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Helping Communities to Help Themselves: The Case of Eleos.

A Research Report presented to the Department of Social Work

School of Human and Community Development

Faculty of Humanities

University of the Witwatersrand

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In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Master of Arts Degree in Social Development

By:

Lauren Stuart

February, 2013

Declaration

I hereby declare that this research report is my own unaided work, and that I have given full acknowledgments to the sources I have used.

.....

Lauren Stuart

February 2013

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This study would not have been possible without the support of several individuals.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Brief Overview of the Study

The primary aim of this study is to explore the ethos of Eleos a Developmental Non Profit Organisation (NPO), in itsinterventions to address poverty in underprivileged communities. This study will also investigate the rationale behind Eleos's decision to provide social services to specific underprivileged communities. Such communities are unique as they areethnically and racially diverse, and according toClynick and Peterson (1993) as cited in Matjeke (2001, p.86) "poverty itself is a phenomenon that cuts across racial lines". These assertions reflect an almost unclear or contradictory view found in current literature and this study, using Eleos as a case study, will also attempt to shed light on this apparentdichotomy. Therefore, chapter one will introduce the statement of problem and rationale for the study, the purpose of the study, the research methodology,the significance of the study and lastlya definition of concepts will be provided.

1.2 Statement of Problem and Rationale for the Study

Current literature asserts that recipients of social services in South Africa are characterised by their history, race and ethnicity (Pharoah, 2008; Scheurmans and Visser, 2005; Matjeke, 2001). Several reasons have been put forward to explain this. The most obvious being that social welfare throughout the most part of the twentieth century was based upon racial lines. However, according to Pharoah(2008) this has changed post 1994, with equal access to social services becoming an entrenched right enshrined in the South African constitution. This has lead to the equal distribution of social welfare in South Africa. This has been an element of change that has manifested it self in all level of society, albeit in slightly different ways. According to Seekings (2006) the removal of racial constraints has lead to the continuing upward mobility of the Black population, in terms of income as well as occupation, such that class differences within the Black population are becoming more

important as inter-racial differences decline. By virtue of this argument, this decline in inter-racial difference could arguably be prevalent in poor communities as well. According to Pharoah(2008,p.24) “many poor white communities are becoming more racially integrated” however, areas such as the Free State and Tshwane see lower levels of racial integration. Scheurmans and Visser(2005,p.286) also argue that “ in Bloemfontein it is poorer whites that live closest in proximity to blacks with some of the opinion that race is no longer important and that a white would help a black if possible and vice-versa”.Poor white communities are also characterised as having less access to and knowledge of government funded programmes as well as less likely to utilise welfare grants, while there lingers a pervasive perception that such communities are simply not prioritised by the current administration(Pharoah,2008).

This study was an attempt to either confirm or challengesuch assertions, based on the experiences and strategies implemented by Eleos, a unique organisation that is entrenched in communities that are diverse. Using Eleos as a case study, this research sought to explore the challenges faced by an organisation attempting to implement social development strategies in areas that have been historically poor white areas. Eleos has been in operation for fourteen years and evolved from being characterised as a remedial to a developmental non- profit organisation. It is unique, in that very few organisations are providers of services to poor white communities, as well as poor black and poor immigrant communities. Furthermore, the notion that different racial groups use social services differently was explored to determine whether there are differences or whether a community in need is just that, a community in need. It was hoped that this study will shed some light on the challenges faced by Eleos in its service delivery. Furthermore, its ethos and strategies were examined, when working with diverse communities, whose needs and expectations might be different.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study wasto explore how a Non-Profit organisation, based in a historically poor white area, has adapted its service delivery strategies to this rapidly racially integrating environment. This study sought to understand if racial boundaries are imposed

at all levels of society, and how this effects the most marginalised in terms of poverty alleviation and social development.

1.4Research Methodology

A qualitative research approach which was exploratory in naturewas used for the study.The research design used was a case study design.The research instruments took the form of two different semi-structured interview schedules with open-ended questions; one for key informants and another for beneficiaries.Using semi-structured interview schedules with open –ended questions, aided in trying to explore different and /or comparative views of particular policies and procedures and implementation strategies.For the purpose of this study, the collected data wastranscribed and analysed using thematic content analysis or conceptual analysis.Triangulation of the data was attempted by the use of documents, annual reports as well as the two different interview schedules.

1.5 Significance of the Study

By using Eleos as a case study, assumptions found in current literature were re-examined, by the creation of a more accurate body of knowledge. This provided a more comprehensive assessment of the needs of diverse communities that are the beneficiaries of social services, which will hopefully influence practice by creating awareness and altering perceptions.

This study had the potential to produce socially pertinent results that could contribute to the understanding and influence of social, political and economic shifts in social service delivery, particularly in the domains of poverty alleviation and social development. This study will hopefully contribute to a change in the rationale for these types of interventions and provide a profile of intended beneficiaries of different social services, which would ultimately benefit service providers as well as beneficiaries themselves.

1.6Definition of concepts

Poverty is defined as “situations of scarcity, lack,deficiency, deprivation or want” (Louw, Nel &Shenck,2010, p.8), and characterises the situation of many individuals in the communities that Eleos targets.

Poor whites, are defined by Scheurmans (2004)as cited in Scheurmans and Visser (2005,p.259) as a“a small increasing number of whites who have become poor, marginalised and excluded from the broader post-apartheid society”.

Eleos is a non-profit organisation which means it is a “trust, company or other association established for public purpose and the income and property of which are not distributable to its members or office bearers except as reasonable compensation for services rendered” (Russell and Swilling, 1998).

And finally, the term beneficiary refers to those who benefit or receive social services from either government or a non-profit organisation. Schmid (2009,p.108) defines a ‘beneficiary’ as a “service user, where the relationship flows from the (active) service provider to the (passive) service user, and is not reciprocal”.

1.7 Organisation of the Report

Chapter One provides an introduction to an overview of this study. Chapter Two presents a review of the literature as well as the theoretical framework underpinning the study. A detailed breakdown of the research methodology can be found in Chapter Three. The results are presented and discussed in Chapter Four, with a main summary of the findings, conclusions and recommendations in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER TWO

THE LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

2.1 Introduction

Poverty is a worldwide phenomenon. South Africa has high levels of poverty. By virtue of this mass poverty, it stands to reason that there are those who do not have access to adequate basic services. According to StatsSA(Census 2011, p.42), there are currently, 5,5 million people unemployed in South Africa. According to Patel (2005) as cited in Lombard (2008, p.155), "South Africa is one of the few countries to have embraced a developmental social welfare approach", whereby a variety of developmental social welfare strategies are used by government and the Non-profit sector to alleviate, reduce, and eradicate poverty. It has been acknowledged, that developmental social welfare is facilitated not only by government but by civil society as well. Therefore, Lombard (2008) argues that thecivil andnon-profit sector plays an important role in providing not only welfare services but alsocommunity based development programmes. In this chapter, key themes like poverty, the NPO sector, its history and current state in South Africa and approaches to developmental welfare will be explored. The theoretical framework underpinning the study will also be provided.

2.2 Poverty

Conceptually, poverty has been defined in many ways and by many people.It has been described as "an interlocking and multidimensional phenomenon caused by a lack of multiple resources such as employment, food, assets, basic infrastructure, health care and literacy"(Patel, 2005, p. 240). Mubangizi (2008) in her paper "Responses to poverty in post-apartheid South Africa: some reflections", provides a cross section of views on what defines poverty. For example; the World Bank(cited in Kreitzer, Lengwe-Katembula and Mwansa, 2012) conceptualises poverty in terms of income and consumption levels whereby an individual's level of poverty is measured in the amount of income they can generate. Wuyts, Mackintosh and Hewitt (1992) cited in Mubangizi (2008, p.175) assert that "the

image of poverty is based on income indices and focuses attention on what is measurable. While this is useful, it deflects attention from less measurable but crucial aspects of poverty, such as power relations and control over resources". This view is also shared by others who assert that, "poverty is a multifaceted reality consisting inter alia, lack of power, income and resources to make choices and take advantage of opportunities" (Davids, Theron and Mapunye, 2009, p. 37).

In Africa, "poverty is the underlying cause of health issues, corruption and slow development" (Kreitzer et al, 2012, p. 397). According to the World Bank (2008)as cited in Kreitzer et al (2012), poverty is more prevalent now then it was when the majority of African countries achieved independence, and the largest portion of the African poor, reside in rural areas, with most households headed by women.

South Africa, in particular has one of the highest rates of measured inequality in the world, even though average household income has increased sharply since 2001(StatsSA, 2011)**.** In addition, Lund (2001, p.271) notes that the rate of urbanization "is just over 50 percent and millions of the country's poor live in peri-urban informal settlements where life is hazardous, services are poor and environmental controls are few. Overall, the former Bantustans, continue to experience the highest levels of poverty". Thus, poverty is an inescapable reality in South Africa, and is in stark contrast with the relatively high levels of economic development that should enable more people to live above the poverty line. According to Midgley (1997), economic development worldwide has been extremely divergent. While some countries have relative economic stability, such as countries found in the First World, others across Asia, South America and Africa experience less economic development and as a result higher levels of poverty. Africa is the least economically developed region in the world, and as Midgley states "their social conditions remain unsatisfactory" (1997, p. 65).

Mubangizi (2008) also links poverty to non-material dimensions like human rights, vulnerability, risk as well as a lack of political voice. This has led some scholars to assert that poverty is a political as opposed to an economic problem, originating from the unequal and

exclusionary processes of development that was once a characteristic of South African development.

To try and simplify matters poverty has been broken up into three key groups, 'Absolute Poverty', 'Relative Poverty' and 'Mass Poverty'. For the purpose of this study, absolute and relative poverty will be expanded upon. Visser and Scheurmans suggest that current thinking about relative poverty "expresses a need for a contextually anchored framework of analysis, demonstrating awareness of it's relative lack of comprehensiveness within the plurality of existing concepts" (2005,p.265).

According to Townsend(1993)cited in Scheurmans and Visser(2005, p. 265), poverty is defined in absolute terms as "a situation in which the total level of family earnings was insufficient to obtain the minimum necessities for the maintenance of the 'merely physical efficiency' of family members." He included food, rent and other items in his analyses. Pharoah (2008) suggests that 'using such "absolute" measures, like the number of people earning below a particular income per month or not being able to buy a particular bundle of goods, is in line with the prevailing understandings of poverty in South Africa. This is what is known as absolute poverty. However, this conceptualisation does not account for the fact that there are those who fall outside such a definition but who also live in situations of great economic need.

Relative poverty, on the other hand, has been described by Townsend (1993), cited in Scheurmans and Visser(2005, p. 266), as being viewed

> "in relation to available social and institutional structures and that people are 'relatively poor' if they are unable to attain the living condition, diets, facilities, norms as well as services to fulfil their roles,or be able to participate in relationships, and behave in the way that society expects them to. Poverty is thus defined in relative terms, with an emphasis on social inclusion, involvement and participation" (Pharoah, 2008).

For example, in the Scheurmans and Visser (2005) study, social workers tended to refrain from comparing the situation of whites with that of blacks, because of their different backgrounds. Whites are seen to be part of a social environment that demands more ofthe means of subsistence deemed necessary in order to not be viewed as poor. In this study, it

was found that social workers defined poverty in absolute termsas mainly a problem of survival in terms of basic needs and lack of food in some cases, and this was not limited to one race (Scheurmans and Visser,2005). However, interviewees indicated that poverty was a 'relative' problem in poor white circles, and that many poor whites felt deep shame at not being able to adopt the same standard of living as other present-day whites, or being able to afford the same life style that they were once accustomed to in the past (Scheurmans and Visser, 2005)**.** This alludes to an important aspect of white poverty- whichin many ways is seen in predominantly relative terms. Moreover, it is the psychological nuances of being perceived or perceiving oneself as poor whichhas played a part in defining'white poverty', irrespective of whether, poor whites in absolute terms, are as poor as poor blacks.

2.2.1 White Poverty in South Africa

The two figures below provide a context to white unemployment in present day South Africa. By comparing the 2001 Census to the 2012 Quarterly Labour Force Survey the number of unemployed whites has increased. For example in Figure 1, in 2001, 4.1% of the white population was unemployed(StatsSA,2001, p.51), while figure 2 indicates that in 2012 the figure has risen to 5.7% (Quarterly Labour Force Survey,2012,p.16), despite the fact that the white population has diminished since 2001, mainly due to immigration. Therefore, white poverty is arguably on the rise.While statistics prove helpful this obviously does not take into account of non-respondents, as well as the fact that being unemployed does not necessarily mean that one is living below the poverty line, however what these figures reveal is a fairly accurate picture of white unemployment and provide a useful starting point when trying to understand poor whites in contemporary South Africa.

Figure 1:

Distribution of Population aged 15-65 by labour market status and population group

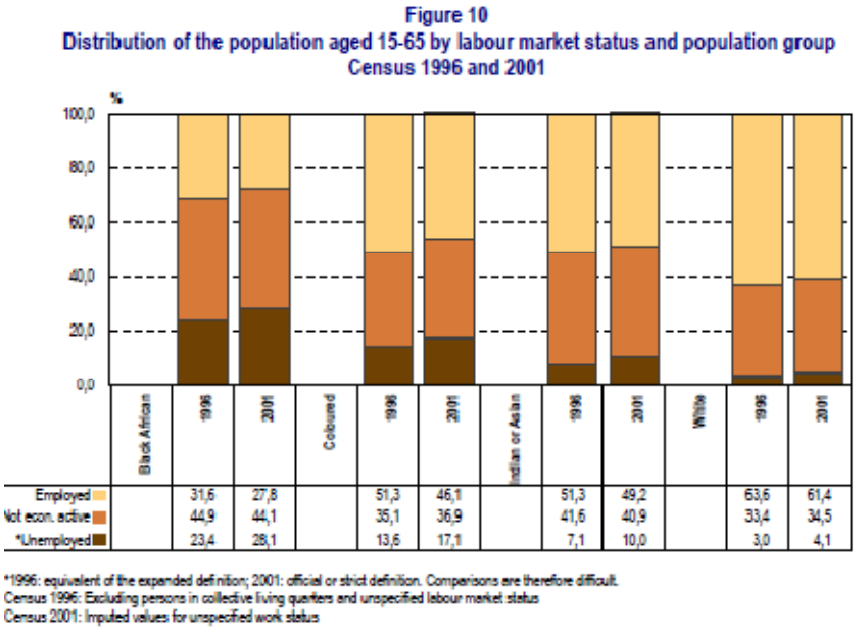
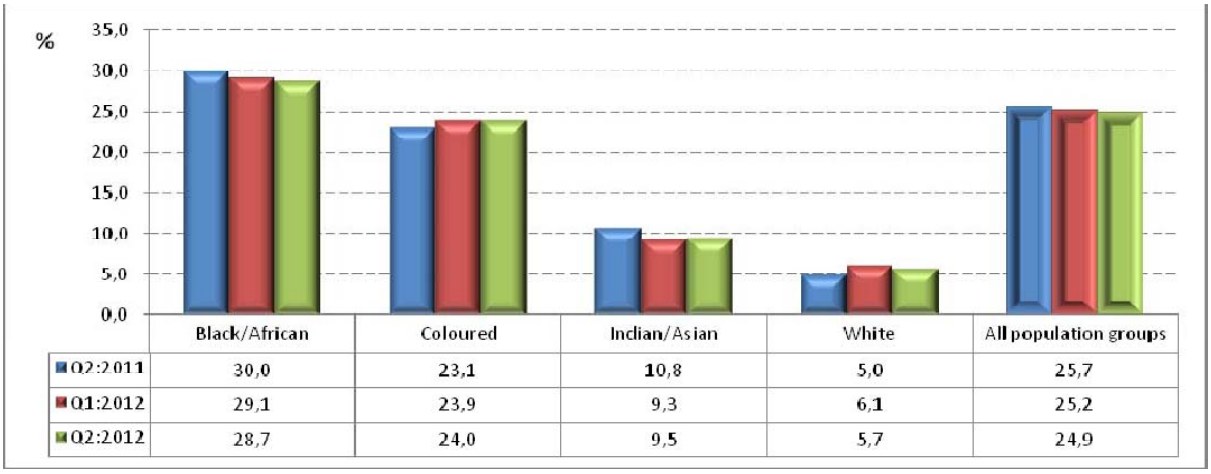


Figure 2:

Unemployment rate by population group



	Black/African	Coloured	Indian/Asian	White	All population groups
Q2:2011	30,0	23,1	10,8	5,0	25,7
Q1:2012	29,1	23,9	9,3	6,1	25,2
Q2:2012	28,7	24,0	9,5	5,7	24,9

Much has been written about the historical context that gave rise to the poor white problem. Their evolutionary patternhas been one of poverty, poverty alleviation and then a return to poverty, hand in hand with the birth and demise of Grand Apartheid. Parnell(1992) asserts that the poor white has been directly linked to the explosion of the mining sector

and the widespread urbanisation that followed. This was a trend that was characteristic ofall racial groups, where white familiesalso migrated in droves to the city and as a result of a housing shortage, inter-racial slums began to emerge (Parnell, 1992). Throughout the 1920's more and more whites, who were once farmers or 'bywoners', migrated to the cities.This urbanisation coupled with the white protectionist 'civilised labour policy' meant that "the closing years of the 1920's saw a transformation of the inner-city areas of Johannesburg, where slums could no longer beconstrued as a "native problem" (Parnell, 1992, p. 120).

The years that followed saw the implementation of the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923, which saw 30 000 African people forcibly removed. However, none of the above seemed to ensure 'white prosperity' especially in light of the Depression that hit in the early 1930's. This prompted the infamous 'Carnegie Study' which was to ascertain the 'true nature' and causative factors that gave rise to 'white poverty'. The study found thatthe poor white problem was psychological, and that eliminating 'vice' and 'ignorance' amongst the poor white communities, would uplift them(Seekings,2008). The Carnegie Commission estimated that in 1931, approximately 300 000 whites- 17% of the white population, most of whom were Afrikaans, could be considered 'very poor' (Du Plessis, 2004).Their weaknesses were characterised as "improvidence, thriftlessness, dishonesty, the lack of any sense of duty, the lack of self-respect, irresponsibility, hostility to discipline and order, ignorance and credulity, indolence, laziness, untidiness and dependence"(Seekings,2008, p.520). The last character trait of 'dependence' was attributed to the poor white's take up of the Old Age Pension, and the provision of free medical care or education was viewed as breeding dependency and therefore exacerbating the 'poor white' problem(Seekings, 2008). The importance attributed to this poor white 'problem' was not only as a result of their voting power, but also of concern about the future of the white race (Scheurmans and Visser, 2005).

This led to a range of policy responses to address white poverty. For example, non-white unskilled workers on the railways and in other fields of state employment were replaced, by poor whites (Pharoah, 2008). These interventions significantly reduced the levels of white poverty and under the Nationalist government whites could generally expect to find a secure job, own a house, and afford a fairly comfortable standard of living (Pharoah, 2008). Due to the above measure, poverty amongst whites was practically eradicated, particularly after the economic boom post World War Two in the 1960's, which saw the white

population receive 69% of the states total disposable incomeand Africans only 23% (Scheurmans and Visser, 2005). According to Du Plessis (2004), however, the government's attempts to uplift poor whites were uneven - resulting in a deep stigmatisation of those that remained poor.

According to Pharoah (2008) the 1970's saw a re-emergence of poor whites in South Africa. This was attributed to the dismantling of Grand Apartheid, which saw a change in labour policy that reduced the practice of job reservation that had typically been extended to whites. Post 1994, the change in labour policies intensified, with " the rolling back of the state and the free market reforms associated with the Growth, Employment and Redistribution program(GEAR) and affirmative action policies"(Pharoah, 2008, p. 12). Affirmative action policies were an attempt to rectify the many years of job reservation that had been in favour of whites.

Du Plessis (2004) also notes that during this period, greater pressure was placed on the government to deliver to a now much wider constituency. This resulted in many municipalities cutting back on support provided to poor people living in council housing, and in some cases municipalities have sought to sell off or at least recover their investment in council housing, putting increasing pressure on families of all racial groups who could not afford rent on even sub-economic housing.

The above changes, served to create a feeling or perception of disenfranchisement among the poor white community.

2.3 A Brief history of the Non Profit Sector in South Africa

The civil society sector in South Africa has been influenced by the corporatist tradition of the Dutch settlers that was characterised by civic involvement in the provision of public welfare services as well as the self-help spirit of the indigenous people (Russell, Salamon, Sokolowski and Swilling, 2004).They also identify three sets of social formations from the pre-twentieth century, that impacted upon the formation of the Non Profit Organisation(NPO) sector.

Firstly, before colonial occupation, there were organisations that were autonomous such as traditional healers and outcasts operating on the fringes of society. These independent groups managed to survive during different eras in social organisation, such as under Apartheid and after democratisation post-1994 (Russell and Swilling,1998).

Secondly, in the 1600's other independent groups comprising of runaways and freed slaves began to emerge. These groups established predominantly cultural and welfarist organisation in and around Cape Town, often heavily influenced by Islam. Lastly, the Dutch and the British brought with them in the 1800's a culture of religious, cultural and welfarist organisations (Russell and Swilling, 1998). This influx was due to the rapid economic growth of the 1800's which was stimulated by the booming mining industry. South Africa became a cultural melting pot that caused many cultural groups to form their own organisations, to serve their interests. For example Afrikaners launched their own associations such as the Afrikaner Bond and the Boer Farmers Protection Agency (Russell et al, 2004).

Russellet al (2004, p. 114) explain the above in terms of race and class, by asserting that "race and class divisions separated communities and diminished their ability to solve problems. Separate organisations emerged to serve narrowly defined ethnic, cultural and religious groups".The groundwork for the NPO sector was established even earlier in pre-colonial times, due to harsh environmental factors experienced by indigenous tribes such as the Khoi, San and Bantu. The San and Khoi communities were characterised by being loosely knit, highly egalitarian and nomadic. The Bantu were described as being pastoral and organised around chieftain structures. The above communities were often splitting into separate groups in response to harsh environmental factors, which could not support large populations of hunter gatherer and pastoral communities. This need to self- organise, carried through to the modern civil society sector and is exemplified in the formation of separatist churches, unions, service and civic organisations, herbalist associations and traditional tribal organisations (Russell et al,2004).

The apartheid era led to the "further polarization of civil society, through its policy of selectively withholding financial support, the government implemented a systematic separation of community welfare organisations along racial and ethnic lines" (Russell et al, 2004, p. 115). Extensive social services were provided to whites by the apartheid welfare

system and were influenced by the welfare state policies developed in commonwealth countries. At the same time welfare policy towards blacks was residual or non-existent. At the same time, with the expanded state welfare for white communities, voluntary organisations came about whose mandate it was to address “the poor white problem”. Philanthropic as well as religious organisations expanded throughout the apartheid era and worked closely with government to deliver social welfare services for the small white, welfare elite (Patel, 2003).

According to Taylor (1998), Apartheid also led to the emergence of Non Governmental Organisations(NGO’s) that were created and run by professional people aligned to the anti-apartheid cause. According to Taylor et al(1999) cited in Habib and Taylor(1999, p.75) “collectively these NGO’s received primarily foreign donor funding and provided a non-racial social service delivery function for the disenfranchised, offering a kind of shadow welfare system in support of the mass-based movements and the poor”. This parallel voluntary sector was characterised by organisations that were mainly localised and less formal (Patel, 2003). During this period, funding came primarily from international donors, communities themselves and progressive faith-based organisations. Despite government opposition, the non-profit sector boomed.

Under Apartheid black run NPOs were also prevalent, due to the unequal distribution of wealth, and social welfare services. This was because the Apartheid regime sanctioned a “hands-off” approach when it came to providing support to black social development, as black communities were perceived to be ‘self sufficient’ and able to provide for themselves in line with ‘Native Custom’ (Russell et al, 2004).

This conflictual relationship between anti-apartheid NGO’s and the state was transformed with the transition to a democracy in South Africa. The NPO sector and the state were now seen as partners in a national project- namely the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). This resulted in an altered NPO sector. Despite the government’s best intentions, “many organisations folded as a consequence of funding modalities changing toward the bilateral relations with the ANC government and much of the expertise of the sector were absorbed into the new state beaurocracy. Many NPO’s lost personnel to state institutions and international funding that had previously been channelled to ‘anti-apartheid

NGO's' was now transferred directly to the state" (Mueller-Hirth, 2010, p.284). Other NGO's survived the funding crisis but found that they needed to reposition themselves either as service delivery organisations or to carry out contracting work for government bodies. As a result of the above developments, the sector was weakened in terms of capacity.

The adoption of GEAR also impacted the NPO sector as civil society became increasingly excluded from consultation in policy process. Structural and legislative changes included the establishment ofthe South African National Civics Organisation (SANCO) and theNational Development Agency(NDA). Another important development was the enactment of the Non-profit Organisations Act 71 of 1997 which was an attempt made by government to create an enabling environment in which NPO's could flourish, and to set and maintain standards of governance, accountability and transparency for NPO's (Jankelowitz, 2007).

2.4 Current State of the Non Profit Sector in South Africa

In the mid 1990's in South Africa developmental discourse did not include the term 'non profit organisations' (NPO). Terms such as 'service organisations', 'non- governmental organisations' (NGO's) and 'community based organisations' (CBO's) were used to describe private, not-for-profit organisations.This became problematic in terms of policy making, which demanded that a choice be made not on a definition of civil society as a whole but rather the organisations that it comprised (Russell and Swilling,2002).Therefore"policy makers and key NGO partners settled on 'NPO': a nice, depoliticised term that transcended the NGO-CBO discussion and delineated the sector from the private sector" (Russell and Swilling,2002, p.6).

According to the Non-profit Organisations Act of 1997, a non-profit organisations is defined as " a trust, company or other association of persons established for a public purpose and the income and property of which are not distributable to its members or office bearers except as reasonable compensation for services rendered" (Russell and Swilling, 2004, p.8). The non-profit sector can also be referred to as "voluntary" organisations, "civil society" or the "third sector" (Salamon, 2002). The function that Non-profit organisations serve in society centre around areas such as health, education, policy influence, crime prevention

and social service (Young, 1989). According to Davids et al (2009, p. 68) a “NPO’s primary objective is to render assistance to individuals or developing communities in order to promote sustainable development at grass roots. They are also committed to the idea of community capacity building through popular participation and social learning”. In addition, NPO’s operate according to a culture that differs from the corporate, profit making world as asserted by Frimpong (2000) as cited in Jankelowitz(2007). They have different values, activities, goals and methods, in short, part of the theology of non-profits is that they help the poor (James, 1997).

Now that we have gleaned a more comprehensive understanding of the nature of the non-profit sector as a whole, its’ relevance to a South African context will now be explored.

At present, according to Khumalo(2006) as cited in Jankelowitz (2007), South Africa has an extensive and lively non-governmental sector which has roughly 100 000 registered NPO’s and an estimated 50 000 unregistered one’s. This booming non-profit sector is the product of a diverse society with a variety of ethnic groups and a history that has informed the way in which South African society operates as a whole as well as the way in which the non-profit sector conducts its operations.

This is further illustrated by the postulation made by Weisbrod (1987, p. 22), where he proposesthat “non-profit provision of collective goods will be large in societies with high degrees of religious or ethnic heterogeneity”. This high level of inequality and ethnic heterogeneity are common traits of present South African society, in part brought about by years of racial segregation and oppression. This was exemplified by a bifurcated welfare system, where the majority of government welfare spending went to a small, white minority (Patel, 2005). This left vast sections of the population without adequate government support.

According to Meuller-Hirth(2010) the current NPO sector can be characterised by what we call new-generation NGO’s. Organisationally they are configured to have strong partnerships with public and corporate sector, as well as having innovative funding models and a variety of resource mobilisation strategies. This is in contrast to NGO’s that are structured around the more classical donor-beneficiary model. Clearly there is a trend forming that more and

more NGO's are forced to seek new income generating methods and develop self-funding strategies.

Khumalo(2006) as cited in Jankelowitz(2007) asserts that; several issues plague the current NPO sector. Firstly, acts such as the Non-profit Organisations Act No. 17 of 1997, in reality, proves to be problematic as registration is voluntary and there are no checks in place by the Department of Social Development to ascertain whether or not they operate ethically and efficiently.

Many NPO's also struggle to access government support, set up partnerships, obtain funding and build adequate capacity (Habib and Taylor, 1999). This has led to the "promotion of more streamlined managerial structures and a higher degree of professionalism within the NPO sector, as well as 'adherence to monitoring and evaluation standards" (Mueller- Hirth, 2010, p. 283)**.** While not altogether a negative development, some have argued that this has led to the commercialisation of the NPO sector. The danger in this lies in the fact that under such monetary dependency, especially on that of government and the corporate sector, can NPO's continue to be impartial and uphold the interests of the poor and marginalized(Habib and Taylor, 1999).

According to a recently publishedreport 'Critical Perspectives on Sustainability of the South African Civil Society' (2012, p. 5), "South African civil society is currently facing a funding crisis. This has resulted in a multiplicity of sustainability and institutional development challenges". This is because international funding is on the decline and government is either unwilling or unable to meet it's obligations to this sector, this has therefore compromised the sustainability of many NPO's. In addition the recession has also made matters worse. An article written by Anton Gressel (2012) about the above report highlights that, Non-profits seem to be taking particular strain, and those he interviewed from the industry, assert that funding comes mainly from overseas donors, and that social enterprises as well as NPO's that focus on education, training and job creation, are confronted with increased funding pressure due to the current global economic crisis. This has also seen Corporate Social Investment (CSI)budgets reduced and an increase in competition amongst NPO's for funding.

In light of the global recession, reduced government funding, in some cases inadequate accountability, poor capacity building, and possibly increased commercialisation, it stands to reason that the current Non-profit sector faces many challenges. Particularly, as mentioned above, in the broader social welfare context, in that the South African government has appeared to follow Neo-Liberal socio-economic policies, which by definition means social spending rollbacks. This has led to, as Weisbrod (1987) asserted, NPO's operating in a society where not everyone's needs are being met and this is the context within which South African NPO's operate. Therefore, they are left to find ways and means of facilitating service delivery to those who have fallen through the cracks as well as navigate inadequate government funding.

Lombard (2008) also asserts that many NPO's are required to meet thetransformation requirements of the Department of Social Development, to qualify for funding.She goes on to critique the Service Delivery Model outlined by the Department of Social Development, and notes that it is not explicit about transformation criteria, other than management boards that must represent the racial composition of the wider South African population. Even established NGOs are expected to share their already insufficient resources and knowledge base with smaller community based organisations and have a strategy in place on how to reduce their government dependency (Lombard 2008). Jackie Loffell(cited by Du Toit, 2006) as cited in(Lombard, 2008, p. 127) argues the point that the government has made the mistake "to think that so called 'white' or 'established' NPO's had all the resources when in fact they merely had none." With Lombard (2008) concluding that, "having more due to the previous apartheid government should not be confused with having enough" (p.127). Therefore, many organisations that happen to be run by socially conscience people, who are not of colour, are subject to discrimination, in terms of government funding.

2.5 Approaches to Developmental Social Welfare in South Africa

According to ActionAid (2010, p. 217), many NGOs have acknowledged the importance of "integrating rights work into development work". Most NGO's had in the past tended to focus on meeting basic needs, however these very basic needs are themselves the basis of what constitutes a human right. For example, people have the right to food, employment,

health care as well as respect. The rights based approach therefore "builds on people's desire for inclusion and dignity and the satisfaction of their basic needs" (ActionAid, 2010,p.17).

Broadly speaking, human rights feature prominently in international discourse surrounding development. Rights denial, impoverishment, vulnerability and conflict are fundamentally linked, and as a result rights based approaches feature prominently in funding strategies, policy formulations and inform practice of ; United Nations agencies, donors, NGO's and local grass roots movements (Ensor and Gready, 2005). This shift in thinking when it comes to development has invariably influenced developmental practice worldwide as well as in South Africa.

South Africa is a society that has evolved from being one that was characterised by an uneven and race based welfare system to one that upholds human rights (Patel and Selipsky, 2010). This was done by incorporating elements of a social development approach to social welfare, and it stands to reason that it would be based on the rights based approach because South Africa had been a society characterised by inequality and human-rights violations. Therefore a system would have to be put in place to rectify this. These human rights are entrenched in Act 106 of the South African Constitution "which enshrines the rights of all people in the country and affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom" (Lombard,2008, p. 156).

The above Act, provides the bases of social policy which is characterised by the residual, institutional and social development approaches. The rights-based approach, as mentioned previously, is a feature of the broader social development approach to development, and according to Patel and Selipsky (2010, p. 52) , "it draws on international human rights instruments of the UN system and is concerned with guaranteeing a minimum standard of living, equitable access and equal opportunity for all citizens to receive services and benefits." Meeting the needs of the most disadvantaged, is prioritised.

Lombard (2008, p. 160) elaborates further by saying "a rights based approach is underpinned by the principles of social justice and equity" and "social development goals are an integral part of a broader development social welfare approach and is both an end goal and an intervention approach". These principles, therefore, underpin

thedevelopmental welfare approach implemented by Eleos, which is reflected in their provision of 'access to social services' as well as their promotion of the 'right to development'.

2.6 Eleos as a Developmental Non-Profit Organisation

Eleos is a non-profit organisation based in Pretoria West in Gauteng. It has two main projects, one based in Booysens West and the other in Danville. They have been in operation since 1998. In this time, this organisation started in Booysens West and then expanded into the suburb of Danville.

Russell and Swilling (2004, p.7) define a developmental Non-Profit organisation as "engaged directly in improving the social, cultural and economic wellbeing of certain sectors of society, quite often supported by the state or private donors. Until the late 1980's, most development NPO's catered for white interests". Furthermore, Davids et al (2009, p. 68) asserts that, organisations such as Eleos "came into being due to the fact that the State proved incompetent in that corruption and repression flourished. This led to the formation of the third sector, which was intended to promote poverty alleviation, the strengthening of civil society and to encourage public participation in grass roots development".

According to Triegaardt (2009, p. 2) , " Section 36 of the Constitution gives protection to a citizens the right to access social assistance, health care, food and water, however the Bill of Rights states that this is subject to available resources and that the state should demonstrate that it is taking reasonable steps to realise this right progressively". In the event that the government is unable to meet its obligations due to lack of resources, developmental Non Profit Organisations like Eleos step in to ease the burden. This is directly linked to the theory that the formation of Non Profit organisations have been directly attributed to demand, meaning that non-profit organisations are formed to meet an unmet need (Hansmann, 1985).

Eleos is one such organisation that serves between 60 – 70 families from a community centre, which has become a beacon of hope for the community. According to the Eleos Annual Report (2010, p.2), the organisation "encourages and strives to involve as many

people as possible from the community to participate in one of our many projects, in order to create the opportunity to better themselves and provide for their own families". This exemplifies the developmental nature of Eleos, with their focus on improving the standard of living for the community by encouraging and facilitating the skills development and capacity building of its beneficiaries. While this is their main aim, at the same time residual interventions are in place to ensure that community members have their basic needs met. The main objectives stated by Eleos are the following; community development, job creation, prevention of behaviour problems with children; skills development and poverty prevention. They aim to practice non-remedial, holistic planned interventions, strongly associated with prevention, primary care and community development(Eleos Annual Report, 2010).

2.7 Theoretical Framework

A theory is a "systematic explanation for the observations that relate to a specific aspect of life."(Babbie, 2008, p.13). The theory that this research uses to understand the specific aspects of life being studied is the Boundary Theory. The Boundary Theory has been used to contextualise studies of poor whites in the United States, and it can be argued that there are some fundamental similarities between poor white communities in the United States and poor white communities in South Africa. Therefore, this theory could arguably be used in the South African context as well. According to Matt Wray, the author of "White Trash and the Boundaries of Whiteness", this theory "offers exceptionally coherent ways of thinking about identity, differentiation, and inequality in multiple levels of social organization" (2006, p. 7). Boundary Theory, is not limited to poor whites, but can be used to analyse themes surrounding race, class, gender as well as sexuality, and at the same time it can question how categories shape our perceptions of the world.

More specifically, this study proposes that the social organisation or categorisation of 'poor-whites' in South Africa, provides the basis for categorisation of other races and classes in the broader society. For example; the phenomenon of "poor whites" only existed as a counter point to "poor blacks", and this relationship provided the justification of the bifurcated welfare system under the Apartheid government, whose legacy still exists today, to some

extent or another. Furthermore, this framework also highlights that not only are people 'categorised' according to race, but class as well.

Many issues pertaining to this study are highlighted by using this theoretical framework. For example, what defines a poor person? Is it their culture, race,or their class? For example, Eleos operates in areas that are populated by different races, and it could be argued that the point of commonality between beneficiaries in these areas, is their class not their race. Therefore, this study proposes that historically poor white areas, which were once themselves the product of categorisation, are now categorised based on class, not race.

In addition, this theory posits that "when identities are organized into social hierarchies, they rely on invidious comparisons and stigma typing, then domination, injustice and human suffering results"(Wray, 2006, p. 8). This element of categorisation of people, can be linked to the phenomenon of poverty. For example if you are perceived as a "poor person" that speaks more about your socio-economic status, while in the past, the 'black' skin colour was synonymous with poverty, injustice and human suffering. This theoretical framework, therefore argues that in South Africa, race can no longer be the only signifier of class or socio-economic status.

2.8 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter dealt with literature centredon the non-profit sector in South Africa and the role that it has in poverty alleviation as well as community development. Furthermore, the history of the Non-profit sector was delved into, with a particular focus on the Apartheid regime, and the transition experienced by the South African Non-Profit sector, post-1994. Concurrently to this, the concept of poverty was explored with a focus on "poor white" poverty in particular. In relation to ideas surrounding poverty in South Africa, a theoretical framework was outlined, to provide a context for the overall study focusing on Eleos; a Non-Profit organisation committed to the upliftment and development of all those in need. The following chapter will provide the research methodology that was usedduring the research study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

3.1Introduction

The aim of this study was to ascertain what the ethos of Eleos is, in its interventions to address poverty in underprivileged communities. This study follows a qualitative approach that takes the form of a case study. It focuses on the rationale behind why Eleos provides services to the specific communities, as well as the values and principles that underpin its service delivery. The intervention strategies that Eleos implements are examined, and challenges associated with this are addressed. Perspectives of the beneficiaries are also included. The study sample consists of sixteen individuals, eight of whom werekey informants from the organisation itself, and the remaining eight are beneficiaries. Semi-structured interviews were conducted face-to-face with participants who voluntarily agreed to be interviewed. Voluntary participation is prioritised, with participants being fully informed before participation; this was an important ethical consideration. To ensure trustworthiness, interviews were recorded. The collected data was transcribed and analysed using 'thematic content analysis' or 'conceptual analysis'. This chapter therefore provides a detailed breakdown of the research design, methodology as well as the analysis used in the empirical stage of the study.

3.2 Research Question

This study explored the following research question:

What is the ethos of Eleosin itsinterventions to address poverty in underprivileged communities?

3.3 Aim and Secondary Objectives

The primary aim of this study was to explore the ethos of Eleos, in itsinterventions to address poverty in underprivileged communities.

The secondary objectives were:

a. To investigate the rationale behind Eleos's decision to provide social services to specific underprivileged communities.
b. To explore the values and principles underpinning Eleos's social service delivery.
c. To examine strategies used by Eleos to provide social services to underprivileged communities.
d. To establish the challenges faced by Eleos in maintaining the integrity and efficacy of its organisation.
e. To explore how beneficiaries perceive the social services provided by Eleos.

3.4Research Approach and Design

A qualitative research approach wasused for the study. McLaughlin (2007, p.36) asserts that "qualitative methods are especially interested in how ordinary people observe and describe their lives and it focuses on individuals, their interactions, emphasising the interpretation and meaning and the ways in which mutual understandings are negotiated", in other words its an approach that studies phenomena using general description to describe or explain (Mark,1996).

The research design utilised in this study was the case study design. In addition, this study was exploratory in nature. An exploratory study is one which intends to gain more insight into an unknown or unexplored situation, to create ahypothesis or problem statement (Creswell, 2003). Due to the relatively unexplored nature of this subject matter, the case study approach is particularly relevant asStake (1994) as cited in Mark (1996, p. 221) argues that the "sole criterion for selecting cases for a case study should be the opportunity to learn". This may mean that the researcher should select the most atypical or most unusual case, particularly in order to challenge previously accepted generalisations. Furthermore, Creswell (1998) as cited inDe Vos et al(2011, p.321) "the researcher situates this system or case within its larger context, but the focus remains on either the case or an issue that is

illustrated by the case", hence the use of an organisation, as the vehicle to explore a larger more complex issue.

3.5 Population and Sample/Unit of analysis

This study drew from two groups of participantsand according to Padgett (1998, p.49) "one cannot study everything and everyone; sampling strategies with clear rationales are needed". Therefore, the first study sample of eight participants, was drawn from the two beneficiary communities of Eleos, a non- profit organisation that has two projects, one located in Booysens West and the other in Danville in greater Tshwane. Four beneficiaries from each project were interviewed for approximately an hour. The selection criteria used was to ensure that, participants were over eighteen years of age as well as having utilised the services of Eleos for at least a year. Participants were recruited through word of mouth.

The second group of participants were key informants drawn from the management committee as well as representatives of the individual projects. Eight key informants were interviewed, and recruited by sending out in house emails. Selection criteria for key informants were that they had to have been involved with Eleos for at least a year.

Purposive sampling as explored by De Vos et al(2011, p. 232) was applied, "as this allows the researcher to use discretion or rather their own judgement when choosing a sample that contains the most characteristics, representatives or contains the most typical attributes of the population that would serve the population best". For example, interviewing members as well as beneficiaries of Eleos would be considered purposive, as they represent members and beneficiaries of the specific organisation intended for study.

3.6 Research instruments

The research instruments took the form of two different semi-structured interview schedules with open-ended questions. One for key informants and another for beneficiaries (See Appendices E and F). According to Babbie (2008, p. 47), "less structured interviews are more appropriate to field research" and "the continuous nature of qualitative interviewing

means the questioning is redesigned throughout the project".Using semi-structured interview schedules with open –ended questions, aids in trying to explore different and /or comparative views of particular policies and procedures and implementation strategies. The open questioning, according to Marlow (1993) as cited in Mark (1996, p. 95)"will help in understanding the reasoning behind a particular view particularly as this avoids misunderstanding between researcher and respondent- particularly as the researcher is socially distant from the study participants"**.**

3.7 Pre-testing the research instruments

According to De Vos et al (2011, p.394), "in qualitative research the pilot study is usually informal, and a few respondents possessing the same characteristics as those of the main investigation can be involved in the study, merely to ascertain certain trends". Pre-testing is conducted to see if the selected questions meant for data collection are suitable or not, and to see if there are any shortfalls in the design**.** One interview with a representative from each group, key informants and beneficiaries was conducted to see if the researcher needed to make any amendments to the questions asked. This was done to mitigate any misunderstanding that the participants might have had as well as to establish an average amount of time that would be required to conduct a single interview. According to De Vos et al (2011, p. 396) a pilot study also involves "reviewing a few documents" which was undertaken in this study.

3.8 Methods of data collection

For the purpose of this study, individual interviews were used and as McLaughlin (2007, p.39) mentions it "requires a more discursive approach, possibly probing answers to elicit deeper and more meaningful understanding". The participant information sheets were discussed with all those who chose to be involved, one for key informants and one for beneficiaries (See Appendices A and B). Face to face interviews were conducted with both beneficiaries of services and key informants. Before beginning the interviews, participants were asked to sign consent forms agreeing to do the interviews (See Appendix

C).Furthermore, as the interviews were recorded, participants were asked to sign consent forms agreeing to the audio taping (See Appendix D).

Interviews conducted with members of Eleos, allowed the researcher to fully explore the organisations strategies, its values and principles, with a view to understanding its evolution from a remedial to a developmental organisation, whose target communities have markedly changed since its inception in 1998. Beneficiaries were interviewed to learn more about the organisation in terms of how its social services were perceived by recipients. Furthermore, interviews with beneficiaries provided a more in depth few of the communities that Eleos services, and provided a better understanding of the effectiveness of the social services offered.

According to McLaughlin (2007) the semi-structured interview is used widely within the social sciences and can include both closed and open questions. The face to face interviews encouraged the participants to 'do most of the talking' to facilitate maximum exploration of the topic, and also explored new or previously overlooked areas of interest. Open- ended questions also facilitated clarification of views.

Furthermore, data collection in a case study research is typically extensive drawing from multiple sources of information. For the purpose of this case study, in conjunction with interviews; documents, such as annual reports were included. This according to Shipman (1995, p. 108) is a "good approach, as documents are usually compiled for other purposes than to provide information to social scientists or historians, they can be assumed to be a reflection of feelings undisturbed by the presence of the researcher".The researcher therefore requested access to official Eleos documents which were evaluated in order to gauge their authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning. Textual analysis was utilised.

3.9 Method of Data Analysis

According to Padgett (1998) there is no single approach to qualitative data analysis; qualitative researches tend to pursue what works best given the data at hand. Coding qualitative data is a process of identifying bits and pieces of information and linking these to

concepts and themes around which the final report is organized. According to Creswell (2007,p.151), “analysis of a case study consists of making a detailed description of the case and its setting”. For the purpose of this study, the collected data was transcribed and analysed using ‘thematic content analysis’ or ‘conceptual analysis’. This is defined by Holsti (1969) as cited in Babbie and Mouton (2001, p.492) as “any technique for making inference by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages”. This was done to identify the main themes that occurred in the responses made by participants. Additionally, triangulation of the data was achieved through the use of documents, annual reports as well as the two different interview schedules.

3.10 Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness is achieved by upholding objectivity which Smaling (1989) as cited in Babbie and Mouton (2001, p. 274) describes as “doing justice to the object of study”. This objectivity is very important when conducting qualitative research. Objectivity can be upheld by ensuring that one’s research is credible, transferable, dependable and confirmable. Lincoln and Guba (1999) in De Vos et al, (2011) and Babbie and Mouton (2001) elaborate on these four aspects.

Credibility is achieved through ensuring that respondent’s constructed realities are accurately represented in the findings. This would mean that certain measures would have to be in place. For example, staying in the field for a prolonged period of time, the use of tape recorders to record interviews, subject finding to a ‘peer debriefing’, as well as the transcription of interviews. These are the methods that ensured credibility. For the purpose of this study, credibility was ensured by tape-recording the interviews. Transferability should also be prioritised. Good research should be able to be applied to other contexts or respondents. This can be done by ensuring detailed descriptions of data in context or by creating what’s known as a ‘thick description’ (Babbie and Mouton,2011). Added to that, using purposive sampling, also enabled the researcher to target specific locations and informants. This was done by conducting a pre-test where individuals who fit the criteria, were interviewed before the study commenced. The next aspect is dependability. According to DeVos et al (2011, p.420), “here the researcher asks whether the research process is

logical, well documented and audited". Here one can take into account the possibility that during the research process, conditions may change in the phenomenon as well as in the design, due to a more refined understanding of the setting. In conjunction with taping the interviews, notes were taken. This ensuredthat the information gathered was as accurate and logical as possible, particularly if the setting or context was to change during the process of the study. The last criterion is confirmability. This encompasses the more traditional element of objectivity. Can the findings be confirmed by another? Raw data is integral to confirmability. Written notes as well as documents can provide support to the study findings. Notes were taken during the taped interviews. Keeping pilot forms during the research process as well as drawing up a final report with findings, helped in achieving confirmability. This places emphasis on the data itself (Babbie and Mouton, 2011).The data should speak for itself and not be reliant on interpretation by the researcher, thereby ensuring maximum objectivity.

3.11 Ethical considerations

According to Babbie (2008, p. 67) "anyone involved in social scientific research needs to be aware of the general agreements shared by researchers about what is proper and improper in the conduct of scientific enquiry". For example qualitative methods such as in-depth interviewing has been criticised by some as being manipulative and exploitative as asserted by Oakley (1981) cited in Padgett(1998). Padgett (1998) goes on to say that "even though qualitative research very rarely involves significant risk to human "subjects", research with vulnerable populations requires vigilance and is "a delicate balancing act of learning while doing no harm"(p.33). This has resulted in "certain ethical codes or tenets that researchers are obliged to follow, because the interests of participants may conflict with the interests of the researcher, thus there is a need for universally recognized standards of ethics to protect research participants" (Mark, 1996, p. 38). (See Appendices G and H).

This study upheld the following tenets which were that participation was voluntary, it refrained from harm to participants and it guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality (See Appendices A and B). Furthermore, researchers have an obligation to make their intentions explicit to avoid deception. According to Mark (1996, p. 40) the principle of informed

consent is at the heart of efforts to ensure that participation is truly voluntary, and obtaining informed consent from the respondents is paramount to ensuring that respondents are fully aware of the risks, should they participate. The principle of 'justice' is also important here, as certain groups in society have little power, this can include the impoverished and racial and ethnic minorities, and it is unjust for these groups to bear the brunt of research risks (Mark,1996, p. 39). Lastly, ethical research also entails that researchers have an obligation to the academic community to ensure that their work is analysed and reported in an accurate manner.

3.12 Limitations of the study

Limitations to the study were that beneficiaries, at times were compelled to give socially acceptable answers, as opposed to what they might genuinely have thought. As this research was a study of a particular organisation, some key-informants felt compelled to answer questions in a biased fashion- for fear of revealing perceived faults within the organisation. Some beneficiaries also felt unable to voice opinion about the organisation, in light of the fact that they received services and did not want to jeopardise this. Furthermore, the mother tongue of respondents and researcher was different- this was at times problematic, as a lot of clarification was needed in some instances, and at times the researcher felt that some questions may not have been adequately understood.

The researchers stand point was also important to bare in mind, when conducting this qualitative research as Gouldner (1962) cited in Shipman (1995, p.124) asserts that the "idea of a value free sociology is a group myth enabling sociologists to be morally indifferent, to escape responsibility for the implications of their work and to escape from the world into academic security." This is an important argument to bear in mind, as social science research cannot be value free as research conducted is guided by limits established by the communities that are being studied.According to Shipman (1995, p.124), the assessment of social research requires a realistic image of the researcher, because he or she is interested in social relationships and is therefore liable to have strong views about these relationships. Therefore as a researcher "it is impossible to remain completely objective, and qualitative research methods by definition assume that there is no single reality, rather that the nature

of reality is defined by the interaction of the researcher with the phenomenon under study" (Mark, 1996, p. 61).

3.13 Summary

The primary aim of this chapter was to describe the research approach, design as well as the methodology utilised in this study. The aim, objectives, sampling procedures, pre-testing, data collection and analysis were all outlined. The chapter that follows will present data collected through semi-structured interviews conducted in the field, as well as discuss the findings emanating from this study.

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study and discusses the findings in relation to the research questions, aim and objectives of the study. Documents from the organisation, as well as relevant literature were also included in the analysis, to provide a more holistic view. Profiles of the organisation, its specific projects, key informants as well as the beneficiaries that participated are provided. The data was analysed to highlight themes, so as to make accurate conclusions in order to make useful, socially pertinent and relevant recommendations.

4.2 Profile of the Organisation and the applicable projects

Eleos is a registered, non-profit organisation that aims to deliver social services to underprivileged children and their families in Pretoria-West. The people of this community not only struggle to obtain the bare essentials but are also burdened with enormous financial, physical, emotional and mental stresses. Beneficiaries, who accept help from Eleos, are encouraged to participate in one of their many development programmes. While Eleos has many initiatives and projects running in the suburbs of Danville and Booysens West, their two main projects will be featured; the Danville Project and the Booysens Project.

4.2.1 The Danville Project

Due to the overwhelming needs in the Danville community, Eleos has been investing in the Danville Rooms since 2007. The Danville Rooms were a notorious building in the west of Pretoria, which was home to prostitution, drug abuse and other social ills. It used to be an office building that was converted into accommodation. In 2007, Eleos in partnership with

the owner of the building managed to rid the building of prostitution and drug related crimes. At present it is occupied by eighty families. These families share a communal kitchen and ablution facilities. Eleos utilises three rooms on the second floor. These three rooms accommodate the following projects; the Learning Centre, the P.C Centre and a Mother and Baby Centre. Eleos recently received support from the*National Lottery Distribution Trust Fund*(NLDTF) for this project.

The Danville Project, while servicing residents form Danville Rooms, also provides services to the suburb as a whole, as well as those coming from the growing number of nearby informal settlements. This has meant that beneficiaries originate not only from the suburb of Danville, but from surrounding areas as well.

When Eleos began its work in the area of Danville, the area was predominantly a poor white area. This began to change over the years. Several factors contributed to this change. Firstly, many of the sub-economical houses in Danville, had been built under the Apartheid government specifically for poor whites who could not afford economic rent. These houses were given to the residents by the government post 1994. This gave many residents the opportunity to sell these houses. Therefore many of the poor whites in the area, moved away either to join family elsewhere in Gauteng or to start up their own enterprises with the money they had made off the sale of their houses. Often these business ventures failed. Secondly, in many of the primary schools in Danville the language of instruction was changed from Afrikaans to English. This prompted many residents to move from Danville to Booysens West- where instruction still remained in Afrikaans. And lastly, many residents had lived in the Danville Rooms, when it was a notorious slum, and after the building was rehabilitated, the rent was increased and many residents could not afford to live there anymore. Thus people migrated and the area gradually became more integrated, as black South Africans as well as immigrants sought to make Danville their home. As a result, Eleos evolved along side this community, with its Danville Project becoming more inclusive, to service the needs of all in the area, regardless of race or culture.

4.2.2 Booysens Project

The Booysens Project is an umbrella project that is based in the Booysens West area. Eleos began its social service delivery in this area in 1998. This project includes: The Mom's and Tot's Stimulation Classes, the play group 'BooysensBeertjies', a crèche in Danville called 'BeyersBeitjies' , after school centres, skills development projects as well as holiday camps.

This project services people in the areas of Booysens West as well as neighbouring Daspoort. Two centre's service the Booysens West community- the Market St. House and the Eleos Community Centre. Between the two venues, they accommodate The Mom's and Tots Classes, the Purity Project, The Peak Project, the "OnsHuisie" confectionary project as well as Knitting and Crochet Project.

Booysens West has historically been viewed as a 'poor-white' area. This was due to the fact that Iscor was in the vicinity and provided many poor-white residents with semi-skilled to skilled employment. This was a form of job reservation. However, after democratisation in 1994, many nationalised industries, like the steel industry, privatised. This left many people in the area without work. It is unclear whether the fact that the Booysens West area is predominantly a poor white area, explains why the majority of the beneficiaries attending the project are white, or if there are people of colour in the area who would attend the project, but do not meet the required criteria.

4.3Profiles of the two groups of participants

Six of the key informants interviewed worked either at the Danville Project or at the Booysens Project. The remaining two are employed by Eleos, and were based at primary schools in the area. Four beneficiaries from each project were also interviewed. The three key informants interviewed from the Danville Project were all employees of Eleos, but had initially been volunteers for Eleos. They brought a range of expertise and skills to the project. One key-informant was and occupational therapist, another was a social worker specialising in play therapy, and the final informant was project manager for the learning centre, computer centre as well the project as a whole. Volunteers as well as the two individuals employed as care takers of the Danville rooms, were not interviewed.

Two employees who worked at the Market St. House were interviewed from the Booysens Project. One specialised in play therapy and is the current project manager at the Market St. House. The other informant was a social worker who worked at the Market St. House as well as the Eleos Community Centre. The third informant from the Booysens Project was a seasoned social worker, who had been based in the area for many years, and had worked for Child Welfare, and currently works at Eleos.

The last two informants were both based at local primary schools, as employees of Eleos. One key informant was atGeneraalBeyers in Danville and the other at GeneraalNikSmit in Booysens West. Both informants worked with the primary school children in a therapeutic capacity.

Eight beneficiaries were interviewed. Exactly half were from the Danville Project, and the other half were from the Booysens Project. All beneficiaries interviewed were women, and over the age of eighteen. All beneficiaries from the Booysens Project were white Afrikaans speaking South Africans, whereas two beneficiaries from the Danville project were white, Afrikaans speaking South Africans. With regards to the remaining two beneficiaries from Danville, one was from Zimbabwe and the other was from Venda.

Almost all beneficiaries interviewed, cited ‘job loss’ as the primary reason for why they utilised social services from Eleos. Many sought the services offered through the Baby Centres and the Mom’s and Tots group because in conjunction with job loss, many had fallen pregnant or had small children. Some mothers sought Eleos’s help in response to finding out that their babies or children suffered from disability or developmental delays.

4.4Presentation of findings according to themes and in relation to the objectives of the research study.

The main themes that were identified were the following; the rationale behind why Eleos provides services to the communities of Danville and Booysens West, as well as the values and principles that underpins this organisation. In addition, intervention strategies utilised by Eleos as well as the challenges they faced in implementing these strategieswere also two themes identified. These identified themes, are directly related to the objectives of the

study, and the findings will be presented and discussed in relation to these objectives. Furthermore, throughout the analysis, findings will be discussed from the perspectives of both groups of participants.

4.4.1 The Rationale behind Eleos's decision to provide social services to specific underprivileged communities

According to almost all key informants interviewed, one of the main reasons behind working in the areas of Danville and Booysens West- was that both areas had been viewed as historically poor communities. Historically poor communities, are communities that have experienced poverty for a prolonged period of time, and in the case of the areas like Danville and Booysens West, these areas had been viewed as poor even under the Apartheid government. Areas such as Danville and Booysens West had depended heavily on the Nationalist government for state welfare interventions (Pharoah, 2008). One informant commented that, "*it is common knowledge; the West of Pretoria has always been a poor area*". An informant from the Market St. Project also commented that, "*this area [Booysens West] was always a poor area but it has deteriorated. And Danville was always a poor area.*" Under the Apartheid government the two areas had received social welfare, specifically in the form of housing. One informant noted that, "*this was always a poor community...Because they had sub-economical housing. If people earned less than R5000, 00 they could have a house from the City council of Pretoria. So it was a lot of poor people staying in one community*".

Iscor (the Iron and Steel Corporation), had also been a strong presence in the area, providing many members of the community with jobs since 1933. This was part of the Apartheid government's attempts to provide work for unskilled and semi-skilled whites as it was believed that racially segregated high -quality housing and non-skilled employment in urban areas was the answer to alleviating white poverty (Willoughby-Herard,2007). However, Iscor closed down due to privatisation and trade liberalisation which were a key focus area for the new ANC lead government- leaving many people withoutguaranteed employment. An informant noted,"*most of them worked at Iscor. And then Iscor closed down. And then they did not have [an] income*". This is a well known phenomenon in poor

communities. In countries such as South Africa, the decline of mining and related industries has a severe impact on the livelihoods of individuals, households, and communities (Bins and Nel, 2003).Often industry supplies its immediate area with employment, and when these factories, mines or manufacturers close down, many people are left jobless, thus increasing levels of poverty.

Several informants pointed out that Eleos decided to provide social services to the areas of Danville and Booysens West, primarily because many children in the area were suffering from malnutrition, starvation as well as developmental problems.Kadushinand Martin (1988) inZastrow(2010), assert that children suffering from the above are experiencing parental neglect and this is a phenomenon commonly found in areas that are poverty stricken. One informant said "*You know when I started the nursery school, I was working for Child Welfare, and at that time there was no such thing as community work, and I had so much work- child neglect, child abuse, lack of food [and] unemployment in this area*". There is therefore, a great emphasis on children.As an organisation they were compelled to help, "*Ithink they were looking for a community where they could make a contribution*". According to literature made available by the organisation itself, Eleos"was founded by a group of women who were touched by the poor circumstances of so many children and their families living in dire straights. A serious decision was taken to start up a charity organisation with the aim to make a difference by 'helping a community to help themselves'" (http://www.eleso.co.za).

Eleos also felt the need to help the communities of Danville and Booysens West due to the fact that post 1994, the distribution of welfare had become more evenly spread throughout the broader population, and as a result, communities which had received more welfare under the Apartheid Government, had deteriorated. One informant said, ". *I think they became aware [of white poverty] in the new South Africa, specifically after the change [post 1994]".*Therefore Eleos, felt that poor white communities were being over-looked post 1994. Another key –informant from the Market St. Project commented that *"Also, what I have heard, is the fact that white or blanke[white] poverty is overlooked these days".* Therefore, in light of what was and possibly still is perceived as the neglect of certain racial groups in terms of welfare, Eleos felt the need to provide services to these overlooked communities.

Another informant from the Danville Project explained that Eleos had decided to provide Danville and Booysens West with social services because there had been a massive reduction in social welfare to these two areas. One informant from Danville commented that,

> "*many of these people were not always struggling under the old regime. If people came out of the system they were in foster care or a home. There were a lot of government grants for houses. There was a lot of preference in terms of jobs, and so people, even though they were poor they were bottom middle class... So all of a sudden with the new government, it [extensive social welfare] stopped, and stopped very abruptly and the pendulum changed".*

This view is a well known phenomenon that many poor whites experienced post-1994, where current poverty in poor white areas is attributed to the scaling back of government support (Pharoah,2008).

More recently the demographics of the areas have changed, specifically in the Danville area. One informant responded when asked about whether or not Eleos focused exclusively on white poverty by saying, "*it's not like that anymore, because the communities have changed*". This has meant that the racial composition of beneficiaries, utilising Eleos's services at the Danville Project- are now more racially diverse. One informant from Danville commented that "*it's mixed a lot, especially in the last couple of years. It used to be primarily white. At the start when I was here three years ago. It used to be primarily white. But just in the last three years it's mixed completely."* For example, mothers that utilise the Mom and Baby classes are white South Africans, black South Africans as well as women from places like Zimbabwe and the Democratic Republic of Congo(DRC). Therefore, Eleos has adapted to this and as a result has become racially inclusive by including those most marginalised, which is a key feature of people centred development as asserted by Gran (1983), cited in Davids et al (2009)as well as a feature of a developmental NPO that embraces the social development model, which by definition promotes non-discrimination and equality (Patel, 2005). One informant noted that;

> *"I think the Danville community is very unique in the sense that it is, if you look at the cultural groups that are represented at the centre, it's actually exactly how the South*

African community is represented. We've got coloured, white South Africans, Congolese and black South Africans.".

Another informant reiterated this sentiment by saying, "*poverty is poverty whatever colour, Eleos will never turn someone away or tell them to go, and we will help always".* Therefore, while Eleos may have originated as an NPO that helped only white communities, it is now more inclusive racially and culturally, in terms of its social service distribution. This is also exemplified in the fact that they are also centred around meeting needs, as best they can, when or whenever they arise. Most beneficiaries that were interviewed from both the Danville Project as well as from the Booysens Project- cited 'job loss' as one of the main reasons as to why they sought support from Eleos. Therefore Eleos, is trying to meet the needs of people who do not have employment, and many of whom have children.

This portion of the chapter sought to investigate the rationale behind Eleos's service delivery to the communities of Danville and Booysens West. It concluded that Eleos provides services to these areas mainly due to the fact that after 1994 these areas, which had already been poor, began to deteriorate even more. In addition, while Danville in particular has become more integrated culturally and racially- Eleos continues to support both areas as these areas remain poor and ultimately do not receive enough government support.

4.4.2. The values and principles underpinning Eleos's social service delivery.

There is a distinct relationship between values, principles and practice. This relationship is highlighted to varying degrees in literature. Reamer (2006), draws a direct link between 'values' and 'action' where we can assume that 'action' and 'practice' are one in the same. He similarly asserts that (2006,p.40) "values serve as criteria for selection in action. When most explicitly and fully conceptualised, values become criteria for judgment, preference and choice". This definition does however fail to highlight the relationship that values and principles have. Reichart (2003) and Ife (2008) cited in Bowles and Hugman (2012) summarise the relationship between values and principles succinctly by asserting that a value is something that is pursued because it is regarded as 'good', and a principle is a way of organising our ideas about this 'good' and lastly, practice is a way of acting to create and

sustain this 'good'. In relation to this, Banks (1995, p. 10) highlights that 'values' are used to "encompass broad beliefs about the nature of good society, and that principles are general statements about actions that promote these values". Now that the relationship between values, principles and practice has been established, the values identified by participants will be discussed individually.

Before beginning the analyses of the values that constitute Eleos's social service delivery practice, a broader understanding of prevalent values found in social service delivery needs to be attained. For example the broader values such as Human Rights as well as Social Justice are hugely influential in modern social service delivery. Reamer's (2006,p.22) summative criteria for what encompasses values, asserts that

> "commonly cited values are individual worth and dignity, respect of persons, valuing individuals' capacity for change, client self-determination, providing individuals with opportunity to realize their potential, seeking to meet individuals common human needs, seeking to provide individuals with adequate resources and services to meet their basic needs, client empowerment, equal opportunity, non-discrimination , respect for diversity, commitment to social change and social justice, confidentiality and privacy and willingness to transmit professional knowledge and skills to others".

A selection of some of the above values will be used as a basic outline of analysis.

The value of **'client empowerment'** was common to most if not all key informant responses. Client empowerment through self help, more specifically, is a value that informs the principle "of people moving towards improving their control over their circumstances" (Adams, 1990, p. 20). The organisation's motto "helping people to help themselves" embodies this value. A key informant from the Danville Project asserted that one of Eleos's primary values was "*to empower people. To teach them how to help themselves".* Another key informant form the Market St Project said that "we *want the communityto help themselves, we want to maintain integrity in doing it and not making them more dependent of the services we are giving them".* This sentiment was also expressed by a third key-informant, "*It's all about empowerment, because they don't have a very good self-esteem to start with. And the relationships they are in are not very positive. So you are building them up here. If they get a job they can provide for themselves*".

A key –informant from the Danville project also noted *,"that's what Eleos's stands for, not just distributing food parcels, to empower people...when you can see they' re being empowered, the light has gone up, they realise something they did not before. It is very rewarding.*"

Another value that several participants claimed to be upholding was that of **non-discrimination.** This was eluded to when a participant from the Market St. Project answered "*I think its [Eleos] like [helps] everybody that is in need"* when asked if "*Eleos was non-discriminatory?"*Another key informant from the Market St. Project said that "*we [Eleos] are non-discriminatory",* based on gender lines,this was qualified by saying that "*we have many projects that look after women's needs, and we are looking at groups to help men in the area"* as the organisation "*previously just focus[ed] on mother and child and never looking at the men".* The same participant also mentioned that *"poverty is poverty whatever colour. Eleos will never show someone away or tell them to go, we will help, always."* Racial equality or respect of diversity was a prominent value as one key –informant from the Danville Project relayed an incident and how it had been dealt with at the Danville Project;

> "*A few months ago, we had a bit of a disruption at the Baby Centre with some of the mommies saying "ya but you are Zimbabwean", and another saying "you are from the Congo and you are not South African". And I [gave] a whole speech about how at the Baby Centre we are all mommies and equal and that's what makes us the same. I'm not looking through glasses where I see "colour". I don't see culture. Its a mommy with needs and questions, with vulnerabilities"*.

Another member of the Danville project reiterated a similar non-discriminatory sentiment when he relayed an experience.

> "*I used to speak only Afrikaans in the learning centre, and then I had to start speaking Afrikaans and English because I had kids coming from the Congo who spoke French. But [their] desire to be here was strong, they found something of value here. So I just decided that I'm not going to stop them from being here, they can be here."*

Therefore the above illustrates Eleos's commitment to anti-discriminatory practices, thereby meeting the needs of all, regardless of race and culture. This correlates with Thompson's definitions of what 'non-discrimination' means, which is that, it "seeks to challenge racism and sexism"(Thompson, 1993, p. 31) as well as facilitate the development of "anti-racist social work"(Thompson, 1993, p. 8).

Seeing that Eleos is a faith-based NPO, **Christian based values** also featured in some responses. Therefore, Eleos upholds certain Christian-specific values. Even though, through out history religious organisations have been seen as divisive, regressive, irrelevant, insensitive as well as being proselytizing, this led to the development of a more secular approach to welfare. However, instead of the predicted decline in religion, there has been an increase in most parts of the developing world. There is a growing body of evidence that suggests that faith communities make a significant contribution to development (James, 2010).

According to James (2010, p. 255), "spiritual and religious values inspired the birth of many civil society organisations" and according to Marshall (2007) cited in James (2010, p.258), "we cannot fight poverty without tending to people's spiritual dimension and its many manifestations in religious institutions, leaders and movements." This statement lends itself to the acknowledgment that faith organisations can 'add value' in a number of ways. Eleos is one such FBO. One participant commented: "*I think there is also a definite religious reasoning. We are all Christians. We base our service delivery on Christian values. That's the reason why we are here, it's the reason Eleos exists. It's because we know as Christians, that we want to make a difference"*

Another key-informant described Eleos as being "*based on Christian principles", with another* key-informant from the Danville Project adding that *"churches have a desire to reach out".* The same respondent also elaborated on the 'spiritual' dimension of the organisation when explaining the meaning of the name "Eleos". He described it "*as a Greek word, translated into English meaning 'compassion' or "mercy in action", but it's about the concept of being moved emotionally into action, to do something, to respond". He explained* that Eleos came about because "*there were people who were in a financially strong position, saw the need in impoverished communities, this moved us to the extent where [we were] not*

going to go home and be sad about it, but actually do something about it.....so that concept of compassion, and being moved into action is very central to the organisation". This spiritualism is embodied in the idea that volunteers and those employed by Eleos are driven by the need to make a difference and this is inherently selfless.

One informant cited his Christian value system as a source of great support in terms of working in the field of social service delivery.He revealed that *"not taking your work home is tough, especially at first. There were a couple of times when it flattened me. And then you go home, you have to find a place to unload that, to get your emotions out. For me, that becomes an issue for my God."* Therefore Christian values not only inform the values of the organisation but also have the potential to provide informants with the emotional strength to deal with many of the difficult issues that they might encounter, while working with poor communities.

This section explored the values and principles that inform Eleos's social service delivery. Prominent values that were identified were empowerment and non-discrimination, as well as values attributed to the Christianfaith.

4.4.3 Examination of the strategies that Eleos's uses to provide social services to underprivileged communities.

Development strategies are a good way to understand micro- level development. For example in the case of Eleos, Community Development is the broad strategy that the organisation uses to guide its social service delivery. This method uses "change agents to stimulate the participation of community members in development projects" (Davids et al, 2009). In this case Eleos, is such a change agent, and uses strategic interventions to provide social services to underprivileged communities. The discussion will focus on four strategic interventions described in the Eleos Annual Report (2010, p. 2) that Eleos implements in terms of service delivery. These strategic interventions are; "Therapeutic Intervention, Skills Development, Job Creation and Poverty Alleviation". All four strategic interventions encompass specific strategies that Eloes uses to meet their strategic goals. Each

intervention strategy will be looked at in depth, focusing on key services and projects implemented by Eleos.

Therapeutic Intervention

The Danville Project and the Booysens Project both house Mother and Baby Centres, which are integral to providing beneficiaries with therapeutic services. These centres focus on early childhood intervention as well as therapeutic intervention. Professionals such as occupational therapists, play therapists, counsellors, teachers and other group facilitators spend time with mothers and babies. This is aimed at empowering mothers through educational training and stimulation of their babies (http://www.eleos.co.za).One beneficiary noted, "*It's not only about helping with food, it's about giving you more knowledge, a better perspective. Gradually coming here and not just sitting at home, improves your mood."*One informant from the Booysens project described the Mom's and Tot's project as a way in which to "*enrich them [the mom's], because they don't have a good back ground and poor parenting skills. We want to teach them responsible parenting".* The theme most common to the Booysens Mom's and Tots project, was that many women came to the centre having very little parenting skills due to being raised by women who themselves had very little parenting skills.

Eleos also has a strong commitment to helping children who experience disability and developmental delays. One beneficiary from the Mom's and Tots project remarked that "*they also helped my baby because he is disabled".*One informant from the Danville project described the baby centre as,

> *"being about early childhood development. So its to try and break the poverty cycle by stimulating babies from birth basically. So with the small babies we do massage, with the older babies we do stimulation therapy.For example, with the babies, early childhood development we look at gross motor skills, fine motor skills, develop all the muscle groups, develop intellectually, physically, emotionally".*

The Danville Baby Centre is strongly focused on early childhood development, with a focus on identifying developmental delays. One mother described her experience with the

occupational therapists at the Danville Baby Centre, *"when I first came here *Khyle was not even using his legs, when he was standing on his legs he was crying, and she helped him with exercising. And after eight months he was walking".* Beneficiaries who had children with disability or learning difficulties appreciated the range of therapeutic services provided by Eleos.

Many mothers had very little access to resources and saw the Baby Centre as a place of support emotionally and physically as the centre conducted group discussions regularly. These group discussions are a widely used form of counselling (Zastrow,2010). Almost all beneficiaries gained some kind of value from the group discussions, with many emphasising that these group discussions were informative and provided them with a sense of belonging and support. A beneficiary from Danville, said that for her the baby classes were most valuable and that she didn't just go for "the *milk or clothes or anything*". Overall beneficiaries had positive things to say about the therapeutic services they received from Eleos.

According to Eleos's website, (http://www.eleos.co.za) they provide services to children between the ages of 7-14. Children between these ages are encouraged to use the after-school facilities or learning centres, holiday camps as well as group counselling. After school facilities run from primary schools in Danville and Booysens West, and the learning centre runs directly from the Danville Rooms, in total there are three aftercare centres. After-school facilities run to ensure that children can come and do their homework and assignments, study for exams and play with educational toys in a safe, non-threatening environment. The learning centre that runs from the Danville Rooms, is geared towards but not limited to children in the building. One informant from Danville mentioned that,"*weoffer a learning centre in the building".* An informant based in Danville said he was "*involved with the primary school children at an aftercare, which also focuses on therapeutic activities".* For many of these children, therapeutic services take the form of group counselling. According to Eleos, in group counselling children are taught how to express themselves, so they can ultimately handle and control their emotions and actions(http://www.eleos.co.za)**.** One key informant described these group counselling sessionsas follows: "*A therapist comes to take a group once a week. She's works with these kids once a week in a group setting, to try and create and enabling situation where they can*

talk about their emotions". These group counselling sessions provide a therapeutic outlet, where children can share their feelings or any other issues they might be experiencing.

Another strategy implemented by Eleos to facilitate therapeutic intervention are the holiday camps that Eleos organizes for children between the ages of seven and fourteen. These camps are run by Eleos's after-school staff**,** together with volunteers and sponsors**.** According to Eleos's Website (http://www.eleos.co.za),such a holiday exposes children to new environments and situations that hopefully enable them aspire to a future beyond their present circumstance. An informant from Danville mentioned that "*from the learning centre we feed into the camps that [one of the therapists] organizes. And all those camps are focused around the emotional development of the children. Providing support*".Therefore camps are not only intended to broaden children's horizons, but also focus on therapeutic intervention.

The therapeutic interventions implemented by Eleos, are based around the fact that many women and children in the area suffer from the mental, emotional and physical effects of poverty. Eleos tries to compensate for children who have born the brunt of neglect, particularly neglect that stems from environmental factors such as insufficient hygiene, lack of proper nourishment, and in some cases, where children are not adequately supervised (Zastrow, 2010). In addition, Eleos also tries to provide physical therapy for children who are unable to receive adequate health care.

Skills development projects and Job creation initiatives

Eleos runs several skills development projects. One called the Purity Project attempts to teach mothers how to make their own purity as well the value of good nutrition. One informant commented, *"for example; this purity we teach them to make, [so they can] give their children proper food. But we don't just hand out purity. We get them the vegetables, and they must come and prepare it".* Another skills development initiative is the Home Industry which is run from the Eleos Community Centre, which is also based in Booysens West. This project has empowered four women, by teaching them how to make biscuits as well as providing them with a small, sustainable income. The key informant who runs this

project also teaches beneficiaries how to prepare budgets in order to manage their finances better.

Eleos as mentioned before, is based on Christian values and as a result Bible Study features prominently as a skills developmental strategy. The Agape project combines skills development and group counselling with religious instruction**.** A key-informant from the Booysen's Project said the women who participated in the Agape project "*knit, do all kinds of things*", she added that "*they basically make things that someone else sponsors, and they give it away. To give something of themselves, so they don't just get*". One beneficiary from the Booysens West project described the skills development she received from Eleos, by saying "*they give us maybe a piece of wood, and then we paint it, and paint a nice pattern on it.*"This links into the Knitting and Crochet project which according to the Eleos Annual Report (2010), is not a profitable project and goods are primarily donated to other needy organizations such as Old Age Homes, Hospice and Orphanages.

A computer room consisting of eleven computers was opened in the Danville Rooms in 2008. The facility besides the eleven computers, boasts a network, air conditioning as well as Windows software (http://www.eleos.co.za).There are six classes that beneficiaries can attend, and added to that old computers are repaired and given to beneficiaries to use in their own homes (http://www.eleos.co.za). One informant began his time at Eleos by running the computer classes, and reported that "*I first started getting involved in the computer centre, and became involved there, and I manage it and teach the classes. I teach people basic computer literacy".* Therefore these classes are intended to teach adult beneficiaries basic computer skills to improve their chances of employment.

One beneficiary from Danville, however, expressed an idea about other projects or initiatives that could be implemented. She expressed an interest in some kind of job creation initiative in Danville. She suggested that Eleos implements some kind of arts and craft initiative, where the mothers could sell their wares twice a month from the big open parking lot across the way from the Danville Rooms. She commented, "I *know there are no jobs out there, but [they can help us learn] arts and crafts, so we can sell it.* This beneficiary expressed a desire for more developmental initiatives opposed to the group discussions that

happened weekly. Most of the skills development projects are located at the Booysens Project, and this highlights the need for more skills development at the Danville Project.

Therefore, Eleos has attempted to diversify in terms of its services, by providing beneficiaries with opportunities to participate in development projects, above and beyond the remedial services that they also provide. This is an essential point of growth for the organisation, particularly in the current competitive job market in South Africa. By providing beneficiaries with skills, increases the chance that they will become independent and self-reliant which is ultimately a way to reducing dependency on Eleos. Creating self-reliance amongst beneficiaries is important, as ultimately handouts cannot be sustained without outside assistance (Louw et al, 2010).

Poverty Alleviation

Due to the fact that job loss is extremely prevalent in the areas of Danville and Booysens West, Eleos strives to meet the more immediate needs of these communities.Poverty alleviation according to Louw et al (2010, p.27), "is any process that which attempts to reduce levels of poverty in a community". Therefore, preparing and handing out food parcels, is an important poverty alleviation strategy that Eleos uses. In addition to this, Eleos is engaged in the handing out food parcels, second -hand clothing and toys. Eleos prepares seventy food parcels each month, and according to,Eleos their "biggest monthly expense is groceries" (http://www.eleos.co.za). Many informants also emphasised that Eleos provided food parcels, with one informant noting that, "*We give them monthly food parcels, and lunch once a week".*Many of the beneficiaries viewed the services they received from Eleos in a positive light. One beneficiary noted, "I *think it's very good, I can't complain"* . The majority of beneficiaries emphasised the usefulness of the food packages they received monthly, with one commenting,*"it's useful because we [get] nappies for the baby, we really need them*. *[They also provide] food for the baby like porridge, and clothes also."*

A beneficiary from Danville, however, expressed a need for a Feeding Scheme to be run from the Danville Rooms. She revealed,"I *would start a feeding scheme in this building. Not so much to give people groceries, but to take one of the rooms, and put [a] kitchen in and*

cook for them[the residents of the Danville Rooms] once a day. I think that would be, specifically in this building- a wonderful thing". Two beneficiaries from the Booysens West project, also emphasised that in terms of the remedial services offered by Eleos, they felt that the food parcels could be more substantial. One beneficiary noted that *"more people with money,[should] put more money into this place to buy more food for people*".

In addition to this, Eleos also helps beneficiaries with medical, dental and ophthalmic care. Furthermore they also help families by assisting them to pay their rent as well as electricity bills.Eleos provides beneficiaries with furniture, and household appliances. Most beneficiaries are also encouraged to participate in the various upliftment projects that Eleos facilitates (http://www.eleos.co.za). Many informants emphasised that Eleos "*did not just give hand-outs*". They emphasised the fact that, *" we want to meet their basic needs in order for us to go deeper, to meet their emotional needs that they might have or the social needs in terms of their relationships*." People receiving help are encouraged to participate in one of our upliftment projects.Regular donations of fruit, vegetables and other perishable products are also received and distributed at the Eleos Community Centre (http://www.eleos.co.za). An informant added to this by saying, *" we do not believe in giving people money, like rather give them clothes, food or pay for the child's education"*Eleos also helps people with medical, dental and ophthalmic care, one informant verified this by adding,"*my involvement is not only therapy in the end. If I see children can't see properly, we started a project where we help children get their eyes tested, and glasses and dentistry. And things like ADHD, where you need to get children medication, you also can't ignore that***."**

They also provide transport to beneficiaries (http://www.eleos.co.za). One informant noted that *" they help with transport, they bought a community bus",* which is used for things like, transporting children to specialist doctor's visits as well as helping those unable to afford transport to attend job interviews . Therefore Eleos, covers a range of remedial services to the communities of Danville and Booysens West. However, this is not done in isolation of development initiatives, to ensure that beneficiaries do not simply see the organisations as being centred around "hand-outs".

Eleos therefore engages in four strategic intervention strategies in order to meet the service delivery needs of the communities of Danville and Booysens West. These interventions are centred around therapy, skills development, job creation initiatives, and poverty alleviation.

4.4.4 Challenges faced by Eleos in maintaining the integrity and efficacy of its organisation

Virtually every key-informant interviewed stated that **lack of funding** was the biggest challenge they faced. One informant cited the recession as being the biggest factor. He noted that,*"the current economic situation has a big impact, because we are on the wrong side of the scale. The tougher it gets in the economy, the greater the need gets in our communities. The poor always seem to be struck the hardest".* When asked if the recession at all influenced government funding to Eleos, the most common response was that government funding was difficult to procure as the organisation had to meet many criteria- which they found difficult. This difficulty feeds into the fact that a number of informants felt that Eleos was at the point where they needed to commercialise. One informant commented that *"we need people to sit down and look at all the projects and manage it from a top level point, and focus on trying to get all the government grants we can. We need structures in place, we need to have the right things for every project. Because there is a lot of stuff we are not doing*". This is primarily because many members of the committee are volunteers, and cannot dedicate time or lack the business acumen that successful and sustainable NPO's need, particularly in the current economic climate. A beneficiary from Danville commented that she wished Eleos could help more people, in terms of capacity. She said, "Where *I am staying now, some mummies have children and they can't come here. I invited some of them, and they came here and it was full. They could not take them, it's a problem."* This also highlights the issue of whether Eleos should become bigger and more commercialised, in order to help more people, as clearly there is a need.

Another more controversial theme that was mentioned concerned funders themselves. One informant revealed that a portion of funders had racial stipulations when it came to funding. He stated that "when *it comes to funding one guy says he wants to help white people and one guy says he wants to help black people*". This has led to some projects supporting more

black people and others supporting more white people. For example one informant revealed,*"I know for a fact that they try to manipulate their numbers to be more white*". Even though the Danville Project has recently qualified for funding from the NLDTF,perhaps indicating a shift in donor funding practices. However, their other projects have not qualified for funding, this is presumably because these other projects do not provide services to enough black beneficiaries. One informant commented that "*we applied to the Lotto and they said we cannot sponsor this one, but we can this one because there are enough black people attending there".* While it could be argued that the above phenomenon is a characteristic of Eleos, it can also be argued that this 'racial criteria' is rather a characteristic of the funders themselves.

For example, according to research conducted in Danville prior to this study, Eleos had reported problems in trying to obtain funding from the Department of Social Development, and a local headmaster from a primary school also reported having the same problem when he applied for funding. Both argue that in order to qualify for government and private funding, it is necessary to show that people from previously disadvantaged communities will benefit. This therefore disadvantages projects based in areas that are viewed as 'white' or projects that target even partially white communities (Pharoah,2008). Ultimately, navigating this 'racial criteria' is a challenge that Eleos has to contend with to ensure that all projects, no matter what the racial composition, are supported.

Capacity in terms of a lack in skilled staff and volunteers wasmentioned as a challenge affecting the efficacy of Eleos, particularly as Eleos has more and more people seeking support. One informant said that she was in desperate need of more volunteers, and that many volunteers stopped coming to the project due to the distance they had to travel from the east of Tshwane. She commented that "another *challenge is the lack of committed volunteers. We do find that most of our volunteers are coming from the east of Pretoria, so it's a far drive. So that's mostly the reason why people back out."*Another challenge, particularly experienced by the Danville Project, was that volunteers often let culture and language determines their community work. One informant noted that, *"people would rather volunteer at the Booysen's Baby Centre because it's more white. I have had volunteers that have told me that they want to speak Afrikaans*". This means that many

volunteers who speak Afrikaans and who are white, prefer to work at the Booysens Project, as they felt more comfortable communicating in their own language**.** According **to** Morris (1969), working with people of another class tends to be difficult, but is made even more difficult when there is an added difference of race.

Another challenge encountered by Eleos was the lack of skilled and committed paid employees. For example if Eleos had more staff, things like home visits could be done more regularly. Even though the organisation has skilled therapists and occupational therapists, a need was expressed for a clinic sister. One informant noted that a clinic sister would really be beneficial to the project, "*a volunteer clinic sister, someone to come and test the babies ears, [and] their eyes".* Another issue that was mentioned centred around the fact that the project lacked committed staff members. One informant noted; *"we do not have enough workers- people that are willing to come in and commit to the project for a number of years, and not using this as a stepping stone".* Thus, Eleos's service provision could be more sustainable with the inclusion of more skilled workers and volunteers, however the distance and lack of commitment seems to make meeting this goal quite difficult. In addition, the NPO industry is not known for its generous salaries (particularly in this economic climate) - so finding skilled staff and volunteers is also dependent on finding people who want to do this out of a desire to help (Morris, 1969).

Misconceptions of community members of Eleos featured as a problem that several informants had to deal with**.** Many members of the community had negative perceptions, particularly of social workers that worked for Eleos. This was largely to do with the fact that, particularly in poor white communities, social workers were often associated with taking children away. One informant revealed that when she first started working in the Booysens area, many years ago, people in the community viewed her negatively, for example "*I saw all the little kiddies, who came with their Mom's to see me. They [the mothers] gave them slaps and said "be quiet, because the social worker is going to take you away".Unfortunately, many people have that perception*". Another informant relayed a similar story,"I *think there is a perception of welfare in this area, and perhaps people had an experience perhaps from childhood where their sister was taken away or their cousin was*

taken away. So they did not want to be involved initially, because they associated us with welfare."Even though several informants claimed that this perception was not as common anymore, one informant recently employed by Eleos at the Booysens Project, said "*They don't like social workers, because in this community, they hear social worker, they think they'll take my child. When they feel I am starting to question, they think I am trying take their child, they won't come to me anymore*". According to Landman (2005) in providing statutory services, social workers do have the power to remove children from their homes, if their living situations are viewed as being 'high risk'. This issue of viewing social workers negatively, while not as common as it once was, does affect the level of trust that the communities, particularly Booysens West, places in Eleos.

Poor government infrastructure in terms of housing and healthcare contribute heavily to problems encountered by the communities of Danville and Booysens West. In terms of housing, issues were encountered particularly around the fact that many families in the area, share accommodation with at least two to three families in one house, and in some cases each property will also house two more families either in a garden shack or a Wendy house. One informant commented that, "**We** *have a big housing problem. More than one family, three or four and somebody is in the garage and somebody is in a shack and somebody is in a Wendy*". Eleos also helps people when City Council threatens to demolish these Wendy houses or shacks, as they are viewed as unsafe, and in violation of housing codes. Alternatives are not usually provided for by the City Council. When asked if it was not possible for residents to move into RDP houses, one informant answered, "*people must show evidence of employment to qualify for an RDP house, and I think it's too much of a change to move out of your garage into a community you don't know*".

Beneficiaries in particular mentioned the fact that they struggled to sort problems out that were of a municipal nature. For example the Vryheids Front, seemed to play an active role in the area in terms of municipal upkeep, even though the areas of Danville and Booysens West are not their constituency. One beneficiary revealed that she knew a member of the Vryheids Front and that *"if there's a pot hole or the [drains] are open- I phone him*". They often helped members of the community to fix open drains, sewage issues or even to help

construct much needed pavements. Another beneficiary stated that they had had a lot of problems with sewage, going into a nearby river, and that "*people were dropping a lot of papers and things in there [the river] and it was getting smelly, we reported it but nothing happened".* One informant also commented that when the City Council had threatened to tear down Wendy houses in the past, the Vryheids Front had come to Eleos's aid. Therefore, in terms of health service delivery as well as the maintenance of infrastructure,Eleos is limited to what it can achieve.

Several informants seemed distressed at the fact that many of the health care facilities in the area were not adequate, or numerous enough to cater for the growing communities and surrounding areas. According to Zastrow (2010), one's access to medical care is directly proportionate to one's socioeconomic class and race. As a result, thepost-apartheid government has attempted to provide free government health care for those who cannot afford private health care, as a result the use of government hospitals has risen dramatically, particularly amongst the rural poor. This has lead to over-used medical facilities and shortages in medical personnel (Scheurmans and Visser,2005). In terms of the quality of the health care offered at neighbouring government hospitals one beneficiary revealed while giving birth to her son "*there was nobody there to help me... There were only two people looking after us. I could feel the pains and the baby was already coming out and no one came, so I was pulling my own baby out".* This indicates that beneficiaries are at risk of medical malpractice.

Unfortunately, many children in communities such as Danville and Booysens West are born with birth defects and are disabled from birth. One informant noted; "*there are quite a lot of babies who have developmental delays and attention deficit due to exposure to substances pre-natal. Across the board. You [also] see a lot of physical disability"* This means that there is a great need for specialist facilities, and unless Eleos can provide enough therapy at their centres or providetransport, many children are unable to visit specialist doctors or attend remedial schools.

Residual SocialServices are also a key feature of Eleos's social service delivery, as expanded on in a previous section. However, the reason this social intervention is listed under challenges as well- is because of the conflicted reactions many informants had when addressing the topic of "hand-outs" or "food parcels". Many informants seemed to liken Eleos's so-called "hand-outs", with failure in helping beneficiaries to achieve self-reliance. This is particularly difficult to navigate, as Eleos at one point provided only remedial services. For example one informant pointed out that this was partially Eleos's fault as "*in the past we were all about giving and not helping them to help themselves. Since we have recognised that we have changed the system*". Therefore, Eleos has spent the last few years attempting to become more developmental in its service delivery.One informant noted that when, "*you give somebody something once or twice they think it is an arranged thing. And some will get quite angry, if you don't give them food or pay their water and lights*". This is the difficulty when beneficiaries have come to expect only remedial services, and will only participate in projects if they receive goods in return. This is why Eleos now stresses the need for beneficiaries to attend projects, before receiving food parcels.

Many informants linked this expectancy of goods by the beneficiaries to a certain mind set or what they called a "poor mentality", which can be linkedto " the culture of poverty". "The "culture of poverty" theory suggests that it is characteristics of the poor that cause poverty" (Davids et al, 2009,p.42). Several comments made by key-informants correlated with this theory, as some beneficiaries were described as being "resigned to their situation unable to take opportunities, reluctant to work, and unable to plan for the future" (Davids et al, 2009, p.42). Furthermore this theory also accounts for "generational poverty" that many informants cited as being a problem in these communities, and ultimately contributes to the continuation of this "poor mentality". Trying to overcome this "poor mentality" was a very common theme amongst informants interviewed.

According to informants, this mentality was a combination of hopelessness, learned helplessness and entitlement. Several key- informants stressed the issue of "learned helplessness", with one informant adding, "*I think that there is a definite problem here of learned helplessness."*There is arguably a relationship between "entitlement" and "learned helplessness", because these two values can be seen as mutually reinforcing. For example,

the more beneficiaries come to expect and feel entitled to “hand-outs” the more helpless they become as they don’t have the tools or mental wherewithal to independently procure goods for themselves, and vice versa. Therefore one of Eleos’s main goals is to try and break this mindset of poverty. This is why development projects as well as self- esteem building, is of utmost importance to meeting their ultimate goal of community development.

Hopelessness particularly in children, was a very worrying phenomenon for the informants. One informant noted that “in *the younger children especially, they don’t know how to dream*”. The same informant noted that in the case of the adults “they *have been in the system so long, they don’t want to dream anymore*”. That is why Eleos arranges camps and safe after care facilities for many of the children, and tries to provide mental and emotional support to beneficiaries in the form of support groups, so that beneficiaries can feel safe, valued and part of a community. One informant noted, *“You must actually create hope. And I think Eleos tries to do it with the children, to help them to dream, to think further than this community and just surviving.”* This sentiment is indicative of Eleos’s commitment to alleviating this kind of hopeless mindset that many beneficiaries seem to struggle with.

But this sense of hopelessness or inability to dream, is exacerbated by the sense of entitlement that is prevalent amongst many beneficiaries. For example one informant commented that,“we *help them to find jobs, in some cases, and they just don’t commit. That’s a big thing for me. It’s easier to get all my baby’s nappies and clothes from Eleos.*”One informant similarly noted, “ *[these are] all the tools that we can give [to] help you, and they just don’t take it*”. This sense of entitlement is dis-empowering in itself, and therefore achieving goals or dreams is ultimately beyond some beneficiaries. One informant also pointed out that, “*there are more poor white people coming to ask if they can have things instead of coming to join the groups.”* This sense of entitlement is a common theme amongst poor white literature, and clearly the areas of Danville and Booysens West are not exempt. When asked about the services they received from Eleos, a few commented that the packages they received though useful were not substantial enough. One beneficiary noted that even though they [the packages] covered the basics she felt that they lacked meat, as Eleos “*doesn’t give any meat”.*

The objective of this section was to identify the challenges facing Eleos. The most prominent challenges related to lack of funding, insufficient volunteers and skilled staff, misconceptions, poor government infrastructure in terms of housing and healthcare and lastly many informants mentioned issues surrounding Eleos's supply of residual social services to the communities.

4.5 Summary

This chapter explored the values that inform Eleos's intervention strategies, as well as the strategic interventions themselves. After an examination of Eleos's values and principles, the most upheld values were that of empowerment, non-discrimination as well as values emanating from Christianity. Furthermore, the data also revealed that Eleos decided to provide services to these specific communities, because these communities were viewed as historically poor and subject to being overlooked by the current administration, due to the fact that many of the residents were white and viewed as more economically stable. However, the area of Danville in particular, had over the years become more racially inclusive and as a result Eleos has adapted by becoming and organisation that adheres to anti-discriminatory practices. Some of the main challenges that Eleos faced centred on lack of funding, not enough skilled personnel and the perceived "culture of poverty" that exists in these communities. The following chapter will present the main finding emanating from this data analysis. In addition, Chapter Five, will also provide a conclusion as well as recommendations.

CHAPTER 5

MAIN FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The main aim of this study was to explore the ethos behind Eleos's social service delivery in the areas of Danville and Booysens West. In order to do this several themes were identified. These themes were expanded upon in the previous chapter and the findings, conclusions as well as recommendations have been formulated based on the most relevant data that was highlighted in each theme.

5.2 Main Findings

Firstly, Eleos decided to provide the areas of Danville and Booysens West with social services, due to the fact that these areas were perceived as being overlooked by the government post 1994. It is unclear whether the government specifically chose to overlook these communities. However, due to the fact that post-1994, the government had to provide social welfare to a larger portion of the population, it stands to reason the more comprehensive welfare that these communities once received under the Apartheid government, would have to be reduced.

Secondly,Eleos has proven itself to uphold of the values of empowerment and non-discrimination. The latter being particularly relevant because as an organisation, they have evolved along side the changing demographics of the areas they service, to being an organisation that now services all those in need, regardless of race, culture or nationality. Christianity is a prominent feature of Eleos, bringing an element of compassion and spirituality to their social service delivery

Thirdly, Eleos is in the process of becoming a developmental Non-Profit organisation. In 1998 it focused exclusively on poverty alleviation, but is now evolving into an organisation that is more developmental in its approach. However, this is not without challenges in that some beneficiaries would prefer 'hand-outs' as opposed to partaking in developmental

initiatives. In addition, Eleos is faced with the challenge of ensuring that their skills development initiatives are relevant and pertinent to the current job market.Eleos's skills development initiatives seem to be uneven, in that the beneficiaries from the Danville Project felt the need for more skills development and job creation initiatives in their area.

Fourthly, Eleos is heavily reliant in funding from private donors. This means that they have been affected by the current recession due to cut backs. However, due to the racial composition of their Danville Project, they qualify for funding fromthe *National Lottery Distribution Trust Fund*(NLDTF). It is unclear as to whether Eleos qualifies for funding from government, but all evidence suggests they do not.

Fifthly, in terms of receiving funds from private donors, it seems that some donors impose some form of 'racial criteria', when stipulating who should benefit from their funding. This is not unlike the criteria outlined by the government in order to receive funding, except that some funders will stipulate that only white beneficiaries should benefit from their funding, or vice versa. Potentially, this could be in reaction to the fact that government is perceived to apply 'racial criteria' in order to qualify for funding, therefore compelling private donors to try and mitigate this. This has meant that Eleos has to navigate this 'racial criteria' quite carefully, so that they are able to procure as much funding as possible, without excluding those in their projects that do not fit the racial criteria. This is a fine balancing act, that ultimately has to ensure that those most in need benefit, and those who provide the funds have their criteria met.

Sixthly, the "culture of poverty" seems to be a characteristic of the communities of Danville and Booysens West. Though this theory adequately explains the mindset and characteristics of many of the beneficiaries- it is not without its pitfalls. It has been criticised for being a theory of the privileged and ultimately places the blame of poverty on the poor themselves (Davids et al, 2009), which goes against the value of "empowerment", as one cannot be empowered if they are characterised as being inherently unable to uplift themselves, as the "culture of poverty" would assert .

Lastly, it proved difficult to ascertain whether or not beneficiaries of different race and culture utilise social services differently. All key informants from either the Danville Project or Booysens West project had varying opinions about beneficiaries' attitudes towards Eleos

and the services they provided. What was clear however, particularly at the Danville Project was that they had experienced some form of discrimination amongst beneficiaries- but this was based along xenophobic lines rather than ethnic lines. Furthermore, even though poor white literature dealing with Pretoria West, asserts that this community is racially segregated (Pharoah, 2008), clearly this is changing in Danville. Booysens West however, is servicing predominantly white South Africans, and therefore justifies the assertion made by Pharoah. The reason behind the all white racial composition of Booysens West is unclear, but could be because they want to appeal to funders who donate only to white projects, or it could be for volunteers that prefer working with people who speak the same language, or maybeit's for the sake of the beneficiaries themselves who feel more comfortable with other white beneficiaries, the answer to this remains unclear.

5.3 Conclusion

Whether or not its government's or private donor's criteria- a non-profit organisation is always answerable to one, the other or both. So that begs the question- is Eleos purely a product of its values and principles or is it also inevitably influenced by the values and principles of those that fund this organisation? This is indicative of discourse that has become more prevalent particularly in reference to independently funded NPO's in South Africa, where they are criticised for pursuing anti-government agendas (John,2012). This is not a new issue as highlighted by Habib and Taylor (1999), particularly as the legacy of Apartheid saw civil society once in opposition to government. But ultimately, if NPO's cannot be guaranteed funding from government, and are criticised for pursuing agendas more in line with independent donors, how can they realistically navigate this?

The literature review of this study drew from other studies that had been conducted on poor white communities. These communities are characterised in certain ways, and this study attempted to challenge these views, based on the fact that as is the nature of social systems, they evolve and change. Therefore to attribute certain characteristics to a group of people or a society- does not necessarily have to hold true indefinitely. Eleos has witnessed and to an extent been apart of one such social change or evolution in the area of Danville. As a result, Eleos as an organisation also evolved and changed in response to this evolution.

5.4 Recommendations

The recommendations of this study are as follows:

5.4.1. Recommendations for government

According to the literature review, it is evident that partnerships between government and non-profit organisations, are weak and in some cases non-existent. Particularly, as asserted by Lombard (2008), in the case of NGO's that do not meet representative criteria. In addition, areas that are not viewed as the most in need, are unlikely to receive sufficient funding. This is misleading, primarily because projects such as Danville, now service predominantly black South Africans, who do not benefit from government funding because the organisation servicing them is viewed as being 'too white'. Either in terms of their labour composition, or because previously this project has serviced predominantly white South Africans. Therefore the criteria outlined by the Department of Social Development needs to be reviewed, in order to ensure that in practice, policy reflects the needs of a racially evolving and democratic society based on 'non-discrimination' and 'equality'.

5.4.2. Recommendations for Eleos

As it stands Eleos has nearly a two million rand budget a year in order to cover its running costs. If this budget is maintained, it means Eleos can stay at its current capacity. However, as there is always a need for more poverty alleviation and development projects in South Africa- the issue of expansion is prominent. If Eleos were to expand- it would then need to commercialise and streamline its operations as well as possibly conform to more of the government's funding criteria. However, this would then mean that they would lose some of their autonomy. Therefore, these issues are more pressing due to the current economic climate- where organisations would have to streamline in order to qualify for the reduced funding from private donors. Even if Eleos was to remain at the operating capacity that is at

now, due to the reduced funding climate- streamlining and commercialisation would be a good way to try and mitigate this.

Secondly, Eleos is still in the process of becoming a developmental non-profit organisation, therefore skills development and job creation initiatives are arguably in their infancy. The South African job market is highly competitive, particularly at the unskilled and semi-skilled level, so it is very important that Eleos ensures that as many willing beneficiaries are equipped with relevant skills. This means ensuring that they are equipped to provide beneficiaries with as many relevant certifications as possible- a good place to start would be the computer centre. It would also be useful to extend more development projects to the Danville Project, as there is a demand for it.

5.4.3 Recommendations for future research

As this was purely an exploratory study that yielded rich data, there were a few issues and areas of interest that were touched upon. Therefore, there is scope for further research.

Firstly, this study was limited because of the fact that only one NPO of this nature was studied, therefore rendering the findings to be quite specific. Hopefully, these findings could contribute to a more generalised study that might find other NPO's, organisations or social phenomena that illustrate similar trends. Possibly indicating a paradigm shift in the study of race and class in South Africa.

Another area of interest would be to look at the funding strategies or criteria that many private donors implement in South Africa. This has been touched upon in this study, but a larger more comprehensive study on this could prove useful for NPO's, particularly during a time when funding is scarce.

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APPENDIX A

Participant Information Sheet for key-informants

Good day,

My name is Lauren Stuart and I am a student registered for the degree of Master of Arts in Social Development at the University of the Witwatersrand. As part of the requirements for the degree, I am conducting research to explore the ethos of Eleos, in itsinterventions to address poverty in underprivileged communities, by looking at the following. The rationale behind Eleos's decision to provide social services to specific underprivileged communities, the values and principles underpinning Eleos's social service delivery, the strategies used by Eleos in it's social service delivery, and lastly, the challenges faced by Eleos in maintaining the integrity and efficacy of its organisation.

I therefore wish to invite you to take part in my study. Please be advised that participation is entirely voluntary and you may refuse to participate, and this will not be held against you in any way. If you agree to take part, I will arrange to interview you at a time and place that is convenient for you. The interview will last about an hour. You may withdraw from the study at any time and you also may refuse to answer any question (s) that you feel uncomfortable with.

With your permission, I will record our interview as well as take notes. All of your responses will be kept confidential. No one other than my supervisor and I will have access to the recorded interviews and notes. The interview transcripts, interview schedules as well as interview notes will be kept in a safe place for two years following any publication or six years if no publications emanate from the study. Please be assured, that no identifying information will be included in the final research report.

If you have any questions regarding this study, please feel free to contact to me on my mobile number 082 357 6738 or my email address stuart.lauren0@gmail.com. I will answer your questions to the best of my ability. Should you wish to receive a summary of the results of the study, an abstract will be made available on request.

Thank you for taking the time to consider participating in this study.

Yours sincerely,

Lauren Stuart

APPENDIX B

Participation Information Sheet for Beneficiaries

Good day,

My name is Lauren Stuart and I am a student registered for the degree of Masters of Arts in Social Development at the University of the Witwatersrand. As part of the requirements for the degree, I am conducting research to explore the ethos of Eleos, in itsinterventions to address poverty in underprivileged communities. For this I need to speak to people who use the social services provided by Eleos. By doing this, I can learn more about the ways in which Eleos provides social services as well as the challenges that they face. I would also like to learn how you perceive the values and principles of Eleos.

I therefore would like to invite you to take part in my study. Participation is voluntary and you may refuse to participate. This will not be held against you in any way. If you agree to be interviewed, I will arrange to interview you at a time and place that suits you. The interview will last about an hour. You may leave the study at any time and you also don't have to answer any question (s) that you feel uncomfortable with.

If you agree, I will record our interview as well as take notes. All of your answers will be kept confidential. No one other than my supervisor and I will be able to access the recorded interviews and notes. The interview transcripts, interview schedules as well as interview notes will be kept in a safe place for two years after any publication or six years if no publications result from the study. Please note, that your identity will not be included in the final research report.

If you have any questions contact me on my mobile number 082 357 6738 or my email address stuart.lauren0@gmail.com. I will answer your questions as best I can . If you would like to have a summary of the results of the study, an abstract will be made available on request.

Thank you for taking the time to consider being a part of this study.

Yours sincerely,

Lauren Stuart

APPENDIX C

Consent Form for Participation in this Study

I, ……. hereby consent to participate in the research study. The purpose and procedures of the study have been explained to me. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may refuse to answer any particular question(s) or item(s) or withdraw completely from the study at any time without any negative consequences. I understand that my response will be kept confidential

Signature: .....

Date: .....

APPENDIX D

Consent form for Audio-Taping of the Interview

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

Signature:.....

Date: .....

APPENDIX E

Semi -structured interview schedule for key -informants

1. Are you a volunteer or are you employed by Eleos?
2. How long have you worked/volunteered at Eleos?
3. Which project(s) are you involved in?
4. Why does Eleos provide services to the communities of Danville and Booysens West?
5. What specific developmental strategies does Eleos implement?
6. Since you have been involved with Eleos, what has your involvement entailed?
7. What has your experience been like when working with the community?
8. What is the reasoning behind the service delivery that Eleos offers?
9. In your view, how do you think beneficiaries experience the services offered by Eleos?
10. What are the values that underpin your organisation?
11. As a developmental NGO, what in your view, are the challenges hampering your efficiency and service delivery?

APPENDIX F

Semi- structured interview schedule for beneficiaries

1. Do you originate from the area(s) of Danville/Booysens West? If not, where are you from?
2. How long have you and your family received social services from Eleos?
3. How did it come about that you used services from Eleos?
4. What are your views about the services you are using?
5. If you were the management of Eleos, what services would you offer to the communities of Danville/Booysens West?
6. Is there a community forum in Danville/Booysens West where you can air your views, needs or wants?
7. Do you feel that Eleos treats you as a partner in the process of service delivery?

APPENDIX G

ETHICS CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

APPENDIX H

PERMISSION LETTER FROM THE ORGANISATION