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THE ROLE OF COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZATIONS IN VOSLOORUS

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, School of Architecture and Planning, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of :
Master of Science in Development Planning.

6 October, 2006

DECLARATION

I declare that this report is my own, unaided work. It is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Science in Development Planning in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

Henry Potlako Tsotetsi
6 October 2006

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DEDICATIONS

Thanks for the support that I received from my family during the period of my studies. I dedicate this work to my brother:
Moses “Lolo” Tumelo Tsotetsi 1967-2006. *You will never walk alone!*

Special thanks to you, Tsoseletso for giving me hope in all my difficulties and I believe you will also be strong.

Finally, I say, *Soli Deo Gloria*

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BBBEE	Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment
BLAs	Black Local Authorities
CAHAC	Cape Housing Action Committee
CBOs	Community-Based Organizations
CCS	Centre for Civil Society
CDCs	Community Development Corporations
CDPs	Community Development Partnerships
CoT	Committee of Ten
FBOs	Faith-Based Organizations
IPC	Institute of Policy Studies
LED	Local Economic Development
NDA	National Development Agency
NPOs	Non-Profit Organizations
PEBCO	Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organizations
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Program
SANCO	South African Civic Organizations
UCDO	Urban Community Development Office
UDF	United Democratic Front

ABSTRACT

Vosloorus township in Boksburg is still characterized by poverty and underdevelopment, even in the era of a democratic South Africa. There are many Community-Based Organizations that attempt to alleviate poverty and bring about development to improve the conditions of residents. This research report asks the question: ***Can Vosloorus' Community-Based Organizations assist the state in ameliorating the historical legacy of apartheid?*** - (If so, *how?* If not, *why*?).

There are four objectives (and their sub-questions), aimed to be achieved by this study in order to answer this question. Firstly, to test the aims and objectives of these Community-Based Organizations, which may be supported by their period of existence in the township. Secondly, to test governance structures and financial sources of these organizations. Thirdly, to test the opportunities and challenges, and finally, to determine whether the development initiatives of these Community-Based Organizations lead to community development and, therefore, seek solutions where problems have been identified.

Qualitative Case-Study research was conducted by interviewing selected organizations' community development facilitators, which was also supported by observations and some documents were reviewed. The main findings of the research were that these organizations still lack resource management, organizational, programmatic, political and networking capacities to alleviate poverty and bring about community development. Therefore, an answer to the research question is that, the extent to which Community-Based Organizations in Vosloorus execute their initiatives cannot assist the state in ameliorating the legacy of apartheid at the moment.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND 1
(I). Europe 1
(II). North America 1
(III). South Africa 2
1.1 MAIN QUESTION AND SUBSIDIARY QUESTIONS. 4
1.2 CHAPTER OUTLINE 4
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW 6
2. PART ONE: A MORE HOLISTIC UNDERSTANDING OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT MODEL. 6
2.1 INTRODUCTION 6
2.2 PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT 7
2.2.1 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND THE "THIRD SECTOR". 10
2.2.2 SOCIAL JUSTICE (Ife, 2002). 11
2.2.3 COLLABORATION AND PARTICIPATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS. 12
2.3 SUPPORTIVE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS 13
(i). COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT CORPORATIONS (Tomlinson, 1994). 13
(ii). THE THAILAND ORGANIZATIONS (Bigg, *et al*, 2005). 15
2.3.1 THE ROLE FOR INTERMEDIARIES 17
2.3.2 THE DEVELOPMENT AND CHARACTERISTICS OF SUCCESSFUL CBOs. 18
2.3.3 LIMITATIONS OF CBOs 19
2.3.4 CIVIL SOCIETY AND PHILANTHROPY IN SOUTH AFRICA 21
2.4 CAPACITY BUILDING NEEDS FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES 24
2.4.1 RESOURCE MANAGEMENT CAPACITY 26
2.4.2 ORGANIZATIONAL CAPACITY 29
(I) GOVERNANCE AND ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES 29
(II)LEADERSHIP 31
(III) RECRUITMENT 32
(IV) STAFF DEVELOPMENT 33
(V) TECHNICAL SKILLS 34
2.4.3 PROGRAMMATIC CAPACITY 34
2.4.4 POLITICAL CAPACITY 35
2.4.5 NETWORKING CAPACITY 36
PART TWO: A FOCUS ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT 38
2.5 THE TOWNSHIP AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT 38
2.5.1 THE WORLD BANK'S INITIATIVES FOR DEVELOPMENT 38
2.5.2 APPROACHES TO LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE ROLE OF CBOs 39
2.5.3 EMPLOYMENT CREATION PROGRAMMES 41
2.5.4 LOCAL GOVERNMENT'S ROLE IN COMMUNITY-BASED INITIATIVES. 42
2.6 CONCLUSION 43
CHAPTER THREE: CASE-STUDY 44

3.1 INTRODUCTION 44
3.3.1 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES 44
3.3.2 RESEARCH METHODS 45
3.3.3 CASE STUDY 48
3.3.4 RESEARCH FINDINGS: PRESENTATION OF DATA 52
3.4 CONCLUSION 64
CHAPTER FOUR: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS 69
4.1 INTRODUCTION 69
4.4.1 FINDINGS 69
4.4.2 RESOURCE MANAGEMENT CAPACITY 73
4.4.3 ORGANIZATIONAL CAPACITY 75
4.4.4 PROGRAMATIC CAPACITY 77
4.4.5 POLITICAL CAPACITY 79
4.4.6 NETWORKING CAPACITY 80
4.5 CONCLUSION 82
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS 86
5.1 INTRODUCTION AND CONCLUSION 86
5.5.1 RECOMMENDATIONS 86
5.5.2 LIMITATIONS 92
5.6 CONCLUSION. 93

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

In the cities and their peripheries, development is being produced in the everyday lived realm not only by the state or the capital elite, but also by people at the margins of decision-making processes. Community-Based Organizations are thus also major agents of development in the poor localities, although their impacts may be less than what is expected. Sandercock argues that social transformation practices do not necessarily need to begin with large scale interventions, but can be initiated through smaller actions or what she calls "a thousand tiny empowerments" (1998: 157). Even those smaller interventions do need collaboration, capacities and resources to alleviate socio-economic conditions of the poor. Community-Based Organizations have so far purported to confront the challenge of poverty and bring about community development. Their histories show that these organizations do work for their communities, although their impacts are still questionable in the poverty alleviation process. Let us find out what the international and local civil society organizations have done to change the inequities of their localities or townships.

(I). Europe

In Glasgow, the establishment of civil society organizations led to the organization of tenants (in 1915), to bring about improved community development initiatives and housing conditions (Castells, 1983). Similarly, in Spain, social movements played a major role in bringing about change in the lives of citizens. The neighbourhood became an organizational base where neighbourhood associations were created with the aim of dealing with all matters of everyday life, from housing to open spaces, from water supply to community celebrations (ibid).

(II). North America

Since the 1960s in the United States, neighbourhood associations have been actively engaged in promoting community involvement in decision-making

process of local government. Such urban movements appeared to be in open confrontation with the state (Castells, 1983). Blacks fought for their rights, because they were segregated from the mainstream economy. Various movements emerged which led to many uprisings whereby the state felt the presence of various movements through riots. These movements reacted against housing conditions and displacement by urban renewal programmes.

(III). South Africa

South Africa saw the emergence of civil society organizations in their explicit form during the apartheid era whereby they were fighting injustices of the policies during that time. In 1977 civic associations emerged in South Africa with the formation of the Committee of Ten in Soweto (CoT) in the aftermath of the 1976 uprisings. It was followed by the formation of the Cape Housing Action Committee (CAHAC) and the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organization (PEBCO). Although other civic organizations existed elsewhere in the country even before the formation of the CoT, the present day civic movements (South African Civic Organizations (SANCO) owes their origin to the formation of the above three organizations. In 1982 South African government launched a Black local government known as Black Local Authorities (BLAs) to respond to township issues but this was opposed. It was not until 1983 that the civic movement was transformed into a truly mass movement (with the formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF). Thereafter street committees proliferated in various townships and became a characteristic feature of civic associations throughout the country. Campaigns like consumer boycotts, stayaways, and rent boycotts became possible only after these structures had emerged (Shubane, 1991).

The legacy of apartheid has not disappeared after the advent of democracy in South Africa in 1994 as this is seen in high unemployment and a huge housing backlog in the townships. Government alone is unable to deliver all the needs of poor communities due to limited resources demanded in such complex undertakings that require capacities as well. Even the 1996 Constitution of South

Africa could not economically heal the past and improve the conditions of the poor as intended. The second president of the democratic South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, could not wait to see poor communities still struggling to improve their living conditions and, in 1998, State of the Nation address, he described South Africa as 'a country of two nations', the one is white and prosperous and the other being black and poor.

Taken from this state of underdevelopment, the role of the Community-Based Organizations was recalled in the *White Paper on Local Government* (1998), as it identifies civil society organizations as partners to collaborate with local government in addressing the socio-economic injustices of apartheid.

In the 1990s, South Africa witnessed the transformation of civil society organizations to a new terrain of development whereby professional Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) came to be known as the 'non-profit sector" (see Chapter Two). The CBOs are community based while NGOs can operate countrywide and are more experienced. A deeper understanding of the roles that civil society organizations can play towards redressing the legacy of apartheid is therefore important because, even in the era of a democratic government, socio-economic inequalities, poverty and spatial fragmentation still exist. Black townships, like Vosloorus, suffered most during the apartheid years, and a significant number of residents living in former 'Black townships' still continue to suffer.

Drawing from the South African background, my study aims to shed light on the role of Community-Based Organizations in addressing the legacy of apartheid, and in assisting the state in this regard. Ritchken (1997) points out that the state's purposeful collaboration with civil society organizations may begin to address the historical legacy of apartheid. Ritchken's suggestion thus sets-up the central question of my research. I will now turn to this question, and its related subsidiary research questions.

1.1 MAIN QUESTION AND SUBSIDIARY QUESTIONS.

The **main question** for the study is:

1. ***Can Vosloorus' Community-Based Organizations assist the state in ameliorating the historical legacy of apartheid?-*** (If so, *how?,* If not, *why*?)

The objective of this research is to find out:

(i) What community-based initiatives are being implemented by Vosloorus' CBOs?

(ii) How are CBOs structured, managed and financed?

(iii) What opportunities and challenges are found in these initiatives? (in other words, what are their limitations?).

(iv) Whether these initiatives lead to community development?

1.2 CHAPTER OUTLINE

1. Introduction

The background of civil society organizations is introduced in this chapter and it shows the international and South African examples. The role of Community-Based Organizations is suggested based on the difficulties experienced in the townships of South Africa even after the advent of democracy in 1994.

2. Literature Review

Chapter 2, Part One, demonstrates the meaning of community development that should be undertaken by the Community-Based Organizations if they will be able to deal with the socio-economic challenges of their localities, or townships in the case of South Africa. It is shown here that community development should, in its broadest sense, provide holistic and balanced development to ameliorate the conditions of under-development. It is argued that if community development will be possible, collaboration of different foci is required, as exemplified by the U.S. Community Development Corporations (CDCs) and the Thailand community federations who worked with their governments and intermediary organizations.

The literature further reveals the characteristics of the successesful Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) and their limitations, with a brief philanthropy of the South African CBOs. Then Glickman and Servon (2003) show the need for capacity building of the CBOs as their programmes often encounter difficulties. Finally, Part Two demonstrates criticisms of Local Economic Development (LED) in alleviating the conditions of the poor. A stinging criticism is that local development initiatives often create low quality jobs that cannot change the conditions of the poor.

3. Case Study

Chapter 3 present what has mostly been argued by chapter 2. The difficulties of the CBOs in Vosloorus are revealed here, especially those of alleviating poverty through Local Economic Development that is undertaken by the CBOs in Vosloorus. These CBOs shows that Local Economic Development (or broadly, community development) needs collaboration, networking, resources and capacities to execute their initiatives. These are very scarce in the township of Vosloorus because there is also no social capital to assist the CBOs with credit that can help to improve their projects.

4. Discussion of Findings

Chapter 4 analyzes the findings of the research as they are presented in chapter 3 and shows that there is a great need to improve the conditions of the CBOs in Vosloorus before they could be engaged in community development initiatives that are very complex.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

This chapter answers the main question of the study and gives recommendations concerning what should be done to the Vosloorus' CBOs to make community development possible in future.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2. PART ONE: A MORE HOLISTIC UNDERSTANDING OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT MODEL.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Many contemporary governments, both in the global North and the global South are spearheading developments that promote the private sector and the community sector to be support agents of development. As such, poverty is an issue that requires multiple institutions and agencies to respond to its undesirable effects. Kwame Nkrumah (Ghanaian president of 1957-66) wrote that "the vicious cycle of poverty, which keeps us in our rut of impoverishment, can only be broken by a massively planned [economic] undertaking" (1965). If he was speaking today, he would, I suppose, be speaking about communities and their local economic development initiatives. Nkrumah realized the inefficiencies of market mechanisms alone, and advocated for "uncounted advantages of planning" (*ibid.*) including the roles of community development initiatives.

In this chapter, Part One will review a more holistic approach of community development model and show how it should be carried out to promote a holistic and balanced development. The literature will also show examples of collaboration in development processes of the international CBOs, with a further discussion of characteristics of successful CBOs and their limitations. It will also look at the philanthropy of the South African Non-Profit Organizations (NPOs) as our local examples. This will be followed by a discussion of the need to build capacities for the CBOs. Part Two will examine arguments about LED initiatives at local level as this is the objective of the CBOs in alleviating poverty in Vosloorus, and this will help this study in its analysis. Now, let us examine the issues pertaining to the principles of community development.

2.2 PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Community development is not undertaken in vacuum, so there is a need to consider other issues before an organization can start with its development initiatives. The following paragraphs present principles that should underlie a development approach of a community according to Ife (2002). These principles include, holism, sustainability, diversity, organic development and balanced development.

1. Holism: Holism means that everything relates to everything else, and therefore it is necessary to take a broad look at a particular issue, problem or process. For example, if a community is concerned with a rise in poverty, this needs to be understood not only in terms of who is poor, how to make residents rich and how to prevent poverty. Other issues should be considered that relate to poverty, which might include growing social and economic inequalities, urban planning, employment opportunities, policies and legislation around economic development and so on. These issues lead to a consideration of globalization, corporate power and levels of social expenditure which should be understood in broad context if community development is to be successful.

Every issue we deal with should have a holistic effect to change our present circumstances. Dealing with a singe issue might be necessary but it should be considered how that single issue will affect the whole process of development. This means that every action, or step taken, should be a building block to a whole. Our actions should go beyond our surroundings so that they can affect other things.

2. Sustainability. Community development employs scare resources so every output should be sustainable. If this does not happen the process will support existing process of unsustainability or underdevelopment. A community development process that tries to establish a new society requires sustainable structures and processes.

Community initiatives should be carried out with sustainable resources such as reliable funds and community structures. If these things are lacking or not available, development will be a rhetoric rather than a reality. Dependency on external resources should be as minimal as possible. Community should have its own sustainable plans to finance development without depending exclusively on funding. Sustainability can create sustainable initiatives that should change the lives of the beneficiaries for a long time. Unsustainable projects are a waste of resources.

3. Diversity. There is no single path to development and different people employ different mechanisms to overcome their underdevelopment. As communities are very diverse, each community differs from another with its own unique social aspects such as economy, resources, skills, structures and so on. Diversity between communities reinforces the idea that there is no one 'right' way to do community development, that each community is different, and that what is 'right' for one community is not likely to work in another one.

There is also diversity within communities, which emphasize the importance of inclusiveness. Difference within communities allows us to determine if there is development for the whole community because those who differ are not excluded. In today's society, dynamic communities mean that they allow change and difference. This can be said it reinforces the idea of holism which is an important aspect of community development. Community development should promote social justice by allowing diversity within the community: that progress is not only for a particular people but for everybody.

4. Organic Development. Community development is assumed to resemble the organic realities of life, rather than a machine. A community is organic (plant-like) rather than mechanistic (machine-like). A machine can be moved to another location for work or repair and it won't be affected by the new environment. A plant changes its form through growth and cannot develop in every environment. If it is taken to a strange environment it might wither or die. Likewise, the

community has its own capacity to develop its potential, which is about providing the right conditions and nurturing to enable development. Organic development means that one respects and values the community's particular attributes and development in its own unique way because of the relationship between the community and its environment.

5. Balanced Development. Balanced Development means that the six dimensions of development are within the development paradigm. Social, economical, political, cultural, environmental and personal/spiritual development all represent essential aspects of any community's life (Suzuki and McConnell, 1997). This should represent the programme of community development, but not all six dimensions are necessary all the time. Holism is repeated here because we have to consider different issues that may lead us to concentrate, for example economic development rather than everything at the same time. Even if a community is concentrating on a particular single issue it is also important to consider other dimensions of development. There is no 'fundamental' dimension of development within these six.

A development programme that concentrates on one issue is likely to result in uneven development: for example, the development of a thriving economic base where other human needs are not met, or a wonderfully rich natural environment within which people are living in poverty and misery. This type of development is unbalanced and is likely to be ineffective in the long-run and cannot meet the real needs of the community. On the contrary, there is a possibility that development in one area can have positive spin-offs in other areas. Community economic development, if pursued with local cooperative model, can lead to cooperatives becoming the basis of other community activity. Spiritual development among indigenous communities can also make development possible with a local vision for a better future (Ife, 2002).

These principles demonstrate what should be done for community development through addressing holistic issues that affect development processes. This

should be done in a sustainable and balanced manner if it will change the lives of the affected people. Let us examine the CBOs' meaning and roles briefly.

2.2.1 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND THE "THIRD SECTOR".

The 1990s South Africa's transition and the transformation of civil society organizations to a new terrain of development through Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) came to be known as the 'non-profit sector", "civil society" or alternatively, the "third sector". The formal definition adopted in South Africa is as follows:

- **Organised:** institutionalized to some extent; relative persistence of goals, structures and activities; excludes *ad hoc* or temporary groups;
- **Private:** excludes government structures; can receive financial support from government; can carry out government contracts;
- **Self-governing**: must control its own activities in accordance with its own procedures; not controlled by outside entities, like government or for-profit business;
- **Non-profit distributing:** profits generated are not returned to owners or directors; profits ploughed back into the basic mission of the organization; does not exist to generate profits or other commercial gains;
- **Voluntary:** must engage volunteers in operational management; 'non-compulsory' contributions and membership; excludes professions requiring compulsory membership (Swilling, 2002).

According to the conservative commentators, civil society is the last best hope of community development; it is the people, acting through voluntary organizations in local communities and does what politicians and impersonal bureaucrats cannot do to the community (Friedman, 2002). However, these organizations are now generally identified as the partner working hand-in-hand with the governments of the day. Poverty issues have largely been taken up by these

organizations of civil society in an attempt to improve the conditions of the poor. Most of their work is characterized by popular participation and self-help efforts by poor local communities. (*ibid.*).

In a recent study by the South African Institute of Policy Studies and the Centre for Civil Society (IPC and CCS), in conjunction with the Johns Hopkins University, the significance of civil society in South Africa was emphasized. The study estimated that there were 98 920 Non-Profit (or Community-Based) Organizations in South Africa, of which 53% were less formalized. In other words, 53% are not formally registered NPOs in accordance with the Non-Profit Organizations Act (2000). The study estimated that during 1998, the private voluntary sector mobilized resources worth an estimated R13,2 billion, and it employed a combined workforce greater than that of major sectors of the economy, such as mining, national government, construction and transport. The Report also points out that the non-profit sector "is able to raise substantial funds from non-state sources and that it employs the services of a vast number of paid and unpaid staff. [These] organizations relieve government of burdens it would otherwise have to bear" (Salomon, 1997:8 cited in Swilling, 2002). The role of NPO is impressive here, so if all their efforts might change the disadvantages of the grassroots, these organizations should apply social justice as is argued by Ife (2002) below.

2.2.2 SOCIAL JUSTICE (Ife, 2002).

(I). Addressing Structural Disadvantages.

If community development is about social justice, therefore it should also address structural disadvantages of the poor. Communities are characterized by class, gender or ethnicity, which forms the basic structure of contemporary community (Ife, 2002). Fainstein's (2000) theory of the *just city* views that social benefits affects distribution processes because of power relations within society. In a community where there are inequities, there could be uneven development which can cause disharmony among the population. Community development initiatives

are not for the particular structure in the populace, but for everyone who is affected by the underdevelopment. Structural disadvantages usually result in the powerlessness of the marginalized groups in decision-making processes as is argued below.

(II). Addressing Discourses of Disadvantage

Power relations within the community can determine who is making decisions for others. Power determines and produces knowledge that serves its purposes best (Flyvbjerg: 2002). Thus, discourses of power and oppression should be dealt with in order to address any disadvantages that may emerge. Community projects need to identify issues of power that privilege and empower some people while marginalizing others. In this regard, a municipality may have more power to influence decisions than the grassroots in development.

Taken from these disadvantages, the process of community development cannot be easy if organizations that attempt to change the lives of the poor do it in isolation, without seeking the collaboration and participation of affected stakeholders as argued below.

2.2.3 COLLABORATION AND PARTICIPATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS.

The collaboration of different developmental foci might mean more strength and best ideas for development. So collaboration is being advocated in development agendas as a strategy of "building links [which is an] activity of social mobilization" (Healy, 1997). If society can be mobilized and propose its future, there is a possibility that consensus can be reached. In South Africa this took place in the early 1990s whereby different parties came together to decide the future of the country in a consensus-based planning approach (Harrison, 2001).
Therefore, this was the process of "cultivating the capacity for collaborative…communication and learning, developed through building up relations of understanding and trust" (ibid.). Without this collaboration,

development would be difficult if it was to be dealt with through individual or selfish efforts.

As such, it is clear that civil society organizations and the government require such collaboration to encounter the huge challenges of underdevelopment in the township such as that of Vosloorus. Khinduka (1987) argues that community development enhances the local development process by bringing people together, encouraging participatory democracy and promoting local reasoning and decision-making. Therefore, the efforts of addressing socio-economic difficulties require more capacities because, "in the new economy, the community has many organizations representing diverse interests, and only through collaboration among organizations is economic development possible" (Blakely, *et al*, 2002: 70).

It is worth mentioning that in the development process, issues such as poverty alleviation has to take into account collective ways of acting, as in this new world development, "the activity of planning [should] assist stakeholders about how they like to [deal] with issues and helping to work out what it means to build new collective ways of thinking and acting" (Healy, 1997). Thus, from these collaborative efforts, let us examine the CBOs that have collaborated in their efforts of community development and see how they have succeeded.

2.3 SUPPORTIVE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

(i). COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT CORPORATIONS (Tomlinson, 1994).

Community Development Corporations (CDCs) first emerged in the USA in the mid-1960. Since then there have been three generations of these community-based organizations with the first being the Ford Foundation's 'Grey Areas Program' which provided grants that were intended to build local development

institutions for implementing social and economic programmes in poverty-stricken inner-city neighbourhoods.

An attempt to development came with the federally-sponsored 'Special Impact Program' to boost city's programming. This was part of the amendment to the 1964 Economic Opportunities Act and the program formed part of the President Johnson's War on Poverty. Since the 1970s, the number of CDCs grew rapidly to about 1000 by 1980. This was because the "second wave grew out of non-profit organizations that had formed to take advantage of federal support for low-income housing…[and some] evolved out of social service organizations and community action agencies"(Peirce and Steinbach, 1990:26). The massive support came largely from the Community Service Administration (which replaced the Office of Economic Opportunity in 1964) and later from the Department of Housing and Urban Development's Office of Neighbourhood Development.

The Reagan administration, however, dismantled federal funding programmes for CDCs because there was a perception that sufficient resources had been devoted to overcoming poverty. Recently the number of third-generation CDCs was 5000 which was made possible by redirecting the energies of CDCs. Their goal to promote sustainable jobs has remained, but they changed the means of pursuing this goal by shifting their focus to purposefully supporting equity capital, loans, incubators space and technical assistance. This is done in partnership with the private sector.

Generally, the USA is a developed country and some people might think that the CBOs succeed because of the state of their country, so it is important to also review the Thailand community federations and see how they are doing.

(ii). THE THAILAND ORGANIZATIONS (Bigg, *et al*, 2005).

There are thousands of successful community organizations and networks operating in Thailand that are supported by a national government agency, the Community Organizations Development Institute. The Institute is a long established partnerships between the government and community-based organizations and federations formed by the urban poor. In 1992, the Thai government set up the Urban Community Development Office (UCDO) to support community organizations, with a U.S. $50 million capital base (Boonyabanch, 2005). This provides loans, small grants and technical support to community organizations for upgrading their homes and neighbourhoods, or developing new settlements and for supporting micro-enterprises. The UCDO also supports the collaboration of community organizations to negotiate with city or provincial authorities, or to influence development planning on shared problems of housing, livelihoods or access to basic services. The Urban Community Development Office provides loans to collaboratively networked community organizations. This decentralizes the decision-making process so that policy decisions are closer to individual communities and are better able to respond rapidly and flexibly to opportunities identified by networked organizations.

In 2000, the Urban Community Development Office was merged with the Rural Development Fund to form the Community Organizations Development Institute and this institute is now implementing an ambitious national programme supporting community-led upgrading and secure tenure for urban poor households. In 2003, the programme set a target of improving housing and tenure security for 300 000 households in 2000 poor communities in 200 Thai cities within five years. By December 2004, the initiatives were underway in 175 communities, involving more than 14 600 households (ibid.). But more importantly, all these initiatives are part of a large strategy in which community-based organizations (and their networks) seek to ensure that all urban poor groups benefited.

These federations (or networks) of community organizations have, at their base, community-managed savings and credit groups that provide their members with emergency credit. Most members are women. By learning to save and to manage finance together, each community group develops the capacity to work together- either independently or with government. These savings groups also develop upgrading and housing initiatives, and improvements in provision for water and sanitation. Their federations develop a strong information base about their members' needs and how they can be addressed, though undertaking detailed city-wide surveys to show the scale of the problem (ibid.), and household enumeration in local settlements (which also produces the detailed maps needed for upgrading initiatives and for installing infrastructure). All the federations support their members community organizations to try out projects, and these projects serve as points of learning through community-to-community exchanges. They stimulate other urban poor communities to take initiatives themselves. These initiatives then show government agencies what the federations can do, and set the precedents from which the federations can negotiate changes in government policies, standards, regulations and practices (Briggs and Satterthwaite, 2005.

What CDCs and the Thailand federations have in common is working together with the intermediary organizations as well as collaboration with government. The intermediary's role here is seen through capital support from various agencies with some providing loans and grants as well as technical support. The CBOs have their own federal funding programmes even if they can still receive grants from other agencies. The unknown CBOs came to be known through these intermediaries and were partnered with others to share problems. Partnerships facilitated decentralized decision-making and ensuring that initiatives are part of a large strategy to deal with community development. The next paragraph reviews the roles of the intermediaries to inform us whether they do the job for CBOs or they just assist them to be the best community developers.

2.3.1 THE ROLE FOR INTERMEDIARIES

There is still a valuable role that intermediary organizations owe to the CBOs in South Africa, when considering the fact that local communities still need to be educated and mentored in their projects. In South Africa most CBOs operate without partnerships and undertaking massive projects, so to ameliorate this situation, "it is often necessary for donors to channel resources to smaller community projects through administratively more sophisticated intermediary organizations" (Sinclair, 1986). An intermediary CBO forges links between the beneficiaries and the often remote levels of government, donor and financial institutions. It may provide services indirectly to other organizations that support the poor or perform a co-ordinating or networking functions (Carrol, 1992).

Intermediaries can mobilize untapped human resources and build administrative and organizational capacity among their constituencies by assisting with management issues, board development, accounting and financial recordkeeping, strategic planning and training in performance evaluation. They have expertise to spotlight and publicize community-wide programmes found in CBOs facilitating new forms of support and partnerships (Sherman, 2004).

They "do not perform the frontline social services of tutoring at-risk kids, building affordable housing, mentoring families from welfare to work, rescuing teens from gangs, or running inner-city medical clinics for the homelessness. Instead, they serve the servers: they support, mentor, connect, showcase, train and resource the Faith-Based Organizations (FBOs) and CBOs fighting in their trenches. They help those grassroots groups do more of what they do, and do it better" (*cited ibid.* p. 74). It is not the intermediaries who do the work for the CBOs as is argued, but community organizations are shaped to deal with the difficulties of what they are doing. In the next heading the reason for the development of CBOs amid their difficulties, as agents that can assist government is further examined.

2.3.2 THE DEVELOPMENT AND CHARACTERISTICS OF SUCCESSFUL CBOs.

According to Brown and Korten (1989) there are various reasons for the rapid development of CBOs as argued next. They (CBOs) developed because of the increasing interest among the international donors and governments, to increase the capacities of institutions operating outside the public sector. These CBOs are seen as more capable than governments and private sector agencies because of their ability to reach the poor. The development of CBOs has been inspired by governments as they now seek more cost-effective alternatives because of rapid decrease in government resources, and CBOs have the ability to mobilize resources for development.

Community-Based organizations are seen as promoters of development. According to Merrington (1992) their advantages are that they are good at communicating with and mobilizing the poor, as this employs participatory, bottom-up approaches in project planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. This helps the poor to participate in matters affecting them and to gain more control over the quality of their lives. Such partnership with communities they serve has promoted local decision-making.

The existence of CBOs have strengthened ineffective local institutions because of their innovativeness, flexibility and experimentalism which promotes transfer of technologies developed elsewhere and adapted to local conditions. They are flexible to undertake projects at no or minimal cost to government and at lower costs than comparative public sector projects because of their commitment to using low-cost technologies (Cernea, 1988). The most advantage is the difference of CBOs from public sector agencies in micro-development, as they can undertake smaller initiatives with less difficult. The problem is, their potential is not always realized in a systematic, well-managed ways and for some CBOs it will never be realized (Davids, *et al,* 2005).

Successful CBOs tend to focus on one rather than many task and respond to the needs of the beneficiaries by including them in the design and execution of projects. These organizations cannot work alone, so they link with influencial forces in the political, public and private to merge social issues with technical expertise (Davids, *et al,* 2005).

There is nothing that can exist without problems in this world even if these organizations still continue with community developments, their shortcomings have been realized below.

2.3.3 LIMITATIONS OF CBOs

As development agents, Community-based organizations also encounter problems during the implementation of their initiatives as these require a lot of resources and commitment. In fact, there are so many problems than the available mechanisms or solutions. The following are some of the limitations of the CBOs.

Many projects of the CBOs do not effectively reach the poor, instead, their initiatives fall into the hands of local power elites such as municipal councilors, traditional leaders and community project champions (Davids, *et al,* 2005). Consequently, this leads to projects which are not innovative or flexible at all, but based on well-known, established approaches originated from public sector, for example, Local Economic Development (LED). In turn, the success of some CBOs projects will depend on complementary support from the public sector because the project might be the public sector's design (*ibid.*). The well-known shortcoming is their limited self-sustainability because their activities are financed mainly by grants and donors, with limited government funding, as I will discuss in chapter 3.

In pursuit of development, CBOs projects are mostly implemented sectorally and do not form part of a holistic programme strategy, which results in a lack of

coordination of the efforts of individual CBOs and finally, hampers the spread of macro-level development (Davids, *et al,* 2005). Their project failure is also caused by inability or willingness to collaborate with and influence government to account for the felt needs of the poor and satisfy them (Merrington, 1992 (also see *Chapter* 3). Critics ask, if community-based development model works so effectively, then why do many communities in which such organizations labour, remain marginal? Why does poverty persist? (Grogan and Proscio, 2000). Answers to these questions remain elusive and complicated. Supporters of community-based development respond by arguing that it is unrealistic to seek resolutions to neoliberal restructuring policies via local organizations (Gilchrist 2003; Anglin 2004). From another standpoint, one can ask whether community-based development has the ability to successfully transform whole communities or if it merely represents one strategy among a number of potential antipoverty approaches? (Harrison, et al., 1995). "Community-based development, while interesting as a niche model, is not an effective antipoverty strategy because it has become specialized and focused on housing development and misses the focus on market forces driving development" (Lehman, 1994 cited in Anglin, 2004). Grassroots development enthusiasts also argue that community development is a continous process: development work will never be exhausted (Abu-Lughod 1994; Kearns and Parkinson 2001; Wacquant 1997). In the case of Soth Africa, "the abolition of the apartheid legacy will require considerable effort over a considerable period of time" (Mbeki, 1998:1).

"Community development's weakness lies in the lack of strong institutional and organizational elements … many of the organizations that perform much of the work of community-based development suffer from unclear staff and leader-recruitment structures and no accepted performance standards to characterize high-performance organizations" (Weinheimer 1999; Zdenek and Steinbach 2000, 2002; Glickman and Servon 1999, 2003; Devance-Manzini, and DiGiovanna 2002, cited in Anglin, 2004). The cause of these organizations to neglect formal managerial approach is summed up by Avina (2002) that financially unassisted grassroots organizations are not likely to use formal

managerial approach than those assisted externally. So far, these problems have not stopped international donor agencies to fund CBOs (Walters, 1993). The best way of dealing with such problems is for CBOs to recognize their abilities and focus on what they are competent at (Davids, *et al,* 2005).

Merrington (1992) suggests that CBOs should direct their efforts to forms of development which are essentially small-scale in nature, require extensive and intimate contacts with project beneficiaries which is not possible for public sector agencies. A lot of international experiences of the non-profit sector characterize this literature, now it is important to examine what is happening in the South African context below.

2.3.4 CIVIL SOCIETY AND PHILANTHROPY IN SOUTH AFRICA

In an effort to assist the South African civil society organizations, government has created the National Development Agency and the Lottery Commission to support the non-profit initiatives with their grants. The Non-Profit Organization (NPO) lobbied the state to promulgate the reform of tax regulations so that community organizations could be tax exempt. The result was that the registered civil society organizations were granted tax exemption status which encouraged philanthropic giving (Habib, 2003).

The consequences of fiscal, legal and political changes encouraged a collaborative relationship between the state and civil society organizations, and these organizations were contracted by the state to implement its agendas. This resulted in the professionalization and commercialization of CBOs (Habib and Taylor, 1999). The positive aspect of this development was that some CBOs became more sustainable and the negative aspect was that CBOs became less accountable to their mission and vision.

As South Africa became a partner in the global economy, it adopted neo-liberal policies. Debates even continue today in South Africa of whether these policies

have benefited the economy and improve the position of the poor. This is because the question of foreign direct investment has made less impact in the condition of the economy and the continuing labour cuts resulting in inequalities. Kotze (2003) laments that the negative effects of neo-liberalism have led to an economic and social crisis. Pieterse (2003) found that since 1994, over 500 000 jobs have been lost compared to more than 400 000 jobs lost between 1989 and 1993.

Amid these problems, community-based organizations could not wait and see this happening. They regrouped themselves into both survivalist and oppositional groups. These organizations mobilized people to pressurize the state, multinationals and private companies to make specific changes and Desai (2002) defined them as 'social movements'. The first ones are not survivalist in nature but are political motivated and engage the state around the implementation of neo-liberal policies (Habib 2003 and Kotze 2003). Desai notes that their influence has been felt mostly at the local level where they have targeted local government service delivery. The survivalist groups, on the other hand, have no relationship with the state and they receive no state funding while most of them have sought no registration from the state. Their concern is mainly to survive.

Kotze (2003) argue that a big divide emerged between the bigger, more professionalized CBOs, primarily involved in service delivery and increasingly referred to as 'blue-chip' CBOs with the growing number of smaller less formalized CBOs that tend to be more survivalist and increasingly oppositional in nature. In this state of affairs, most NPOs found themselves implementing the agenda of donors and the state (Habib and Taylor, 1999; Habib, 2003 and Kotze, 2003). According to Kotze (2003), this resulted in many conferences and workshops addressing the needs of the 'have not' by the 'haves'.

A huge gap has opened between these NPOs due to leadership co-option by the state and the private sector. Some small community organizations disappeared while others adapted to the new situation of building relationships with the state.

A ‘vibrant civil society’ nonetheless, continues to exist, and this sector is a major economic force that employs just over half a million people and generated an income in excess R10 billion per year. It also employs more people than other economic sectors (Russel and Swilling, 2002).

A critical issue for this sector is, however funding. The challenges facing civil society, particularly formal CBOs is to connect with smaller CBOs that do not have access to adequate funding as much of foreign and domestic aid focuses on formal CBOs. Nonetheless, foreign aid is less than 50 % for all NPOs in South Africa (Moyo, 2005). There are three primary sources of funding identified by Stacey and Aksartova (2001) and Russel and Swilling (2002). These three sources include (Kraak, 2001:144), foreign funding; corporate social investment and individual giving. Previously, it was assumed that government and commercial activities make less contribution. Conversely, Russel and Swilling (2002) found that in 1998 the non-profit sector had an estimated income of R14billion. The highest contribution came from government (42%, R5.8bn) followed by the South African private sector, (21%, R3bn), donors (private philanthropy and international non-governmental organizations, 25%,R3.5bn), and service fees and other self-generated income, (34%,R4.6bn). These figures demonstrate a dependency on government grants in the South African context. It also suggests that South Africa’s private sector needs to do more.

Most of the funding goes to formal organizations that represent less than 50% of the NPOs countywide. Funding is also allocated to social services, health, development and housing (Table 2.1). These NPOs are well developed, and active in the urban middle-class communities, rather than in poorer communities.

Table 2.1:Government funding to NPO according to sectors (Source: Swilling 2002).

Sector	Number of organizations	Total government funding per sector	Average government funding per organization
Social services	22 755	R2.1 billion	R92 287
Health	6 517	R1.7 billion	R260 856
Culture and Recreation	20 587	R50 million	R2 428
Development And Housing	20 382	R1.1 billion	R53 969

This table reflects the skewed pattern of government funding to the NPO as revealed by the social services and health with the highest support which can be managed by formal CBOs. While culture and recreation, development and housing, which mainly operate in poorest socio-economic areas received the least funding. It also suggests that South Africa's private sector needs to do more.

As CBOs relieve government with issues of community development, they have not yet impacted positively in the lives of the poor, which has incited a further research to them (Rich, 1995) and there is a need to develop their capacities as Glickman and Servon (2003) will argue below.

2.4 CAPACITY BUILDING NEEDS FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES.

South Africa has shown that community organizations from the past could assist the state in community development as exemplified in Chapter One. But such development is still not clear in the faces of the poor and we may, therefore ask, what are they doing now as poverty and other social problems persist?

Some authors think that there should be a new evaluation for these organizations. Rich (1995) suggested that:

> We need to engage in rigorous empirical studies in order to better understand the nature of community-based, collaborative, revitalization initiatives…Do these initiatives make a difference in improving the living conditions of …city neighbourhoods or do they simple represent the latest buzzwords for repackaging old, but ineffective approaches to urban problem-solving?
>
> (Rich, 1995:13).

One may assume that community organizations generally lack capacity to deal with what they purport to do. A person like Owens refutes this claim, "there is no point at which an organization does or does not have capacity. Instead, variations in capacity indicate the relative ease with which goals can or cannot be achieved" (2004:134). But an organizations variance of capacity can be determined by social, physical, intellectual, financial and political capital (Ferguson and Dickens, 1999). If one of these is lacking, an organization might encounter difficulties. Authors like De Vita, Fleming and Twombly (2001) proposed a framework encompassing vision and mission, products and services, leadership, resources and outreach as critical components of capacity. Adding here, Vidal (2001) contends that the abilities of community development organizations to plan effectively, secure resources, develop strong internal management and governance, deliver programmes and network matter most in terms of capacity. Without capacity, the organization is doomed to fail because struggling ones mostly shows that they lack most of the above.

Glickman and Servon surveyed 218 CDCs across the U.S in a five year period. The purpose was to examine the "effectiveness of non-profit organizations in terms of their work in housing, economic development, community organizing and the delivery of social services" (2003:241). This enabled Glickman and Servon to "measure how much internal capacity CDCs have… [as well as] to

understand what differences partnership support makes to CDC capacity-building efforts" (ibid.).

This extensive research was divided into three categories. The first category included partnership-funded CDCs through local/national intermediaries (or CDPs). The second group was not supported by the CDPs. To avoid skewed results favouring partnership groups, Glickman and Servon included community organizations in four control cities (Austin, Texas; Denver, Colorado; Indianapolis, Indiana; and St. Louis, Missouri) that exhibited no partnership support but had a reasonable history of community development. The study contained ninety-three closed and open-ended questions (with follow-up or sub-questions) that took research participants approximately ninety minutes to answer (*op. cit.*:243). The survey found out many factors that affect the capacity besides the presence of intermediaries, including the context-specific political and economic climate of different cities and regions. All participating CDCs were chosen according to area similarities (predominantly, stressed inner-city neighbourhoods) and the length of time they had been in existence (about thirteen years on average).

We now take a closer look at Glickman and Servon's survey of five capacity building components below, which could help this study to analyze the efforts of the Vosloorus' CBOs, whereby the Case-Study in the next chapter will reveal if these organizations can able to help the state in redressing the legacy of apartheid.

2.4.1 RESOURCE MANAGEMENT CAPACITY

Generally, we come to understand a development organization through its resources and what it does. "Without financial resources, CDCs have little ability to have an impact on the communities they serve" (Glickman and Servon, 2003:245). Sinclair (1986) argues that, a CBO should be evaluated by whether it

has other sources of financial support, and an audited or unaudited financial statement. So, resources give us confidence about the prospects of the organization. After the survey of Glickman and Servon it was found that a partnership-funded CDCs had approximately 40 percent more core financial support than their non-partnership counterparts, and 57 percent more than the control group (ibid.:243). Sources of support for all types of CDCs were public sector grants, development fees and rents from managed properties. The public sector's role in supporting CDCs work remained critical. In addition, 53 percent of all CDCs surveyed reported that "the partnership's assistance freed them up from fund-raising as this had now become the responsibility of intermediaries, and nearly three-quarters said they were better able to leverage other funds because of partnership help' (ibid.:246).

A CBO survives by mobilizing resources which might mean that it will depend on external resources. External dependency is uncomfortable for many non profit organizations as they have to convince their donor agencies about what they will do in their business plans. It is often asked whether CBOs have an influence on their funding agencies. Funding agencies vary in their approaches, policies and styles and the extent to which they can influence CBOs (Hilhorst, 2003). Farrington and Bebbington (1993) point out that, CBOs pursue their own strategies by selectively choosing those funding agencies whose interests coincide with their own and by their ability to repackage their programmes according to donors' desires. A community organization's funding proposals might differ, based on its projects.

In the developing country like South Africa, CBOs do not have an ease ride. In order to be successful, Vosloorus' CBOs engaged in community-wide development programmes need to generate and acquire financial resources from state and other grants, contracts or loans beyond their own contributions alone, if their programmes are to be successful, and if future programmes are to be envisaged. External funding sources also play a vital role and the capacity of the CBO is a prerequisite. Generated resources (including both fixed and liquid

assets), require appropriate and accountable management systems via the implementation of professional business plans, rather than relying on insecure "word of mouth" strategies (Winkler, 2006).

Appropriate business plans do attract the donors if they can be convinced that the money will be used according to their policies/objectives. In order to compete for public/or private sector grants and to comply with reporting requirements once grants are allocated, entails competence in writing successful and persuasive funding proposals (ibid.). Successful funding proposals ultimately position NPOs as a viable community development agents, and receipts of external funding is a measure of an organization's resource management capacity (Owens, 2004). This would mean that Vosloorus' CBOs should have proposal writing skills to support their professionalism as community development agents.

Apart from securing financial resources from diverse funders, preparing effective business plans; leveraging in-house skills and local knowledge, and submitting successful funding proposals, community organizations also need to develop effective management and governance frameworks, employ modern technology, and raise the level of staff productivity through investment in human capacity development (Glickman, 2004). Community development organizations 'must' have their own internal capacities apart from those needed by their funding agencies. Internal capacities could mean something from human resources up to governance system. Those organizations intending to place community development on their shoulders have the possibility of having internal problems, especially concerning their leadership skills, human resource capacity and transformation or adaptation to outside circumstances. Community development organizations need to build their organizational capacities apart from securing financial resources from funders, to develop effective and management frameworks. Organizational capacity means effective governance structures that place great importance in governance, leadership, recruitment, staff development and technical skills to make organizations successful (Winkler, 2006).

2.4.2 ORGANIZATIONAL CAPACITY

"Experienced community development professionals often say that organizational capacity building is critical to long-term success" (Glickman and Servon, 2003: 246). The studies of Glickman and Servon inquired about governance structures, training, staffing, salaries and benefits, and found that partnered CDCs display more efficient structures, had large staff capacities and provide more benefits than non-partnered and controlled groups. For this study we may include five organizational capacity sub-componets: governance and organizational structures, leadership, recruitment, staff development, technical skills and development.

(I) GOVERNANCE AND ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES

Weber characterized Western bureaucracies as structures where responsibilities and authorities are clearly defined and ordered, and practices and decisions accurately reflected in policy documents. This is what a community organization should be if it is to deliver, as the Western democracies do, for their communities. Managing the organization means that one should be accountable for any action or inaction. The notion of accountability is defined by Edwards and Hulme as "the means by which individuals and their organizations report to a recognized authority (or authorities) and are held responsible for their actions" (1996:8). Community organizations are also accountable to their funding agencies.

"Lots of organizations die from making poor strategic decisions" argued George Knight, former executive director of the Neighbourhood Reinvestment Corporation (cited from Zdenek and Steinbach, 2004: 208). This results from the capacity of the management of the organization because, weak and ineffective governing boards hamper organizational capacity (Anglin and Herts, 2004: Bratt *et al.* 1994). Management boards of the development organizations are obliged to reflect their skills in running and nurturing their organizations and equally showing fundraising skills. There should be fundraising specialists in these organizations if they are to convince donors. These specialists have better skills and knowledge

from their past experience with different agencies. Alternatively they should hire those specialists on part-time basis to do fundraising.

A community organization cannot be a rigid one because it can change through growth and members also need to adapt to such changes. A former director of the Comprehensive Community Revitalization CDC in the South Bronx, Anita Miller (2002) once said "as the [community development organization] grows, the board needs to have the know-how to assist the executive director and bring sophistication to the policy decisions and monitoring of the corporation. The key is to keep adjusting" (cited in *ibid.*). Some CBOs are very small, so they are now challenged by the fact that they should have highly skilled board members to assist their Chief Executive Officer to implement sophisticated policy decisions. This will also require a lot of energy apart from implementing community development initiatives because good policies can make good decisions. The success of a community organization lies in recruiting professional staff that would assist in strengthening the capacity to meet the objectives of the organization.

Miller (2002) argues, "effective and supportive governing boards, comprising diverse and politically connected board members, make a difference" (cited in *ibid.*). It is very difficult to run an organization without external connection because that organization may not be known to helpful outsiders. Those who have succeeded before, at times have a better connection with high profile people or organizations. Most of the organizations may be created by local people without any one from the political stratum which can be the first and the lasting problem of a development organization.

Zdenek and Steinbach point out that, successful CDCs in the U.S. make board training a high priority: "board members have mentors and can take training courses each quarter in financial management, community development and leadership" Dee Walsh of REACH CDC in Portland, Oregon, says (from *ibid.*).

(II)LEADERSHIP

Weak organizations tend to reflect the shortcomings of their leaders. An organization's formative stage is the most sensitive one, as Zdenek and Steinbach (2004) propose that during an organization's formative stage, a hands-on approach may be a plus to complete projects and to build a track record of success.

> Most entrepreneurs use a "command and control" leadership style, an approach that can be a drawback in today's networked economy that places a premium on working collaboratively, forging alliances, and sharing information widely among many people who make decisions for the organization. The single most important aspect for [a strong community development organization] is dispersion of leadership. Instead of a dominant director…who manages everyone else, [community development organizations] should seek the creation of guiding coalition (composed of board, staff, volunteers and other stakeholders) whose members take personal responsibility for [good] results.
>
> (Zdenek and Steinbach, 2004:206).

Organizational leaders should not have every solution for every problem, so other people within the organization should be given a chance to reflect their expertise which might take objective forward. Teamwork is advised in sensitive projects like community development whereby different opinions and more capacity than the challenges are required.

Community organizations require good managers that have to play a leading role. According to Ekins, a good leader is:

> Someone with a clear intellectual grasp of social trends and forces, an understanding of commercial and local and national bureaucratic processes, an empathy with sensitivity to the poor and, usually, a willingness to live on a low income.
>
> (Ekins, 1992:201).

Good managers have to be able to deal with community issues, and should not be 'charismatic autocrats' (Hilhorst, 2003). Rather, according to Hailey (1993) good managers should "demonstrated a drive and commitment, and a remarkable ability to mobilize people and resources". This is based on successful South Asian CBO founders who have "knowledge-based and responsive" leadership styles characterized by "strong personal values; willingness to experiment and apply new technologies or learning; and an ability to actively engage in the external environment and respond to change" (Hailey, 1993: 3,9).

A development specialist from the University of Wisconsin, Pulver (1993) stated, "the most critical factor in determining the growth or decline of [CBOs] is leadership… Quality leadership is the single most important variable of community development… without quality leadership, communities will have a difficult task determining which strategy will be the most effective for empirical verification"(p.5). A 'command and control' style of leadership has left many leaders without a succession plan.

Nonetheless, the executive director's role remains vital and when executive directors leave an organization, these organizations sometimes, face a dilemma of succession. There should be other people in the organization ready to take over if those in leadership positions leave. An organization should therefore have a succession plan (Zdenek and Steinbach, 2004). Also, leadership roles may also face a potential conflict between new and incumbent leaders (Rodriguez and Herzog, 2004). These potential conflicts should, therefore, be amalgamated via succession plans. Appropriate recruitment policies are thus important for community organizations.

(III) RECRUITMENT

It is very difficult for many smaller CBOs to attract a skilled workforce or retain professional people due to limited career opportunities. Even those who have grown within the community organization leave to join private or government

organizations. Talented staff might feel overburdened with problems ranging from finance and the capacity of the organization. This can cause stress and competent staff may eventually leave. Staff recruitment is also not an easy task if the organization lacks funds to pay competent staff. In order to ameliorate the recruitment crises of the community development field, the challenges that concern compensation, organizational culture, training and development, career ladders and more need to be considered (Rodriguez and Herzog, 2004). Based on this, the organization should deal with many challenges at the same time if it will combat its dilemmas.

Funders also shoulder much of the blame for poor management practices across the sector by only funding projects, programmes and services instead of organizational capacity development (Winkler, 2006). Funds are mostly used for projects by community organizations because they sometimes fear that if they are used for something else projects will not be implemented as intended. Like the technology sector which continually develops its staff, community organizations need to the same in order to maintain development. In today's competitive environment, it is no longer prudent or practical to continue making minimal investment in staff and other organizational capacity building needs (Zdenek and Steinbach, 2004). Let's see what is meant by staff development and its requirements.

(IV) STAFF DEVELOPMENT

Even if community organizations do get staff development it is coming from donor agencies that are also quiet few. "Community development organizations need increased access to staff development: but too few opportunities are made available by CBOs for this advancement" (Rodriguez and Herzog, 2004). Sinclair (1986) shows that an evaluation of an organization should reveal whether it has full-time staff and what are their qualifications?

If there are too few opportunities for staff development, community organizations will have to make a plan of having a budget for their staff development to avoid having incapacitated staff. Practically, there is no organization that can implement development initiatives if with incompetent staff. This means that staff development come first and projects should follow.

(V) TECHNICAL SKILLS

Donors may require that an organization should have technical skills if it has to run community development because due to its complexity. This should be reflected in proposal submissions, organizational monitoring programmes and outcomes evaluation (Winkler, 2006). This cannot be done in vacuum because there should be staff with computer training and strategic decision making skills, which may not be found in the majority of community organizations. These reflect the capacity of the organization that can deal with community issues.

2.4.3 PROGRAMMATIC CAPACITY

> Programmatic capacity is the ability of the CDC to provide services that meet the needs of target communities. CDCs must build their programmatic capacity in order to respond to the growing and changing needs of the areas they serve.
>
> (Glickman and Servon, 2003:248).

For a poorly resourced organization, programmatic capacity might be something that cannot be achieved. Programmes require strong organizations that can build and expand their capacities of community development within themselves. These organizations should reflect an in-depth know-how of community project implementation.

In their study to examine the capacity, Glickman and Servon surveyed the levels of production found in all of their identified CDCs, and the type of programmes these organizations provide. More than 80 percent of them were engaged in economic development and social welfare activities. It was also found that 72 percent were also active as community or advocacy planners (*op. cit.*:249,250).

In the under-resourced communities programmatic capacity might be a problem due to the lack of staff that will specialize in a certain areas. Lack of resources such as computers, transport and petty cash for organizations can be a stumbling block to the project implementation. Despite the presence of funds, there must be support structures that will come in if there is a problem in the organization. These might be sponsors of technology, transport and disposable funds. Glickman and Servon (2003) also show that political capacity is an important strategy of mobilizing support and establish relationships.

2.4.4 POLITICAL CAPACITY

CDCs with partners showed to be more capable of mobilizing support through working with different people in their neighbourhoods. This was mostly supported by public participation in determining the needs of their neighbourhoods and shaping CDCs policies.

> Political capacity manifests itself in many ways, including: greater community participation, more political leverage and empowerment, and effective conflict management. Building political capacity is, in many ways, the trickiest kind of capacity building that CDCs (and CDPs) negotiate. The political context in which CDCs and CDPs operate largely shapes what they can and cannot do.
>
> (Glickman and Servon, 2003:244).

These community organizations placed people in their forefront in order to empower and manage conflict that can arise if they were working in isolation. The inclusion of the community meant that these organizations belong to their communities. Networked CDCs exhibited the greatest level of political capacity in

terms of outreach to their neighbourhoods through the publication of newsletters and by hosting regular public meetings that would focus on residents concerns (Glickman and Servon, 2003:244). Working together with different people and areas meant collaboration of different interest groups and stakeholders.

Community organizations should stay connected to different institutions so that they may find "supporting" structures. The success and strength of U.S. CDCs has been their political capacity to establish relationships and networks with many constituencies, both inside and outside their communities, including neighbourhood residents, secular non-profit organizations, and downtown business and public sector leaders among others (Glickman, 2004). Owens (2004) noted that political capacity corresponds to the ability of organizations to identify, mobilize and maintain political support for their missions and strategies from diverse stakeholders; and to effectively oppose competitors or ideological opponents via political support. This suggests that in order to maintain stability, one should mobilize different stakeholders that can give much support. The more organizations mobilize is the more they gain strength from different powerholders. In the case of South Africa, community organizations can be said they need to have a strong connection of the political office-bears. Major achievements of development may be possible through the combination of different efforts of partnerships of development organizations.

2.4.5 NETWORKING CAPACITY

In the case of South Africa Sinclair (1986) observed that there are few black community organizations with a national network. There is also little cooperation among various organizations with similar interests. Reasons pertaining to this are fierce competition for limited financial resources, differing ideological and political perceptions and the personalized nature of organizational leadership (Sinclair, 1986). If this happens the organization might loose members who cannot obey their leadership attitudes. Also, the fragmented nature of the community organizations makes it very difficult to bargain for funds in a collective way. A

networking approach to community development encourages such processes within civil society forming links and alliances which provide the requisite conditions for the emergence of community and voluntary organizations" (Gilchrist, 2000:267). The no-existence of networking means that there is no shared decision-making about the process of development in the community organizations.

"CDCs are often too small to carry out all the functions that residents and funders ask for. In such cases, forming alliances with other groups is the only way for them to respond positively" (Glickman and Servon, 2003: 248). The problem is, "if a CDC works with a much weaker organization, the relationship could diminish the CDCs capacity rather than strengthen it. More partners do not always predict greater CDC success" (*ibid.*). It can be said this depends on the background and nature of the partnership formed. It should be a partnership of strength and capacity of the organizations. Networking capacity means an organization's competence to "identify interested parties, reach out to them, and then build and maintain collaborative relationships with them to effect community change" (Owens, 2004:136). Moreover, Sherman argues, purposeful networks "go beyond connections to dollars, and include connections to new partners and new volunteers ...[which may mean] the important service of knowledge transfer" (2004 75).

It is now important, based on these capacity building needs of the CBOs that, we also review the issues of (Local Economic Development) LED in part two of this chapter, so that this can help the analysis of business development initiatives conducted by CBOs in Vosloorus.

PART TWO: A FOCUS ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

This section intends to provide some of the experienced issues of local economic development through local resources and capacities and shows whether this approach can improve the conditions of the poor. Fowler (2000) argues that CBOs have moved from ladles in the soup kitchen to a force for transformation in politics and economics. Therefore, it is important to examine briefly the issues of local economic development in this study as this is reflected in the Case-Study in chapter three and discussions in chapter four.

2.5 THE TOWNSHIP AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The importance of promoting entrepreneurialism in the township is to make entrepreneurs to develop ownership, employment and skill development. It is an attempt to tap human resources that have been underused to revitalize their localities through small business development and retention. Commercial revitalization involves local organizations promoting economic growth of commercial districts by sponsoring marketing campaigns, special service (i.e. taxing) districts, commercial strip management (as at shopping centres), business attraction and retention services and targeting real estate development (Wiewel, *et al* 1993). This initiative is undertaken because it represents a common interest that no single business can accomplish (*ibid.*). The World Bank below argues how local government could help to develop local initiatives.

2.5.1 THE WORLD BANK'S INITIATIVES FOR DEVELOPMENT

The World Bank (1996:a) stressed the following initiatives which can address the urban productivity:

Localities should strengthen their infrastructure, therefore to improve their regulatory frameworks and market efficiency. Therefore, the financial and technical capacity of municipal institutions needs to be enhanced through more

effective division of resources and responsibilities. There must be stable financial services for urban development to improve local conditions (1996:a).

As the World Bank argued, local governments need to have their own reliable budgets to make development possible by also funding community projects. Government's assistance in the developing world is so vital that without it, many initiatives cannot be what they should be.

The World Bank's economic dimensions that deal with urban poverty involve the increasing of the demand for the labour of the poor through government policies that encourages labour-intensive productive activities. Structural constraints that inhibit the productivity and growth of the informal sector need to be alleviated (*ibid*.). Poverty alleviation programmes are mostly found in the residential areas because there is huge unemployment, for example, in the townships. Now we will look at the criticisms of the LED in the USA and Europe as they may also inform those of South Africa.

2.5.2 APPROACHES TO LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE ROLE OF CBOs.

The expectation that city industries will to provide employment for the townships in South Africa is a thing of the past. In the cities of many developing countries, industries have declined and could not offer jobs to the people within inner-city and the periphery. Local economic development "has become a major focus of attention in recent years" attributing its growth in part to the "failure of previous policy measures, such as traditional regional policy to alleviate the decline of many local communities" (Roberts, 1989:170). A progression "can be observed from the passive stance which is undertaken by some communities towards the problem of local economic restructuring, to a high level of direct intervention in the local economy" (*ibid.* :177).

In the USA, Leitner and Garner (1993:57) argue that most policy analysts currently advocate "urban entrepreneurialism and its mainstay – public-private partnerships, as essential to urban growth and revitalization". This has not gone without criticism, because large property developers benefited while poor residents could not (*ibid*. :64). Generally, partnerships have contributed to urban revitalization, they but "have not solved or ameliorated the growing economic and social problems of residents" in the USA (*ibid*. :64). While 'progressive strategies' introduced in some US cities have sought to redefine the agenda and expand the beneficiaries of development, "they have not been sufficient to deal with the economic and social problems experienced by cities" (Leitner and Garner, 1993:71). It can be said that in the USA, local initiatives, even of progressive kind, "do not generally constitute a viable alternative to shared federal, state and local responsibility for urban revitalization and social welfare" (Leitner and Garner, 1993:72). So, these initiatives should be judged by their impacts in the lives of our civil society.

The European experience shows that local economies can generate competitive advantages, based on the enhanced tapping of resources and cooperation, contributing to greater efficiency and innovation (Rogerson, 1994). Such local development also shifts "the locus of decision-making closer to those most affected by economic change" serving to mobilize local communities (Sengenberger, 1993:318). The concept of endogenous local development implies development initiated from the inside and involves "mobilizing to the maximum and optimum extent possible resources in a given area, including capital, labour and such institutional resources as the local infrastructure, instead of waiting for – or trying to attract – outside capital and outside firms to foster growth and employment" (*ibid*, :319). Endogenous development is premised on an assumption that local funds are best expended on investments in the local physical and social infrastructure, to developing locales own resources, encouraging new technologies and generally improving the quality of work and life in the area making it attractive place to both insiders and outsiders (Rogerson, 1994).

A meaningful local economic development initiatives includes (*ibid*, 1994) gaining and maintaining broad community involvement and support on a shared vision. This could lead to the exploration of short and long term development strategies to building on existing resources including the community's competitive advantages, infrastructure, capital assets and, most important, the human resources available within the community. Such a locality must work with its local government to enhance the above (ibid).

Finally, local development which is based on local initiatives and "combines the cost-saving effects of agglomeration and geographical proximity with the social cohesion of local resources and local community" (Sengernberger, 1993:327) offers positive development. This is can be achieved through collaboration and networking of CBOs, the government or even the private sector. Below is a criticism of local employment creation in an effort to alleviate poverty, so let's hear an advice from Sinclair (1986) on what he has found in his study.

2.5.3 EMPLOYMENT CREATION PROGRAMMES

The most important lessons that the development planners have learned from experience with programmes for alleviation of poverty and creation of employment are (Sinclair, 1986:44):

> -Job creation per ser is no guarantee of the alleviation of poverty; in many cases development programmes have been accompanied by large increases in the number of working poor. Programmes that create low-skill jobs often fail to provide a subsistence wage and thus, although they absorb a certain percentage of the unemployed, they contribute little to the improvement in living standards.
>
> -Better results have been achieved with policies designed to remove the factors constraining job creation than with those aimed at the introduction of entirely new development programmes. In the case of South Africa this implies a reorientation from a capital intensive to a labour intensive pattern of economic development.

> -If job creation is to be accompanied by a reduction in poverty, development efforts must specifically aim at the creation of jobs that can be filled by people from the most poorest strata of the community, but which will, at the same time, ray a wage sufficient to provide for their basic needs.
>
> (Sinclair, 1986:44).

Community development programmes should not be there only to create low skill job, but those jobs that should our society to a better living standard. Even though labour-intensive development is advocated, the types of jobs created are very important to change socio-economic background. “In fact, the economic development process subordinates job(s) … [and] is frequently inattentive to the *quality* of jobs being created” (Bingham and Mier, 1993:270). This is something happening in the townships where there is a lack of skill in creating sustainable jobs. Although criticisms like these persist, there is still a great role that should be played by local government as is shown in the next paragraph, through local development initiatives, because even a smaller impact to the development process can prevent more harm than if there is nothing being done.

2.5.4 LOCAL GOVERNMENT’S ROLE IN COMMUNITY-BASED INITIATIVES.

Local government can takes active role in stimulating and supporting community-based initiatives. This is a process of collaboration of government and its constituency. The role of government should be (Blakely, *et al,* 2002) to develop revolving loan funds and similar financing as seed capital for community projects and examining means to subcontract community groups to deliver community services. It shows that in poor townships like Vosloorus, local government needs to help local communities in their efforts of development.

Further assistance should be to develop work spaces and facilities for community groups to commence enterprise activities through identifying surplus or underutilized local government equipment that might be used by the community.

The municipality sometimes own land that is not used and residents could use it for their daily needs, for instance, conducting business. To enhance the emerging businesses need a network of people or service clubs that can provide technical assistance to community groups to make community-based initiatives a component of the overall local economic development strategy (Blakely, *et al* 2002).

2.6 CONCLUSION

Part One of this chapter has provided us with the arguments of community development, the background and examples of successful CBOs. The problems of capacities were argued and it was demonstrated how this could be redressed. Furthermore, part two specifically focused on issues of economic development problems, as this is Vosloorus' CBOs aim to alleviate poverty with their initiatives. The issue of poverty alleviation here needs collaboration of different stakeholders and the development of social capital to finance community projects. In the next chapter the case-study reveals the experiences of the CBOs in Vosloorus, and this will help to answer to research question.

CHAPTER THREE: CASE-STUDY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reflects the research methods followed and highlight issues that were discovered during the fieldwork process. The researcher's aim, *inter alia,* determines which the data is collected and how questions are formulated, which leads to the answers of what is being researched.

According to Ackroyd and Hughes (1992:7), "research is the active process of the production of knowledge out of the complexity of life". The data collected in this case study is aimed at reflecting whether the Vosloorus' CBOs are able to assist the state ameliorate the legacy of apartheid in this township. The 'complexity of life' here is reflected by the diversity of CBOs studied in Vosloorus. Research has to include as much diverse data as it can, to eliminate bias and increase objectivity. For this reason, CBOs of a diverse nature were included in this study. Scientific enquiry is global as well as locale, so globalization is "the intensification of world-wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring miles away and vice versa" (Giddens, as quoted in Garbers 1996). The study has been informed by the literature on global experiences of CBOs, and this has broadened the understanding of local conditions.

3.3.1 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The objective of this study is to establish the truth or its correspondence, about CBOs role in Vosloorus. "Truth in science consists of a literal representation of or correspondence with reality" (Garbers, 1996:26). There is no guarantee that a research will always achieve its goal of establishing the truth but findings should as far as they can, correspond with the truth. The researcher, as a resident of Vosloorus, has not included his beliefs, attitudes and wishes in this study so that findings remain objective.

3.3.2 RESEARCH METHODS

I undertook a Case-Study Research of Vosloorus' CBOs. During an initial scoping exercise, I found eight active CBOs in this township namely, **1.Young Women's Organisation; 2. FAMSA; 3. After Care Organisation; 4. Community Policing Forum; 5. PLANACT; 6. SANCO; 7. Eyethu Community Project and the 8. Rethabile Agricultural Cooperative**. The study will focus on only five of them, namely:

- PLANACT;
- Vosloorus Development Forum;
- Masivusane Community Builders;
- Rethabile Agricultural Cooperative; and
- Eyethu Community Project.

Reasons for engaging in Case Study Method is that, an in-depth study of one case may reveal findings for other marginalized urban nodes. Yin (1984: 24) defines the case study research method as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident, and in which multiple sources of evidence are used. Case study is likely to be stronger if it spans across a multitude of organizations or sites so that information from several sub-cases can be compared. Furthermore, triangulation has been used to verify data. Triangulation, as described by Bell (1993: 64) allows the cross-checking of "the existence of certain phenomenon and veracity of individual accounts by gathering data from a number of sources and subsequently comparing and contrasting one account with another in order to produce as full and balanced a study as possible". This case study presents findings that may lead to further research.

Primary methods employed are:

Phase 1: Scoping exercise and participant observations. This entails investigating the number of active CBOs in the area. Such scoping exercise helps the researcher to select the most relevant organizations to the study.

Phase 2: Open-ended, in-depth interviews. Open-ended interviews allow the respondent to give an independent answer to the question without limits from the interviewer.

(I) Data Collection Methods: Qualitative

The primary method of data and information collection in this research process is qualitative. The qualitative approach is deemed to be the most appropriate means of obtaining and arriving at the research objectives. Questions that are posed in this research are mostly qualitative and are based on the aims, structures and management, achievements, challenges, and whether these initiatives lead to community development. According to Marshall and Rossman (1995:79) there are four methods that can be engaged in qualitative research. They are (1) participation in the setting, (2) direct observation, (3) in-depth interviewing, and (4) document review. This study has employed direct observation; in-depth interview and document review methods in an effort to strengthen the findings.

(II) Interviewing

This research followed primary research methods, i.e. an in-depth case study research of Vosloorus CBOs utilizing open-ended interviews which were supplemented by direct observation which is explained below. The researcher visited organizations referred to below from 4th April until 30th May for interviews, and from July to September 2006 for observations. These methods were used to capture the situation of the area and of interviewees' experiences of their organizations.

According to Marshall and Rossman (1995), an interview is a useful way of obtaining large amounts of data instantly and that clarification of answers (data verification) can be done immediately. These interviews were used to capture an in-depth knowledge(less) and experiences of CBOs in Vosloorus. It is acknowledged that interviews may at times not be truthful, because they depend on the interviewee's perceptions, emotions and level of knowledge. In an effort to get different views and experiences of CBOs, the study targeted five different organizations that are doing different tasks in Vosloorus. The purpose of this study was to gather as much information as is available in these organizations.

(III) Direct observation.

Direct observation was also used to inform this study about what is really happening in these CBOs, and as a supplement of interviews. In one week the researcher visited at least two organizations, spending two days in each, speaking to the participants about their everyday experience, watching what is being done or not done.

(IV) Document review.

The Eyethu Community Project, the Rethabile Agricultural Cooperative, PLANACT and the Masivusane Community Builder were able to provide their logbooks showing their attendances and duties performed. At some point they could also show financial statements of their organizations.

(V) Interviewees.

Data collection was based on personal communication with identified CBO officials in order to better understand the management and running of community initiatives in Vosloorus. This in-depth interviewing method enabled the researcher to find out what is being done or not done. For instance, do local CBOs have resources to implement their objectives? What are their opportunities and challenges and so on? The CBOs were selected based on the existence of the organization in Vosloorus for two years and over. These organizations are known

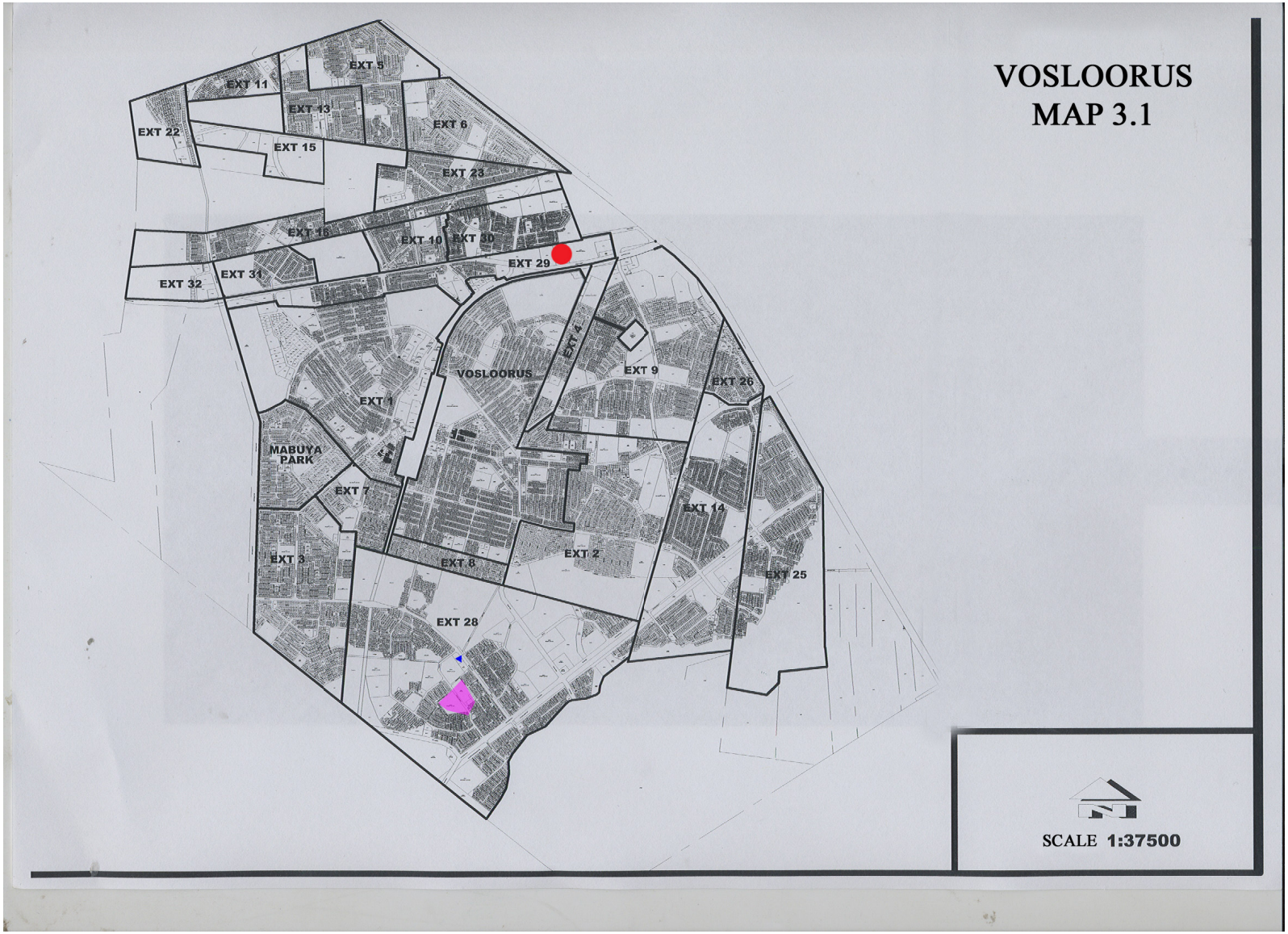
to be promoting the local economic development and skills development in the area.

The researcher approached five CBOs for information that may lead to what is happening in Vosloorus. The study conducted ten formal interviews, selecting two people per organization (individual's positions stated below). In addition to the aforementioned three methods, during direct observation the researcher had informal interviews with the participants of these organizations about their daily experiences with their tasks and what they suggest to improve their situation.

3.3.3 CASE STUDY

Vosloorus is the township of Boksburg in the East Rand region lying in the southern part of Gauteng along the N3 Johannesburg-Durban freeway as shown in Map 3.1. This township developed from a huge demand of housing by the mining population of the East Rand Proprietary Mines which at first lived at Stirtonville location. The name of Vosloorus township, was coined in 1957 after the plan for building the new township was approved (Bonner *et al,* 2001).

The earliest houses built in the township appears in the centre of the map labeled Vosloorus, while other extensions shown, except extension 28, which is an RDP housing development (labeled EXT 28), are the private sector housing developments. Even if there are private sector developments, many people have lost their jobs and are now staying idle in the township. That is why the CBOs have devised plans of alleviating poverty through economic development and skills promotion in this township. PLANACT is based in Extension 28 along with Rethabile Agricultural Cooperative and the Masivusane Community Builder (shown by triangle). The Eyethu Community Project Project is based in Extension 29 adjacent to the Vosloorus Development Forum (shown by circle). This case study intends to reflect an answer to the research question and its subsections on Chapter Five.


VOSLOORUS
MAP 3.1
EXT 5
EXT 11
EXT 13
EXT 6
EXT 22
EXT 15
EXT 23
EXT 16
EXT 10
EXT 30
EXT 29
EXT 31
EXT 32
EXT 4
VOSLOORUS
EXT 9
EXT 26
EXT 1
MABUYA PARK
EXT 7
EXT 14
EXT 3
EXT 8
EXT 2
EXT 25
EXT 28
SCALE 1:37500

(I) The following interviewees were chosen:

1. **Executive Director and the Project Manager, PLANACT.**

   PLANACT is a regional organization based in Volsoorus to promote good governance, social issues and skills development. Residents in the area are trained to make a living out of the skills developed by this community-based organization. Skills training programmes facilitated by PLANACT include housing construction.

   Skills Development Programme:

   PLANACT is a premier people-centred, community development organization in Gauteng. It directly builds the capacity of civil society to engage with government in development, targeting the disadvantaged communities. PLANACT training (in building) and support help to build the capacities and knowledge for communities.

   The organization continues to work with communities to facilitate or implement development projects such as housing, services or community facilities, in cooperation with government and other partners. It supports and mobilizes community processes that enhance good governance at the local level to improve people's habitable environments in ways that alleviate poverty. (www.planact.org.za) [July 2006].

2. **Chairperson and the Treasurer, Vosloorus Development Forum.**

   The Vosloorus Development Forum is an umbrella body representing most of the area's CBOs. It focuses specifically on facilitating external contractors/businesses wanting to develop Vosloorus' socio-economic conditions. The Forum also assists residents in job placements with outside businesses that are operating in Vosloorus.

   Skills Development Programme:

There is no specific skill offered by the Forum, but it negotiates with local development companies that upgrade the neighbourhood to train residents in road construction and environmental maintenance. This is because external companies are awarded tenders as they have experience than residents, so the objective is to train residents in engineering skills by these companies so that in future if they have certificates, they can benefit from government tenders.

It also attracts external businesses to Vosloorus not only to offer employment but also to train and enable residents to operate theirs. In short, skills development is expected from businesses and companies that operate in Vosloorus.

3. **Chairperson and Treasurer, Masivusane Community Builder.**

This organization produces building materials that are sold to local residents at an affordable price. The objective of including volunteers/residents is to develop their skills, especially those who are unemployed. Members of this organization develop skills such as, brick-making, building and self-employment initiatives in order to reduce unemployment and the lack of housing in Vosloorus.

Skills Development Programme:

This CBO is developing construction business skills as well as building houses. Business skill is being developed through the organization's local hardware shop that sells building materials, because the area is still supplied mostly by large external companies that charge delivery fees. Residents trained in brick-making are able to take this business opportunity and save delivery costs for residents. In turn, residents are expected to use their construction and business skills in alleviating poverty.

4. **Chairperson and the Treasurer: Rethabile Agricultural Cooperative.**

As opposed to the other CBOs working in Voloorus, this Cooperative focuses specifically on agricultural development and has attracted funding from donor agencies. Recently it secured over R750 000 (subject to conditions of owning legal land title) from the National Development Agency for its agricultural development initiatives. This pilot project is the first of its kind in Vosloorus.

Skills Development Programme:

The Cooperative members were trained by private organization in the auspice of the Department of Trade and Industry to develop agricultural skills in the community. Since then, members have acquired good agricultural skills to provide fresh produce for the community and the proposed vegetable market. The organization has also attracted many people originating from rural areas to develop their agricultural skills and match them with present day technologies.

The community is also encouraged to plough vegetable gardens in their homes so that it can save money for other needs. So individual skill is not only confined within the organization, it is for the community members.

5. Chairperson and Treasurer: Eyethu Community Project.

The Eyethu Community Project (for sewing and craft) is an initiative of a single woman started in 1997, which has since grown into a community project. The project has also been assisted by the Department of Trade and Industry through training members to use new technologies. They have also been loaned new sewing machines to further their project. This organization assists residents to combat unemployment by creating their own economic opportunities in the area. Apart from its own business, the organization produces sixty trainees per year in its skill development programme. It also serves local schools and pre-schools with uniforms and craft training opportunities.

Skills Development Programme:

The organization has realized that local schools buy uniforms outside Vosloorus and is also expensive for some residents. Also residents at times wear their

traditional or ethnic clothes that are only available in the shops in town. Now, the Eyethu Community Project decided to train residents in sewing and craft so that local schools and residents can buy from them or their ex-trainees.

Until now, sewing skills have opened local opportunities of traditional attire making for individuals who came for training. So the organization includes skills training and business management.

3.3.4 RESEARCH FINDINGS: PRESENTATION OF DATA

It is not possible to present data from individual interviewees verbatim because of the qualitative nature, the length of the research process and number of CBOs interviewed. Information gathered will therefore be presented as a summary, with elaborations to clarify the process. I have also tabulated the information gathered (see table 3.1 at the end of this chapter). The objectives shown below are supported by subquestions (in Table 3.1) The summaries, in turn, are structured and presented according to the research's subsidiary questions which will lead to the answer of the main question.

A PRÉCIS OF INTERVIEW RESULTS PER OBJECTIVE

Objective 1

> "*To determine what community initiatives are being implemented by Vosloorus' CBOs".*

All the organizations mentioned that their main aim is to alleviate poverty through skills development and as well as employment creation programmes through LED. These skills include entrepreneurship, agricultural development, sewing school uniforms and craft, housing construction, roads construction and making building materials such as bricks. The skills offered by individual organization and its expertise followed the title of the interviewee in the preceding page. The number of residents participated in each programme is given in Objective 4.

According to interviewees, these are the most important skills because of their demand and the possibility of their empowerment in the township. Another aim is to support the existing initiatives in the community that are not run directly by community organizations, for instance, government projects of streets/roads construction. Details and means of implementing these aims were inadequately elaborated by interviewees. The interviewees of Vosloorus Development Forum (VDF) could not clearly show how they support these government initiatives because contracts are awarded to the private sector stakeholders not belonging to Vosloorus. The explanation given by the VDF was that they support the initiatives through assisting residents with job placements and acquiring skills. This was said, in turn, it promotes local employment in line with local government's objectives of creating labour-intensive projects and developing local skills. Respondents argued that the area still needs a radical transformation of local economic development to assist people who have inadequate means of survival. Therefore, community transformation is said to be possible where local people are skillful and have ideas of survival.

The four organizations' (except PLANACT) local initiatives are based on:

-community-based local economic development: This is a means of assisting residents with creating their own means of survival, like starting new small businesses after training acquired from their CBOs.

-business development: This is said to ensure that economic development brings social benefits through creation and nurturing of small businesses, like vegetable markets (from a local agricultural cooperative) in the township.

-locality development: A support intended for developing Vosloorus to be a habitable and livable place through the above two initiatives supported by good housing environment. Locality development refers to the overall planning and management of economic and physical development of localities (Helmsig, 2001c.).

Many Vosloorus residents are said to be unemployed and have no skills to make ends meet. So CBOs took the initiative to help residents who cannot find or create jobs. Residents are trained in different areas depending on the individual organization's expertise. Those who are not permanent members, for example, volunteers are expected to create their own economic opportunities after they have acquired training and skills.

It was also mentioned that Vosloorus has no effective industrial or commercial backing to support its residents, so residents work outside the area. According to respondents, CBOs are able to train residents in order to survive (see Objective 4). The aim is to strengthen different skills (in sewing school uniforms, planting vegetables, building houses or in the construction sector) with the help of a CBO expertise as shown under their skills development programmes.

In support of the above, the Rethabile Agricultural Cooperative indicated that the aim and objective of their organization in the community is to:

> "to sustain life of the community, empower people through skill development, to promote local economic development that is sustainable, creating more opportunities for the development of Vosloorus community from the ravages of the past".

The Rethabile Agricultural Cooperative says it sustains life through engaging residents in its agricultural initiative that is aimed at providing food for the needy. The interviewee argued that there are some residents who sometimes stay without food, so their objective is to offer training to those who want to exploit agricultural opportunities and provide for themselves. This is said to eliminate the idea that people should be skilled in certain jobs so that they can be employed outside Vosloorus in order to survive. So the organization deals directly with food projects for the community. Members are also encouraged to plough their vegetable gardens in their homes apart from the community projects of the

cooperative. In order to sustain the cooperative, the extra output from the project is intended to be sold in the local vegetable markets to make profit for the organization.

Sustaining life of the community is also the objective of other CBOs interviewed because they try to eradicate poverty in Vosloorus through their initiatives of business and skills development. The difference between this agricultural cooperative and other CBOs is that others deal with skills promotion for business while the cooperative develops skills that can provide food for the needy in the township.

The umbrella body (the VDF) of these organizations showed that their focus in Vosloorus is also to promote one civil society voice when bargaining for economic opportunities created by government projects in the township. Other CBOs interviewed showed that they have no voice speaking on their behalf, they do things by themselves. They supported the idea of working together with other CBOs but showed that they are willing to be trained in bargaining to do it for themselves because they have diverse initiatives. They do not support the idea of one voice because, that voice might be driven by certain interests in agencies' fundings. Also, the argument was that bargaining require professional skills, which might lack if they have one voice coming from the inexperienced CBO. The experience of these organizations may be reflected below, by their period of existence in Vosloorus.

Only one organization, the Eyethu Community Project, has been in existence since 1997. The other four organization started working in Vosloorus at the end of 2001. As such, these four have only recently started formulating new strategies for community development. Organizations interviewed argued that they understand the nature of community development as they are formally registered as NPOs. As such, they have organizational Constitutions that guide them in community initiatives. Arguably, being registered as an organization does not mean that you automatically understand community projects. The 'know-how' of

an organization is reflect in initiatives that promotes, in this case, community development that adheres to the principles elaborated in chapter two. In these five organizations, it is PLANACT that showed the record/necessity of a successful organization, this is, having long experience with projects even outside Vosloorus, being resourceful and able to organize human power to undertake its projects.

Objective 2

> *"To test the governance structures, management and financial sources of CBOs community projects"*

CBOs in Vosloorus have a good management structure as is shown below. PLANACT showed that it has a Board of Directors, Executive Director, Financial Director, Project Facilitators and Administration staff. Other organizations have a Chairperson, Treasurer, Secretary (with their Assistants) and Project Facilitators. Four of these CBOs have full-time staff ranging from fifteen to twenty staff members. The Masivusane Community Builder is operating with only eight full-time staff members.

There is a problem of funds for these CBOs since there are no reliable funding sources for most of them. They showed that they received start-up fund (R10 000 each) from the local government for one year at the initial phase of their projects. For the subsequent years, they have been struggling without enough funding for their community initiatives. They also differed on what they thought would be the best start-up funds. The Eyethu Community Project and the Masivusane Community Builder estimated that they would be happy if they received something ranging from R400 000 to R800 000 per year, which would enable them to acquire basic resources like computers, machines for sewing, renting space or buying office area, implementing initiatives and incentives for staff. The VDF and the Rethabile Agricultural Cooperative mentioned that they have big plans for community development, so they required something ranging from

R700 000. They argued that to alleviate poverty in a township like Vosloorus, an organization needs millions of Rands.

PLANACT has no problem of funds because it has local and international donors, as such, PLANACT has begun to assist the local government with housing delivery in Vosloorus. According to its Project Manager in Vosloorus, this organization has also played a major role in training residents in housing construction whereby some people are now employed outside the area where RDP houses are being constructed. It has also included volunteers in its projects recently.

Volunteers perform most of the duties in all these organizations, such as, maintaining organizational resources (cleaning machines, watering vegetables in case of Rethabile Agricultural Cooperative), working when the full-time staff is attending meetings with government officials and so on. This requires more effort it is to be done by a full-time staff. A stranger to Vosloorus might think that there are no big initiatives at the moment, if looking at the amount of community development backlog. But organizations such as PLANACT and Rethabile Agricultural Cooperative are doing their best to build houses, and develop building and agricultural skills to volunteers for opportunities that may emerge in the township. These organizations confirmed that more people approach them for training either in building or small business management or development, although they confirmed to have no staff capacity to training a large number of people in one year.

The Rethabile Agricultural Cooperative; Eyethu Community Project and Masivusane Community Builder confirmed that they received training (from 2002 to 2004) depending on the CBO's tasks (in agriculture; sewing and craft; building) from local government and the Department of Trade and Industry to promote their skills. They could not estimate how much did their training cost. PLANACT showed that it hires professional people to work with communities in its projects and does not rely on government training so it is easy for them to train

volunteers on their own. Volunteers are said to have also gone an extra mile after completing their training whereby individuals sometimes approach residents so that they can use their skills, for instance, in building local houses at a reasonable price than people hired from outside Vosloorus. Only three volunteers were found to confirm their gains from training and they said that from early 2004 they have worked together and have built 14 houses belonging to individual community members until now.

Objective 3

> "*Test the opportunities and challenges found in the community initiatives (what are their limitations)".*

Project funding for community initiatives is still a problem in the area because many CBOs do not possess legal title of land ownership. They mostly depend on land and buildings that have been given to them for a short period either by the municipality or local people. The Rethabile Agricultural Cooperative, the Eyethu Community Project, the Masivusane Community Builder and the VDF did not have a leasehold agreement to occupy land or buildings they are currently operating from, because these have been given in kind. So donors are said to be reluctant to fund them because they cannot produce documents of land or property ownership. This is the biggest problem facing CBOs in Vosloorus since the buildings they occupy at the moment can be allocated for other purposes by the owners at any time. There is no tenure security for these CBOs.

In order to overcome the problems of funding and keep CBOs' projects running, these four organizations have decided to contribute their full-time members' financial and material resources into the projects. However, this type of funding cannot sustain these organizations as members themselves do not have enough resources to complete a massive community project. There have been serious problems with community initiatives because of scarce funds. Some projects had to be suspended because of resource shortages like funds and equipments to be used in projects. At times full-time staff does not get its monthly salaries, which

led to apathy within these organizations. All four CBOs (except PLANACT) argued that a lack of capacity to execute community development duties results in disillusion with their community development initiatives.

All interviewed CBOs showed that they need a sound financial budget so that they can work as expected. If they received finance from reliable sources such as the state, it is said that Vosloorus would have been improved by now. Reliable sources of finance for the CBOs are deeply important when attempting to improve the area. Apart from financial issues, organizational, programmatic and political capacities are said to be the scarcest resources within CBOs. Therefore, in order to improve Vosloorus, more of the aforementioned capacities are needed for the Vosloorus' CBOs. According to these five CBOs what can improve Vosloorus is what is what can improve CBOs themselves, .i.e. financial resources, networking, programmatic and political capacities to implement community initiatives.

When pointing their way forward organizations said that they plan to have a Centre where they will be able to plan, coordinate and implement their initiatives. This could be a reality when their objectives match budgets with management and fundraising skills improved to build capacities of these organizations. If the Centre was available, implementation of their initiatives would be possible because they would also be able to sell their products to the community and plough back the profits to the projects, say the CBOs. They would also be able to accommodate more people for training in business and various skills.

Objective 4.

> *"To determine whether these initiatives lead to community development".*
>
> .

When I asked respondents about their collaboration with local government they were all of the opinion that local government can be a helping partner to achieve their objectives. Most respondents said that although they have contacts with government officials, especially local councilors, their contacts bear no fruits. Contact with local government officials is only through meetings where problems are raised, but no feedback or solutions on how to address current problems.

One respondent of VDF argued that local government presented issues regarding local economic development strategies but could not clearly show, in practical terms, how these strategies would be implemented. So at the grassroots level, CBOs do have strategies in place to effectively deal with the challenges of everyday hardships and community development. The argument further showed a lack of institutional arrangements from both the community and the government that exacerbates the problem of grassroots community development. CBOs now see themselves as the only organizations that carry out the responsibility for community development since government is seemingly not willing to work with them, for example, to assist them financially because they are doing what is supposed to be done by government.

Researched CBOs also showed limitations that include,

- Problems with leaders of various organizations;
- Problems of budget alignment, planning and implementation of varying projects;
- The nature of different projects required to promote community development; and
- A lack of proper guidance from government.

Based on these problems, collaboration and networking were advocated on issues of finance and CBOs capacity. Most resources invested in CBOs projects are said to be wasted because of a lack of capacity and apathy from full-time staff. So, capacity was seen to be strengthening when using different expertise and more efforts to save time and resources. It is observed that some CBOs started good initiatives that have since failed as there is no organization willing to take over failed initiatives from other CBOs.

Community development was said it poses problems because these organizations are struggling to mobilize resources like finance, equipment and land. However, not all these organizations are struggling badly because PLANACT is resourceful with contributions from local and abroad. It has been shown earlier that the other four, except PLANACT, have no legal property they own or even a leasehold agreement, so community development is still not easy. At the moment more money is still needed to buy or rent offices and implement community projects.

For quite sometime the Eyethu Community Project, Rethabile Agricultural Cooperative and Masivusane Community Builder showed that after their launch they could not start their projects because of lack of resources or funds to start massive projects that can make a difference in the community. Interviewees showed that they themselves are not even satisfied with the number of people who can be said they have benefited from their initiatives. These organizations could not proudly go to the community and implement an initiative (like skills development) that can improve the lives of the poor in the area due to struggling for finance or limited budget.

Most community projects clearly started in 2004 from these organizations. The largest number of people trained in building by PLANACT since 2004 is 200 per year and has built 964 houses in Extension 28 from 2001until September 2006. The Eyethu Community Project produced 60 people per year qualified in sewing,

craft and decoration. Those who trained in sewing and decoration are said to have started their own sewing business and others got the opportunity to work outside Vosloorus in the clothing industry. The VDF and PLANACT helped the community through bargaining with the local government so that new businesses owned by 'outsiders' should first consider local people in their job placements process. The Masivusane Community Builder pointed out that due to lack of funds to execute community projects, only members have benefited from resources of the organization. Trainees from the Masivusane Community Builder and PLANACT benefited when those qualified in building were hired by the RDP project from local government. Respondents say this is a lifelong skill acquired from their organizations whereby even the individual can also build their own houses.

As pointed earlier, these organizations complained about lack of finance to support massive community projects and the inherent lack of resources mostly crippled their aims and objectives of reaching the community. One Project Facilitator lamented that:

> "There is a great need for collaboration of CBOs to maximize strength and minimize fragmentation".

Success of these organizations was rated very low, whereby most of them rated themselves between three and four out of ten. Only PLANACT rated itself six out of ten. This showed that they are still struggling to further their aims and objectives. It has been clear from the interviews that CBOs still lack capacity to deal with the challenges of many decades in Vosloorus due to resources needed and work to be done. According to these CBOs there should be enough budget from each organization to deal with community issues of poverty alleviation and empowerment of the poor. Most of the burden is put on local government to assist CBOs to get funds from outside sources and make Vosloorus a place of development.

Vosloorus organizations acknowledge that existing initiatives are not what was intended at the beginning. What is seen today is due to financial and capacity problems because some organizations have not yet received strength in their projects. It is planned that the number of people in the community who receive help from these organizations should increase so that their initiatives will be a reality in the township. Vosloorus is seen as a place where its residents will be able develop themselves after receiving training and other assistance from CBOs, which in turn will create more opportunities.

According to respondents a lot needs to be done in the community organizations themselves. This is because poverty and skill development have not yet been dealt with in a satisfactory manner. Interviewees showed that without a sound financial budget, a CBO is unable to go anywhere because even members need remuneration so that they can be active in their work. External dependency has been blamed as reversing the plans and strategies that would have made improvement in the community. Dependency of CBOs ranged from skills training of their members up to financial resources to implement initiatives. This led to the failure of many projects.

The failure of CBOs projects in Vosloorus is reflected on many things such as the closure of many businesses in the area that were run by individuals who lacked skills. These businesses are said to have came back with large companies like OK Groceries, Score Supermarket, Spar Supermarket and other wholesalers in the area. One official argued that if their organizations were working for the community, they would have saved many businesses that are run by the community because they themselves received business management training from government.

Finally CBOs in Vosloorus believe that community development if feasible and only needs support and advancement. The present situation in the area is said to promote idealism of community development but there are high hopes as even those CBOs abroad have helped their communities in development.

3.4 CONCLUSION

This Chapter has reflected the outcome of the study of Vosloorus' CBOs and has given indication of difficulties faced by them. These community development organizations are faced by problems of resources and capacities. It is argued that without resources and capacities, community development would be very difficult because these organizations do not collaborate with their local government or among themselves. A summary of the interview outcomes is given in Table 3,1 in the next page.

SUMMARY OF INTERVIEW OUTCOMES PER QUESTION

TABLE 3.1

	QUESTION	SUMMARY OF RESPONSES
OBJECTIVE 1: To test the aims and objectives of Community-Based Organizations in Vosloorus.		
1.1	WHAT IS THE MAIN AIM OF YOUR ORGANIZATION?	The main aim of the CBOs in Vosloorus is to alleviate poverty and develop skills in the community. Poverty alleviation measures in turn will improve the condition of the township.
1.2	WHY IS YOUR ORGANI-ZATION FOCUSING ON THIS?	Respondents contend that most people are unemployed in the area. So these organizations took the initiative to help people to develop their skills so that in return the township could be developed.
1.3	HOW LONG HAS YOUR ORGANIZATION BEEN OPERATING IN VOSLOORUS?	The oldest organization was launched in 1997 and started to operate well in 2004. Other organizations were launched in 2001 and also operated in 2004.

OBJECTIVE 2: To test the governance structures and financial sources of CBOs

2.1	HOW IS YOUR ORGANIZA-TION STRUCTURED, MANAGED AND FINANCED?	One CBO has a Board of Directors, Executive Director, Financial Director, Project Facilitators and Administration staff. The other organizations have this type of structure: Chairperson, Treasurer, Secretary (with their Assistants) and Project Facilitators.
2.2	HOW MANY PEOPLE DOES YOUR ORGANIZATION EMPLOY?	These organizations employ not more than twenty permanent staff. Other participants are those who come on voluntary bases for training or helping organizations.

	HOW ARE YOUR PROJECTS FUNDED?	PLANACT showed that it has donors from abroad and local. Two others initially funded by local government but now they struggle. The last two depends on members.
2.3	DO YOU (OR DOES YOUR ORGANIZATION) RELY ON VOLUNTEERS TO IMPLEMENT PROJECTS?	Most of CBOs rely on volunteers who come for training and then stay until they can create their own employment opportunities. More people approach these organizations but they are unable to take a large number of them

OBJECTIVE 3: To test the opportunities and challenges found in these CBOs.

3.1	WHAT ARE SOME OF THE CHALLENGES THAT YOUR ORGANIZATION FACES?	Four organizations are struggling to raise funds for the community projects. This led to lack of resources to be used in executing the present initiatives of these organizations. Members are also struggling due to lack of capacity to implement demanding projects.
3.2	IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT SHOULD BE DONE TO IMPROVE VOSLOORUS?	Respondents showed that their organizations need a sound financial budget so that they can improve Vosloorus. Projects need more capacity than the existing one in these organizations so that the area can improve from the present situation.
3.3	WHAT DO YOU THINK SHOULD BE DONE TO IMPROVE CBOs?	All respondents argue that CBOs should have a good budget and capacity to improve the community. It was affirmed that capacity within these CBOs is also lacking which contribute to the failure of even small projects that have been started.
3.4	WHAT FUTURE PLANS DO YOU HAVE?	A Community-Organizations Centre is planed by these organizations so that they can be able to operate effectively in their own territory. More initiatives are planned at the moment as CBOs are trying to raise funds that will make it easier to help

		the community.

OBJECTIVE 4: To determine whether these initiatives lead to community development.

4.1	DO YOU COLLABORATE WITH LOCAL GOVERNMENT?	One organization agreed that it does collaborate with local government in all its initiatives. Others complained that their collaboration is only through meetings with officials.
4.2	IF SO, WHO AT LOCAL GOVERNMENT DO YOU COLLABORATE WITH?	Collaboration is with local councilors who take community grievances to the Metropolitan Council so that the municipality should address the problem/s. As shown above, most meetings with these officials bears no fruits.
4.3	WOULD YOU LIKE TO COLLABORATE WITH OTHER CBOs?	Community organizations are willing to collaborate in Vosloorus, especially on financial and human resource matters to strengthen their organizations. Collaboration of CBOs was also suspected to create problems of different initiatives pursued by these organizations as well as the problem of leadership.

4.4	WHAT RESOURCES HAVE YOU MOBILIZED TO IMPLEMENT YOUR PROJECTS?	Only one organization is resourceful. The other four organizations showed that they are still struggling to mobilize useful resources like funds, property and capacity for projects.
4.5	HOW MANY PROJECTS HAVE YOU IMPLEMENTED?	The oldest organization has implemented two projects per year since 2004. Other organizations implemented only one project per year.
4.6	HOW MANY PEOPLE HAVE BENEFITED FROM THIS ORGANI-ZATION?	Not too many people have benefited from these organizations in the area since many projects kicked-off in 2004. The largest number of people trained per year by one organization is 200 and has built 964 houses, the other CBO trained 30 yearly. Members

		have benefited through income made by these organizations.
4.7	HOW HAVE PEOPLE BENEFITTED?	Community members benefited through skills in building, sewing and business management offered by these organizations. Those who qualified in building were in return hired by the local RDP project.
4.8	RATE YOUR SUCCESS OUT OF TEN.	Success was rated very low whereby only one organization rated itself 6 out of 10. The other organizations rated themselves between 3 and 4.
4.9	DO YOU THINK COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IS FEASIBLE OR IDEALISTIC.	It is agreed that community development is feasible and only needs to be supported and advanced. Idealism is seen to be a reality in the present situation where planning does not match capacity and resources.

CHAPTER FOUR: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This discussion intends to analyze the outcomes of the study regarding the objectives followed which will lead to the answer of the research question. In these findings my analysis will be based on arguments in literature review, focusing on the objectives, the management, the challenges or opportunities of the CBs and finally look at whether these initiatives lead to community development.

4.4.1 FINDINGS

The aim of Community-Based Organization in Vosloorus is similar to those of the CDCs found in the USA because they attempt to improve the lives of the people through assisting them in the development of skills and in entrepreneurship. Now we will focus on the analysis of the objectives from the previous chapter which will finally lead us to the answer of the research question in Chapter Five.

OBJECTIVE 1.

"To test the aims and objectives of the CBOs in Vosloorus"

The interviewed CBOs did not doubt their aims of poverty alleviation although there are still many problems. Local economic development is the objective found in the Eyethu Community Project, the Rethabile Agricultural Cooperation, the Masivusane Community Builder and the Vosloorus Development Forum, while PLANACT mostly develop housing construction skills to create employment in this industry. The task of local economic development seems to be beyond the power of community organizations interviewed because of what they revealed in Objective 3 of the study. Gilchrist (2003) and Anglin (2004) also support this, because resolutions of neoliberal restructuring will not come through CBOs. Even if these CBOs know the concept of poverty as it is mostly manifested in high

unemployment with the majority of residents remaining idle, smaller impact cannot easily change the conditions of poverty. Although the LED concept is understood, it shows that these CBOs do not understand the principles of community development, for instance, implementing holistic and balanced development as Ife (2002) argued. The studied CBOs are smaller and focusing on one initiative for a long time and in that way, they cannot provide holistic and balanced development if they are pursing single sectoral projects (Ife, 2002; Davids, *et al,* 2005).

The experience of successful CBOs show that a development organization should have a good history of dealing with community development issues in order to predict difficulties and propose alternatives to its strategy. This can save the organization's limited resources that may be used in an unintended way. The first challenge of the CBOs that focus on poverty alleviation is to develop an infrastructure for economic development, for example, work space and facilities for the community to commence their activities. This cannot be done by CBOs alone without the collaboration of government and even the private sector, which I will discuss in Objective 4 in this chapter. Such infrastructure and facilities have not been developed satisfactorily in the township, so those who have ideas of business have not yet conducted their businesses satisfactorily to alleviate unemployment. The Vosloorus' CBOs have less than a decade in their community development initiatives and are being inhibited by their resource management capacities, which I will discuss in Objectives 2 and 3.

Furthermore, the study found that poverty alleviation initiatives that have already started are not yet meaningful Rogerson (1994). Entrepreneurialism in Vosloorus has not yet created local capital accumulation that foster local opportunities (see *ibid*.: 1994). These organizations are mostly survivalist. The greatest difficulty faced by the CBOs is the inability to create social capital, for instance, a credit union that would support their initiatives. The impoverished township of Vosloorus cannot easily create social capital because there are no means within the township to support such strategy. So poverty alleviation measures are not

easy if there is no social capital in the township to help CBOs to improve the lives of impoverished people.

PLANACT is an exception because it mostly focuses on skills development in building or housing development, so it does not exactly dealing with the antipoverty strategy as Lehman (1994) pointed out. So, antipoverty strategies are often neglected by even successful CBOs like PLANACT because it is very challenging. The other four CBOs (the Eyethu Community Project, the Rethabile Agricultural Cooperation, the Masivusane Community Builder and the Vosloorus Development Forum) took economic development as their objective but this still poses many questions of success.) Job creation initiatives like those of Vosloorus' CBOs do not guarantee poverty alleviation if they create low-skilled jobs that fail to provide a subsistence wage (Sinclair 1986). Experience shows that low incomes often fail to improve people's living conditions, especially in the country where economy is spoiled by inflation. So, if poverty alleviation is to come through local initiatives, such initiatives should provide sufficient wages for the community's basic needs. Among other things, the projects of poverty alleviation should have increased the demand for labour through growth of the sustainable informal sector, which has not happened in Vosloorus. Sustainability would be achieved through increasing the productivity of the informal sector. These projects are supposed to create *quality* jobs to improve the standard of living and change the current socio-economic background. The four aforementioned organizations could not convince this study that their poverty alleviation initiatives will improve the living standard of the community.

The study also found that most poverty alleviation initiatives are the local government's design, although they are not at the moment, implemented by its initiator. It is true that most projects undertaken by CBOs have originated from the public sector (see Davids, *et al,* 2005). These initiatives are government's vision to eradicate poverty but because of the capacity and resources required to implement such initiatives from local government to the community may be challenging, CBOs came in as the organizations that are able to deal with their

own communities, which is now very problematic. As these projects are taken up by the local CBOs, the major blow came with their non-collaboration with local government (see Objective 4 below).

It is true that poverty alleviation initiatives in a community such as that of Vosloorus is a burden for smaller organizations because they have few resources, as the study found, to deal with such a huge challenge of improving community life.) The success of the CBO depends on the reaching as many people as with services or programmes (see Myers (1992). It is difficult for the interviewed CBOs to reach all the people of Vosloorus because of limited resources and capacities. Now we proceed to the management and financial sources of these organizations.

OBJECTIVE 2.

"To test the management and financial sources of the CBOs"

Community development process is a complex issue demanding skilful and capacitated organizations that will stand the difficulties. Volsoorus CBOs reflected the management structures that are conventional, like Board of Directors, a Chairperson, Treasurer, Project Facilitators and other administration staff. In all interviews and observations undertaken in this study, the CBO named PLANACT was an interesting example of a CBO in Vosloorus. It showed that it has a well planned management structure, owing to its experience in the province of Gauteng in dealing with community issues.

Those interviewed showed that they have no professional people in their organizations, except for PLANACT. It is essential that a CBO includes specialists in its board so that they can help with new ideas learned from other organizations or business sector. This might also support the ability of the organization in attracting external assistance. It has been established in this study that this is one of the drawbacks of CBOs that emerges from the poor community because they cannot attract skills outside their areas. The most

difficult faced by these CBOs is their lack of applying new technologies in the development initiatives, as they lack basic resources such as computers or sometimes petty-cash. The Rethabile Agricultural Cooperative is an example here, because it is facing challenges of applying new technologies in its agricultural initiatives. Furthermore, this will be exacerbated by its dependence on external funding to buy resources that are very useful in the everyday life of this organization.

The presence of a good management structure does not guarantee the organization's success, if there are no internal resources. All the five organizations agreed that scarcity of funds place huge problems on community development projects as they are still not happy with what they have achieved at the moment. Lack of resources is one of the main causes of failure to attract people with the know-how to assist with capacity in these four organizations so that they can do like PLANACT. A debilitating effect of the four organizations is being unlucky to be assisted by funding agencies like the CDCs and the Thailand federations. The following paragraphs will discuss an in-depth capacity problems found in these organizations.

4.4.2 RESOURCE MANAGEMENT CAPACITY

In all five organizations, PLANACT showed that it has resources and a capacity to manage them, as it has donors from local and abroad that have strong beliefs in its initiatives. Such sources of funding support to a CBO can mean that an organization does have the capacity to implement community development initiatives according to its business plan. This CBO has competence in writing successful business plans that might convince donors. Such a competence in the organization does also mean that it has leadership skills to mobilize resources and is able to manage its affairs.

The other four organizations still lack resource management capacities although the Rethabile Agricultural Cooperative has recently successfully secured

R753-000 from the National Development Agency (NDA) subject to the ownership of land or leasehold agreement. The inability of other CBOs to secure funds from the agencies shows the weakness in governance frameworks, so such organizations cannot explicitly show their resource management capacity could also not manage their initiatives. Howevr, the other CBOs can also do the same as long as they improve their management capacities or skills. The Eyethu Community Project, the Masivusane Community Builder and Vosloorus Development Forum could not convince donors during this study, owing to their incompetences of writing persuasive business plans to convince donors about their resource management. Until now, they still rely on their own resources that are so limited to create opportunities of poverty alleviation. The CBOs showed that they lack pro-active people to lobby financial principals with their outstanding skills of community development and change the Vosloorus' conditions of under-development.

If an organization always engages itself in training processes this could also avoid succession problems identified in the literature review. If there is only one person in these organization possessing the Zdenek and Steinbach (2004) skills, should that person leave, these organizations are doomed to fail in their initiatives because community development is an ongoing process (Abu-Lughod 1994; Kearns and Parkinson 2001; Wacquant 1997). This will be further discussed under organizational capacity problems in the next page. Some of these organizations confessed that they have lost other members because of a growing apathy within their organizations, which would be a major problem if those people were the initiators of the projects. This showed that there is no plan to deal with emergences within the four organizations. The formal managerial approach in some Vosloorus' CBOs is poor because they are not financially assisted by donors (as Avina, 2002 argued). In Vosloorus, the CBOs are not obliged, in a strict sense, to practice a formal governance approaches.

Unlike the U.S. CDCs who enjoys public sector grants to further their objectives, the Vosloorus ones have limited access to those grants. The Thailand CBOs

succeed because of their public sector grants given to their federations. Some of the volunteers in the township are said to be disgruntled by a lack of clear development vision from these CBOs although there is still lot more of them who want to join. It cannot be ease for these CBOs to tackle community problems if they do not have property, like offices where they are accessed without difficulties. The unavailability of property may not give a good picture to a volunteer if the organization has no place to operate efficiently.

Since there are no prospects of attracting capacity from outside, CBOs argued that they rely on these volunteers to implement their projects. Basically, CBOs have volunteers as pointed out by Swilling (2002) and through these volunteers, they save a lot of money that could be paid to salaried staff. These people are an asset to the community organization because they themselves are the community members. The presence of volunteers without skills cannot contribute something to the organization because they sometimes need someone to guide them all the way. These organizations would do much better if they were joined by volunteers from local political circles because they have an influence on community issues. The major achievement of the Vosloorus organizations is that they are able to mobilize the poor in their initiatives, by employing volunteers who come in numbers.

4.4.3 ORGANIZATIONAL CAPACITY

There is limited organizational capacity in the four CBOs as they are unable to formulate strategies of dealing with sophisticated governance decisions to keep these organizations going. Governance in the Eyethu Community Project, the Masivusane Community Bulder and the Vosloorus Development Forum is still weak compared to that of PLANACT. The Rethabile Agricultural Cooperative was found to be establishing and nurturing itself in this regard. It has a Board that has a vision for community development although its strategies cannot easily be evaluated at the moment. The strength of its board will depend on the leadership abilities as it progresses.

During interview discussions all four organizations (except PLANACT) could not show that they have succession plans but, they assume that someone within the organization can take over if the member resigns. It is not considered what the skills of that persons are if there will be an automatic replacement after resignation. In an organization such as the Eyethu Community Project, it is indirectly governed by the lady who started the whole project and should the lady resigns, someone with such leadership capacity should take over or it will be the end of the project. This shows that leadership in some organizations is not clearly delegated to deal with emergency situations. If a successor has no hands-on approach of dealing with organizational issues it could also be difficult to complete their existing projects.

As these CBOs (the Eyethu Community Project, the Rethabile Agricultural Cooperative, the Masivusane Community Builder and the Vosloorus Development Forum) are very small, they could not recruit professional staff that can strengthen their organizational capacities because of the perception of stress and their limited career opportunities. There is no career advancement identified by these CBOs because they do not have their own resources to support that strategy.

Furthermore, the study found that these CBOs do not undergo the required ongoing staff development for capacity building as Rodriguez and Herzog (2004) proposed. This has caused limited advancement in knowledge of dealing with issues such as financial management and community development as these CBOs are not occasionally updated with recent developments. CBOs can be able to deal with the ever complex challenges of running a non-profit organization. Overall, PLANACT has showed organizational capacity.

The Eyethu Community Project, the Masivusane Community Builder and the Vosloorus Development Forum were found to have limited technical skills as they could not convince agencies with their initiatives outcomes, although even with the Rethabile Agricultural Cooperative no resource like computer was found in

their office. The Rethabile Agricultural Cooperative has been able to convince its donor although it has no resources.

4.4.4 PROGRAMATIC CAPACITY

To provide for the needs of the Vosloorus residents is not easy for the Eyethu Community Project, the Masivusane Community Builder and the Vosloorus Development Forum since their initiatives depended on financial resources. Even though they have good programmes of economic development and poverty alleviation, they still lack in-house skills and expertise as they also argued that even government has not provided them with practical ways of implementing LED initiatives.

These organizations still lack useful resources such as computers and transport which can be used for information and liaising with the community. Such under-resourced organizations can always face problems if there are emergences to be dealt with, because they have to go to other places to type information or hire public transport. Now let's review the general challenges of the Vosloorus CBOs as they will help suggesting recommendations.

OBJECTIVE 3.

"To test the opportunities and challenges found in community initiatives"

The challenges revolving around Vosloorus CBOs are mostly those mentioned above in Objective 2. In generally, all five organizations have the problem of capacity when compared with the needs of the residents such as employment and housing. These are the urgent needs and residents cannot wait for even a promise of eight years that such needs will be satisfied. So it becomes a challenge if resource capacities are limited to further objectives. The Eyethu Community Project, the Rethabile Agricultural Cooperative and the Masivusane Community Builder left me with the impression that, although what they are doing

is not so easy because of limited resources, they are enjoying what they are doing.

The main difficult with the Eyethu Community Project, the Masivusane Community Builder and the VDF is that they depend externally to funding agencies as it happened at the beginning of their initiatives. As the initial funding has stopped, it is problematic to continue with their objectives in their planned ways. Their initiatives are also not possible without the involvement of government as they naturally need collaborative support.

If support from the local government is still lacking, infrastructural development and facilities for the whole community to undertake their community development activities cannot come easily with the CBOs. It is still difficult for these CBOs to construct their own Community-Based Organizations' Centre in Vosloorus where they can plan and be assisted by intermediaries.

It should also be argued that lack of funds is not the only problem of the success of development initiatives because those funds will also need capacitated people. Literature review showed that there is more to capacity building than is thought by the Vosloorus CBOs. The absence of intermediary organizations in Vosloorus to assist CBOs in furthering community development has been a major blow in the development process of that community. The CBOs may continue to be fail to attract external funding because of their inability and lack of experience in convincing funding agencies with their business plans. The successful U.S. CBOs have worked with intermediaries that assisted them to do what they do best and to hook up with major sponsors of their initiatives, like paying rents and buying their own building where they can execute their initiatives.

Interviewed CBOs showed that they have had minimal exposure to potential funders as this is taking place through local newspaper which cannot reach or be read by business people. Although this is happening in local newspaper, it comes with little impact to those who read it because potential funders are not constantly

persuaded to assist in development. The presence of intermediary organizations can be helpful in providing technical requirements of the donor organizations when CBOs try to lobby external assistance. We now proceed to examine the possibility of community development by these initiatives in Objective 4.

OBJECTIVE 4.

"To determine whether these initiatives lead to community development"

4.4.5 POLITICAL CAPACITY

The limited collaboration of Vosloorus CBOs with their local government is a major blow that handicaps community development. All interviewed CBOs showed that they do not have enough community development funds when compared to the needs that should be satisfied. The political capacity of these organizations is only manifested in social mobilization through public meetings to address residents concerns. It has been argued that some of the initiatives need collaboration with a stakeholder such as the government because of its resources. If a community organization will have to deal with poverty alleviation measures such as local economic development or social issues such as housing, it should have a good support from the government because there are few resources in the township to deal with such huge tasks. If the Vosloorus CBOs will be unable to establish linkages with influencial forces in the political, public (and even the private sector) as pointed out by Davids (2005), they will not further their objectives as there is no single institution that is capable of dealing with communities problems on its own.

Some of the locally-based initiatives such as LED need a collaboration and complementary support from the public sector as shown in the literature, but it seems these CBOs are taking these challenges on their own. Economic development initiatives alone can require thousands of Rands to implement infrastructure, such as the improvement of business areas. Those organizations engaged with these initiatives are required to train and develop community members given that there is a development infrastructure. The Eyethu

Community Project is an example of an organization that showed that its projects are less difficult because a trained volunteer can start a business on her own if she can organize equipment after training. But this depends on whether the trained person can get finance to start up a business. The Eyethu Community Project still need funds so that it can even establish itself beyond Vosloorus to increase its employment opportunities. If the project is still catering for such a few number of people in Vosloorus, it cannot be said that it will change the socio-economic conditions.

A financial capital in Thailand came from the government's project of developing the CBOs' credit unions in community development. Government is the possible institution that can assist the community development projects because these projects are undertaken in an effort to relieve government of too much burden and develop the poor. A community development organization may be a source of living for its members in a developing world because these members devote much of their daily life within the organization. Collaboration with government is not an all problem solution, but the CBOs need to combine their energies to tackle development challenges as argued below.

4.4.6 NETWORKING CAPACITY

Local government should not be totally blamed in the failure of community initiatives in Vosloorus because even the CBOs are not networking. If community organizations were combining their efforts in dealing with poverty, they would have shared their capacities and resources. Each CBO pursues its own initiative without knowing what others are doing. As also Healey (1997) showed in her collaborative planning theory that development initiatives need partnerships to combine their decisions and energies in tackling vicious conditions of the poor. So these CBOs should come together and share their vision of development if they are to assist the state in dealing with the conditions of the past in the township of Vosloorus.

Networking would have increased the effective use of those few available resources within these CBOs because every initiative would be agreed upon by combined organizations, than being a single organization to take decisions on community initiatives. The Thailand federations and the CDCs have networked to share problems and formulate strategies of tackling them. In Vosloorus a shared vision of development among the community and the CBOs didn't take place to tackle underdevelopment. The working together of community organizations can save a lot of resources that could be wasted if there is no shared decision-making. This could have increased the competitive advantage of the community in labour-intensive initiatives such as in agriculture and in building community houses. Agricultural initiatives are being promoted in the urban areas where it is seen that they can reduce food shortages. The Rethabile initiative is not the only one in Vosloorus, although there are many individuals who are ploughing small pieces of land in the periphery of the township to plant vegetables. This shows an increase in unemployment and the need to increase organizational resources in the township.

In South Africa there is a National Development Agency meant to assist CBOs but it is still not clear how many of CBOs in Vosloorus have benefited from its funds. These CBOs are not supposed to completely rely on government alone but the private sector should also lend its hand. Swilling (2002) showed that government grants in South Africa are the most contributions in the non-profit sector. If the private sector is still contributing very little in the development programmes, it will be difficult to achieve community goals of development since this sector is the one that has funds from its profits. If government is unable to lobby the private sector to assist community organizations of Vosloorus, their development initiatives will continue to have snags which are discouraging CBOs and the community.

The private sector that is operating within Vosloorus has not clearly contributed in the development projects. In the North American context, the private sector did

play a role in uplifting the poor by channeling funds to community projects. Vosloorus can be improved by the channeling of funds from outside, because internal funds are not sufficient if they are available. This is in contrast to what has been said by Sengenberger (1993) that local development should not wait for or try to attract outside capital. It is impossible to initiate local development if the township does not have its own social capital to rely on, which has been worsened by the legacy of apartheid in South Africa. Townships lack infrastructures and employment environment. An example is the developed countries that have invested in their human resources (entrepreneurs) and infrastructure (roads and houses). In the case of South Africa, where most people are looking for better jobs to secure their future, a community organization, like a business organization, should have resources to undertake its initiatives and maintain its staff.

The study found that many small businesses have closed down in Vosloorus due to lack of skills to run these businesses by residents. There is a demand for financial management and business development skills to retain the existing or starting new business if the township will be self-reliant. A majority of the community members running their own businesses in an effort to eradicate poverty and exploit opportunities has not been taught the above skills because of the number of CBOs and their capacities to do this.

4.5 CONCLUSION

The objective of community development through smaller CBOs that are found in Vosloorus is not an easy task, due to resources, organizational , programmatic, political and networking capacities available within them. The majority of CBOs still need people with skills to manage and deal with strategic issues of running an organization, for instance, leadership and fundraising skills are the most wanted in this analysis.

Apart from the capacities, the township is not yet developed with infrastructure to make economic development an antipoverty strategy. In the next chapter the

answer to the research question will be given with recommendations on the issues that need to be addressed if community development is to take place in Vosloorus.

TABLE 4.1: ANALYSIS OF THE 5 CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK.

Key: 0 Not Achieved 1 Partially Achieved 2 Fully Achieved NA Not Applicable.

		PLANACT	Eyethu Commu-nity Project	Rethabile Agricultural Cooperati-ve	Masivusa-ne Communi-ty Builder	Vosloorus Development Forum
Resource Capacity	seeking external funding	2	0	2	0	0
	generating in-house funding	2	1	1	1	1
	writing successful funding proposals	2	0	2	0	0
	Human resource development	2	2	1	1	1
Organiza--tional Capacity	Governance	2	1	2	1	1
	Leadership	2	1	2	1	1
	Recruit-Ment	2	0	0	0	0
	Staff Development	2	0	0	0	0
	Technical skills	2	0	2	0	0
Programma--tic Capacity	In-house skills	2	1	1	1	1
Political Capacity	Political support	0	0	0	0	0
Networking Capacity	Partner-ships	0	0	0	0	0
Economic development	Entrepreneurial development	NA	0	0	0	0
Poverty alleviation	----------	NA	0	0	0	0
TOTAL		**20**	**6**	**13**	**5**	**5**

It is clear from this table that PLANACT is a very successful CBO and the Rethabile Agricultural Cooperative is very much promising in its initiatives compared with the other three. The Eyethu Community Project, the Masivusane Community Builder and the Vosloorus Development Forum have not mobilized resources as Glickman and Servon (2003) suggested and are unable to secure government funding. A CBO that wholly depends on external sources and without self-reliance may not be able to alleviate poverty or improve the living conditions if it is not well connected to other prominent organizations or people as mentioned before. At the moment it is obvious from this study that due to the available resources within these organizations and their use, they are unable to implement community development. In the case of Vosloorus, a resource like finance is the most needed if someone takes into account the fact that the township has little economic base like small business and effective industries that can improve the township livelihood. Except the Rethabile Agricultural Cooperative and PLANACT, the other three CBOs still lack resource management capacities as is shown by their failure to convince funding agencies with their funding proposals and business plans.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION AND CONCLUSION

This concluding chapter is intending to answer the research question and elaborate on recommendations that may be suitable for Vosloorus' CBOs in their efforts of community development. The previous chapter argued problems that are found within the CBOs, this one will propose strategies for improving the identified problems. Firstly, the chapter will answer the main research question then followed by recommendations of capacity building, the role that should be played by intermediaries, the importance of networking among various CBOs, the strengthening of the VDF, the role of government and finally, limitations of this study and conclusion.

The answer to our research question is: The extent to which the CBOs undertook their community development initiatives in Vosloorus cannot, at the moment, assist the state in ameliorating the legacy of apartheid. This does not mean that CBOs cannot totally assist the state in future local development projects. I should also mention that this research report sympathizes with the efforts of the RDP, the CBOs and the current policy of Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment in South Africa.

5.5.1 RECOMMENDATIONS

The literature review showed different arguments of successful and unsuccessful CBOs in dealing with community development via examples from the U.S. and Thailand. The challenging issue of Vosloorus' CBOs is that they are trying to create employment opportunities for a large and impoverished community. Community-Based Organizations cannot do this on their own, rather they need collaboration/partnerships, networks and empowerment to improve their initiatives. Such collaboration processes can strengthen the capacity and implementation of initiatives that cannot be undertaken by a single CBO where poverty and underdevelopment require many interventions.

In order to make community development possible, collaboration with government need to be stressed here. Linkages with government could bring consensus to planning issues in the township, as Healey (1997) advocated, as such, local economic development is possible (Blakely, *et al,* 2002). The advantage of collaboration will be building new ways of thinking and taking community development initiatives (Healey, 1997).

In the new South Africa, a lesson can be learned from the developing country CBOs like those of Thailand. Furthermore, even without government they showed that they can work together and government can only assist them with resources. Due to the smaller sizes of the CBOs, it may be difficult to undertake all the functions of community development as literature commented. Alliances will help in combining development funds and resources as is done by trade unions with such alliances. It should be noted that more partners do not guarantee success as is said by Glickman and Servon (2003) but their combination might give strength and develop community-managed savings. It is also important to build capacity within CBOs.

Vosloorus' CBOs have not dealt effectively with their long-term goals of community development, owing to their lack of capacities in resource management, organizational, programmatic, political and networking capacities. These are the most critical areas that should be dealt with to improve performance standards. Capacity-building needs to be undertaken before any resources may be channeled to the township CBOs to avoid unintended use of resources like finance that might be mistakenly directed to unrealistic initiatives. Local government should enhance this capacity-building through assisting intermediaries with resources or incentives to develop skills in resource management, organizational management, programme management and networking capacities. If these can be developed within the CBOs it will help to secure funding from outside through professional business plans that may show in-house skills and knowledge possessed by community organizations. Political capacity should be facilitated by local government itself because of its resources,

strategies and policies of dealing with community issues at local level. Vosloorus needs to be supported with these capacities to ameliorate the legacy of apartheid, and without this, community development might not be possible for many township residents.

It should be taken into account that township CBOs have not yet completely transformed to the ones that should promote conventional issues of community development because they have not been adequately trained in the above. Intermediaries in South Africa need to develop township CBOs to 'do better what they do' in community development. They need to provide a developmental approach as said by Sinclair (1986) to funding agencies than providing an *ad hoc* assistance. This can take place through performance evaluation or everyday engagement with the community development activities until the CBOs muster development strategies.

There is also a need to build strong linkages between Vosloorus' CBOs. The struggle against apartheid was won because of such linkages among civil society organizations as mentioned in chapter one, organizations that had one goal of building the new South Africa. In the post-apartheid South Africa, CBOs underwent many structural changes and these changes have resulted in isolated operation without the assistance of professional intermediary organizations. IDASA is an intermediary organization that has been operating in South Africa since the 1980s and is well vested with the community and development problems of this country. Intermediary organizations like these need to play a crucial role in townships like Vosloorus to build administrative and organizational capacities within local CBOs. They need to assist Vosloorus' CBOs with the improvement in staff development, for example, board development, strategic planning, financial management and with an on-going evaluation in performance as this has been done in the US CDCs. This could improve CBOs in strategies of lobbying funding or publicize their community development efforts to remote funding agencies that are not accessible by these organizations.

In Vosloorus township it is a good strategy to promote a Vosloorus Development Forum (VDF) as a voice of its residents, although its achievements have been limited and it is not clear who it represents in reality. The advantage of a community forum is that it is able to mobilize a large number of residents. Such a Forum could maintain broad community involvement and support of a shared vision. It is unlike a single CBO that focuses on a particular area of the township until it complete its project. A forum like this needs to be strengthened and advanced so that it can empower other CBOs in the township. The VDF could also act as an intermediary organization. The forum should take an active role in facilitating other CBOs in issues of economic development and employment creation for township residents. On the other hand, residents must have an impetus to drive their initiatives to success by being committed through providing their energies in a day-to-day development until they reach their goals. It is the VDF that can foster the development of partnerships and collaboration among various public and private sector forces to provide entrepreneurs with advanced resources that will lead to business development and retention. The above should be complemented by networking as is shown below.

The US and Thailand are the examples that should be learned by Vosloorus' CBOs on how they networked to tackle development problems. Thailand is also a developing country like South Africa but a recent network of community organizations is plausible due to its success in saving and managing development funds. The success of the Thai CBOs was due to their networks and collaboration with government. In Vosloorus, building networking capacity is a valuable to strengthen organizations that may feel too weak to undertake projects on their own. Likewise, a LED initiative cannot be tackled by one organization but one organization may come with expertise while others combine their resources and other capacities to be executed. This should be done in Vosloorus as well, so that decision-making may be the result of many organizations combined, although initiatives can be undertaken based on particular skills of the organization.

The networking CBOs in Vosloorus should be able to develop outstanding performance and achieve better results than the non-partnered ones. This performance may be achieved through ' the integrating function of networks that allow self-monitoring and regulation without recourse to a central or external control mechanism'. The present difficulties happens because no individual CBO can be able to change the poverty situation in the township, but through networking many other unknown organization may come to the fore to combine their resources or ideas with the known ones.

Some development efforts are not the only solution (like those of PLANACT), but part of the total strategy since as community development should be holistic and be balanced. There is no single strategy that can improve the conditions of the residents of Vosloorus as our literature has shown. The underdevelopment of Vosloorus also calls for the housing interventions as part of the total strategy of redressing the legacy of apartheid. The presence of shelter for the homeless people is also supplemented by the improvement of economic conditions as we will see in the next paragraph what CBOs should do to assist the state in local economic development initiatives.

Apart from these, in Vosloorus the other major problem was the lack of social capital that could be relied on in the absence of external funding. I therefore recommend that local CBOs should start their initiatives by first launching their own social capital. Social capital management by different CBOs can be able to instill responsibility of managing resources within those smaller organizations that cannot attract people with an in-depth knowledge of organizational management. This may reduce external dependency and improve their ways of managing social development through employing their own funds. External funding is also important because it promotes accountability of what have been received when the organization is required to furnish its statements.

Above all, they need technical assistance even from other organizations, such as the interventions of the private sector and the government to deal with LED

challenges. Local government has to develop practical small business development initiatives by offering small-business entrepreneurs financial and technical assistance to help grow their business than staying small or perish. Business development requires technical assistance to advance business needs. Technical assistance should include best business practices, management skills and financial responsibilities which can devise strategies to develop the:

- Business Incubators
- Financing
- Technical Assistance
- Industry Specific Training (www.co.honolulu.hi.us)

In addition to government's assistance in the LED programmes, CBOs initiatives should attract the private sector investments through improving the business environment of the township by showing bets management capacities. It is true that without the private sector, which works for profit and can support community initiatives, CBOs and government may not be able to support community development on their own. Such an involvement of the private sector may support residents of Vosloorus to connect to jobs and other opportunities that may be created by it.

Training in the small business need to be specific to certain products because mostly it fails in the township, since small businesses are given general training for business which may not be specific to what they are doing. This has been the major drawback of the training programmes offered in the townships without looking at particular issues of the place.

Finally, if community development will be achieved by the CBOs in generally, they should direct their efforts to forms of development which are small-scale and holistic, with a motivated and dedicated staff that look for job satisfaction rather than financial rewards. This should be complemented with extensive and intimate

contacts with project beneficiaries by the organization that has a flexible and responsive management and action (Merrington, 1992).

5.5.2 LIMITATIONS

The research project had certain limitations regarding the scope of the CBOs covered. The research did not obtain a large empirical evidence and data concerning the practical implementations of community-based initiatives because of limited time given to the researcher by these CBOs. At this stage in the history of interviewed organizations and their concomitant nature of local problems, it is clearly very difficult to evaluate precisely the successes or failures of their development efforts because such evaluation should be based on their linkages with other partners in the development process. Generally, the nature of Vosloorus development need inputs that come beyond its boundaries, such as capacities and resources. Once this exist in Vosloorus, it can be easy to evaluate the performance of the CBOs taking into account the availability of such resources.

There have been numerous difficulties encountered during the literature review, and perhaps the most difficult is to define exactly the meaning of community development as it encompasses dimensions that may include spiritual development. Community development interrelates with many social issues, which at a broad scale deals with economic development which is the reason for this study to include such issue. It is assumed by this researcher that economic development is the first step to other dimensions because good economies can make good communities.

Another problem experienced with the literature study is the non existence of the local CBO that is successfully executing its objectives in local economic initiatives like undertaking job placements after its projects have been started. After all, this should not be blamed on the CBOs only but the study revealed that these

organizations cannot change the legacy of apartheid alone, and they need other partners and their inputs.

5.6 CONCLUSION.

If community development is will be possible for the CBOs in Vosloorus, they should build their capacities within themselves so that they can face the challenges of poverty alleviation. If capacity building is taken as a necessity in these organizations, more changes may happen in Vosloorus than the ones that are now being undertaken. This should be followed by a collaboration of CBOs with the state and the private sector where possible. They also need to network in order to intensify their capacities and minimize project failures.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

To test the aims and objectives of Community-Based Organizations in Vosloorus.

1. What is the main aim of your organization?
2. Why is your organization focusing on this?
3. For how long has your organization been operating in Vosloorus?

To test the governance structures and financial sources of CBOs

4. How are your projects funded?
5. What resources have you mobilized to implement your projects?
6. Do you (or does your organization) rely on volunteers?

To test the opportunities and challenges found in these CBOs.

7. What are some of the challenges your organization faces?
8. How many projects have you implemented?
9. How many people have benefited from this organization?
10. How have people benefited?

To determine whether these initiatives lead to community development.

11. Do you collaborate with local government in your initiatives?
12. If so, who at local government do you collaborate with?
13. Would you like to collaborate with other CBOs?
14. In you opinion, what should be done to improve Vosloorus?
15. Rate your success out of ten?
16. What future plans do you have?
17. What do you think should be done to improve CBOs?
18. How is your organization structured, managed and financed?\
19. How many people does your organization emply?
20. Any comment?

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