which was kept by the worker as a means of recording the process of community development as it evolved in the Eldorado Park and Kliptown communities.

3.2. WAYS OF VIEWING COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

An analysis of the wide range of definitions of community development presented both by du Sautoy (1962, pp.121-123) and Sanders (Carey pp.21-25) shows that community development means different things to different people.

Sanders (ibid. pp.18-19) states that one way of cutting through the variety of meanings given to community development is to note four ways in which those involved seem to view it: as a method, a programme, a movement or a process.

3.2.1. Community Development as a Method

In this view, community development is a means to an end, a method of working to attain a specific goal generally of a material concrete nature. The method seeks to carry

through the steps suggested under process (vide p. 28) so that the will of those using this method, national government, welfare agency or other local groups, may be carried out (Sanders, ibid p.21).

Professionals from the fields of education, public health or economics may look on community development as a method which can be used to help them to achieve the goals of their own profession. In this connection, Nelson et al, quoted by Sanders (ibid p.22) state that community development "has come into being in recent years as one of the most significant techniques for the application of research findings to major problems".

This statement confuses community development with extension work which du Sautoy (1962, p.47) describes as an educational process designed to show people how to improve themselves within their own environment.

In other words, the extension worker demonstrates new techniques and tries to persuade his observers to adopt them whereas participation in the community development process is self-chosen.

Viewed as a method, community development may be conceived of as a function of government or it may be the means used in effecting forms of social organisation giving rise to such phrases as community development for social welfare, for recreation, for education or for public health, or it may be confused with community organisation. This is often the case.

McCluskey (Knowles 1960, p.417) sees community development in this view as "a method of teaching adults the use of timing and sequence of activities in bringing a project through successive stages to an acceptable closure".

Community development as a method encourages self-help and community participation. However, the emphasis tends to be on the results achieved rather than on the development of the people concerned, i.e. more attention is given to the development of environmental resources than to that of people.

3.2.2. Community Development as a Programme

Community development as a programme comes into being by

the addition of a list of activities to the method which is essentially a set of procedures. The activities are supposedly achieved by carrying out the procedures.

Many highly formalised community development programmes exist in the form of three and five year plans in under-developed countries, e.g. India and Malawi. These programmes, which are sponsored by international community development organisations, tend to place emphasis on sets of activities which can be quantified and reported upon rather than on the people who participate in the programme (Sanders ibid p.22).

The following United Nations (1956) definition of community development, quoted by Mukerji (1961, p.1). emphasises programme:

> "The term community development has come into international usage to connote the processes by which the efforts of the people themselves are united to those of government authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress."

The two essential elements in this complex of processes are:

a) Participation by people in self-help projects with maximum feasible reliance on their own initiative; and

b) the provision of technical and other resources in ways which encourage self-help.

Dunham (1960, p.33) who views community development as "organised efforts to improve the conditions of community life and the capacity for community integration and self-direction" identifies four basic elements in community development as a programme: a planned programme; encouragement of self-help; technical assistance which may include personnel, equipment and supplies and integration of various specialities for the help of the community.

Mukerji (1961, p.67) discusses the problems which can arise when a community development programme is part of a total national plan as follows:

Firstly, a tendency to neglect or fail to give priority to local goals based on people's felt-wants where a clash of interests occurs between governmental and local goals; and secondly, lack of sufficient flexibility to permit necessary adaptations to local circumstances so that local communities have the necessary freedom to decide what they will do and how and when they will do it.

According to Brady (1967, p.16) the concept of self-help is alien to the majority of people in underdeveloped countries and it is extremely difficult to get their commitment to this philosophy. The problem is compounded by a dependency expectancy created by the fact that amenities which the community has managed to obtain have been provided by outside sources. These factors tend to contribute to the creation of a situation in which government officials, who are more interested in environmental improvement than in human development, use either a paternalistic or authoritarian approach to get the local people involved in self-help projects.

Murkerji (1961) and Taylor (1967), while recognising the need for the programme approach in developing countries and while acknowledging the contribution which such an approach can make to the betterment of community life style, both voice a common criticism. The essence of the criticisms is the failure to build "from the bottom up" (Taylor 1967, p.16) and to mobilise and maximise human resources.

3.2.3. Community Development as a Movement

Some practitioners come to view community development as a movement - an emotionally charged crusade dedicated to progress as a philosophical - rather than as a neutral scientific concept.

In 1948, the Cambridge Conference on African Administration defined community development as:

> "A movement designed to promote better living for the whole community with the active participation, and if possible on the initiative of the community, but if this initiative is not forthcoming spontaneously, by the use of techniques for arousing and stimulating it in order to secure its active and enthusiastic response to the movement. It embraces all forms of betterment." (Brokensha et al 1968, p.34).

Taylor (in Mukerji, 1961, pp.20-22) explains the nature and dangers of movements and states that they "quite generally tend to generate more heat than light". He criticises the movement view of community development on the grounds that, in common with all movements, it is based on propaganda aimed at mobilising the masses whose expectations are then raised by promises which are almost certain to be not capable of fulfilment.

Additional disadvantages inherent in community development as a movement are, according to Taylor, the tendency to advertise the spectacular, to claim credit for achievements that derive from other sources and to rely continuously on the use of propaganda. He emphasises the need for community development to concentrate rather on mobilising human resources in an organised and disciplined manner.

Du Sautoy (in Cary, 1975, p.25) sees community development as a "philosophy as well as a process" thus emphasising, as do Batten, Biddle, Mukerji and others, its idealistic as well as its practical organisational aspects. Biddle (1965, p.vii) states that while "reformers have tried to purchase a way into Utopia", the new emerging discipline of community development supports the conviction that social improvement results when people themselves believe that improvement is possible and they are sufficiently convinced to take the initiative.

The use of propaganda which relies on appeals to people's emotions can, according to Taylor (Mukerji, 1961, p.22), "stimulate furious activity to accomplish spectacular physical results" but is unlikely to promote either human development or lasting environmental development. These aims can, according to Batten and Biddle, inter alia, only be achieved through the use of the process approach to community development, with which the remainder of the section of this study is concerned.

3.2.4. Community Development as a Process

In this view, community development is a neutral scientific term subject to fairly precise definition and measurement. Biddle (1965, p.79) defines the community development

process as "a progression of events that is planned by the participants to serve goals they progressively choose. The events point to changes in a group and in individuals that can be termed growth in social sensitivity and competence." A necessary prerequisite for this to occur is the process of involving people in thinking, in expressing their ideas, in making decisions and in planning to implement their decisions to solve their identified local problems. THESE STEPS CONSTITUTE THE PROCESS APPROACH TO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT.

Defined as a process, this view emphasises the manner of proceeding and implies that it is possible to follow an orderly progression. This starts with the community development worker's initial efforts to establish rapport with individuals or groups in the community.

The process can be presented as follows:

STEP I — Legitimising the worker's presence in the community.

STEP II — Initial contact and creation of rapport with the individuals and/or groups in the community.

STEP III — Systematic discussion with community groups to establish "felt-wants" and to obtain community commitment.

STEP IV — Planning of work to be done and execution of tasks.

STEP V — Conclusion of project and evaluation of outcome.

The process is problem oriented at community level, the emphasis being on what happens to people psychologically and in their social relationships, i.e. the emphasis is primarily on human development. Resulting from this philosophy, the means employed in problem solving are considered to be of greater importance than the solution per se.

Mukerji (1961, pp.60-61), who uses the terms 'method' and 'process' interchangeably, states "I would say that in community development how a thing is done is more important than

what is done and that if the 'process' is taken care of the 'product' takes care of itself; and the reverse is not true."

The following definition quoted by Sanders (in Cary, 1975, p.19) illustrates the process view:

Community development is:

"A PROCESS OF SOCIAL ACTION IN WHICH THE PEOPLE OF A COMMUNITY ORGANISE THEMSELVES FOR PLANNING AND ACTION;

DEFINE THEIR COMMON AND INDIVIDUAL NEEDS AND PROBLEMS,

MAKE GROUP AND INDIVIDUAL PLANS TO MEET THEIR NEEDS AND SOLVE THEIR PROBLEMS;

EXECUTE THESE PLANS WITH A MAXIMUM RELIANCE UPON COMMU-RESOURCES; AND

SUPPLEMENT THESE WHEN NECESSARY WITH SERVICES AND MATE-RIALS FROM GOVERNMENTAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES OUTSIDE THE COMMUNITY."

This definition highlights the basic principles of the *community development* process which emphasises self-determination by involving the community in identifying its felt-wants and in the process of deciding what, if anything, the people themselves are prepared to do to meet these self-identified wants. The definition, however, omits any reference to the role of the *community development* worker.

Batten (1975, p.12) and Biddle (1965, p.80) state that, while it can and does happen that autonomous groups within a *community may decide on a project* and carry it through independently, many factors militate against this succeeding and generally the process seems to require the help of employed initiators "to create sufficiently favourable conditions for successful group action without in any way infringing on group autonomy ...". *Skill in operating in* this manner requires the community development worker to have certain personal qualities.

Brokensha et al (1969, p.71) see the skillful and sensitive use of his own personality as the first "working tool" of the community development worker. They quote Meyer who states that personality is involved in success and that it is an essential qualification on a par with the more easily identifiable technical qualifications. *Indispensable*

personality characteristics of the community development worker are, according to Meyer, flexibility to new conditions, deep sympathy, receptivity without prejudice and *personal resourcefulness "in or out of one's own field".*

Brokensha et al (ibid p.72) see the authoritarian leadership figure as being the least relevant to community development. The significance of this statement becomes apparent when the role of the community development worker is seen as that of "encourager" who either initiates a process or becomes part of one already in existence (Biddle 1965, p.82) and who specialises in using the non-directive approach to enable the people to develop the will and the competence to manage their own affairs (Batten 1975, p.15).

Batten (ibid pp.19-23) discusses and evaluates the factors affecting the community development worker's choice of the use of a directive or non-directive approach. These factors may lie in his employing agency or in his personality, i.e. in his self-perception which conditions how he sees other people and their needs.

With regard to the employing body, Batten sees the traditional agency approach to work with communities as being directive: a worker may therefore be under pressure *to produce quick and visible results which cannot be ensured,* or ensured quickly enough, by working non-directively.

According to Batten (ibid p.19) in cases where a worker is skilled in the use of the directive and non-directive approaches his choice of approach will be *influenced by:*

a) his self-perception

The more expert the community development worker sees himself to be in diagnosing and meeting people's needs and the less he trusts the people with whom he is working to do this for themselves, the more likely he is to use a directive approach.

b) his perception of others

This factor is strongly influenced by a worker's perception of people's major needs and by his opinion of the people who have these needs. If the worker thinks that they are so young and inexperienced or so lacking

> in knowledge that *they are unfit to decide for themselves* where their own true interest lies, or so lazy, apathetic, irresponsible or dependent that they will not attempt to do anything for themselves, he may decide that the only way he can achieve anything is to decide, plan and provide for them.

Where a worker's decision to use a directive approach is based on the foregoing factors he is depriving people of the opportunity of learning to think, plan and act responsibly for themselves. By performing these functions for them, the worker helps to perpetuate their dependence and irresponsibility.

Batten stresses the importance of the worker using the *approach which is most acceptable to the people* with whom he is working. He states that a directive approach may be indicated in crisis situations where material needs predominate and the people are not in a position to help themselves. Where, however, the people's needs are chronic rather than acute and their attitudes are apathetic and irresponsible, the directive approach is less applicable and the case for stimulating them to think and act for themselves, and *thereby enhancing human growth and development*, becomes correspondingly strong. (1975. p.21)

3.3. The Writer's Motivation for the use of the Process Approach

The writer had previous experience of working non-directively with groups and felt comfortable in using a non-directive approach. She was under no pressure to achieve quick, visible results and was free to use the process (classical) non-directive approach in her work with the selected communities.

The writer believed that, through the process of *involving the people in their own development*, within the limits permissible under present legislation and social conditions, their dormant capacities and potential for self-determination could be stimulated in ways which would contribute to enhancing their self-perception and their ability to improve their own and the community's life-style.

Her belief that the greatest need of the people in the selected communities was to acquire more confidence and competence in thinking, deciding and implementing their decisions for themselves and that the use of a directive approach would have the opposite effect was based on the following factors:

The lack of a positive self-image in a large proportion of the Coloured population. The Commission Report (1976, pp.457-8) attributes this poor self-image and consequent lack of self-confidence firstly to the fact that the designation 'Coloured" is negatively defined in the Population Registration Act (Act 30 of 1950). In terms of this Act a Coloured is a person who is not classifiable as "White" or "Black" and who does not form part of the Chinese, Indian or other Asiatic groups.

Coloured identity is ascribed to this sector of the population by other groups in South Africa and is not essentially the outcome of a process of self-identification as a member of a group which is different as a result of having its own cultural heritage expressed in a common language, religious beliefs, values, habits and traditions.

The Commission Report (21.9) pays attention to the difficulty which an individual experiences in developing self-confidence in the absence of positive feed-back from those whose opinions he considers important. Among the factors which constitute negative feed-back for the Coloured population are the existance of territorial segregation in terms of the Group Areas Act, discrimination which affects housing, family life, transport, health, social services, public safety, insurance and social security - in short, virtually every area of life (Randall 1971, p.29).

The Commission Report (21.10) discusses the obstacle to the development of a positive self-image created by the vicious circle of poverty within which a large proportion, i.e. 1 000 000, of the Coloured population is fixated. (Lent Book 1971 quoted in Randall 1971, p.26).

The resultant "culture of poverty" manifests itself in a lack of self-confidence and future orientation and in various types of social pathology which can be mainly

attributed to socio-economic factors which are partly beyond the control of the individual or group.

The people in the selected communities which feature in the present study have very limited opportunity for self-determination as a result of being denied parliamentary franchise and freedom of choice of living area. Their range of choice in respect of inter alia occupation, recreation, health services, transport and of institutions for higher education (e.g. universities) is very limited.

Finally, the available social welfare services are totally inadequate to meet the communities' needs. The Commission Report (1975, p. 283) states further that in Coloured urban areas welfare services cover only limited sections. The available services are mainly remedial and are geared to provide help to individuals and small groups and only in exceptional cases are they community oriented.

Lack of coordination of existing services and of the knowledge needed for overall planning results in a deficit in the provision of preventative services. The Commission Report (II.193) states that in the provision of community welfare services attention must be given to obtaining maximum feasible participation of community members, an aspect which has generally been neglected even though "it is very clear that a strong, though dormant, preparedness to give voluntary service exists among the Coloured people". It is impossible to obtain voluntary participation through the use of a directive approach.

Underprivileged areas such as Eldorado Park characteristically present a picture of unrelenting struggle for existence where the idea of community seems unthinkable. The hopelessness and apathy which pervade these areas seem to preclude any possibility of self-help.

It is difficult to initiate community development where there is a minimal sense of community. While this statement is applicable to most urban areas, it has special relevance to attempts to initiate a community development process in a slum area. Given the living conditions which characterise slums and the lack of integrating social institutions, it is difficult for the community development

process to be initiated.

These difficulties notwithstanding, Brokensha et.al (1969, p. 122) believe that priority has to be given to disorganised areas and slums, lacking as they do many basic amenities and in the case of the latter constituting a danger to public health and social order.

3.4 Defining Area of Action

In planning the introduction of the community development process it was necessary to define the geographical unit of action. Such an area may or may not be a "community" (Brokensha et.al op.cit. p. 132).

The people in Eldorado Park and Kliptown constitute communities in that they are social groups within a delimited area sharing common facilities and some common values. Solidarity and caring, two essential elements of traditional community, are largely missing.

3.5 Legitimising the Worker's Presence in the Area

Having defined the area of action it was necessary, before entering the communities, to legitimise the worker's presence in the areas. This was done by discussing the proposed community development process with representatives of:

a) The Department of Coloured Affairs, a government department which is responsible for the provision of state welfare services in the area.

b) The Department of Community Development, a state department which is responsible for the provision of housing in Eldorado Park (as distinct from Kliptown).

c) The Johannesburg City Council's Asiatic and Coloured Section (Local Authority) which is responsible for the provision of housing for the Kliptown residents (as distinct from Eldorado Park).

d) The Municipal Health Department which provides clinics in the areas.

While none of the officials with whom the community development process was discussed verbalised any objections, the worker was given warnings of the dangers which she, as a White woman, could possibly encounter.

3.6 Establishing Initial Contacts with Individuals and Groups in the Selected Communities

This phase had two objectives: firstly to establish contact and rapport with individuals and groups in Eldorado Park and Kliptown, and secondly to undertake formal fact-finding with regard to the conditions under which the people lived and the problems which they experienced. This part of the process was undertaken simultaneously in both areas.

Brain (1970, p. 70) describes the manner of affecting entry into a community by a community development worker in Arusha. This consisted of walking in the village street daily carrying a camera. This practice had the effect of stimulating the curiosity of the residents and of opening avenues of communication which provided the worker with an opportunity to explain the reasons for his presence.

In the present study the worker and her assistant* cycled slowly through the Kliptown area daily, greeting the children, groups of adolescents congregating at cafes and street corners and the men and women who generally sit in groups on the road side.

Curiosity was gradually stimulated by this unusual spectacle. On the third day the workers were stopped by several women who wanted help with various problems - food, money, social security grants, legal queries and housing. These requests were handled by referring the enquirers to the appropriate agencies and the workers' role in the area was explained in terms of being interested in getting to know the people and of wanting to work with them to enable them to help themselves.

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* The worker was assisted by a young social work graduate during the initial fact-finding phase.

At two p.m. on the fourth day in Kliptown a woman stopped the workers and introduced herself as Maggie. She asked if they were from the "G.G.s" (employees of government departments whose cars carry a Government Garage number plate). The workers' role was clarified and Maggie invited them to follow her: "I want you to see something." She led the workers into a yard in which a group of men were sitting in the dust drinking beer. They were polite but apathetic.

The workers followed her into a windowless mud hut where they were introduced to her "husband" to whom she referred as Mr. J. Maggie explained the workers' role in terms of what they were not - "They are not G.G.s nor Good Sheppers* nor welfare**." Mr. J. was friendly and very articulate.

He explained that he and his wife and three daughters had to live in their tiny hut which was self-erected and that they paid R4 per month to an Indian who owned the ground. The lack of privacy made it impossible for him to have sex with his wife or to wash his body. He could not apply for a house because he did not possess a Coloured Identity document even though he had documentary proof (which he produced) of having applied for one two years earlier. The writer explained that she could not give him a house but suggested that if there were several people in the area in a similar predicament she would be prepared to help them to explore ways and means of applying for housing. He knew of "dozens" of families who had a similar problem. He then took the workers to the dwellings of thirty-three families in the yard, all of whom lived in various types of self-constructed single-unit huts.

Many of the people were suspicious and ill at ease but willingly showed the workers their homes. Mr. J. explained that they were afraid that the Indian landlord would be informed that they had been complaining and this would give him cause to evict them.

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* Her version of the name of a local welfare organisation.

** Any White person was perceived as necessarily being from one of the statutory authorities.

The worker asked Mr. J. if he would be willing to undertake a self-survey to ascertain the number of families in the area who were, for various reasons, ineligible to apply for accommodation from the housing authorities. She undertook to come to meet the people if he could get them together for a meeting at which they would discuss their problems.

Brokensha et al 1969 (p.132), in discussing community development research, pay special attention to the use of self-surveys. This type of survey provides opportunities *for people themselves to study and analyse their own* problems.

Van de Lest's definition of the community self-survey (in Robertson p.5) is as follows:

> "... a form of social investigation carried out with the assistance of members of the public who are themselves the object of the investigation so that they *may get to know and understand their own* situation differently and better."

Two essential elements of the community self-survey involve social investigation and change in participants. Additional dimensions are that undertaking a self-survey acts as a motivating factor for the participants to engage in constructive social change and that the citizens are responsible for and participate in every phase of the investigation.

The writer returned twice a week to the yard, appropriately named "Varkjaart" (i.e. pigsty) by the residents, to establish contact with the people and to encourage Mr. J. and two members of the community whom he motivated to help him to continue with the self-survey and to obtain feedback from them.

The initial suspicion and reserve was gradually dissipated and each time the writer returned more people from Beacon Road came to Varkjaart to talk about what it is like to live in Kliptown and to invite her to come and see their *houses for herself.*

After two months of regular contact with the people in Kliptown, Mr. J. managed to arrange a meeting on a Saturday between the residents and the worker who was now addressed

as "Miss Marie". *This meeting was held under a tree in* Varkjaart, which had been specially cleaned for the occasion. *Representatives of twenty-eight families* were present - eleven Blacks and seventeen Coloureds. Each *person brought up to date rent receipts.* An analysis of these showed that one third paid rent to the Johannesburg City Council (Local Authority), one third to a White landlord and one third to an Indian landlord.

During the course of the meeting the worker devoted some time to sorting out a verbal battle between two women. It was difficult to get the people to move from discussion of personal problems to those which all had in common. The common problems discussed were:

a) Lack of adequate accommodation, leaking roofs and flooding of houses. The periodic flooding made it necessary for the people to sleep on bar-stools with blankets over their heads.

b) Lack of an adequate water supply. Seventy-eight families had to depend on two outside taps as the only source of water supply.

c) *Inadequate and primitive sanitary facilities* in the form of night-soil buckets. These were placed on *the streets at approximately* five a.m. twice weekly by local authority employees and generally remained there uncovered awaiting collection until approximately three p.m., ten hours later.

d) The streets were unlit, making it unsafe for families to use the outside toilets at night. This had given rise to using chambers in the houses. Many people emptied these on to the streets together with household refuse.

e) Ill health, especially tuberculosis, asthma, rheumatism and gastro-enteritis among children with many resultant deaths.

On enquiring as to how many people had applied to the local authority for housing, the reply was that they were waiting for "somebody" to come to complete application forms for them.

The writer undertook to make enquiries about the correct procedure to be followed in making application for housing and asked if anybody had considered trying to fix their roofs to ensure that their houses were at least dry. A woman, who had been very articulate during the meeting, stated that firstly this would not keep out the water which flowed down the hill in rainy weather and which poured into the houses, and secondly if the residents made any improvements their rents were certain to be raised. The only solution was for them to be given new houses - if they could pay rent which she doubted since most of the adults in the area were in receipt of disability grants* as they were unfit for work.

At a meeting three weeks later, attended by seventy people, the worker, who in the meantime had obtained a housing application form, suggested that it might be a good thing for the people to elect a committee which could explain the requirements to them and help those who were eligible to apply for housing. After a long and boisterous discussion a committee of three - two men and a woman who were literate - was elected. The worker went through the application form item by item with the committee. The members decided to equip themselves with notebooks and pencils and to get the necessary information from the families in the area.

A young man who had recently managed to get a new house in Eldorado Park through having got the press to publish a photograph of his flooded home in Kliptown offered to help the committee. S** was, however, very disappointed on being told by the worker that the press was not to be used in this instance and as a result lost interest after two days.

After sporadic efforts by the committee over a three month period, they had obtained particulars of eighty-seven families. Thirty of these, being Black, were ineligible for housing in a Coloured area.

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* The Disability Grants Act, 1968, makes provision for the payment of disability grants to mentally and physically disabled adults who are incapable of supporting themselves.

** The worker earlier had contact with S. at his place of employment.

Biddle (1965, p. 73) states that the process seems to depend upon the formation of a community serving small group - or the utilisation of one already in existence. It frequently starts with a single group but may proliferate into sub-associations of many similar groups. Brokensha et.al (p. 132) elaborate on the important role which such groups can play in providing the community development worker with an active contact with the people.

The Kliptown ad hoc committee could not be described as truly representative of the people in the area since the majority of the community, with which the committee members were eventually interacting, had no say in its election. One committee member left the area and a new member was elected to replace him. The committee's role is discussed on p 88.

The initial fact-finding phase and the establishment of contact with the people in Eldorado Park took a different form due to the fact that there were formal church groups in this area with which the women, in particular, strongly identified: this feature was apparently lacking in Kliptown.

In Eldorado Park the adults spend less time on the streets than do the people in Kliptown. This made it difficult to establish contact with individuals. A decision was, therefore, taken to approach the ministers of the various churches and to discuss the reasons for the workers' presence in the area.

Biddle (1965, pp. 231-233) states that the community development process seeks to bring about changes in the lives and motivations of people. If the process works properly, it should enable the participants to achieve a more meaningful existence, to become more responsive to an expanding common good, to become more responsive to human needs and more competent to live harmoniously with

neighbours. These expectations bring the community development process into a relationship with religion, which Biddle sees as an important origin of values.

The community development process is always seeking values, since consciously chosen development must have objectives on the part of the community development worker and the participants. While these objectives are dynamic and may be contradictory, they will tend to serve the chooser's implementation of the commandment "love thy neighbour".

The workers' first approach was to the Anglican minister at his home in Eldorado Park. He verbalised great interest in community development which he had heard of in the Cape Province. He saw the involvement of the people in their own development as the only possible solution to the multitude of problems which beset his people. He finally talked about his former feelings of resentment and suspicion toward White people, which he claimed had been dissipated through contact with a White man who regularly invited him to his home and treated him as "a person".

The workers were invited to attend a meeting of the Anglican Women's Fellowship on the following Sunday to speak to a group about their proposed work in the area.

3.6.1 First Meeting with a Church Group

When the workers arrived, seventy women, mostly middle-aged, and twelve teenage Sunday School teachers were seated on the ground of the church. The worker initiated the discussion by asking about the aims and functions of the Anglican Women's Fellowship. According to the members who responded to the question these were:

a) Fund-raising projects for the church.

b) Visiting of the sick and aged in their homes and praying with them.

The worker explained the philosophy of community development and the reason for her presence in the area in very simple language. An elderly woman immediately launched into a monologue on the problems in the area.

She claimed that "the welfare" had really done nothing to help the people. "They are great at telling us what to do, but don't teach us how to do it."

With time other group members joined in the discussion. The problems in order of priority were:

a) Alcoholism, which was described as "the scourge of the Coloured people". The group saw the alcoholic as "a drop-out" who didn't care about anybody and who gave a bad example to his children and who was "made like that".

b) Juvenile delinquency, for which the group held the parents and the schools responsible.

c) The lack of services for old-age pensioners. The group's attitude was that pensioners were generally exploited by their families whose only interest was "to get their hands on the pension*."

The worker then asked the group what, if anything, they were prepared to do to try to tackle one or other of the problems listed by them. The first speaker addressed herself to the worker and with great feeling said: "Madam, you tell us what to do. You dictate to us and we will do what you say." There was a general nodding of heads in agreement with this approach.

The worker replied: "Mrs. W., you have just told us that the welfare come and tell people what to do but don't teach them how to help themselves." There was a moment's silence and Mrs. W. asked the worker to explain again exactly "what you are". The worker explained the basic differences between welfare work and community development by saying that welfare took the responsibility for deciding what people's problems were and for finding solutions for these. The community development worker helped people to decide for themselves what their local, not personal, problems were; what they were prepared to do about them on a self-help basis and what outside help, if any, the people needed to enable them to tackle their problems.

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* Coloured Old Age Pension - a pension paid to the indigent aged of R468 per annum.

Mrs. W. understood this explanation and paraphrased it for the group as follows: "It's time we began to think for ourselves and get off our backsides and tried to do something for ourselves. That's what Miss F. (the worker) is trying to tell us."

The group began a long discussion about school "drop-outs" which they saw as the contributing factor to delinquency. According to the group the teachers did not care about the children and often "pushed" them out of school. A student teacher took up this issue and said that in Coloured communities teachers were not properly trained. They had only Standard Eight* and a "Coloured Teacher's Diploma". She asked the group: "How can people who are so ill-equipped teach Standard Four children, let alone high school students?" From the subsequent discussion it emerged that the group's perception of the schools in the area was very negative and that they saw the situation as being hopeless.

The worker said that she was aware that many of the teachers had low academic qualifications and that consequently the children's education suffered. She gave factual information on group projects undertaken by housewives in Kew Town in the Cape Province to help to socialise school children.

Batten (1975, p.13) sees as part of the community development worker's role the giving of help by providing information - if people need it - about how similar groups have organised for action. The worker believed that the giving of information about the projects in Kew Town (a Coloured township) could enable the group to see how their own people were trying to come to grips with similar problems and could possibly help to dissipate their fatalistic attitude.

3.6.2 Analysis of this meeting.

The members of this group were apathetic and fatalistic. Biddle (1965, p.7), referring to the problems inherent in inaugurating community development in a depressed community,

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* Standard Eight, i.e. Junior Certificate, is obtained after ten year's schooling.

says that the worker "hopes for an invitation to cooperation, a request for help in accomplishing some good thing that the citizens want". The likelihood of such an invitation being issued by people who are apathetic and conditioned to being at the receiving end of charity is very small.

The group members' dissatisfaction with their lot was apparent to the worker, but responsibility for their problems was projected elsewhere. There was very little evidence that there was any motivation for self-help. At the time, the worker attributed this to the fact that the group was so accustomed to being told by authority figures what to do that the members were as yet unable to see themselves as potential agents in improving their life circumstances.

3.6.3 Subsequent Meetings

The second meeting with this group was almost an exact replica of the first one except that the Sunday school teachers were not present. The group members had "talked a lot" about the previous meeting and were still trying "to make a plan". The worker was invited to return two weeks later.

Before the next meeting, the worker had an interview with the church minister. He felt that the group members would eventually "catch on to the idea of community development". He saw their basic problem to be overwork in the affairs of the parish. They helped him in every possible way. He had only to tell them what to do and he could rest assured that his wishes would be carried out.

The greater part of the time at the third meeting was taken up with working out how much money each member owed for lilac dress material for uniforms for the members. The president of the group had purchased the material for R650 and this amount had to be recovered from members, i.e. an amount of R16,25 each.

The president appeared not to welcome the worker's presence at the meeting and her attitude affected some of the members with the result that the meeting became a group

catharsis session. Members ventilated their resentment about "the system" in terms of the injustices which were perpetrated against the Coloured people. The local "politicians" were slated for making promises which were never kept. Welfare was criticised for sending social workers to the area who thought that they knew what was good for the people and who left them worse off than they found them. Mrs. W., who was a member of a welfare agency committee, said that the trouble was that people came to depend on the welfare to do everything for them. This kept them from trying to do something for themselves.

She launched an attack on the group and said that they all seemed to be waiting for "an act of God" to take their problems away. She challenged the group to get involved in trying to improve things instead of complaining. Her stand-point was verbalised as follows: "We have produced doctors, dentists and social workers so we can't be that stupid."

The outcome of this meeting was that two women asked the worker to make a note of their addresses and to get in touch with them when she found other women in the area who were willing to try to do something to improve conditions in the community.

The work[illegible]sed what had been discussed and let it be known[illegible]s fully aware of the suffering caused to the people [illegible]iminatory laws and the lack of resources and facilities. She stated that in spite of what the people had suffered she was convinced that they had the capacity to help themselves. She expressed her appreciation to the two members who had voiced their willingness to become involved and commended the Anglican Women's Fellowship for what the members were already doing for the community.

Mrs. W. subsequently, in an informal conversation at her home, told the worker that the group was "hung up" on collecting funds and said that if the worker wanted the Anglican Women's Fellowship to raise money for her work they would be very happy to do this. The worker promised to remember this offer should help be needed in the future*.

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* Two members of the Anglican Women's Fellowship subsequently helped to found the "Women of Troy" Club. See p. 54.

Biddle (p.104) discusses the possibility of episodes of bitter complaint where there has been a long history of social injustice. He considers it very important for the worker to remain undisturbed by such occurrences which can be healthy for individuals and for the group, provided that cathartic outbursts do not become habitual.

The worker decided to go along with the group's statement that they would invite her to return when they had more time. The invitation came from the minister two months later. The worker arrived for the meeting but the members of the Anglican Women's Fellowship failed to turn up

An analysis of the reasons for this group's failure to become involved in the community development process seems to indicate that the members would have responded more positively to a directive approach. Batten (1975, p.21) refers to the dilemma which a worker has to face in a situation of this nature and he warns that where a non-directive worker seeks to impose on people the responsibility of deciding for themselves things they would rather have decided for them, they may feel resentful and not cooperate.

While being aware of this possibility, the worker chose to use the non-directive approach with this group for the following reasons:

a) The minister, president and Mrs. W. (an ex-president) were very authoritarian and directive. Had the worker used a directive approach she could have created a competitive situation which might have developed into a power struggle.

b) The worker, as an outsider, had of necessity a very different perception of the needs and problems of the community to that of the group. She questioned the ethical implications of telling the people what to do about their problems since this direction could only lead to dependence on her.
According to Batten (1975, p.20) it is "more than doubtful" whether even a skilled and experienced worker is safe in deciding for people how their needs can best be met.

3.6.4 Meetings with other Church Groups

Resulting from an interview with the pastor of the Assemblies of God the worker received an invitation to "address" the women's group at this church on the Saturday afternoon prior to the second meeting with the Anglican Women's Fellowship. On this occasion the worker explained the reasons for her presence in the area and the basic principles of community development. It proved impossible to stimulate any discussion. The pastor gave his own version of what the worker was saying and encouraged the group "to learn all they could" from the worker so that they could convert the "unbelievers" in the area. He compared their church with the other denominations in the area to the detriment of the latter. He then proceeded to tell the seventy women present what they should do to help the aged and to convert sinners and assured them that the worker would teach them how to go about this. The group replied in unison "Ja Pastoor" ("Yes Pastor").

The worker restated her role and said that she was interested in getting to know the people and discussing their local needs and problems with them. The pastor took over and said that the communities biggest problem was sin expressed in alcoholism, delinquency, failure to pay tithes to the church and neglect of old people. The group replied in unison "Ja Pastoor". The pastor was emphatic that his church had none of these problems within its membership and that church members were active in youth work and services to the aged. In his view, with the worker's help these services could be made much more effective.

At this point the worker tried to involve the group in discussing local needs and problems. A woman, who identified herself as Mrs. M., a teacher, said that many of the young people's problems could be attributed to the non-caring attitude of the teachers. Parents needed education to enable them to build up good Christian families. She felt that little could be done to change the school situation, but perhaps mothers could be helped to make a good job of child rearing.

At this point the pastor took over and thanked the worker for having come. He stated that "they" would like her to return in a fortnight when more members would be present. He would work out a plan in the meantime and *then we could get to work.*

At the following meeting (a fortnight later) the worker was surprised to find that only eighteen members were present. The pastor presented his plan. He instructed the women to nominate two members to be trained to work with the aged and a young man to be trained as a youth leader, and went on to outline his plan for a club for the aged. In his plan the "trained workers" would be responsible for transporting the old people to and from a new centre which was to be built in Eldorado Park Extension 2 (see map, p.5A). At the centre the "trained workers" would teach the old people to do handcrafts and hold prayer meetings for them. An annual sale of handcrafts would be held to finance the club and to pay workers' salaries and to buy a mini-bus*.

Since the meeting did not respond to the pastor's proposals the worker commented that she was aware that the aged in the area were in need of help and asked the group what qualities they thought a person needed to be *able to work with old people. A long uncomfortable silence* followed. In an effort to initiate discussion the worker suggested that the group think about some of the common characteristics of old people known to the members. This approach brought an immediate response. Group members described old people as inclined to be childish, quarrelsome, attention-seeking and sometimes senile. The worker summarised these characteristics and repeated her question inviting the group to think about the qualities a person would need to work with old people.

In reply individual members stressed the need for patience, the ability to settle arguments and a real love for old people. At this point two members, who were perceived as having these qualities, were nominated as potential "trainees". The pastor ignored the content of what had been said and stated that what was needed was workers who were true Christians. He added further that the workers' salaries would, of necessity, be small, but he was sure that

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* A mini-bus costs ± R13,000

the right people could be found. He asked the worker how she felt about his proposal for the old people's club.

The worker explained that she believed that the greatest need of the aged is to be given opportunities to manage their own affairs and to use their remaining strengths constructively. The pastor's idea of starting a club was excellent if the old people could be actively involved in running their club and in organising their own programmes with the help of the church workers.

The pastor replied that the approach suggested by the worker would not work with the old people in the local community. In his view old people would be unwilling to come to the club unless fe' hed. Furthermore old people do not know what is good for them and should leave decisions to the church workers. The group's non-verbal behaviour which was manifested in silence, facial expressions and nudging of neighbours, clearly showed disagreement with the pastor's perception of the situation.

During the tea-break which preceded the closure of the meeting, three of the women spoke to the worker and informed her that the pastor had told the group that the worker had specified certain criteria in respect of attendance at this meeting. So for example a standard eight qualification was mentioned. One of the women, namely Mrs. M., was emphatic that the worker had not stipulated conditions. She felt that people had physical as well as spiritual needs and asked the worker to contact her and her friend, Mrs. W.*, should the worker find other women in the area who were likewise interested in working with mothers or young people.

After the tea interval the pastor concluded the meeting by promising to contact the worker once a decision had been taken about suitable candidates for training. Three months later no communication had been received from the pastor.

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* Mrs. M. became a very influential member of the "Women of Troy" (see p. 54) and Mrs. W. of a school committee (see p. 69).

3.6.5 Analysis of these meetings

The pastor interpreted community development as a means to an end, i.e. of extending the influence of his church in the area and of making the women's group more effective in attaining this end.

Biddle (1965, p. 234) refers to the problem that many religious workers have in trusting ordinary people to make ethically good choices. Arising from this difficulty, they tend to place major reliance upon their own ability to dominate others. Biddle believes that the community development process is threatening too many churchmen "for it tries to put neighbourliness into daily conduct instead of merely preaching about it. This effort is disturbing to those whose major satisfaction is found in proclaiming the message".

In the meetings at which the worker was present, the pastor clearly dominated the group. Since his work was law and since he had informed the women that only persons with a standard eight qualification would be welcomed at the meeting, only individuals who met this requirement did in fact attend the meeting. He took no notice of the fact that two members had been nominated by the group as potential trainees and took it upon himself to make the decisions.

The community development process, which encourages people to think for themselves and to make and implement their own decisions, could have had the consequence of devaluing the pastor's status. Biddle (1965, p.235), referring to this possibility, says that the participants in the community development process soon learn that there is great room for honest differences in opinion "as to what the sermonizing calls for when carried into everyday life".

One fundamental obstacle to church involvement in community development is, according to Biddle (1965, p.241), the minister's self-perception as a "professional religionist". Such a religious professional tends to look upon himself as a person with special knowledge (largely theological) and special authority (ecclesiastical).

Resulting from this self-perception, the minister

proclaims from the pulpit, presides at meetings, prepares the agendae and advances the ideas to be adopted. He becomes the "voice of the church" on all local problems and believes that he must do all the important jobs, using laymen only for non-policy making functions.

The worker's experience with three other church groups in the area was basically similar. The ministers functioned as spokesmen for the groups and gave the members little opportunity to become involved in discussion. One minister stated, with obvious pride, that his congregation depend upon him to do their thinking for them. He added that if a thief broke into their homes at night, his church members would come to ask him what action to take.

The worker came to the conclusion the ministers were unready to allow their churches to become vehicles for the introduction of the community development process. Involvement with the churches had been time-consuming and frustrating but had the following advantages:

a) The worker had met over four hundred people from the communities and had been given opportunities to explain the philosophy and modus operandi of community development to them.

b) A clearer picture of the needs and problems of the area had been obtained as a result of these contacts.

c) Church members who wanted to become active in efforts to work on local problems knew where to find the worker.

3.7 Approach to the Schools

One of the major problems verbalised by the church groups with which the worker had contact related to the school system and the schooling of their children. In 1964 the Department of Coloured Affairs took over the control of schooling for Coloured children from the Department of Education. At the head of this department stands an Assistant Secretary for Education.

According to The Commission Report (1976, p.173, 8.64), while much progress has been made in raising the standard of Coloured education*, two important factors militate against

* In the Republic of South Africa four separate departments are responsible for education of the four racial groups, hence the term "Coloured Education".

this improvement.

These are:-

a) That over fifty percent of the Coloured teachers who have qualified since 1964 possess a Junior Certificate* and have undergone two years' training and obtained a Lower Primary Teachers Certificate from one of the Coloured Teachers Training Colleges.

b) The high drop-out rate among Coloured school children which can be partially attributed to the fact that compulsory schooling for Coloured children was introduced as recently as 1974. Of the 85,089 children who enrolled in Sub A in 1964, 5,777 (i.e. 6.8%) were in Standard Nine in 1974 (p.171).

Although the church groups were fully aware of problems relating to the schools, the worker did not succeed in efforts to stimulate them to raise these issues with the local teachers. The worker therefore decided to personally approach the principals of the six primary and two high schools in the communities.

The worker explained, upon meeting with the principals, the reason for her presence in the area and indicated that she was interested in discussing the problems which the schools were experiencing.

This approach led to ventilation of feelings of frustration, bitterness and apathy. These centred around the political situation, discrimination with regard to the salaries paid to White and Coloured teachers and overcrowding in schools. Much feeling was focused on parents' lack of interest in their children's education, manifested in their keeping their distance from the schools and not caring whether their children attended school or not. Of the school principals** two were initially doubtful and five believed that the worker was wasting her time in the area since "these Coloured people will never do anything

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* Ten years of schooling

** All the schools in the community are staffed by Coloured personnel.

to help themselves". In each case, the worker asked the principal to think over the aspects that had been discussed and to decide whether there was any way in which he thought she could be of assistance to his school. In all cases appointments for further interviews were made.

Subsequent interviews revealed that six of the eight school principals were prepared to consider trying to involve the parents more in the affairs of the schools and that they were ready to consider ways and means of doing this. The other two saw the situation as being hopeless and seemed to be unable to translate their grievances into problems which could be tackled. All principals gave the worker permission to speak to their staff to invite staff members to attend Saturday seminars at the University* to discuss the philosophy of community development and the outcome of the worker's efforts in the communities.

The goal of these seminars was to introduce the teachers to a new way of working with the community which would, hopefully, lead to a change in attitudes.

Three all-day seminars were held which were attended by a total of thirty-six teachers, i.e. twenty percent (20%) of those who had accepted the invitation.

The seminars were characterised by an initial period of group catharsis centering round racial discrimination and its effects on the Coloured people. The worker acknowledged that she was very aware of the hardships which racial discrimination created for the Coloured people.

Biddle (1965, p.101) states that the problem is not to stop catharsis but to move beyond it, since excessive catharsis of even real grievances tends to paralyse initiative and self-help.

On the whole the discussions tended to become more constructive with the teachers accepting some responsibility for not having made much of a contribution to the improvement of their communities' life style.

Discussion of the reality factors, e.g. illiteracy, poverty, both parents working, which made it difficult for parents to take an active interest in their children's education, and of the factors, e.g. over-crowding and lack of electricity, which made it almost impossible for children

* University of the Witwatersrand

to do their homework, led to proposals from the teachers about ways in which they could contribute to the solution of some of these problems.

Proposed solutions included:

a) The formation of parent-teacher associations, since none existed in the area.
b) Arranging functions at the schools and inviting parents to attend/participate.
c) The provision of music and drama lessons for scholars.
d) Supervision of home-work after school hours.
e) Initiation of socialisation groups for school children where they would be taught handcrafts and hobbies.
f) *The formation of a women's club to be used as a vehicle for family life education.*

The worker assured the groups of her willingness to help where needed with any of the proposed projects and outlined the type of help which she could give.

3.7.1 Outcome of Teachers' Seminars

The worker continued to maintain contact with the teachers who had attended the seminars to encourage them to translate their good intentions into action.

The first request received was for help to eleven teachers to enable them to study for their matriculation certificate. Three discussions were held with this group to enable them to reach consensus on a time, venue and a selection of subjects.

The worker negotiated with two post-graduate students from the Department of Education at the University to give their services voluntarily to this group every Friday afternoon.

Three months later nine of the original eleven had enrolled for two Matric subjects . are attending classes regularly.

The second request received was for training in basic group work skills and handcrafts for two teachers and five *housewives whom they had recruited. Their aim was to pro*vide group sessions for schoolchildren on Thursday afternoons. In response the worker made provision for training

to extend over a two-month period and arranged for financial assistance to enable the group to purchase the necessary equipment.

These women initiated three separate group programmes, which cater for approximately fifty children, who meet at the local Methodist Church. In addition to the group activities, the children were being provided with supplementary feeding. These seven women later became members of the "Women of Troy".

3.7.2 The Women's Club

Two female teachers, who during a seminar had suggested starting a women's club, approached the worker for assistance in starting the club. Several discussions were held to clarify the objectives of the club and the method to be used in recruiting members.

Two months later the worker received an invitation to attend a meeting at the home of one of the teachers. Twelve women were present, most of whom the worker had met at church groups, and a lively discussion of the problems with which the women in the area had had to cope took place. These were:-

a) Marital problems which frequently led to desertion by husbands.
b) Frequent pregnancies resulting in large families which they were unable to support.
c) Ignorance about parent/child relationships and of effective and healthy methods of discipline.
d) The difficulties experienced in trying to raise their children "decently" in an area in which there were few recreational facilities for young people.
e) Social isolation of the mothers in the area and lack of constructive leisure time occupation which gave rise to alcoholism.

The group set about drawing up a programme and placed discussion of family planning at the head of the list. The worker alerted the group to the resentment expressed by

persons in the communities who receive unsolicited instruction to consult family planning clinics.

The group members were aware of the practice of the State Department to include this type of instruction in correspondence with families in receipt of social security benefits. After some further discussion it was decided to leave family planning "alone" for the present and to concentrate rather on getting a larger membership for the club before deciding on a programme. A decision was taken to do house-to-house visiting to invite mothers to come to the club for afternoon tea the following Saturday. Members undertook to visit all the homes in specific streets. This plan was based on members' belief that "if you want to get people in Kliptown, you offer them food".

Twenty-four women were present at the next meeting held two weeks later. A decision was taken to elect a committee and three women were elected - a chairlady, secretary and treasurer. The newly-elected committee asked the worker to clarify the functions of a committee. The members were encouraged to verbalise their expectations of their committee. The worker summarised what had been said and gave additional information on the role and functions of each member of the committee.

Since the majority of the new members came from Kliptown, the worker shared with the group her concern about the number of undernourished children she had seen in their area. The group agreed that this was a serious problem for which the parents were responsible. Much indignation about parents who were "drunken layabouts" was verbalised. The worker was assured that it was possible to rear children "properly" even in Kliptown and many examples from their own experience were given by members.

The worker agreed and asked if the children should be punished by being allowed to starve because of the parents' inadequacies. A silence ensued which was broken by Mrs. G., the treasurer. She said that the children and not the parents were suffering. This was wrong and she was prepared to start a soup kitchen at her house if the worker could help to provide soup powder, bread and peanut butter. The group clapped to show approval and Mrs. A. also volunteered to start a soup unit.

The worker undertook to obtain the necessary supplies. Other members offered to help G. and A. with cooking and serving the food and detailed plans were made. Three days later, when the worker brought the provisions, A. had changed her mind and decided that one soup kitchen was sufficient. The worker helped G. to cope with her hurt feelings about A's change of plans and suggested that she should present a report on the progress of the soup kitchen at the next meeting.

The chairlady later told the worker in a private conversation that A. was very religious and looked down on G. who had run a shebeen to support her children when they were small because her husband had been a "lay-about". She added that A. was jealous because G. had been elected as treasurer.

Attendance at the next meeting had risen to forty-nine. At this meeting most of the time was devoted to plans for fundraising. It was decided to collect used clothing and to sell tickets for a raffle. The majority of the women contributed ideas for future fundraising schemes. The chairlady led the discussion very efficiently and asked for nominations for a vice-chairlady and assistant treasurer. Two members were nominated and unanimously elected.

On being asked to report on the soup kitchen, G. stated that she and her two assistants daily gave soup and bread to two hundred children. They were distributing twenty-eight loaves of bread cut into twenty slices each and giving one slice to each child. A member did a rapid calculation and said that this meant that five-hundred and sixty children were being fed.

The group felt that this indicated that a second soup kitchen was needed. A. launched an attack and said that G. was giving soup to school-going children whereas the original plan was to feed pre-school children only. At this rate G. would soon be feeding everybody in the area. The group defended G. and asked the worker if she agreed that the school-going children should be included.

The worker asked why scholars were stopping at G's house to get food on their way to school. The reply was "because they are hungry". D., one of the least articulate of the group members, insisted that no child will go to a stranger's house for food unless he is hungry. She offered to run a soup kitchen at her home to help out.

The chairlady called for a vote on the school children issue and with the exception of A. and her daughter it was generally agreed that their need was as great as that of pre-school children.

The need to choose a name for the group was mooted by the chairlady. Several suggestions were made and ignored. G. suggested "Women of Troy". The group voted unanimously for this title and then asked the worker "what is women of 'Troy'"? The worker told them what she remembered of the story and the comment was "that's us".

A. and her daughter J., who had been elected as club secretary, did not attend subsequent meetings. The worker later learned from a member that the family had recently "become converted" and did not want to associate with people who ran raffles and dances in order to raise funds.

The worker was aware that several club members belonged to A's church and feared that they would follow her example and also leave the club. This was averted by the chairlady who, at the next meeting, brought the issue of religious differences into the open for discussion. Resulting from this, the members agreed that there was only one God and they felt sure that what they were trying to do was more important than the fact that they belonged to different churches.

During the two following meetings members were almost exclusively concerned with fund-raising projects. The chairlady spoke to the worker about her concern that the members' sole interest seemed to be fund-raising. The worker suggested having a meeting with the committee to discuss aspects of common concern.

At this meeting, which was held at the chairlady's home on a Monday at 11 a.m., the committee was eager to draw up a programme for family life education. The worker assisted with this and led the discussion round to the concern with fund-raising. The committee was getting impatient with this preoccupation. The worker enabled them to work out why the club members were so concerned about money. The vice-chairlady put forward that firstly most of the members were very poor and therefore money had an inordinate importance for them. Secondly this was something that they knew how to do having had plenty of experience of fund-raising at their churches.

The worker explained that one of the principles of community development was to start with what people know. This was discussed and the committee felt that once the fund-raising project had been successfully completed, club members would be ready to move on to something else.

The next club meeting was action-oriented. A member complained about the unjust practices of local shopkeepers. This was elaborated on by other members. The complaints were that:

a) Shopkeepers sold meat and bread wrapped in newspaper.
b) Goods offered for sale did not carry a price ticket and some shops charged exorbitant prices for groceries.
c) Child shoppers were not given correct change.
d) Many shops in Kliptown sold diluted methylated spirit for consumption on the premises.

The chairlady suggested that a letter should be written for publication in "The Star" (a Johannesburg evening newspaper) about these abuses. The members disagreed and said that they would tackle the problems themselves, beginning with the illegal sale of methylated spirit. After much discussion, a decision was taken to compose a circular from "The Women of Troy" to the shopkeepers. This was written by the meeting secretary and given to the worker for typing and photocopying.

A plan was made to place the circulars under shop doors the following Sunday, when the shops were closed. It was decided that, should the shopkeepers ignore this warning about the sale of methylated spirits the matter would be reported to the Department of Health.

The worker said that this was a criminal offence and asked why the group did not therefore consider reporting the matter to the police. The response was that the shopkeepers would bribe the police and no action would be taken against them.

The committee suggested that the time had come to draw up rules for membership. This aspect was quickly dealt with as follows:

Membership cards would be issued free of charge to persons who had attended four meetings. Forfeiture of membership would result from absence from four meetings. Money raised for the club could not be used for private purposes. All members were entitled to a say in the programme and affairs of the club.

M. spoke about the high cost of living and suggested a bulk buying scheme to enable club members to purchase their groceries at wholesale prices. Her suggestion was enthusiastically received by the group. A member said "Mary (the worker) will get us a buying card". The worker replied that she was willing to take a club member to a nearby wholesale grocery concern to obtain a buying card.

She asked what the members intended making about taking orders, [illegible]rt, distribution of the goods and the collection of money to pay for them. The chairlady agreed that these aspects had to be discussed and plans made before a buying card was obtained. M. stressed that club funds could not be used for the purchase of groceries. She worked out that the members could save 25 percent by buying in bulk and stated that this privilege was available to members only.

Some members indicated that they were not quite clear about how bulk buying could help them to save money. The

Chairlady explained why goods obtained from a wholesaler were cheaper. She asked how much the members paid for a tin of condensed milk (which is used in all households in the communities) locally. This item cost forty cents retail. M. stated that a two dozen case of condensed milk worked out at twenty four cents per tin.

A member responded to this information as follows: "We are working to make the Indians and Chinese rich. We must make a plan for this bulk buying".

In spite of the group's apparent eagerness to start a bulk buying scheme, no definite plan had been made when members met a week later. The vice-chairlady asked the worker, in a challenging manner, if she had obtained the buying card. The worker countered this by asking if the group had made definite plans as suggested at the last meeting.

After an embarrassed silence, G. (the treasurer) said "It looks as if Mary must make the plans for us." The worker wondered why this was necessary and G. replied "Maybe we're too stupid to do it ourselves". C., mimicking a very sophisticated lady, said "These Coloured people - help themselves! You must be joking, my dear". The group looked at the worker to see how she was reacting to this. The worker laughed and told C. that she had missed a great career on the stage. The group roared with laughter and then proceeded to make the necessary plans. This item was dealt with very efficiently in about five minutes.

The chairlady then asked the worker whether the club was intended to be an independent body or not. The worker decided to deal with this question in terms of her presence at the meetings and explained her role as that of helping the members to establish the club, to identify their local needs and problems and to plan whatever action they wanted to take to tackle these. She told the members that once they no longer felt a need for her regular presence they must let her know, but gave them the assurance that they could call on her when necessary for consultation.

C. responded to this by stating "Mary is our legal adviser in another way". The worker elaborated on the analogy and said that once a legal adviser's services are no longer required, his client discontinues seeing him. When the club felt ready to go it alone, the worker would feel that her job was done, but would still be available when needed.

The chairlady then asked whether the club would have to affiliate with some existing welfare body. The worker asked if this was what the members wanted. There was a unanimous reply of "never". Various members motivated this in the following terms. The existing welfare bodies did not know or understand the people. They did not know what it was like to live in the area. They would want to tell them what to do without knowing what they were talking about and the whole thing would end in a mess.

The worker said that she was happy to know that the club wanted to be autonomous and remarked that some members gave the impression of being distressed about something. The chairlady answered that there were people in the community who were trying to make trouble. They wanted to see the club break up to justify their belief that the people could do nothing to help themselves. She referred indirectly to a local politician and his church minister and a local welfare organisation which was aligned with him.

The group verbalised great hostility towards this clique and said inter-alia that one of the things that helped to keep the Coloured people "down" was the politicians who never did anything for their own people. Many examples were given of efforts to sabotage what the worker and the people were trying to do.

The group was surprised to learn that the worker had long been aware of the activities of this particular faction. Immediate action by the worker was demanded. The worker asked for suggestions as to what she should or could do. After much ventilation by the group, the worker asked whether this faction had in fact managed to sabotage what they were trying to do. The group believed that what had

actually happened was to make the people "more anti them" and insisted that it was only people who were "getting something out of them" who took any notice. The worker asked "So what do we do?" The group decided that they should ignore them as the community was already split in many directions and they were trying to build up a community.

The success of the fund-raising efforts was evaluated at the commencement of the next meeting. The worker congratulated them on their success. M. said that apart from the money which had been raised all the people in the area now knew about the existence of the Women of Troy.

The chairlady suggested that since the club now had its own money, the time had come to plan projects. A member said that the teenage girls in the area badly needed training in cooking and sewing to prepare them for their future roles as wives and mothers and help to uplift the Coloured families. This was discussed at length and the group decided that this project be given priority.

Three members, J., C. and W., volunteered to start the project at J's house. J. would be responsible for teaching cookery, baking and cake icing. C. and W., who were dressmakers, would teach sewing. The group's enthusiasm for this project was dampened by G. asking "Can we be sure that the girls want this?" A group member (a teacher) insisted that young people did not know what they wanted, and the programme should just be arranged as suggested.

J. had some reservations about this and asked if the worker would come to her house to talk to the young girls and find out what their interests were. Several members seconded this request and the chairlady said that this was what "Mary" had done when they wanted to start their club. The worker agreed to meet the young people and to discuss their interests and needs with them. The committee decided that club funds would be available to sponsor this project. The members who were already running the three handcraft groups asked if this ruling likewise applied to them.

A decision was taken that they would also be helped from club funds. M. said rather defensively "Its time the Coloured people stopped depending on charity. We have now shown that we can help ourselves if we want to". The group clapped and cheered.

Membership has continued to grow. The club's latest project is the establishment of a club for teenage girls which meets every Monday afternoon and which has seventy three members.

Three of the "Women of Troy" are responsible for running the club and for obtaining guest speakers on topics decided on by the girls themselves thus implementing the non-directive approach.

In addition, the members did a survey of the streets in Eldorado Park (forty in number) which lack lighting and are involved in negotiations with the Local Authority to have the situation attended to.

The "Women of Troy" have gradually become less dependent on the worker and less concerned with fund-raising. This was graphically illustrated recently in a conversation between a club member, D. and E. a member of the literacy course. The latter explained that she could not attend meetings on a Saturday because of her Church affiliation and added "If you are having a cake sale to raise funds, I will always bake for you". D. replied "Man we don't need that kind of help; what we need is people, not cakes".

In October 1977, the "Women of Troy" were considering making application to the Local Authority for a site on which a "Community House" may be erected. They discussed in detail the advantages and disadvantages of the club accepting responsibility for the "House". A plan was worked out to make the project self-supporting by letting the hall to other Community Groups.

The possibility of having a Dental Clinic and an Optometry Clinic was mooted by the worker. Club members considered that provision of these services could help to meet important community needs. One member stated "when people are "sukkeling" (struggling) they buy food and clothes, not glasses and teeth, because you can live without these and they are very dear".

At a recent meeting a member stated "Many of us have been troubled about what is wrong in the community for a long time, but we didn't know what to do to improve things. Then Mary (the worker) came and helped us to get going." The "Women of Troy" have demonstrated that "it is very clear that a strong, though dormant, preparedness to give *voluntary service exists among the Coloured people*". (The Commission Report 11.193).

3.7.3 Evaluation

The enthusiasm of this group waxed and waned. Biddle (1965, p.106) with reference to this phenomenon has the following to say: "Throughout the process, the encourager (worker) will be wise to realise that development is often painful before it is triumphant. It moves at varying accelerations and with reversals". He further elaborates on the encourager's need for a sense of humour and an imagination "that *invents new ways* to approach people, ways that will not violate their emerging self-image or dignity".

Meetings as recorded were held over a six-month period, generally weekly, on *Saturday afternoons*. The worker spent approximately twelve hours per month with the group and could not help wondering at times whether anything would eventually be achieved.

The rate of progress achieved through the process of community development is considered by many authorities to be too slow. Mukerji (1961, p.62) admits that the community development process does not produce spectacular *results because the process of social* change and human growth is always slow and difficult. He maintains, however, that the community development process is achieved and human development takes place "for it strengthens the human material that is at the root of all progress".

Biddle (1965, p.78) views community development as "a group method for expediting personality growth, which can occur when geographic neighbours [illegible] together to serve their growing concept of the good of all". Personality growth occurred in the case of the majority of the members of this group.

Initially many members lacked the necessary self-confidence to participate in discussion or to make suggestions. They were content to wait for the worker, whom they originally addressed as "Madam", or for the chairlady to do most of the talking. Gradually, the worker was called by her Christian name and members became secure enough to challenge her when she suggested alternatives for their consideration.

The committee learned to function more democratically and to wait for the group to make its own decisions. The *process of decision-making, in the early stages,* was boisterous and often very protracted. Members sometimes ridiculed others' suggestions or became withdrawn when their own ideas were not accepted. Individuals threatened to leave the club because "nobody listens to me". The worker's role was *frequently* that of encourager to these individuals. In all instances, the person concerned responded positively to the worker's support, and apart from A. and her daughter, no other members left the club.

Club members showed an increasing sensitivity to the needs of their neighbourhood and showed initiative in planning and acting cooperatively to meet these needs despite disagreements among themselves.

The worker functioned non-directively and tried to give maximum encouragement when initiative tended to bog down. Resulting from the relationships which she established with the members they were prepared to share with her their knowledge of the community and of what approach was likely to be successful with her. Had the worker used a *directive approach, this would not have occured.*

Referring to failures experienced by community development workers whose approach Batten (1974, p.99) cryptically summarises as "Trust us. Do this. This is why it will be good for you", Brokensha et.al (*1969, p.52*) comment as follows:

> "Native wisdom, the know how which comes from intimate and long acquaintance with the local environment and climate, has too often been ignored by community development workers coming

from outside the community with their imagined superior technical knowledge".

The projects initiated by the club will be analysed in terms of Kelley's (1968, pp.128-133) criteria for the selection of community development projects. These are:

a) Felt-wants.
b) Short-term projects.
c) Possibility of success.
d) Results visible or easily understood.
e) Long-term difficult projects.
f) Projects which require a large number of residents.
g) A mixture of projects.

To Kelly the question of felt-wants is the most important factor in determining the success or failure of a community development project. Batten (1974, p.97) strongly supports this view when he states that ".. it has been proved many times that by stimulating people to discuss, decide and work to meet their own felt-wants, a skilled development ' ker can promote both aspects (i.e. human and environmental) of the overall development purpose at the same time".

The group in question had many felt-wants, but priority was given to a fund-raising project and secondly to the provision of soup kitchens. These felt-wants are understandable in terms of Maslow's self-actualisation theory which posits five levels of needs arranged in a hierarchy. Unless the basic physiological needs are met, the person never gets around to doing much about later needs. (Morgan and King, 1964, p.494).

Morgan et.al (ibid) state that it follows that people in a poor community will be mostly concerned with physiological and safety needs.

The two initial projects were short-term with a strong possibility of success. The results were visible and easily understood. Kelly (op.cit.) states that even where a project is successful, unless it is understood and seen to be a success by other residents, part of its value is lost in terms of the pride which it could originate in the group which carried

it through a successful conclusion and the stimulus which it could be to further activity.

The soup kitchens project met these requirements and in addition, prepared the way for long-term, difficult projects e.g. the group work and homecraft projects. The club members were encouraged by the visible success achieved in the short-term projects and as a result, enthusiasm and confidence to tackle the more difficult ones was generated.

Club membership continued to grow and members became involved in projects not directly related to club activities, e.g. the "Community School" (see below) and in motivating neighbours to join the adult education project (see p.80).

3.7.4 The Community School

Mr. D., the principal of one of the Eldorado Park primary schools, shared with the worker his concern about the poor examination results obtained at his school in 1976. He was depressed about the parents' lack of interest in their children's education and about the pupil's failure to do their homework.

He repeated all the complaints he had voiced at a seminar for teachers, but could see no solution to the problems. The worker asked what he had done about trying to reach out to the parents. He recounted his efforts and lack of success in this area and said that the only hope he could now see was to start with the children and first try to find out why they neglected to do their homework.

Mr. D. did a self-survey of the Standard Four and Five pupils to ascertain the number of rooms in their homes and the number of children in each home. When the worker spoke to him a fortnight later, he was shocked to find that approximately fifteen percent of the pupils in question came from families of ten members all of whom lived in one-bedroom houses.

The results of his self-survey showed Mr. D. that neither the parents nor the children were responsible for the failure to do homework. He asked the worker if social work students from the University could be made available to enable him to

provide supervised homework sessions after school hours. He believed that students' presence would help to motivate the pupils and he would start a campaign to get parents to take up the project where the students left off.

The worker arranged for four first year social work students to do a fifty-seven hour field-work placement as volunteers at Mr. D's school. A month after the commencement of the placement two teachers volunteered to stay on after school to help with the project.

Mr. D. subsequently offered his staff room as a venue for the meetings of *the Women of Troy*. *The club members* were surprised at this gesture coming, as it did, from a school principal, but they gladly availed themselves of the offer. The worker spoke to the women about Mr. D's need for parents to help with the supervision of homework. This was discussed by the women in terms of the change in Mr. D., who had previously been perceived as having the non-caring attitude attributed by the people to all local teachers.

Shortly after this discussion, twenty-seven parents attended a meeting called by Mr. D. Three of these were members of the Women of Troy. Mr. D. explained the children's need for help and stressed the importance of education for the Coloured people. He stated that the school belonged to the community and pleaded for the parents' cooperation in improving the standard of education.

Ten mothers, including the three club members, volunteered to undertake the supervision of homework at the school and to continue to provide supplementary feeding for the children, which had been started by the students.

Two months later the project had grown. Seventeen parents were giving their services thus making it possible to have two homework sessions daily, one from two to four p.m. and the second one from five-thirty to seven-thirty p.m. In addition, the school premises were being used by various community groups as a venue for their meetings in the evenings and over weekends.

The worker had several interviews with Mr. D. prior to his attendance at a seminar. During the interviews, he gave the impression of being depressed and fatalistic. He always

verbalised concern about the conditions under which his people lived but consoled himself with the thought that "in two hundred years time the whole of Africa will be Coloured".

Batten (1971, pp.58-59) discusses experiments carried out in several countries aimed at orienting teachers to the community development approach. He cites an example from India which shows that as a result of feeling free "... to grumble and criticise and air their complaints" and of having community development projects demonstrated to them, a major change of attitudes occurred among teachers who had previously been hostile to the approach.

An atmosphere was created which encouraged open expression of differences and made examination of the contribution which teachers could make to the improvement of their communities possible.

Mr. D. stated that his idea of a "Community School" was a direct result of attendance at the seminar. He further said that he was now using a community development approach (non-directive) with his staff and was obtaining results in terms of cooperation which he would not have previously believed possible.

Mr. D. has organised his school committee members to act as truant officers. This has had the effect of improving school attendance. He arranged for an expert to discuss with a parents' group the hazards of hire purchase and has managed to get the cooperation of parents in supervising the homework of standards 2 and 3 pupils. He has succeeded in motivating the principals of two other schools to introduce supervised homework sessions.

He no longer ask for the worker's assistance, but reports back regularly on the progress made and discusses his plans for the future. He still becomes depressed about his people's problems but recently stated that "the longest journey starts with the first small step".

3.7.5 The School Committee

In the course of her contacts with the principal of the newest primary school in Eldorado Park, the worker picked up a recurring theme concerning the frequent flooding

of the school premises. The principal was very despondent, having tried repeatedly, together with his school committee, to get the Department of Coloured Affairs to rectify the situation.

Mr. W. wondered if perhaps the worker did not have "some pull" with the Department. He and his committee were sick and tired of writing letters and even the local politician, a friend of his, had been unsuccessful in his efforts to help. The worker explained that she had "no pull" with any government department and suggested a meeting with the school committee to enable her to discuss the problem with them.

A meeting was arranged for eight p.m. ten days later. The committee, consisting of four men and three women plus Mr. W., were present at the meeting. One male member, who was not wholly sober, took exception to the worker's presence at a confidential committee meeting and voiced his disapproval.

The chairman was ineffectual in his efforts to deal with the issue and a heated argument ensued. The worker offered to leave if this was the wish of the committee. Mrs. W.* stated that the worker was there by invitation and that, had the member in question attended the previous meeting, he would have known about this. She apologised on behalf of the committee for what had transpired and said that it was not surprising that the Department took no notice of their letters since they did not even know how to treat a person who had come to help.

Once order had been restored, a file containing all their letters and the replies from the Department, stating that the matter "was receiving attention" was produced. The correspondence spanned a two-and-a-half year period. Frustration and bitterness were verbalised about the cavalier treatment accorded to the school.

The chairman stated that the committee had managed to arrange a meeting with the Regional Representative of the Department of Coloured Affairs. This meeting was to take place three weeks later, but he was not very hopeful about

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* Known to the worker as a member of the Assemblies of God Women's Group.

the outcome. Members planned what each one was going to say, but there was no consensus about this. The worker suggested the need for agreement among the members and asked what kind of impression the committee would make if each person verbalised his own version to the official and contradicted one another.

Mrs. W. said that the official would not waste his time with people who carried on like this and insisted that a plan had to be worked out. Another member said that this would not help because they would become "flustered" and forget what they were supposed to say. The worker suggested drawing up a memorandum of which each member should have a copy as well as giving one to the official.

After much discussion about the value of a memorandum, the committee agreed to the worker's suggestion. Two hours were spent on completing the memorandum. The worker then helped the members to role play the meeting, the principal acting as the Department Official.

At eleven p.m., as the meeting was on the point of breaking up, a member said that the official in question had not seen the state of the school and was therefore unlikely to believe them. The possibility of having photographs of the school to present at the meeting was discussed. Since there was no local photographer, the worker offered to get an architect to take the necessary photographs. The committee was very happy at this offer and said that, after all, "seeing is believing".

The committee kept the appointment with the official and reported back to the worker that had had been most impressed by the memorandum and photographs. Two months later, the school principal invited the worker to visit his school - he had a surprise for her. The worker was greeted by the principal, accompanied by Mrs. W and another committee member and was taken to see the excavations which were being done to waterproof the school foundations and ensure drainage of the grounds.

Mrs. W. and the other member spoke about how they had handled the meeting and the good impression they had made

on the official which had resulted in getting the necessary reconstruction done. The worker congratulated them on their success and joined in a discussion of their plans to lay out a sports field and to plant shrubs and flowers to beautify the school grounds.

Kelley (1968, p.129) states that petitions to the appropriate authority to furnish the needed facility or service frequently constitute the activities of a new organisation. While the petition described above cannot be called a community development project, the success experienced by the school committee in negotiating a system provided the motivation to tackle a project to provide a sportsfield which is a much needed resource.

Biddle (1965, p.99) is of the opinion that for people low in self-esteem and prone to blame others for their ills, some small enterprise that requires little outside help is a good first project. He lists petitions among possible first projects and states that it is not the nature of the project per se that is important but the fact that the people involved take part in a "work project" they have helped to plan.

Biddle (ibid, p.226) sees the role of the community development worker as essentially self-effacing and states that rather than seeking personal prominence the credit for achievement should be given to the participants in the process.

The principal later apologised to the worker for the fact that the school committee had taken all the credit when she had been the "instigator" of the successful petition. The worker explained that the committee justly deserved the credit for having handled the situation so efficiently. She described her role as one of supplying "know how" to people who were motivated to act but who lacked the necessary skill to negotiate with a state official.

Mr. W. and his school committee have spent considerable time and energy in beautifying the school grounds. A garden and sportsfield have been laid out and the pupils are actively involved in the care of both.

3.7.6. The Mathematics Project

The principal of the Eldorado Park High School expressed much concern to the worker about the local teachers' lack of skill in teaching mathematics. He wondered if the worker could find a mathematics lecturer who would be prepared to help the teachers. He undertook to call a meeting to discuss his idea with the teachers and to let the worker know the outcome of his efforts.

The principal reported back to the worker that seven teachers were very keen about his proposed project and that several others were considering the matter. The worker made arrangements with a University staff member to give a series of six lectures to the group and then make further plans depending on the teachers' need and response. The worker explained her role in the area to the lecturer and discussed with him the fact that one had of necessity to begin any project with a small nucleus which could, however, be relied upon to motivate others to participate.

A day and time were set for the first lecture and the worker accompanied the lecturer to the school and introduced him to the seven teachers who were present. Three weeks later, the worker contacted the lecturer to find out how the project was progressing and was dismayed to learn that he had decided to discontinue after the first lecture as he was not prepared to waste his time on seven teachers who were, in his opinion, quite capable of teaching mathematics.

The feedback obtained from the teachers indicated that the lecturer had not asked them what their needs were but had proceeded to give them a mathematics lesson which they did not need or want. He had promised to return if they could find a total of thirty teachers to join the course.

The failure of this project can be attributed to two factors: firstly the lecturer's concern with having a large class - and secondly his failure to explore the group's needs. He decided in advance what their needs were and proceeded to try to help them in terms of his

own perception.

The lecturer's way of handling the situation caused the school principal to "lose face" with his colleagues whom he had succeeded in motivating to join the course. When the worker tried to discuss the situation with him, he was polite but made it clear that he saw no purpose in having further contact with her.

From this experience, the worker learned the importance of carefully assessing the attitudes of volunteer resource persons toward the community development process and their ability to work at the people's pace and in terms of their felt-wants before introducing them to the communities. She also learned the importance of being present at the first meeting between a community group and a resource person to facilitate the spelling out of felt-wants and of mutual expectations.

3.8 OTHER COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

3.8.1 The Flat Dwellers Project

On four occasions when the worker visited a school in Eldorado Park, she was approached by the school Secretary, M., who each time narrated the problems experienced by the tenants in the Silver Street Flats (see map, p. 5A) arising from the fact that the property was unfenced.

On each occasion, the worker assured M. that should she succeed in calling a meeting of the tenants, she would be happy to come to discuss the problems with them and find out what if anything they were prepared to do to solve the problem.

M. maintained that it would be easier for the worker to get the people to attend a meeting than it would be for her to do. The worker explained the principles of community development to M. and said that after all the lack of a fence did not create any problems for her and her role was not to tell the people what their problems were. If the tenants were really concerned about the lack of a fence, the worker could help them to get the material to erect one on a self-help basis.

When M. eventually became convinced that the worker was not going to take the initiative, she visited each family in the flats and arranged a meeting with the worker at the school on a Saturday at three p.m.

The first arrivals at the meeting, a woman and two men, turned up at three forty-five p.m. Both men were under the influence of drink. By four p.m. three women and another man had arrived. M. did not attend the meeting.

There was an initial period of ventilation about the apartheid situation and the predicament of the Coloured people. The group then listed the problems inherent in living in their flats as follows:

a) Lack of privacy due to the thin walls which made it possible for neighbours to hear what was going on in each others' homes.
b) The coldness of the flats in winter which was aggravated by the fact that one could not use an electric heater and kitchen stove simultaneously as the available current was not strong enough.
c) The overflowing of water tanks which caused dampness.
d) The lack of a fence which made it dangerous to allow children to play outside because of the heavy traffic on Silver Street. In addition clothes were stolen off the washlines unless the housewives stood guard over them and four cars had been stolen and several had parts removed or tyres slashed during the night.

In response to the worker's question as to the most pressing problem, the unanimous reply was the lack of a fence. The four men immediately began planning how they would erect the fence - all they needed was the material.

The worker wondered whether the four men who were present could take a decision like this on behalf of the other tenants. Mr. P. said that he for one did not think that they were entitled to do so. He felt that the worker should first have a meeting with all the tenants, since if a fence were to be erected, all would have to cooperate. He suggested a meeting on the following Monday at eight p.m. at his flat.

Mr. K. (a teacher) apologised to the worker that all the tenants had not attended the meeting and expressed concern that the same thing could happen on Monday. Mrs. M. said that the women would ensure that "every last person" would attend the next meeting.

Sixteen men and eleven women were present at the meeting on Monday. The worker was challenged by Mr. C. to explain her interest in the plight of the Coloured people. The worker explained the community development process and Mr. C. wanted to know "what the catch" was. The worker replied that the catch was that the people were expected to find their own solutions to their local problems.

The group settled down to a discussion of the problems which the lack of a fence created for the families in the flats. They discussed the type of fence they wanted - an eight foot concrete one. Mr. McC. asked "who is going to erect it? None of us is a builder". Mr. C. replied "That's no problem. We can hire a dozen Blacks to do it for us".

M. said that if she had understood the worker correctly, the erection of the fence would have to be done by the people themselves. The worker affirmed this and a long argument ensued about the type of fence the men were capable of erecting on a self-help basis. Mr. P. turned to the worker and said that they needed technical advice about the most suitable type of fencing and also about how to erect it. The worker promised to discuss this with an architect at the University and if possible to arrange for him to come out for a discussion with the tenants. The group agreed to this and decided that a committee was needed to take commitments from the men and to ensure that things worked out smoothly.

It took about fifteen minutes to elect a committee of four and then the group realised that a woman, M., had been elected. Mr. C. said that he was not going to travel to see "lawyers and architects" with another man's wife in his car. The majority of the group members believed that an all-male committee was more appropriate.

The woman became angry and M. stated that they had

elected her and she was staying on the committee. They needed a womam's common sense and the women knew more about the problems of living in the flats than did the men. The group then elected a fifth member, Mr. K.

Mr. P. reminded the group that permission for the erection of the fence would have to be obtained from the Department of Community Development which owned the flats. It was decided to leave this in abeyance until after the meeting with the architect.

Mr. L., an architect, accompanied the worker to the next meeting with the committee on a Sunday afternoon one week later. He discussed the advantages and disadvantages of various types of fences and the skills needed for their erection. Mr. C. decided on a wrought-iron fence with a foundation and pillars of facing brick. M. asked "Do you realise how much that would cost?" His reply was "We are getting it for nothing, so why not have the best?"

The committee reacted strongly and Mr. P. said "Yes, typical little Coloured man, exploit the people who want to help us". M. L. intervened and said that the erection of such a fence would require a high degree of specialised skill.

The committee tentatively decided on a split-pole fence. Mr. L., after giving information about the erection and maintenance, offered to draft a design to demonstrate what the fence would look like when erected.

Mr. L. and the committee went outside to take measurements and on their return Mr. C. said that he wanted a fence between the block in which he lived and the one next door "for extra privacy", M. stood up and said "We are supposed to be doing community development, isn't that so Mary, and here you want to cut yourself off from us". Mr. P. said that he could now forget about his nonsence. As far as he was concerned, the best thing that would come out of the fence business was that the tenants would learn to work together and build up a better neighbourhood.

Mr. L. had two subsequent meetings with the committee. The worker was then invited to a meeting to help with the

writing of a letter to the Department of Community Development for permission to erect a split-pole fence in the property. Two hours were spent structuring a motivated memorandum. A copy of Mr. L's draft plan was enclosed.

A reply, received one month later, stated that should the tenants be prepared to erect a pre-cast fence, their request would be considered, but the idea of a split-pole fence was unacceptable to the Department.

Before contacting the worker, the committee found a builder in the neighbourhood who was experienced in the erection of pre-cast structures and who was prepared to help the tenants on a voluntary basis.

At the next meeting, the committee, far from being put off by the unfavourable reply received, was more determined than previously to erect the fence. Plans had been worked out for storage of material and a division of labour. The worker encouraged the committee to let the Department know that they were prepared to comply with its request regarding the type of material to be used. She undertook to try to get Mr. L. to help with a new plan once the necessary permission had been obtained.

Mr. C. had resigned from the committee, having stated that the flat tenants are likely to be moved to houses in the near future and they were, therefore, doing this work for other people. M. said that, as usual, he was "talking through his hat".

Mr. P. said that even if they were to be moved elsewhere, the erection of the fence would help to motivate the neighbours to do something about the appearance of their houses and flats. It was time that the Coloured people began to take an interest in their surroundings. Eldorado Park was a public eye-sore and unless the people themselves did something about it, nobody else was coming to do it for them.

The committee agreed with this and discussed plans to plant a lawn, shrubs and creepers to help to change the "barrack-like" appearance of the flats. The ways in which the Group Areas Act had affected the life-style

of the families in the flats was discussed.

The families had in 1971 been relocated either from Fordsburg, a deteriorated residential area in central Johannesburg, or from Albertsville (now Triomf), a lower middle-class residential area near Johannesburg, where they had owned their homes. The fact that these houses had been given to White immigrants caused great bitterness.

The committee members spoke nostalgically about their former life in Johannesburg. Many had been within walking distance of their places of work. They could attend film shows at non-White cinemas and do window-shopping at night without fear of being attacked. They felt that they had been isolated from the life of the community by being moved out to "the Sahara desert".

Mr. P. asked the worker how she would like to live in Eldorado Park. The worker said that she certainly would not choose to live there and would be very resentful if she were forced to do so. The members looked at each other and nodded. Mr. McC. said "We believe that you understand how we feel. You don't try to dodge the issue".

The worker, while explaining that none of us can ever experience another persons' problem as they feel it, said that she could, nevertheless, understand their bitterness and resentment. None of us could, however, afford the luxury of nursing our grievances for ever and consequently doing nothing to improve our lot.

Mr. P. agreed and said that they were lucky to have their health and strength. It was up to them to do all they could to help themselves. Mr. K. added that while griping did not change anything, it was a relief to be able to have an honest conversation with a White person who understood what they were talking about and who believed in the Coloured people while knowing their faults.

Five months after the initial application the tenants are still waiting for permission from the Department of Community Development to erect the proposed fence. The committee has handled all subsequent correspondance with the Department without the worker's assistance and despite set-backs, motivation for the project is still high.

3.8.1.1 Evaluation

Dickie-Clark (in Gist et.al., 1972, p.36) states that "Being a Coloured (in South Africa) means, above all, being discriminated against by exclusion from the advantages of the Whites". The tenants group was very aware of the disadvantages inherent in their situation as members of the Coloured group. The fact that the Coloured people are "culturally White", although excluded from the White social order means that they are more harmed by social separation from the Whites than are *acculturated Africans* and Indians who are supported by cultures of their own on to which *they have grafted selected elements* of White culture (ibid, p.37).

This committee originated from the needs of families in a new social environment which failed to meet their needs *in terms* of community resources. It provided opportunities for indigenous leaders to develop their latent skills and to learn committee work. Their process of decision-making was protracted and there were many incidents of conflict.

The worker learned that, left to themselves, the committee members could resolve their conflicts and make realistic decisions and formulate a plan of action. While committed to the idea of self-help, and being willing to contribute their time and labour, the flat tenants lacked resources in the form of technical skills and finance.

Brady (1967, p.18) states that while underprivileged people who are committed to the philosophy of *self-help* can bring about impressive changes, progress cannot be *self generating and self-sustaining with people lifting* their living standards by their "own boot straps".

Self-help cannot function alone. According to Brady (ibid) "... it is flagrantly naive to believe that much *serious, lasting* change can be brought about without strong governmental backing". This demands support in the form of money, technicians and confidence on the part of the government.

This support, which Brady considers essential, was not available. The worker was fortunate in having access to the necessary technical and financial resources needed

by the tenants for the carrying out of their project.

As the meetings with the committee progressed, the bickering which characterised the initial discussions practically ceased. Rational discussion replaced the earlier boisterous pattern of decision-making and the tenants, who for seven years had not got beyond the stage of complaining ineffectually about their lot became motivated to take concerned action to improve their situation.

3.8.2 The Adult Education Project

In the course of the worker's conversations with individuals in the communities, there was frequent reference to their need for further education. The worker asked persons who verbalised interest in this type of help to undertake self-surveys in their neighbourhoods to establish whether there was a felt-need for an adult education programme.

Three members of the community and the local Catholic priests undertook self-surveys, the results of which showed that sixty-five adults were interested in participating in the proposed programme. The Catholic priest offered the use of his parish hall and two offices as a venue.

A meeting, arranged at the hall, was attended by sixty-five persons who completed forms stating their standard of education and the subjects in which they were interested. Arrangements were made for classes to be held on Wednesdays at seven-thirty p.m. C., a member of the Women of Troy Club, who was present, asked "Is there any chance for beginners?"

The worker undertook to start a literacy project should this be needed. C. on being assured that the worker would teach the beginners, said that she would find people who, like herself, were illiterate. The following week C. arrived with eleven adults who wanted to join the literacy class and within three weeks she had succeeded in motivating a total of thirty-two people to enrol.

The worker approached post-graduate University students who volunteered to teach English, Biology,

Mathematics and Afrikaans at junior and high school levels. One student undertook to teach Art and to help with the literacy programme.

Three months later attendance at classes had grown to one hundred and ten. The people decided that they wanted to follow a formal school curriculum so that they could eventually Matriculate. The programme therefore was mainly of a remedial nature, aimed at teaching good study habits and stimulating their capacity for critical thinking - aspects which had been largely neglected in *their formal schooling.*

Discussion of educational topics, not directly related to the curriculum, was encouraged by the teachers, e.g. the handling of interviews with prospective employers; the skills needed for certain occupations; the job opportunities available; *information about bursaries;* how to write an application for a job - inter alia.

Health care was frequently discussed in the literacy class with special reference to oral hygience, nutrition, the dangers of taking self-prescribed patent medicine and other topics which were mentioned in the text-book which was being used. When this class got involved in a *discussion of the menial work which the* Coloured people have to do, the worker used the opportunity to talk about social conditions in Europe. The class found it hard to believe that the menial work, e.g. street cleaning, was done by White people in European countries. It was more difficult still for them to accept that *uneducated people* tend to be exploited in all nations throughout the world. *They quite naturally* tended to perceive their low socio-economic status in terms of White/non-White dichotomy.

The experience gained in this project demonstrated that the formal educational system in schools for Coloured pupils had failed to provide the students with the relevant *knowledge, skills and attitudes needed to facilitate* economic advancement. This was shown by students' fantasies as expressed in original choice of subjects, e.g. Spanish, Ethnology and Agriculture which could make no contribution to advancement in their job situation.

There was a conspicuous lack of general knowledge of the requirements for specific types of work and of available resources and opportunities. While this can in part be attributed to deficiencies in formal education the important role played by students' unstimulating environment and enforced segregation from the white population is a major contributing factor.

The Newsom Report (quoted in Lovett 1975, p.11) states that "the evidence of research increasingly suggests that linguistic inadequacy, disadvantages in social and physical background and poor attainments in school are closely associated". Lovett is of the opinion that these problems can rather be attributed to the failure of the school system and the gulf between school and the workaday world.

The literate people in this programme voiced their negative perception of the schools and refused to have their classes held at a local school which was offered by the principal as a venue. The advantages in terms of nearness to their homes and the convenience of having standard school equipment were outweighed by the connotative meaning which the concept "school" held for them.

The members of the literacy class, who had no personal first-hand experience of the school system, perceived school teachers as people who were formal, authoritarian and punitive. One of the first questions addressed to the worker by this group was "Mary, will you beat us if we are stupid?"

The class perceived their teachers as being essentially different to those who had taught them at school. Typical comments were: "Our teacher talks to us about anything;" "You people are not like teachers, you are more like us"; "We are not afraid to ask questions or to say that we don't understand in case we look stupid"; "We don't only learn maths in our class, our teacher brings slides about other countries and tells us how people live there"; "We are not afraid of S. She is a real person".

Lovett (1975, pp.12-13) reviews various explanations for the failure of adult education programmes among the

working class. He cites the formal role of the conventional teacher as an obstacle because of the fact that role and status of individuals in traditional working class communities reflects an emphasis on a variety of personal and family characteristics rather than on formally assigned roles. Assuming the formal role of teacher in such circumstances is viewed as an obstacle to the promotion of adult education.

This was illustrated early in the programme in the case of a Coloured graduate teacher who volunteered to teach Afrikaans. She assumed a formal disciplinary role with her classes and was very critical of the other teachers' informal approach. Her students' passive resistance sabotaged her efforts to educate them and led to her withdrawal after six weeks.

Another explanation offered for the failure of adult education programmes relates to content and to the tendency on the part of the educators to see learning as the acquisition of sequential material. Verner, (in Lovett p.13) states that the objectives of adult education need to be derived from learner needs rather than being determined by content.

Verner acknowledges the problems which disadvantaged people experience in terms of inability to recognise, formulate and express their needs for learning. The inability of adult educators to interpret these needs in terms of instruction that is functional for the group compounds the problem.

In the present programme it was not always possible to provide education in terms of the people's felt-wants in relations to choice of subjects due to the fact that teachers who had the required skills were not available. When this occurred the facts of the situation and the limitations in terms of what could be provided were explained to a group which wanted accountancy classes that could not be provided: A member stated: "We know that you have done all you can to find us a teacher. Maybe we will have better luck next year".

The practical value of some of the content, e.g.

poetry and biology could be questioned in view of the social milieu from which the students came and their actual life situation. They, however, wanted education on a par with that available to White children and youth and the worker and teachers were not prepared to accept that their culture of poverty rendered them unable to utilise this type of education effectively.

This programme was structured in terms of the participants' interests with no preconceived ideas about what was "good" for them. Of the ten teachers in the programme, only one tried to project her own values on to her class, many of whom she unrealistically visualised as prospective university students. She expressed her determination to produce "at least one doctor or lawyer" and pitched her programme accordingly. The scepticism with which the class responded was interpreted by the teacher as apathy and was a contributing factor to her decision not to continue in the programme.

The role of the volunteer teacher called for a degree of commitment and dedication and above all a sense of humour. The capacity to accept a waxing and waning of enthusiasm and motivation proved to be an essential characteristic which two teachers did not possess. They were unable to accept that the people had to be convinced of the usefulness of adult education and that it could not be taken for granted that although the programme had been provided at the people's own request, they were therefore fully motivated to make maximum use of the opportunity.

These three teachers withdrew simultaneously from the programme without discussing their intention to do so with their classes or with the worker. The groups concerned felt rejected but were able to discuss their feelings with the worker. While attributing the teachers' action to their youth and immaturity they went through an uncomfortable period of self-questioning and sought to find explanations in terms of what they could have done to cause the teachers to abandom them.

The worker told the groups that she was as much in the dark as they and let it be known that she did not condone

the teachers' action and that she was indignant about the way in which the people had been treated. The situation was further aggravated by the fact that it took a month to find replacements.

The worker shared the difficulties she was experiencing in finding new teachers with the people concerned and assured them that she was doing everything possible to find teachers who would not let them down again. They responded by being supportive and sympathetic and a self-appointed spokesman stated that while the worker was there they knew that it was only a matter of time until she found teachers.

This was one example among many of the people's high level of frustration tolerance, generosity, realism and resilience. They subsequently accepted the new teachers to whom the rela[illegible] readily and continued to atte[illegible] classes as if nothing untoward had happened.

Lovell (1975, p.25) criticises the use of the phrase "educationally deprived" on the basis that it conjures up in people's minds (including adult educators) a picture of illiterate adult social misfits. He refers to a statement made by an adult educator to the effect that the job of working with illiterate adults falls within the purview of social work rather than of adult education.

Members of the literacy class, whose ages ranged from seventeen to sixty two years, initially needed much support from the worker. Most class members were very self-conscious about their lack of formal education which, however, they realistically attributed to childhood circumstances beyond their control which had made it impossible for them to attend school.

Three class members had spent several years in an adaptation* class at a local school but were unable to read or write at the time of joining the literacy class. In the present situation they responded to the individual

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* see p.11

attention which it was possible to provide and showed themselves capable of learning. Their sustained progress and the fact that each person was successfully holding down a factory job caused the worker to question the reasons for their original placement in an adaptation class.

The remainder of the class members were articulate, resourceful and highly motivated to learn. Their strong sense of humour enabled them to laugh at their own mistakes. They were supportive of each other and protective towards the worker.

To have viewed the literacy class members as deprived clients needing social work intervention could only have served to destroy their sense of dignity and the independence which had made it possible for them to maintain themselves and their families in a very deprived environment.

Lovell's (1975, p.29) statement that the majority of those labelled educationally or socially deprived are the victims of society's imperfections and injustices, not of their own inadequacies, was clearly exemplified in the literacy class. Given the respect which was not accorded to them in their daily working lives, the class members made maximum use of the opportunity to learn and took great pride in every achievement.

The adult education programme based as it was on the people's felt-wants was seen by the worker as an integral part of the Community Development process for the promotion of human development. Many of the students came long distances which necessitated making travelling arrangements, in the absence of public transport. Attendance at classes provided them with opportunities to establish relationships with people whom they would not otherwise have met.

The programme came to be viewed as a social occasion and provided a setting for meaningful interaction not otherwise available in an area which is almost entirely devoid of recreational facilities. Batten (1975, p.37) suggests that "how far a person matures depends partly on what kind of opportunities he has had of interacting

significantly with other people and partly on how positively or negatively he has reacted to his difficulties in trying to achieve his purposes with others".

According to Batten (ibid, p.34) meaningful interaction takes place between people who meet each other over a considerable period of time and who need each other's help and cooperation in relation to purposes that really matter to them. The adult education programme met these criteria for meaningful interaction. The education content contributed to the enhancement of the participants' ability to improve their socio-economic status.

Attendance at classes has remained constant. The members of the literacy class became annoyed by the fact that their progress was being impeded by people who missed classes and asked that the worker should be stricter. The worker encouraged the class to make its own rules. This resulted in a decision that members who failed to attend every session over a two month period would not be eligible to receive merit certificates at the end of the "academic" year.

The possibility of erecting a "Community House" has been discussed with the members of the project. This suggestion was enthusiastically received. Later, a group of twelve approached the worker to discuss their plans to raise funds for the "House". A spokesman for the group stated "We don't want an empty h[illegible] we will raise funds to buy the kind of furniture we [illegible]". When the worker expressed her appreciation of the proposal the response from another member was "You see Mary, its like this. We do not want charity".

Plans are being discussed at present (October, 1977) for the election of an adult education committee which will be responsible for making rules and for taking disciplinary action for irregular attendance during 1978. A suggestion has been made by one of the members that participants should be required to pay fees.

3.8.3 The Kliptown Resident's Committee

This committee, which is referred to on pp.38 and 39

of the text continued in its efforts to motivate the Kliptown residents to make application to the Local Authority for housing.

Due to the efforts of a committee member, who was highly motivated to obtain a house for her family, plans were made for those who had not applied to the Local Authority for housing to do so.

V. started her own "movement". She accused her neighbours of "being lazy and satisfied to live like pigs" and insisted that she was not going to miss the opportunity of getting a house because of their inertia, neither was she prepared to do all the work on their behalf. On three occasions her plans were foiled by people failing to turn up to apply for housing. The committee then investigated the reasons for this behaviour and found out that the people were unmotivated to apply for housing because of their realisation that they could not afford higher rent as well as the extra cost of water and electricity. Members of the committee were very disheartened when they reported in these terms to the worker.

The worker promised to discuss the peoples' plight with the Urban Foundation and to try to arrange for a meeting between the people and a representative of the Foundation. It was explained to the committee that there was no guarantee that anything would come of this attempt. The members believed that it was the peoples' only hope of getting out of Kliptown and urged the worker to explore this avenue.

The committee arranged a meeting between the Kliptown residents and a representative of the Urban Foundation who had indicated to the worker that he was interested in discussing their situation with them. The meeting was held in one of the better houses in the area and was attended by thirty people who arrived dressed up in their best clothes specially for the occasion. The people were articulate about their needs and problems. They were adamant that they could do little to improve their life style in their present slum situation. Being given houses which they could not afford would only add to their present burdens.

The representative tentatively introduced the idea of "Site and Service" housing. The people became very enthusiastic and immediately stated that they would welcome the opportunity to erect houses for themselves on a self-help basis. They, however, neither wanted, nor needed electricity which they could not afford and without which they had managed all their lives. The representative, after being taken on a conducted tour of Beacon Road, (see map p.5A) undertook to discuss with his own organisation and with the Local Authority the possibility of helping to solve their housing problem. He undertook to arrange further meetings with the Kliptown residents subsequent to these discussions.

3.9 THE ROLE OF THE WORKER IN THE INTRODUCTION OF THE COMMUNITY

Development Process

Earlier in the text of the present study (p.4 and p.5) the community development process was defined as:

A PROGRESSION OF EVENTS THAT IS PLANNED BY THE PARTICIPANTS TO SERVE GOALS THEY PROGRESSIVELY CHOOSE (Biddle 1965, p.79).	the events point to changes in a group and in individuals that can be termed growth in social sensitivity and competence

This growth in social sensitivity and competence occurs as a result of the use of "... a group method for expediting personality growth which can occur when geographic neighbours work together to serve their growing concept of the good of all". (Ibid, p.78). Skill in working with community groups is, therefore, an essential prerequisite for a community development worker.

Phillips (1968, p.117) distinguishes between group work in the "welfare" setting and group work as used in the community development process in terms of the worker's aim. In the "welfare" groups, the worker is interested in the "social casualty" whom he aims to rehabilitate. The community development worker is interested in a group, any group for its potential contribution to community

progress. In actual practice, therefore, the community development worker does not try to get his groups to accept predetermined aims and to conform to his chosen standard of behaviour.

Phillips (Ibid, p.118) proposes various ways of finding as many groups and organisations in the area of action as possible. In the present study, the worker was unable to locate any existing groups in Kliptown (see p. 39) and the Church groups which existed in Eldorado Park were unready to be vehicles for the community development process (see pp. 40-48). The autonomous groups which came to be involved in the process were, consequently established by the local people themselves.

The worker, while being aware of who the political leaders and their followers were in the communities, was not seen by the people as being identified with any faction. The formal leaders in the groups which participated in the process were elected by group members, but in all groups informal leaders played a more important role than did the elected office bearers.

The contribution which the group method can make toward promoting human development results from the meaningful interaction which takes place in the group situation. The community development workers' role becomes one of ensuring "... that the people with whom they work have adequate opportunities of interacting with others in relations to purposes that are important, and therefore meaningful to them; and the other, to provide whatever help they may need to enable them to react positively rather than negatively to difficulties and frustrations if and when they should occur" (Batten 1975, p.33).

Work with groups in underprivileged, disorganised communities like Eldorado Park and Kliptown is complicated by the prevalence of certain attitudes which are calculated to inhibit both human and environmental development.

Lovell and Riches (1967, p.34) identify these

attitudes as follows:

> APATHY, FEELINGS OF INADEQUACY, SELF-CENTREDNESS AND ANTIPATHY TOWARDS OTHERS, IGNORANCE OF RESOURCES, PREJUDICE, MISTRUST, GULLIBILITY, IMPETUOSITY AND FINALLY INSTABILITY AND A SENSE OF INSECURITY.

Once the worker had established rapport with the groups which feature in the text of the present study her primary task was the creation of a group climate within which people felt sufficiently secure to begin to question their perception of themselves, of others and of their life circumstances. In her role of encourager the worker endeavoured to provide the necessary support to enable members to translate their complaints into problems which they could tackle through co-operative effort and to do so on a self-help basis.

In the initial phase, the worker found that while individuals and groups were very articulate about their local problems all were waiting for an outside agent to solve them. The following experiences illustrate the peoples' apathy, fatalism and dependency expectancy. Members of a Church group, who expressed concern and alarm about school drop-outs and widespread juvenile delinquency, told the worker that they prayed "night and day" for something to happen. Another group's suggested solution to these problems was "the government must come and put up a work colony and an industrial school in Eldorado Park".

The worker helped these groups to discuss the likelihood of either Divine or government intervention to solve these serious problems. She invited members who had first hand experience of people who had been inmates of industrial schools or work colonies to describe the behaviour of persons after release from the institutions. The conclusion arrived at was that they had merely learned to be smarter criminals than before their admission to these places.

The process of enabling a few members to change their fatalistic perception to the point where they

could see that they had the capacity to play a role in implementing some form of preventative work was slow and tortuous but was eventually achieved.

Enabling groups to have experiencescalculated to change attitudes called for certain worker attitudes and qualities. The most important of these were found to be honesty, openness, lack of defensiveness and unqualified confidence in the peoples often dormant capacity to develop and mature.

The worker was frequently challenged by teacher groups to motivate her interest in the Coloured people which they quite naturally interpreted as being based on "do good" impulses arising from her superior status as a member of the privileged White group. The worker acknowledged the privileges inherent in being White and on being asked by a group member "If you had a choice of being born white or brown, what would you choose?" She answered without hesitation that she would choose the former.

Another member stated "You are White and we are Coloured, so what does that make us?" The worker replied that it made us all unique human beings. The member then asked if the worker knew that the Coloured people really were "a thing that should never have happened". This theme was elaborated on by other members who stated that the Coloureds were the "wastepaper basket" for people who could not be classified as "Black, Indian or Chinese".

The worker added "and also for those who cannot be classified as White". A long silence ensued which was broken by a member saying "We did not want to insult you by saying that". The worker replied that the discussion related to facts which must be very hurtful to the Coloured people and questioned why her feelings should be spared.

The discussions with groups of teachers illustrated their testing out of the worker and their prejudice, feelings of inadequacy and sense of insecurity and their lack of a positive self-image as members of the Coloured

group. Their apathy was verbalised in terms of the futility of trying to motivate children to remain in school since there were no job opportunities for educated Coloureds. The worker, while acknowledging that this difficulty existed, encouraged the groups to examine the predicament of an illiterate or poorly educated person irrespective of his colour when it came to seeking employment.

This approach by the worker sometimes led to a fruitful discussion of the need for education, but met with resistance from two groups: these groups projected the responsibility for the very high drop-out rate among Coloured children firstly onto the government which had failed to appoint truant officers to implement compulsory education and secondly onto parents who showed no interest in their childrens' education. In spite of their antipathy towards parents, these two groups sought feedback from the worker about the communities' perception of the schools and of the teachers. The worker shared with the groups the information she had obtained from the community. This caused the members to become very defensive and to resort to further projection of blame. In spite of having accepted the invitation in writing, neither group attended the seminars arranged for teachers.

The gradual acceptance of the worker and the steps taken by some teachers to improve their own educational qualifications and to be of greater service to their communities (see pp. 52-71) indicate that a change of attitudes had occurred which was manifested in greater concern for parents and children alike.

The original nucleus of the Woman of Troy Club (see pp. 54-61) manifested greater self-confidence than any other community group with which the worker was involved. With the progressive addition of new members the group became more heterogenous and attitudes of self centredness, antipathy toward others, prejudice, mistrust and feelings of insecurity were activated. The situation is discussed in detail on pp. 55-56.

This group's increasing social sensitivity and

competence was manifested not only in efforts to improve their communities' life-style, but also in their growing ability to accept and work co-operatively with members whose socio-economic status and religious affiliation differed from their own.

On entering the Eldorado Park - Kliptown communities, the worker had no clear idea of how her role would be carried out. While her knowledge of relevant community development theory provided valuable guidelines, she had to function on a dynamic basis and respond to human and social situations and opportunities as they presented themselves. Through the process of permitting and encouraging individuals and groups to project their perception of a White helping person onto her, the worker was given openings to explain her role and to differentiate between her function and that of other helping persons.

It was essential that the people should experience the worker as different to the conventional professionals with whom they had had encounters. The initial period of testing-out to which the worker was subjected by various groups constituted the beginning of this experience for them. While the worker's perception of people as human resources and not as clients had been clearly spelled out at all meetings with community groups, this philosophy had to be lived out in her daily interactions with individuals and groups. This meant in practice that the worker had to resist the temptation to give financial assistance to needy individuals and families or counselling on personal problems.

Groups had to be helped to understand that while the worker was prepared to provide resources which the community lacked e.g. skills training, teachers, consultants and finance for special projects, she expected them to decide, plan and carry out their projects on a self-help basis with maximum reliance on existing community resources.

The community development process forms part of ongoing community life and the people can only participate

in their free time. This means that the worker has to be available in terms of the peoples' and not her own convenience. In the present study most meetings between worker and groups took place at night or over weekends at times and venues arranged by the people concerned. There was no way of predicting how long a particular discussion would last as group members were free to move at their own pace.

The other party with interest in community development i.e. departments of state do not feature actively in the present study. During the initial phase the worker had legitimised her presence in the area with the relevant authorities, (see p.33) who showed no interest in her activities during the introductory phases of the community development process.

PART 4

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

As a prelude to the conclusion, it needs to be restated that community development is not social work which is defined in the United Nations Third International Survey (1958, p.60) as follows:

"1. It is a helping activity, designed to give assistance in respect of problems that prevent individuals, families and groups from achieving a minimum desirable standard of social and economic well-being.

2. It is a social activity, carried on not for personal profit by private practitioners but under the auspices of organisations, governmental or non-governmental or both, established for the benefit of members of the community regarded as requiring assistance.

3. It is a liaison activity, through which disadvantaged individuals, families and groups may tap all the resources in the community available to meet their unsatisfied needs ..."

The people in the selected communities were familiar with social workers whom they tended to perceive as authoritarian and whose role was seen in terms of doing things for the needy and providing material assistance. While on the one hand groups verbalised hostility towards social workers, they, nevertheless, projected their dependency expectancy onto the community development worker*. The worker, who saw her role in terms of "... involving people in their own development ..."** had to resist peoples' efforts to manipulate her into the role of social worker in the image of their perception.

Both social work and the process approach to community development are based on the same principles and the worker's ability to establish meaningful relationships

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* See text pp. 34, 41, 44 and 61.

** See text p. 4.

with people is crucial to success in both. Training as a social worker may, therefore, be an asset for a community development worker provided that he is able to transfer learning creatively from the one situation to the other and while retaining his professional and academic connections, seek to work in new ways calculated to stimulate human growth and development.

In practice, this demands that the community development worker, who is committed to the process approach, learns to view people as human resources and not as clients. The social worker diagnoses and treats individual, group and community pathology while the community development worker encourages the community to diagnose its own local problems and felt-wants and to engage in cooperative action to solve problems and meet felt-wants He is interested in the potential contribution which the individual/group can make to the improvement of the life-style of the community, and does not function as a social therapist.

These aspects of commonality and difference between conventional social work and the community development process constitute an appropriate backdrop to the conclusions as recorded in this part of the text of the present study.

On p.2 the hypothesis is stated as follows:

> "The community development process would lead to citizen participation resulting in self-help projects aimed at improving the life-style of the people in the communities".

During the first three months spent by the worker in the selected communities it seemed unlikely that the hypothesis would be proven. The worker had repeated discussions with individuals and groups about her role with no apparent results. The people were very concerned about the worker's credentials and persisted on seeing her as being there "... to give assistance in respect of problems that prevent(ed) individuals, families and groups

from achieving a minimum desirable standard of social and economic well-being". (U.N. Survey op.cit. p.60). This occured in spite of the fact that the communities had never known the worker in a social work role.

The worker's conviction and consequent persistence with the process approach, coupled with the seminars for teachers* gradually stimulated interest in community development philosophy with its emphasis on working with people rather than for them. The people were accustomed to being told what to do in the past** and initially found it difficult to grasp that the worker believed that they had the capacity to think for themselves and to improve their own life-style.

Their growing awareness of the existence of this capacity led to the initiation and development of the self-help projects discussed in the text. The study was designed as a research exercise to investigate whether or not this would occur as a result of introducing the community development process. The projects discussed in Part 3 of the text of the present study confirm the hypothesis.

The acid test of the community development process is not, however, the initiation of self-help projects per se. Batten (1974, p.101) states that "... in fact the rural areas of Africa and Asia, to mention only these two continents, are bespattered with the relics of such projects ...". The crucial issue is that self-help projects should become self-perpetuating and that the people should consider these projects sufficiently important to want to maintain them.

At the conclusion of the period of field work included in the study i.e. nine months after the introduction of the community development process, short-term self-help projects had been successfully completed; long-term ones were being maintained and new projects were being initiated in the communities.

Requests had been received from groups in the new

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* See text p. 52

** See text pp. 41, 46-48. 61.

Extensions for help in establishing play-groups for pre-school children and a morning club for housewives. The community development process was thus expanding and becoming self-perpetuating.

Biddle (1965, p.264) states that the success of the process seems to depend on personal relationships and upon mutual trust between "the encourager and the encouraged". He refers to the phenomenon of diminishing dependence in spite of which the trust and friendship continue. He maintains that while the relationship between community development worker and community may seem undisciplined to certain scientific purists, it is the worker's acceptance of the people, his expectation of human growth, his liking of them as individuals and his belief in them expressed in manner, tone of voice and activity, more than in words, that creates an atmosphere of confidence in themselves, and in the growing competence of other members of the group and of the group as a whole. This creates the milieu within which human growth and development can and does occur.

No dramatic improvements have occurred as a result of the introduction of the community development process to the Eldorado Park and Kliptown Communities. At the time of concluding the study, the worker was involved with only a small segment of the people (approximately five per cent (5%)). This nucleus had, however, become more socially sensitive, competent and responsible. Their chronic apathy had been replaced by a conviction that improvement of their own life-style and that of their communities was possible through their cooperative efforts.

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