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2011-05-23
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STRATEGIES TO ENHANCE PERPETRATOR PROGRAMMES DIRECTED AT REDUCING GENDER VIOLENCE

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A research report submitted to the Faculty of Commerce, Law and Management, University of the Witwatersrand, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Management: Public and Development Management

Johannesburg
February 2006

ABSTRACT

Violence against women is a serious problem confronting most communities throughout South Africa. Despite various interventions by government, civil society organisations, academic institutions and business, the problem does not seem to dissipate. Understandably, most of these interventions are directed at survivors of violence (women) with very little attention being paid to the rehabilitation of perpetrators of gender violence. Organisations best suited to deliver services in this sector are small community-based organisations (CBOs) that are under-resourced having to rely on volunteers to do the work. This situation raises serious questions about the quality of output by CBOs operating in a very complex area of work.

The purpose of the case study was to gain a better understanding of good practice examples related to the management and development of community-based strategies aimed at enhancing the efficacy of perpetrator programmes. The research involved one case study of a CBO working with perpetrators in the Western Cape, Embizweni Voluntary Association

The main findings of the study found that donors should have a different approach when providing support to CBO's – capacity building must be part of the total package, capacity development can transform CBO's into learning organisations, and that CBO's have the ability to contribute significantly to complex areas of work such as gender violence provided they are given a chance and appropriate support.

THE DECLARATION

I, Renald Morris, declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Management (in the field of Public and Development Management) in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in this or any other university

Renald Morris

28 February 2006

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my appreciation to the following people for their invaluable contribution to this report

- My supervisor Ms Lynn Hewlett for her regular input and thorough feedback on each draft and for challenging me to think critically at each stage of the research
- The management and staff at the Embizweni Voluntary Association for their cooperation and participation in the study
- All lecturers at P&DM who assisted me over the past two years
- Fay, Aidan and Joey for their many sacrifices and dedicated support especially during the time of writing of this report – not forgetting other members of the family
- My fellow student and Mogale group leader, Thabo Modise, for his support and motivation.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this report to the memory of my friend and fellow student, Gary Cassim, whose dream to graduate with a Master's degree from P&DM could not be realised. Gary died unexpectedly in 2005.

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STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

Chapter One consists of an introduction summarising the focus of the case study followed by an experiential journey that basically sets the scope and scene of the case study.

Chapter Two deals with Gender Violence and Capacity Development and provides the reader with some insight into origins and complexity of gender violence and the need for capacity building to deal with this problem adequately in South Africa.

Chapter Three includes the research methodology which contains justification for the case study approach, a description of how the data was collected and analysed, and the necessary precautions that were taken to protect the integrity of the data.

Chapter Four contains the literature review provides a detailed description of theoretical perspectives and previous research findings related to perpetrator programmes, gender violence and capacity development.

Chapter Five contains the details of the case providing historical information of the physical location (Khayelitsha), how the organisation being researched was established as well as challenges encountered. It goes further by detailing the formal structure of the organisation, capacity needs of the organisation and the different programme areas the organisation engages in.

Chapter Six highlights the findings that emerged from the study while Chapter Seven concludes with a brief summary and vision for the future

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Focus of the Study

This study addresses itself to the role that perpetrator programmes play in attempting to reduce gender violence at community level. More specifically, it seeks to identify what fuels gender violence, highlight good practice management and capacity building strategies (in an organisation and among its target groups) that may enhance the impact of perpetrator programmes.

The management and staff of the Embizweni[1] Voluntary Association based in Khayelitsha in the Western Cape have kindly agreed to participate in this study in the hope that, as a case study, their experiences may begin to inform this highly complex area of work in South Africa and possibly elsewhere.

1.2 The Organisation (Embizweni)

Embizweni Voluntary Association (herein after referred to as Embizweni) is a community-based, membership driven organisation with a mission to change the violent behaviour of men who tend to be abusive toward their partners and families. In addition, the organisation also work with community structures in order to sensitise them around the dynamics of gender- based violence. Embizweni aims to achieve its objectives (listed below) through a range of different programmes undertaken in partnership with other organisations and community structures.

1.2.1 Embizweni's Objectives

To reduce the level of domestic violence in Khayelitsha: This is achieved through educational workshops and training courses in domestic violence, gender issues and parenting skills.

[1] Embizweni is a Xhosa word meaning "where men gather"

To strengthen spousal and family relationships: Is achieved through family camps, children's excursions and counselling services

To develop community infrastructure: This is done by identifying community needs and engaging with government and local business to assist with community development projects such as parks, libraries etc.

1.3 Physical Context

It is late November and from the leafy upmarket suburb of Newlands in Cape Town one is able to see how a heavy cloud has begun its onslaught on Table Mountain abruptly interrupting the early morning sun. For the locals this cloud has significance because it influences how people plan their day, what they decide wear, whether the cable car to Table Mountain and ferries to Robben Island would be servicing tourists or, whether the ocean would provide conditions suitable for a good day's catch for the many fishermen who rely on the sea for their livelihood.

My work colleague and I head for the M2 highway in the direction of Cape Town International Airport because about ten minutes from there lies the Spine Road off ramp that will lead us to the township of Khayelitsha[2] which is roughly 25 kilometres from central Cape Town. This is not my first time going to Khayelitsha and I am conscious of the unacceptable levels of crime and violence in this township, which affects women and children disproportionately. Gender violence is a huge issue in Khayelitsha and is a war that Embizweni has been fighting in and with this community for several years. For a moment I question whether this battle will ever be won – not only in Khayelitsha but everywhere

Still driving on the M2, I spot a huge billboard sporting a white ribbon reminding us of government's campaign of 16 Days of Activism for No Violence Against Women and Children while Cheryl Gillwald, the deputy minister of Correctional Services, is being

[2] Khayelitsha is a Xhosa word meaning "New Home"

interviewed on radio (Cape Talk 567) by host Tim Modise. She calls on communities to join hands with government to support the various campaigns around the country designed to give hope and assistance to those experiencing violence and abuse while also attempting to motivate men to change their abusive behaviour. This annual campaign, which seems to gain momentum and support each year runs from 25 November to 10 December and has been in operation for the past ten years. The campaign is but one component of Government's yearlong integrated and cross-sectoral drive to eliminate the abuse of women and children. It aims to contribute to Government's primary developmental objective of restoring to individuals their human dignity within the context of safer and more secure families and communities (Gillwald, 2005,:3)

The road is not particularly busy because we are travelling against the traffic moving at snail's pace toward Cape Town but I have to apply extra caution to avoid the odd pedestrian negotiating his or her way across this national highway. The highway is sandwiched in several places between informal settlements and despite solid concrete barriers and strategically placed foot-bridges, pedestrian fatalities on this road remain common. As we leave the Spine Road turn-off, we pass the 9th South African Infantry Battalion military base to our left and descend on the township approaching the first intersection known by the locals as the "four way" stop. Traffic lights at this busy intersection are not working today due to the spate of power outages experienced throughout Cape Town in recent weeks. We dash across several intersections with a sense of urgency amidst the hooting and impatience of the many mini-bus taxis ferrying people to work and who knows where. I notice several groups of men, many of them young men perhaps in their early twenty's congregating at different spots next to the road some of them totally engrossed in conversation unperturbed about the commotion around them, while others, try to make themselves visible to passing motorists. From the look on their faces I can only deduce that these men are perhaps hoping that somebody would buy their labour by offering them a piece-job[3] or else be confronted with the challenge of getting through yet another day, unproductively. High unemployment rates in South Africa is a serious concern both from a development and security point of view and while Statistics South Africa's Labour Force Survey highlight significant employment growth in

[3] Informal short-term or daily employment usually associated with manual labour.

the trade, construction and finance sectors, it also lists job losses in the mining, agriculture and manufacturing industries. According to the article, critics already argue that job creation in the construction industry is as a direct result of increased residential investment and unless the focus shifts to infra-structure development these jobs may not be sustainable (Mail and Guardian, 2006, January 27 to February 2)

Also on this road are several groups of informal traders sheltered against the elements only by flimsy make-shift shades trying to sell their wares to passers-by or those in search of an early morning bargain. Anything from fresh produce to herbal remedies are on sale here while huge soft-drink signs point out "spaza shops[4]" set up to provide the basics that people need on a daily basis. We pass two petrol filling stations and turn right into Phakamani Street, a narrow tarred road constructed between low-cost houses built close to each other. The area comprises predominantly two-roomed council houses followed by semi-formal, informal and Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) houses. Considering the lack of municipal service delivery experienced by most townships around the country, this part of Khayelitsha at least, is strikingly neat and it appears that services like road maintenance and refuse removal are being rendered regularly by the municipality. I am reminded by my colleague that this may be so because Khayelitsha has been identified as an urban renewal node - meaning government will prioritise funds to accelerate development in this area. However, there's also the other side of Khayelitsha not visible from here, which is characterised by large areas of tin and cardboard housing, and living conditions marked by abject poverty and squalor.

Still driving along Phakamani Street our landmark, a motorcar scrap yard on the right appears and sooner than expected, to our left is Scott Street that finally leads us to the entrance of a modest office complex, the Catholic Welfare Development Centre. Embizweni shares this office complex with three other non-governmental organisations working in this community. Dumisane Nqina (Embizweni's director) and his team are waiting outside and they wave us on toward the very last building and into a parking space I presume they have been guarding for us.

[4] Homes converted into small informal shops selling basic foods and groceries

Compared to the vibrancy in the complex, Embizweni's offices appear quiet and almost out of synchrony with the rest of its surroundings. There are no clients scheduled for today we are told because time has been set aside for the interviews – but more than that, staff members was supposed to attend and participate in some of the events connected to the 16 Days of Activism for No Violence Against Women and Children campaign in and around the Cape Town area. This gives us some indication of the organisation's role and status in the sector as well as the personal sacrifices made to accommodate us. We are warned however that clients may still come to the offices but care has been taken to attend to them by one of their members.

Aubrey, the fieldworker, jokingly says

> *"today you will be our main clients and as usual, we will take good care of you".*

We enter their offices and the reception area is quiet while the ten or so black plastic chairs arranged in a horse-shoe formation bears quiet testimony to the daily buzz to which it has accustomed to while the walls are covered with posters signalling various anti gender-violence messages. The phone rings and Dumisane ushers us into a separate office where, according to him, we won't be interrupted. He says this with the kind of certainty and assurance that is different to the cloud hanging over Table Mountain – here things seem a lot more certain, we are meant to feel safe and secure in the space usually taken up by men, women and children traumatised by violence and abuse. We all cram into the office forced to take up even the space behind the door. Dumisane realising this handicap tactfully encourages us to rather grab some coffee and tea as well as making the trip to the bathroom before we start. Once settled we commenced what was going to be an interesting journey into the life and times of the organisation and the people it aims to serve.

2. GENDER VIOLENCE AND CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT

Getting started meant identifying a topic that all respondents were familiar with so that maximum participation was encouraged right from the outset. Keeping in line with the focus of the case study the researcher decided to commence with a general discussion around issues related to gender violence cases reported to the organisation, as well as, getting a sense of capacity development needs at both organisational and community levels.

The problem of gender violence in South Africa is recognised as a complex one since it has its roots in and emerges from our history and current unequal social, economic and cultural relations. Generally, various studies have found that throughout the country violence in relationships are so endemic that men and women often accept this type of behaviour as "normal" (Interfund, 2004:3). This is a particularly worrying phenomenon especially given the promise of a better life for all in a new democratic society armed with a Bill of Rights firmly embedded in The Constitution guaranteeing protection for all (1996:6 - 24).

According to the World Bank (1998), despite much progress in many parts of the world in areas of education, health, population control, and the general prosperity of people, improving the quality of life of citizens appears to remain an elusive dream. Technological advances and economic solutions have not necessarily improved living conditions for the world's developing nations and in fact, according to Grindle and Hilderbrand (1994) it was found that some developing nations are still struggling to learn within their own contexts how to manage their systems in order to identify priority problems and develop appropriate and sustainable home grown responses. As theory and practice continues to shape the ideal development model, *capacity development* emerged out of that process as an important concept seen as complimentary to other development strategies (Lusthaus, Adrien and Perstinger, 1999:1). This kind of capacity development is usually carried out by non-governmental organisations funded by development donors interested in organisational development, community development, integrated rural development and sustainable development.

While there is clearly no shortage of organisations to do capacity development work, the main question is whether voluntary sector organisations like Embizweni have the inherent capacity in the first instance to do what they set themselves out to do - which in this case happens to be to change the behaviour of violent men in order to reduce gender violence. The issue of inadequate capacity and skills are not raised here because Embizweni emerged from and operate in an impoverished community but rather, this problem of inadequate capacity is found to be prevalent in most civil society organisations (Postma 1998:77). Therefore, in order to respond meaningfully to the problem of gender violence, given its complexity, the issue of skills and quality of output of both NGO's and CBO's become extremely important if not critical.

Be that as it may, it does not mean that the problem is insurmountable because there are a range of different capacity building models that could address the skills problem which in turn could have an impact on the quality and type of programmes directed at altering values and attitudes around gender and masculinity within society. According to Flood (2002:2), the intimate links between men, masculinity and violence are the product of society and history, not biology. He goes further by stating that if the current conditioning was initiated under human institutions and within communities, then human abilities can be harnessed in a way to re-programme such structures within communities.

In South Africa, very little research has been done to establish what these human abilities are that is required to change violent behaviour at individual level as well as how to sensitise and mobolise community structures in the fight against gender-based violence. Thus, the purpose of the case study is to highlight and document good practice management and capacity development strategies emanating from the process of:

- Setting up and capacitating the organisation and;
- Developing interventions directed at capacitating perpetrators as the main target group followed by men who join the organisation voluntarily, women, children and community structures such as religious and traditional among others.

3 METHOD OF STUDY

3.1 Case-Study Research Method

As indicated in the previous section, very little is known in South Africa about the efficacy of perpetrator programmes and equally so about the relationship between organisational capacity and output of community based organisations (CBO's). For this reason (while there are other benefits to using this approach) the researcher decided to use the case study research method because it would allow him and the reader to gain insight, make new discoveries, and clarify the interpretation of the relationship between organisational capacity and output as opposed to testing a particular hypothesis (Merriam, 1998:29). According to Cronbach (1975:123) case study research can be differentiated from other research designs because it allows for "interpretation in context" enabling the researcher, to concentrate on a single phenomenon and arrive at what Becker (1968:233) believes to be a "comprehensive understanding of the groups under study" and "to develop general theoretical statements about regularities in social structure and process".

Furthermore, the researcher believes that knowledge gained from case study research is different to other research knowledge. According to Stake (1981: 35 & 36) case study knowledge is:

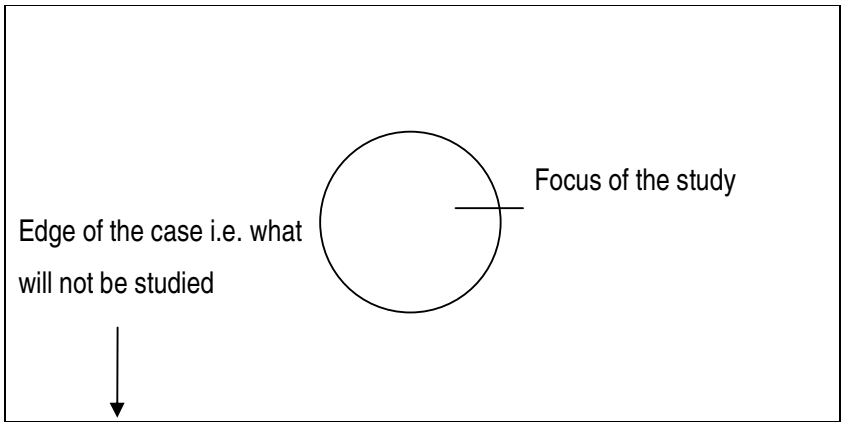
- More concrete – case study knowledge reverberate with our own experience because it is more vivid, concrete and sensory than abstract
- More contextual – our experiences are context bound, as is knowledge in case studies.
- More developed by reader interpretation – readers bring to the case study their own understanding and experiences, which lead to generalisations that produces new knowledge
- Based more on reference populations determined by the reader – in generalising as described above readers have some population in mind hence he/she participates in extending generalisation to reference populations.

However, while the case study research methodology affords the researcher much flexibility it cannot be loosely applied. Unless the phenomenon to be studied is intrinsically bounded, it does not qualify as a case. Merriam (1998:27) sees the case as a single entity, a unit with no boundaries but where one can "fence in" what you would like to study. Miles and Huberman (1994:25) see a case as "a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context". The overarching assessment to determine a case can be established by finding out how finite the data collection would be. This can be done by answering the following questions (Merriam 1998:27):

- Is there a limit to the number of people involved who could be interviewed?
- Is there a finite amount of time for observations?

Should there be no actual or theoretical end to the above criterion, then the phenomenon is not bounded enough to qualify as a case.

Graphically it can be represented as follows – based on the idea of Miles and Huberman (1994)



The researcher found the case study to be sufficiently bounded for the following reasons:

1) The number of people to be interviewed was not infinite – they were selected on the basis to represent each of the different management and programmatic structures in the organisation. The reason for selecting this group was to find

out about the history of the organisation, gain insight into matters affecting the community and the different capacities and skills in the organisation

2) The work or programmes of the organisation are clearly defined each with its own stated objectives and expected outcomes. The work of the organisation informed the study about how the organisation planned to respond to problems in the community and how organisational capacity influenced the development of the interventions and extract good practice examples.

This study is not an impact assessment of perpetrator programmes but rather more an exploration of one perpetrator programme's experience related to capacity building as a strategy to reduce or prevent gender violence. However, because of its importance, reference is made to impact assessments and evaluations of overseas perpetrator programmes and this is done purely for the purpose of fostering further debate and possibly future research. In the same vein, some ideas on capacity development have also been incorporated. Detailed debates around masculinities are expressly excluded from the study.

Once the parameters of the case were established it was possible to decide which research methodology was to be used to inform the case. This is described in more detail in the next section.

3.2 Methodology

3.2.1 Use of names

Actual names of respondents and founder members were provided voluntarily and were put forward by the respondents as gesture of recognition of those who contributed to the establishment of the organisation. Permission was also granted by the respective donors and organisations mentioned in the report.

3.2.2 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of the study is informed by:

- The organisation's understanding of the social, economic and or cultural factors contributing to violence against women
- Identifying appropriate capacity building programmes or strategies that can contribute to strengthening voluntary sector organisations to manage perpetrator programmes more effectively

Because the study is exploratory in nature this methodology allows the researcher to gain access to events or information that would otherwise be inaccessible because so very little is known about the subject. The true status of perpetrator programmes in South Africa is not really well known or documented and the study should be regarded as the first step towards documenting and understanding the challenges and environment within which perpetrator pogrammes operate.

3.3 Qualitative Research

The method chosen to perform this research is the qualitative case study research method, which is informed by:

- A literature review of current interventions with men in the violence against women cycle
- A literature review on community-based organisation capacity building programmes
- A number of Internet searches conducted to ensure a wide-ranging overview of the context of working with men internationally.
- In-depth semi-structured interviews with members of staff and management committee
- Reports and related documentation of the organization being researched

3.4 Data Collection

Interviews were originally envisaged to include both survivors and perpetrators of gender violence but this approach was deemed beyond the scope of this study. It would be valuable for a further, more detailed research project. The following two types of qualitative data collection processes as directed by Patton (1990:10) were applied in generating the data for this case study

- *In-depth semi-structured interviews:* Information obtained from this process includes direct quotations of participants' opinions, feelings, knowledge, and experiences to the questions or scenarios posed by the researcher

- *Written documents:* Includes excerpts, quotations, or entire passages from clinical, organizational or programme records, correspondence or memoranda, official publications and reports, questionnaires and surveys, and open-ended written responses of the organization being researched.

According to Patton (1990:244)

> *Multiple sources of information are sought and used because no single source of information can be trusted to provide a comprehensive perspective…..By using a combination of observations, interviewing, and document analysis, the fieldworker is able to use different data sources to validate and cross-check findings.*

The combination of these two elements of a qualitative research study has facilitated researching specific issues in an in-depth and detailed way. The research therefore was not limited by preconceived analysis categories as may be the case in quantitative analysis, but was open-ended enabling the study to follow an evolutionary course of discovery – an ideal way to describe and understand the problem of gender violence and capacity building of CBO's and their target groups.

This does not mean that qualitative research has no limitations. One such limitation is that the researcher cannot make generalisations (as may be the case with quantitative data) because even though the study produced detailed information on Embizweni, it relates only to one case which is not necessarily representative of the broader perpetrator sector locally or internationally (Patton 1990). For that reason the debates and findings will be limited to the case and it would be up to the reader as to how they wish to use this information to the benefit of their respective organisations and contexts.

3.5 Data Analysis

Case studies are intensive, holistic description and analysis of a single bounded unit and the purpose of analysing the data are to convey an accurate understanding of the case. Data is usually gathered from various sources and can be voluminous thus creating serious challenges in terms of making sense of the data.

The *constant comparative method* of data analysis was used to inform the findings. This approach takes one incident from an interview, field notes, or a document and compares it with another incident in the same or another set of data. The basic strategy of this method is to constantly make comparisons within and between levels of conceptualisation until a theory can be formulated. This was supported by analysing the data simultaneously with the data collection process because in that way the data became much more manageable. The final product therefore is shaped by the data that was collected and the analysis that accompanied the entire process. According to Merriam (!998:162) not following this approach can render data unfocused, repetitious, and overwhelming considering the volume of material to be processed.

3.6 The Researcher

In a qualitative study the researcher is the primary instrument for gathering and analysing data. That means he/she can maximise opportunities for collecting and producing valuable information as well as, because of the human factor, make mistakes that could result in overlooking certain opportunities or allow personal biases to interfere.

Relationship between the researcher and Embzweni: The researcher has been engaged with Embizweni since 2002 in his capacity as project officer employed by the Open Society Foundation for South Africa (OSF-SA) who happens to be one of Embizweni's donors. While the relationship between the researcher and the organisation has always been of a professional nature, guided by the OSF-SA's code of conduct and stringent conflict of interest policies, it does raise serious questions with regards power relations, objectivity and self-censorship.

The OSF-SA while being primarily a grant-making organisation, it also undertakes operationalised work where programme staff engages directly with the sector especially in cases where there are a shortage of service providers or, where the opportunity for mutual learning and sharing of knowledge present itself. The OSF-SA has therefore become renowned for taking different and innovative approaches to development hence the work being undertaken with Embizweni is not out of character for both the OSF-SA and Embizweni who has developed a clear understanding of how the OSF-SA operates. However, in order to ensure the integrity of the study the concerns were acknowledged and confronted in the following way.

Power Relations: Because of the existing grantor/grantee relationship there was always the potential for power to be skewed in favour of the researcher. To ensure that power dynamics do not taint the process, the organisation was given the mandate (after being given the draft questionnaires) to decide which of its members are to participate in the interviews and to ensure that there was representation right up to the highest decision making structure in the organisation. In addition, participants and the researcher would have the right to withdraw from the process at any time and were also free to raise objections to any question or process deemed inappropriate at any given time.

Objectivity: Once the questionnaires were circulated a session was held prior to interviews to discuss the questions and how the responses were to feed into the study. What has to be noted is that the researcher approached several organisations with the brief to conduct the case study and that Embizweni actually volunteered to be part of the study since they

were considering an assessment of their work as well as documenting their business model. The value of the study therefore for both the researcher and the organisation were evident from the outset hence the utility of objectivity did not require much convincing but was nonetheless discussed and agreed upon. To promote objectivity, the researcher was bound by a confidentiality provision prohibiting the researcher to make available any information to any third party (including the OSF-SA) without the prior permission of Embizweni. All notes and documentation emerging from the case study were also to remain the property of Embizweni.

Self-Censorship: Because of possible self-interest and the dynamics resulting from the relationship with the researcher, the potential for participants to self-censor their responses remained a reality. Embizweni knew from as early as December 2004 that their funding relationship with the OSF-SA would end within a year and as such has been working hard at securing funds from other donors – the relationship with the OSF-SA was at an end. This is one of the reasons why it made sense to the researcher to elect Embizweni to work with. It was agreed that participants should remain as open, critical and honest as possible in their responses as there could be no sanction or reward for straying from the truth. The purpose of the study was not to be seen as an evaluation of the organisation but rather to review and extract lessons from it. It was agreed that the utility of the study for the organisation and the sector is what had to be considered while participating in this process.

In sum, while it was possible to forge a regulatory framework to cater for the aforesaid eventualities, this could not have been achieved had it not been for the level of trust and respect built up between the researcher and the organisation since 2002.

Tolerance for Ambiguity: Because of the flexibility inherent in this type of research it has become quite popular because it allows the researcher to adapt to unforeseen situations and change direction in pursuit of meaning. It requires considering all data as relevant and important and then having to place the data under a magnifying glass to search for clues, filtering out what is not needed, and to find the missing pieces to complete the puzzle.

To ensure clarity of the study and the process, much time has gone into planning and designing the study. The overarching factor that contributed to joint-ownership of the interview schedule can be credited to the common interest of all parties. The respondents saw the value of the study as an opportunity to reflect on their work by working with somebody whom they trust and believe understands the organisation and how it works. The researcher on the other hand collaborated with the organisation and adhered to the plan because apart from being passionate about this work, the framework would enable the study to be completed within the limited financial and time constraints. Respondents have been central to planning and advising on logistics as well as familiarising themselves with the interview schedules, which proved a great plus factor once the study got underway. Despite being absolutely clear and confident about the plan two problems managed to frustrate the process:

- The researcher realised after sifting through the data that information pertaining to the human resource management aspects of the organisation was insufficient. A third visit had to be arranged at short notice which resulted in a misunderstanding as to where the researcher and the respondents were to meet causing unnecessary delays.

- The second problem emerged as a result of the first situation mentioned above. The meeting venue had no photocopying facilities which meant in some instances more detailed notes had to be taken and or original documentation had to be handed over. This could have proven disastrous if such documents were to be lost

With the cooperation and open communication of all involved frustrations were kept to a minimum and as such even with the abovementioned setbacks the study was not adversely affected in any way.

Sensitivity: Being sensitive means that the researcher must be alive to cues and nuances provided by the context, knowing when enough has been observed, when to probe more

deeply, when to allow for more silence or sharing, and when to change direction of the interview.

One of the challenges that the researcher identified while developing the questionnaires pertains to the issue of language. The interviews were conducted in English, which is a second or even a third language of all of the respondents. This required a much slower than usual sharing of questions and having to summarise where necessary to ensure the intended meaning was projected. On the flip side, respondents were also given the space and time to process questions and organise their thoughts in a way that could be articulated in English. As a result, the process took much longer than originally envisaged but it ran without difficulty as the group generally supported each other and respected individual and divergent opinions.

Clear mechanisms were put in place to protect the privacy and identity of clients and at no stage in the process, even though the researcher had prior approval to peruse any documentation in the organisation, was this arrangement compromised. All files had to be screened by the administrator before being handed to the researcher to ensure what was requested related to the study and the terms of reference.

In order to minimise the influence of personal prejudices or interests on the part of the researcher, every effort was made to capture the actual meaning as intended by the respondents. Apart from verbally summarising responses during the interviews, the group was presented with a written record of their individual and collective responses and afforded the opportunity to examine and correct their responses where necessary. In addition, a draft of the final document was presented to the respondents to ensure accuracy of the information.

4. LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review provides a detailed description of theoretical perspectives and previous research findings related to perpetrator programmes, gender violence and capacity development of voluntary organisations and their target groups. This is done to consider work done by others in the abovementioned areas to establish a context for the discussions but also, to indicate to what extent it relates to the case study (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001:70).

4.1 Understanding Working With Men

Compared to victim support programmes (focusing on women survivors), perpetrator or batterer programmes as they are also known are a relatively new approach. In the USA for example even though these programmes have existed for longer, they have only begun to gain prominence over the past two decades Therefore, the experience in South Africa with regard to perpetrator programmes could be regarded as being in its infancy. Generally in as far as the success rate of perpetrator programmes are concerned the picture that international research paint is not a rosy one. Some programmes show that perpetrator programmes does not work while others claim varying degrees of success. It is this ambiguity that has prompted a growing interest in working with men as a violence prevention strategy on both individual and societal levels. Therefore the actual value of this work must be constantly tested (Interfund, 2004:17)

Perpetrator programmes have been introduced to try and change unacceptable behaviours and attitudes in men who have been charged or are suspected of being abusive toward their partners or those they come into contact with. At a very simplistic level, because men make up the overwhelming majority of perpetrators of gender-based violence, they are the obvious target. In addition, men are also the critical target group if we consider "big picture" issues related to violence and as Wainaina, puts it (undated in Interfund, 2004:16)

> *Male support is vital to the transformation of societal norms and practices. Men hold the power and control of the resources required for development at all levels:*

> *they are the key beneficiaries of gender discrimination, but they are also victims of social systems and structures that legitimate gender oppressions. They hold the key to ending violence, not only against women but also ending ethnic, racial, territorial, political wars and conflict.*

The link between violence against women and HIV/AIDS, which unfortunately is not always emphasised enough, amplifies more than anything else the importance of working with men. As far as HIV/AIDS treatment and prevention are concerned, Jacobs (2003:6) sees men as the missing link. According to her, men have to be targeted with education and prevention campaigns so that patriarchal domestic relationships can to be transformed in order to prevent gender inequality becoming acceptable in our social environments.

Gary Barker who runs an NGO called the Instituto PROMUNDO based in Brazil, engages young men between the ages of 15 to 24years in the promotion of health and gender equity. In an undated article he wrote:

> *As men holds the power in society, working with men is essential as long as it does not reinforce male dominance over women*

The major challenge however is whether perpetrator programmes constitute an effective way of dealing with domestic violence. Disappointingly, as already indicated international research suggests that perpetrator programmes are unsustainable (very costly to run) and that impact in as far as changing men's behaviour and attitude toward domestic violence are concerned, it is minimal. Some of the critical problems currently are that men drop out of programmes prematurely and there are even reports that some men become more sophisticated in their abusive tactics once they have been on a perpetrator programme (Burton & Mullender, 2000:1). Such situations unfortunately reinforce the stereo-type that there are only two kinds of men – the dead or the deadly!

Given the various views expressed about perpetrator programmes it is difficult to ascertain with certainty what the exact status of perpetrator programmes are. In a recent study

carried out on two programmes in the USA (Broward County in Florida and Brooklyn in New York) the following findings were raised (National Institute of Justice (NIJ), 2003:1).

1) Batterer programmes have limited success in changing the behaviour of abusive men:
    - No significant differences were found between those who attended treatment and those who did not
    - There is an apparent relationship between whether an offender was employed or owned a house and whether he re-offended – those with most to lose were least likely to re-offend

2) Research limitations may affect the quality of the collected data which in turn could have a bearing on researchers' ability to draw verifiable conclusions:
    - Batterers drop out at high rates
    - Victims relocate or become difficult to track down
    - There is no provision to specifically assess batterers' attitudes
    - To protect victims, judges often override random assignment of batterers to a control group

Both findings raises serious questions about what we think we may know about perpetrator programmes and more worrying still, is the extent to which such findings influences interventions and the consequential repercussions thereof. According to Mullender and Burton (2000:2) perpetrator programmes are extremely difficult to evaluate due to a range of methodological reasons some of which are mentioned above. They see further research as crucial in order to learn whether violent men can change as a result of an intervention. This is exactly what some gender activists are concerned about especially given that funding for gender violence work in South Africa is rather limited.

Feminist concerns about perpetrator programmes diverting much needed funds away from female victim support programmes creates a serious barrier to gaining much needed knowledge about this area of work. The argument is not whether to divert or not to divert money from victim support work but rather, for both sectors to recognise the importance of

firstly understanding the problem and then to deal with it holistically. For this to happen it would be necessary to find a common understanding of gender-based violence considering the many different and interconnected individual and structural reasons for, and circumstances of, this phenomenon. Therefore, integrated approaches to working with men to end gender violence are required (Interfund, 2004: 19).

The major challenge as indicated by the research mentioned above clearly shows that while there is some knowledge, there are also impediments that limit our current understanding of this very crucial and complex area of work. The question therefore no longer becomes only whether perpetrator interventions are effective but it is extended to include how researchers reorganise research methodologies and indicators so that more accurate conclusions can be made.

4.2 Level of Crime and Violence

The level of violence in South Africa is considered by some i.e. the Consortium on Violence Against Women as being equivalent to levels experienced by countries in armed conflict. The Western Cape has also been found according to official crime statistics, to have by far the worst overall crime problem in the country (Leggett, 2004:15). Gender violence in particular has affected many communities (mainly women and children) and is said to remain one of the most grave and challenging issues facing those working in the public health, criminal justice and crime prevention sectors throughout the country. While the actual extent of the problem is difficult to assess due to the fact that this kind of victimisation are not always reported by victims, reported rates are themselves alarmingly high.

According to the Annual Report of the South African Police Service (SAPS) for the financial year 2004-2005, women and children accounted for:

- 100% of the rape victims
- 86.3% of the cases of indecent assault
- 64.4% of common assault victims

- 59% of all victims of contact crime.

Sadly, children alone accounted for 40.8 %. of rape cases (*Daily Dispatch,* September 22, 2005). These statistics occur in a situation where the majority of all sexually-motivated violence goes unreported and such statistics leave no doubt that women and children remain extremely vulnerable. Research conducted by the Medical Research Council (MRC) on relationship dynamics and adolescent pregnancy, found that young women between the ages of 12 to 25 years are particularly vulnerable to violence perpetrated by people they know and trust - this raises particular problems for survivors when reporting such cases to the police as they are made to feel responsible for having "brought it upon themselves" (Rasool, 1999:12). Further research commissioned by the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) in 2002 found that many victims of crime were not as anxious about their case as they were of secondary victimisation by the Criminal Justice System (cited in NPA, 2004:3). Against the backdrop of these findings it is clear that the fear of secondary victimisation has a lot to do with the level of unreported cases.

In a separate study released by the MRC in 2004, it found that in South Africa one woman is killed every six hours by her intimate partner (Gender & Health Research Group, 2004:1) while another survey found that about one third of South African women will be raped in their lifetime (*Cape Times* November 15, 2004). Further research by Smythe (2004:4) suggests that over 40% of fatalities in violent domestic relationships occur as a result of gunshots.

While cases of domestic violence against men at the hands of a female partner have also been recorded, males have been found to make up the overwhelming majority of perpetrators of gender violence. It therefore stands to reason why most interventions are directed at women and children. The above synopsis sketches a very bleak picture and despite the many innovative interventions, the problem of gender violence does not seem to dissipate and is further compounded by the prevalence of HIV/AIDS.

4.3 Gender Violence and HIV/AIDS

It has also become abundantly clear over the past few years that there is a direct link between gender inequality, HIV and AIDS, and domestic violence. Gender inequality is seen as a major barrier to the prevention, treatment and management of HIV and AIDS to the extent that UNIFEM (2001) is of the opinion that:

> "This is not simply a matter of social justice. Gender inequality is fatal"

In addition, violence against women is also regarded as both a cause and consequence of HIV/AIDS infection. As a cause, the fear of violence, fear of the threat of violence, and the fear of abandonment are all factors that prohibit women from engaging with the their partners on issues of fidelity, sex and condom use. Violence can also present itself as a consequence particularly in cases where the woman discloses her HIV status to her partner (Jacobs (2003:2).

4.4 Socio-economic Influences

Apart from the burden HIV/AIDS places on women, research is beginning to show how violence against women is culturally ascribed and defended. According to Lillian Artz (2002:6)

> *In South Africa, preservation of patriarchal power may have many culturally specific forms, but ultimately violence against women – or the threat thereof – is the prevailing form of social control. It keeps women off the streets at night, restricted at home and silenced. My research saw the grip of kinship and other social structures as only one component of the total complex of violence against women and social controls. The research illustrated a widely accepted sentiment by gender advocates that violence keeps women in conditions of poverty, and fear of poverty keeps women trapped in violent situations. For abused women, lack of economic access dictates their physical mobility, their access to education, recreation, as well as access to each other.*

While it can be argued that gender violence does not only affect women who are economically dependent or who find themselves trapped in poverty, it is possible that these two factors probably dominate in the majority of cases where women are experiencing gender violence.

4.5 Political Influences

Apart from socio-economic influences, political issues have also been found to have a direct relationship with violence. Political oppression and violence experienced by communities in other countries (African-American, Maori-New Zealand, Aboriginal-Australia) shows that these communities continue to experience high levels of violence including gender-based violence. This is so because the internalisation of the pain caused by colonisation is translated into abusive and self-abusive behaviours (Interfund, 2004:3)

South Africa's long colonial history followed by apartheid since 1948 has oppressed the majority of the population undermining their identity and cultural and social infrastructure. The use of violence by the apartheid regime and the resistance against apartheid further reinforced the use of violence as a legitimate form and expression of opposition. However, violence against women is not a post-apartheid phenomenon and appears to have been part of South Africa's social fabric in all cultures and racial groupings – it was just not being addressed. During apartheid, in black communities the struggle against apartheid was given priority at the expense of violence against women while the white community had to display an image of "decency" and "civilisation" by smothering especially incidences of incest and marital rape (Harper, 2003:1).

4.6 Responses to Gender Violence

The overview of possible causes and influences on gender violence discussed above raises various questions especially around what can be done to remedy the situation. Voluntary sector organisations, business, government and academic institutions have been working tirelessly over the past decade to address the problem of violence against women with programmes directed at:

- Reducing the risk of secondary victimization by the criminal justice system
- Developing and implementing legislation as a deterrence measure against domestic violence
- Improving services to victims through the implementation of structured victim empowerment strategies and
- Strategic lobbying and advocacy interventions.

Generally, the majority of programmes focus on providing support to victims in order to cope and deal with the immediacy of the problem followed by empowerment strategies to prevent further abuse. The irony is strategies/skills for prevention are in most cases only provided after the abuse has occurred and for many this may be too late. While much value can be found in this approach it is perhaps time (even though it may fall well outside the scope of this study) to shift the focus away from the victim and try to find answers as to why violent men behave the way they do and as a start we can begin with the following four broad questions (Interfund, 2004:18):

- What are the short and long-term strategies that can prevent or root out gender violence?
- At which level (individual, institutional or societal) should perpetrator interventions be targeted?
- What are effective treatment and education programmes for perpetrators?
- How can the community and society be re-educated and re-socialised around gender violence?

It may not be too long before we get answers to some of these questions because there has been a shift over the last decade by many organisations working in the field of violence against women and sexual and reproductive health, to place increased emphasis on promoting positive male involvement as a strategy to reduce the levels of domestic violence. This approach reflects an understanding that violence against women is driven by gender inequity and that gender equity can best be achieved if men support and promote it. However, such efforts will have to incorporate strategies that challenge rigid

gender roles by paying close attention to how men's life experiences and daily practices shape their sense of being a man (Dean Peacock, 2002 :3 & 4). Such programmes are commonly referred to as "working with men", "perpetrator programmes", "men's participation," "male involvement," "men and reproductive health," and "men as partners". All of these seek "better ways to understand men, to communicate with them, to engage them and to help them take better care of themselves and their partners."

While such efforts deserve some form of recognition, it cannot be done in isolation of considering the skills and capacity necessary to deliver such services effectively – there is a strong link between the two. In South Africa, service providers best placed to reach victims, especially the indigent, are small community-based organisations (CBO's) often under-resourced, operating on very different principles to that of more established NGO's, relying on the services of volunteers who in many cases did not have access to formal higher education or training, and who are often themselves poor. In addition, CBO's are often built on personal life experiences of founder members (without much formal training) and usually these organisations operate without formal programme theories and or capacity to conduct research to inform their work (Kaplan 1997:6). It therefore stands to reason that such organisations will have lower levels of skills available to them and lower prospects of obtaining and retaining the skills necessary for effective organisational management and service delivery. This has prompted commentators like Postma (1998) notwithstanding the good and important work that these organisations do, to raise questions about the quality of their output. It is therefore necessary to have a closer look at the extent of capacity problem in South Africa.

4.7 Extent of the skills deficit in South Africa

The capacity building debate in South Africa is directly linked to the country's skills shortage. Chief Economist Jos Gerson at Merril Lynch regards the skills shortage as a development concern of greater importance and impact than issues such as monetary policy (*Business Day,* 2000, 25 October). It is estimated that South Africa has approximately seven million people trapped in semi or unskilled work (Mnyandu, 2000) which could be further compounded as HIV/AIDS begin to affect those in highly skilled

jobs. The *Labour Force Survey* conducted by Statistics South Africa that was to alluded to earlier in the document, also suggests that of the 658 000 jobs created by government in 2004/5, 320 000 were in the informal hawker sector. The informal sector figures according to the Congress of South African Trade Unions's (COSATU) fiscal, monetary and public-sector policy unit cannot be justified as new jobs and contends that between 70% and 80% of those in the informal sector report earnings of less than R1000.00 per month (*Mail and Guardian*, 2006, January 27 to February 2)

Nazmeera Moola also an economist at Merril Lynch seem to support COSATU's view and cautions that many people who are hawking are in fact underemployed and that a rise in hawking should not be seen as job creation. She adds:

> *A lot of what people are doing is not what they want to be doing, and is hardly enough to feed them. It is very difficult to create well-paid unskilled jobs* (*Mail and Guardian*, 2006, January 27 to February 2)

While government tried to ease this burden by passing the Skills Development Act (No 97 of 1998) and the Skills Development Levies Act (No 9 of 1999) to encourage the business sector to play a role in the development of skills, the role of the non-profit sector in contributing to skills development in the country has remained largely untapped. However, like in the case of Embizweni, NGO's are contributing to some extent to capacitating CBO's but it remains on a very small scale.

While the intention of government to respond to unemployment and job creation is generally perceived as commendable, the experience at community level has been largely negative. Many young people have been trained in a range of different skills but because there is no clear strategy as to how to link training with the skills gap in the job market, many people have been over-trained and are left frustrated with only certificates to show.

Speaking in relation to both public and private sectors, another commentator had this to say: (*Sunday Times*, 12 November 2000)

The rapid transformation of many organisations has meant the blind are leading the blind. People with little or no real management experience, who don't know how to be effective themselves, are now trying to get others to be effective"

It is therefore important that an organization understand its role and objectives before deciding whether, how, and for what purpose the organization should be strengthened. In order for an organisation to be effective and have lasting impact, good practical, analytical, and managerial skills are necessary but care needs to be taken to ensure that any capacity building intervention must be tailored to the needs of the organization and its constituency. (Eade, 1997: 106 – 108)

The quality of output has not gone unnoticed in the voluntary sector because in 2003, the National Network on Violence Against Women (NNVAW), that was established to drive the national Victim Empowerment Programme (VEP) as envisaged by the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS, 1996), conducted a national skills survey. This survey was initiated because despite concerted efforts by the NNVAW and its nine provincial offices, the system struggled to provide comprehensive victim support services to victims of crime. The survey confirmed in terms of provincial concentrations three provinces were found to be particularly strong, five weak and two required an urgent dedicated support programme. The survey also found that organisations working in the Violence Against Women sector have a highly developed service delivery focus, committed staff, and operated in very difficult circumstances. Generally the survey (2003:55) identified critical skills requirements in the following areas:

- **Governance** – good governance processes and policies must be strengthened
- **Financial Management** – monthly financial planning and management systems need to be developed
- **Internal Administration and Administrative Systems** – training in organisational administration and application of universal organisational systems are necessary
- **Management** – Planning, project management and Human Resource policies and procedures must be developed

- **Skills Development and Training** – Sectoral Education and Training Authority (SETA) accredited skills development programmes and mentoring were seen as critical.

It is unclear but also unlikely given the size of the capacity problem that the NNVAW would have been able to deal with the national skills deficit. Because the capacity problem is such a pressing one, the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (2005), after a two-year capacity-building project with a group of five Gauteng-based CBO's, launched a capacity building guide specifically designed to assist gender-rights CBO's. The guide is to be used as a self-help guide and consists of two parts subdivided as follows:

Part 1: Gender violence and the Law

- Understanding Gender Violence
- Helping Women who have experienced Violence
- Important legislation

Part 2: Building your Organisation

- Gender in Organisations
- CBO Governance
- Project Planning and Implementation
- Monitoring and Evaluation
- Financial Management
- Registering as an NPO & writing Business Plans

In the meantime government has also developed policy to protect victims' rights through the approval by Cabinet of the South African Service's Charter for Victims of Crime (led by the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development) and the Victim Empowerment Policy (led by the Department of Social Development) on 1 December 2004. This Charter covers all victims of crime and is regarded by the Minister of Justice Mrs Bridget Mabandla (2004) to serve as an instrument that will promote justice for all.

The CSVR capacity building guide and the Charter for Victims of Crime could not have come at a more opportune moment since there have been increasing calls by gender activists to improve service delivery for victims of abuse.

Are CBO's capable of developing the required capacity to improve the level of services?

4.8 Understanding Capacity Building/Development

Capacity building or capacity development as it is also known is difficult to define, both in terms of practice and description. As far as voluntary sector organisations (NGO's and CBO's) are concerned in South Africa, capacity building broadly refers to actions directed at improving both internal operations as well as outputs of these organisations. Embedded in the notion of capacity building is the idea of increasing organisational sustainability (Kaplan, 1999)

Postma (1998:82) does not agree with these broad generalisations made by Kaplan above because he sees each organisation as being unique and liken a capacitated organisation to a "festive curry meal" stating that:

> *Making the meal requires skills, dedication, fresh ingredients and good timing. There are staple ingredients that are understood as being essential – transparent management systems, clear communication, and participatory work approaches. But there are also specific ingredients and spices that can only be selected by the people of that place. And, in the end, it is only they who will be able to put all the ingredients together*

This calls for capacity building approaches that are not mere menus of services offered by those claiming to be change agents, but the adoption of change processes that are more inductive, allowing for flexibility, creativity and learning. In order to gain a better understanding of capacity development it may be necessary to unpack and discuss these in some more detail

4.9 Unpacking Capacity Development

It is clear from the above views that capacity development or capacity building remains a concept of enormous generality and vagueness. In taking the debate forward so that it can become useful for the sector it might help to unpack what is meant by capacity development, capacity, and impact (Morgan, 1998:1-7 unless otherwise stated).

1) Capacity Development: this refers to the approaches, strategies and methodologies which are used by agencies to help organisations and or systems improve their performance. It is about process and getting behind the "how" issues in the organisation.

2) Capacity: relates to the organisational and technical abilities, relationships and values that enable organisations, groups and individuals at any level of society to carry out functions and reach their objectives over time. It is about institutional, organisational and behavioural outcomes. It focuses on an organisational function or activity i.e. decision making, leadership, financial management and many others.

3) Impact: has to do with the developmental benefits and results either achieved directly or in part from the performance of an activity

What has to be remembered is capacity development can occur as a result of an indigenous process of change as well as a donor-supported intervention in that process. An example of indigenous change could be the change that resulted in South Africa due to resistance against apartheid while donor-supported change would be the change that emerged due to donor involvement (technical assistance) in that process. Indigenous process of change in most instances cannot be influenced by donors because it is beyond their powers and dependent on the agenda/momentum of the indigenous change processes. The interrelationships between these two processes are important to achieving the overall project effectiveness.

Beyond project effectiveness there also needs to be a clear understanding of the differences between institutions and organisations. Institutions can be formal rules and laws or informal norms and customs constructed to regulate human behaviour. Together they define the "rules of the game" in a society which will influence how organisations perform their work in such environments.

Furthermore, better ways of diagnosing capacity problems must be developed. A better understanding of the underlying causes of the lack of capacity as well as its symptoms needs to be developed. Matching solutions to problems more accurately is also important. For example, is poor staff performance due to a lack of technical skills, or are there other factors such as poor incentives or political constraints pressurising the organisation? Unless this is properly understood it would be difficult to understand why and how the organisation managed to get itself into its current state. Therefore one should note that capacity issues and capacity development change over time and require evolving solutions. In addition when talking about capacity development we need to be mindful of how different interest groups define and pursue their interests and how they respond to changes in their environment. There has to be a greater emphasis on human dynamics – the strategic decision points, the chains of events and pursuit of self-interest and the collective good.

Most capacity development interventions get caught up between the tension that exists between control and structure on one hand, and flexibility on the other. Organisations are often concerned about having clear objectives, accountability, achievements of agreed results, transparency and predictability tied into a contractual agreement while capacity development in itself is unpredictable and unprogrammable. It requires constant learning and adaptation to be effective - detailed planning is not failsafe. Another favourite area is monitoring and evaluation that needs to be more than a control mechanism designed mainly to satisfy donor requirements. Ideally it should encourage learning, participation and commitment. For this to happen participants should have a framework in their minds about what in theory causes what action. In this way they can see significance of the information coming from the indicators that can be translated into learning.

Finally, most participants focus on programme impact as the ultimate end and this could be deceiving and quite limiting - they need to have a capacity development frame of mind and concern themselves with broader issues like that of sustainability and survivability. They should constantly think about what works, what lasts, and why? A sole focus on programme outcomes or development benefits is critical but so is the conviction that the organisation or the capacity is itself the ultimate creation or objective.

4.10 Some Ideas for Capacity Development

Having gained some insight into the different components of capacity development it would be useful to discuss how these relate to strengthening organisational capacity. It has become clear over the past thirty years that training and systems improvements cannot be universally applied and are only relevant in certain contexts. What is required is a more diverse range of approaches with combinations to suit the increasing complexity of modern development. Furthermore, there has been an acknowledgement that no capacity development intervention can be imposed on sceptical participants. It has to be owned and valued as desirable locally so that the outcome that may emerge should be acceptable to those that control the local process of capacity development.

The following sub-sections will briefly describe different factors that contribute to an organisation's lack of capacity

4.10.1 Financial and Physical Resources

Under this approach the lack of resources is regarded as the true cause of the lack of capacity and with a few exceptions, many organisations in the development sector can identify with this scenario. Such organisations would often say "we want to but can't" – they lack things like equipment, salary supplements, bigger office space, more staff among others, and therefore cannot reach peak efficiency. Donor responses in such situations are relatively simple as all they need to do is to provide funding to fill the gaps to enhance growth of capacity. Such approaches seem to work best in organisations that are well managed and need to grow rapidly.

The benefits of such an approach for donors are that it is simple to implement and for the organisation it is relatively non-intrusive. However, resource constraints could also hide other deeper constraints such as failure to identify and exploit other non-conventional revenue sources. Additional resources can also be very easily appropriated for personal purposes becoming a cause for instability and conflict within organisations. In sum, the supply of resources can have limited sustained impact on organisational performance and in many cases can cause more harm than good

4.10.2 Improving Organisational and Technical Capabilities

A lack of technique and proper structure are seen as a constraint that causes a lack of capacity. The goal here is to improve or create the technical, personal or organisational abilities of the organisation so that it can improve on what has been previously tried. Despite its modest record of achievement this approach remain very popular and include activities such as technical assistance, training, systems improvement, and creating better working conditions.

This approach has added value in terms of training and skills development especially in cases where organisations are performing poorly due to a lack of proper trained staff, systems and structures. The negative side to this approach is that many organisations may be in the "could but don't want to" category – conditions prevent the organisation or staff from performing regardless of their skill level. Lack of skills has become less of a constraint nowadays the issue is more about utilisation, retention and the sustaining of capacities that exist in a dominant form.

4.10.3 Settling on a clear Strategic Direction

An organisation can become ineffective when for internal reasons, it cannot carve out a consistent direction, lost direction for wanting to do too many things, or, the lack of consensus on the purpose of the organisation or key stakeholders have imposed inappropriate objectives on the organisation. As a result, such organisations tend to face

ongoing short-term pressures destabalising organisational systems thus rendering capacity development ineffective.

The advantage of this approach lies in its comparative simplicity. The solution to the above problem can be solved by developing policy or a general direction to guide capacity development over the longer term.

4.10.4 Generating Knowledge

Organisations do not always enjoy a protected learning space in which to learn and develop. It has nothing to do with a lack of technical skills or policy direction but more to do with opportunities to experiment and learn without fear of failure or the threat of punishment. This approach promotes the building of social capital creating the sense of the importance of collective action or collaboration. The role of the donor becomes that of a facilitator or enabler.

4.10.5 Strengthening the Bigger Organisational System

The capacity problem here is regarded as being systemic and is built on two assumptions. 1) The organisational performance (and constraints) is derived from interactions with both internal and external partners and 2) most important public policy issues cannot be addressed by efforts of a single organisation. It calls for effective collaboration among organisations doing the same work – public-private partnership is one example of such initiatives.

This approach demand greater donor coordination and joint action with the downside lying in its complexity and difficulty of implementation. Smaller donors in particular find it hard to respond to the demands this approach places on them.

4.10.6 Shaping an Enabling Environment

The lack of an enabling environment can impede efforts of an organisation to develop legitimate, sustainable productive capacity. Donors can assist by creating protected pockets of capacity development or improve institutions that shape capacity development – securing legal rights or reformulating Constitutions.

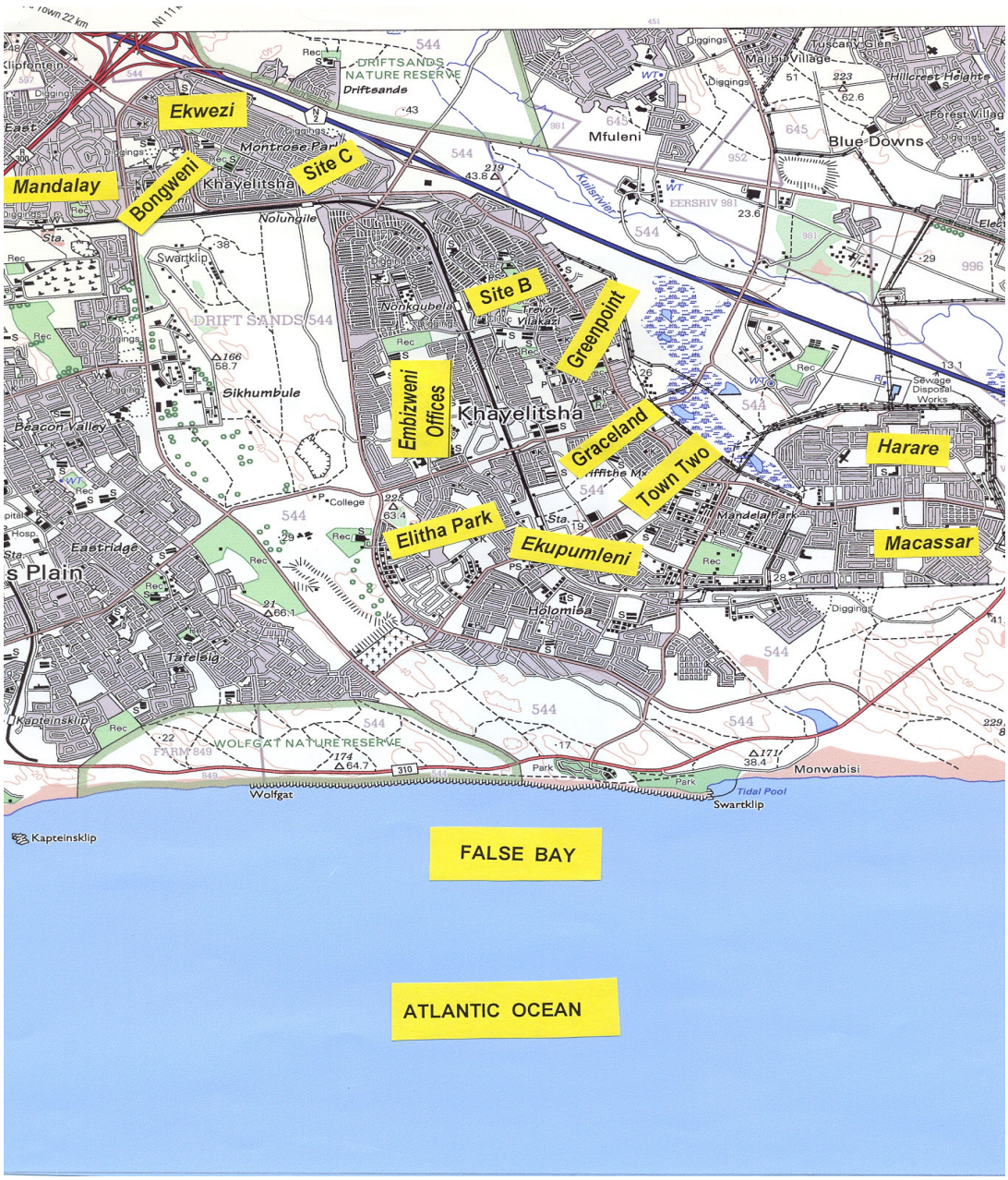
4.10.7 More Performance Incentives and Pressures

More attention is being paid lately to structural incentives that cause poor performance – staff not being paid, and organisation's such as unions among others capture organisations and appropriate their benefits. In such cases a major organisational redesign is necessary – get rid of organisations found to form barriers to emergence of new capacity.

While much has been highlighted in the literature about how organisations can be strengthened a closer look needs to be taken at the true extent of the capacity problem in the voluntary sector.

5. CASE STUDY

5.1 Khayelitsha – Profile



Embizweni targets the following sites in Khayelitsha which is made up mainly of large informal settlements and include Mandalay, Graceland, Ekwezi, Bongweni – Sites B & C, Elitha Park, Ekupumleni, Maccassar, Town 2, Greenpoint and Harare.

Khayelitsha is part of the City of Cape Town's Metro South East Region commonly known as Cape Town's poverty trap (Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG), 2004:1). The township covers an area of approximately 12 square kilometres (Singleton, 1999:1) and while the exact population size is difficult to assess due to the constant movement of people, figures of the Department of Provincial and Local Government (undated:1) places it at 320 000 people in 1997. According to Johnson (2004:1) who conducted research in the area over several years, there are no recent census figures and the population is estimated to be between 500 000 and 1 million people.

Despite Khayelitsha being an urban renewal node, development in the area has done very little for meaningful economic upliftment for the people living here. Much of the development has gone into improving infrastructure like roads, storm water drainage, community facilities, and housing. Approximately 77% of the population are under the age of 35 and only 1% of the population are old age pensioners. This survey conducted in 1997 also shows that 43% of adults are not employed in some way while the majority of those who are employed are engaged in unskilled occupations that are typically low-paid. Some families supplement their income by transforming their homes into spaza shops selling anything from bread to tripe and out of 2000 homes surveyed, it was found that 74% of households received an income of less than R1500.00 per month ((DPLG, undated: 4).

5.2 Birth of Khayelitsha

Since the majority of households have to survive on R1500.00 per month, Khayelitsha was never intended to be home for the rich. Khayelitsha was built in 1981 under the apartheid government as part of a strategy to divide and move people incrementally from Crossroads (comprising various townships) to one area where government could enforce its control and draconian laws much more effectively. As was customary at the time, black townships had to be as far away as possible from major business centres so this site formerly known as Swartklip/Driftsands was ideal. A military base was established near the township to flex the muscle of the apartheid regime should there be any unrest or resistance in the township. As an incentive to move there, Khayelitsha would have an orderly layout for houses, taps and toilets, and street lighting – in short, better infrastructure than in

Crossroads (Muzondo, Barry, Dewar and Whittal, 2003:2). This township, like so many around the country became in effect a dormitory town with no facilities for recreation while also suffering from a shortage of basic education facilities – home became a place where parents or adults sleep when they are not working and today some twenty-four years later, those fortunate enough to have a job still do the daily trek to major centres in and around Cape Town to earn a living. The area has grown since 1981 - in fact it is bursting at its seams trying to contain the close to 1 million people said to be living here.

Alcohol abuse (among other substances) is also said to be widespread in the area and apart from the usual liquor outlets situated at shopping centres, a fair amount of legal and illegal shebeens/taverns[5] still serve as the trademark of apartheid-era township life. Taverns are where the locals congregate to unwind and socialise but because this industry is so difficult to regulate and monitor, patrons have access to or sometimes demand liquor on a 24-hour basis. A more serious and worrying phenomenon, although not openly admitted by tavern bosses, is that liquor is often sold freely to patrons who are under the legal age limit of 18 years - most of them still attending school. With no or very little recreation facilities available the abuse of alcohol is seen as a major trigger of crime and domestic violence in the area.

While some things like unemployment and substance abuse appear not to have changed much since 1981, the demographics of the community have changed significantly since then. Not everybody that lives in Khayelitsha today are originally from the Western Cape. Families from the Eastern Cape are said to be flocking in large numbers to the province in search of work while refugees and illegal immigrants from troubled countries like the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and neighbouring Zimbabwe, among others, also choose to make this township their home. While relations between the locals and those from outside the province are generally cordial, some residents do feel that refugees and illegal immigrants are responsible for most crimes in the area while also depriving them of job opportunities because they (refugees and immigrants) tend to work for lower wages while also being better qualified than the average black South African.

[5] A residence where liquor can be bought

Embizweni's services are available to everyone who wishes to make use of it and draws no distinction between locals and those from other areas. The challenge for the organisation is to continuously inform its work about different customs and practices and to use these to the benefit of everyone. One of the respondents had this to say:

> *Working with men is very challenging and requires different approaches all the time. Men and the dynamics that influences how they think are all different. Our approach is, we will learn from them and they will learn from us - there is no one-size-fits-all*

5.3 Getting Embizweni Started

The organisation was started by a group of ten men living in the area hoping to address the high levels of domestic violence, substance/alcohol abuse, unemployment and male suicide. These men are (in alphabetical order) Mr Bororo Dica, Mr George Dingiswayo, Mr Zola Dyibhana, Mr Aubrey Malgas, Mr Dumile Mbethane, Mr Lungile Mdodana, Mr Mthuthuzeli Mkubukeli, Mr Dumisani Nqina, Mr Aubery Sogola and Mr Xolile Speelman

Setting up the organisation, once all the consultation work had been done was relatively straightforward. It was important to get the support of the local civic structure first otherwise the initiative stood to fail before it even got off the ground – civic structures are regarded as extremely powerful in terms of mobilising communities locally and nationally. The second level of consultation included structures like churches, school governing bodies, women's groups, and taxi associations. Two problems were encountered during the consultation phase

1) Because the organisation was set up during the time when the country was preparing for its second national democratic elections, there was suspicion that the founders were trying to use prominent community concerns like domestic violence and unemployment as a means to set up a new political party.

2) Women's groups in the area resisted the idea of having and or working with the organisation. They were not familiar with the work of perpetrator programmes and saw the organisation in direct opposition to them and one that was set up to advocate for men's rights.

This problem was dealt with by mobilising the more prominent members among the founders to address public meetings inviting various stakeholders. Fortunately these members had a track record in terms of political activism against the apartheid government and as such enjoyed much community support and trust – this helped to allay the suspicion. Once the organisation was given the go-ahead by the community, the founders, in keeping with local culture performed a slaughtering ceremony to mark this momentous occasion and to receive a formal blessing from the community. This process took about 12 months in total to complete.

5.4 About Embizweni

The Embizweni Voluntary Association is a registered non-profit community based organisation (CBO) formed in August 1998 but was only formerly registered in February 2002 once donor funding was secured. Between 1998 and 2002 the organisation operated from a garage in one of the resident's backyard while public and member's meetings were held in an open field. The organisation has also recently registered as a non-profit organisation (NPO) with the Department of Social Development.

CBO's are more than just organisations located within the geographical communities they serve. Beyond the family these organisations form the first level of organised civil society serving the country's poorest citizens and are often also referred to as "grassroots organisations". It should be noted that while NGO's and CBO's appear to be similar, they are distinctly different in terms of their work and the levels of skills and knowledge. Compared to NGO's there is also considerably less documentation on current conditions facing CBO's but it is clear that their needs are very different to that of NGO's (Frank, 2000:8)

CBO's usually operate with no or very little funding, rely mostly on the use of volunteers and struggle to attract and retain more skilled personnel. Therefore CBO's find it difficult to develop effective organisational management and service delivery capacities (Kaplan 1997). While some CBO's manage to attain a level of stability for years working with the same pool of volunteers, others battle with a roving group of volunteers as they move between towns and cities in search of work. According to Russel Ally from Mott Foundation, donors from the northern hemisphere perpetuate this culture because they would commonly provide salaries to NGO's whereas in the case of CBO's arguments that romanticise volunteerism are put forward to justify excluding payment of CBO staff (Ndlovu, 2004:28). This approach places an additional burden on the poor especially those living in rural areas where options for income generation are limited.

In the South African context this approach can be particularly problematic as according to Nomhle Ndophu from the Social Change Assistance Trust (SCAT), in northern countries volunteers are people who have accumulated some resources and savings and volunteering is one way of ploughing back into the community. It was concluded that donors should consider as a minimum, payment for core staff but not without clear policies that will determine the amount and ensure payment goes where it is intended and not into the pocket of some powerful gatekeeper. (Ndlovu, 2004:28)

That is why Embizweni believes that their preference to make use of full-time employees as opposed to volunteers makes perfect sense. They believe that with full-time employees the organisation is able to maintain a good and reliable standard of services because unlike with volunteers, staff can be held accountable and there is continuity, which is important when staff deal with complex issues like gender violence. It also allows for structured and ongoing capacity building that makes the organisation a learning organisation. As a learning organisation staff and management had to begin to think critically about developing and formalising a vision and mission for the organisation.

5.4 Mission and Vision

The organisation started off without a formally documented mission and vision. The founders knew what the objectives are but needed to work out how to achieve the desired outcomes. The vision and mission evolved over time through dialogue with other organisations in the sector and interventions by two independent consulting agencies. The current mission and vision are as follows:

Mission: Strive to challenge all forms of abuse through awareness raising, workshops, training and other activities within the membership and the broader community

Vision: To see family stability, peace and sustainable development where women, children and men live in a non-abusive society

Embizweni's experience has been that once the vision and mission was developed and formally adopted by staff and management, it provided much needed clarity in terms of what the organisation stood for and what it was meant to do. However, Embizweni also learnt very quickly that without funding there is only so much that an organisation can do hence it had to look for donors that would be interested in supporting their work.

5.5 Funding the Organisation

It was initially envisaged that donor funding would be secured quite rapidly after starting the organisation but it soon dawned on the founders that the funding environment was highly competitive and that the requirements and procedures set by government departments and most donors basically ruled them out of contention. Embizweni had an expectation that government funding from the Departments of Justice, and Social Development would be easily come by since they saw their work as part of government's responsibility and commitment to working with NGO's and CBO's to carry out its mandate. The new government committed itself to improving the quality of life of its citizens through the introduction of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which opened up opportunities for NGO's in all spheres of development to collaborate with government.

By 1996 the RDP was replaced by the Growth, Employment And Redistribution strategy (GEAR) in which the roles for NGO's and for-profit organisations were redefined as (Swilling and Russell, 2002: 4):

- NGO's (including CBO's) would engage in programmes directed at poverty alleviation
- For-profit private sector organisations would play a central role in economic growth and service delivery

It is clear that the role of civil society organisations changed drastically in the space of two years (1994 – 1996) – from broad development objectives to that of poverty alleviation. Embizweni was pretty much under the impression that they would fit in under the RDP provisions and in fact, it has only dawned on the organisation during this study how GEAR has impacted on funding being diverted away from development agencies not directly involved with poverty alleviation.

Apart from the policy shift by government, Embizweni's management found government bureaucracy far too complicated and the leadership could not get to grips with tendering procedures nor was information about tenders readily available. Although tendering is seen as a potential source of income for non-profit organisations, government issues very few tenders for services in the area of violence against women. A study conducted by Vetten and Khan (2002) found that government funding to the gender violence sector was inadequate and that many organisations were beginning to buckle under the pressure of having to provide services without money. However, the study concludes that the limited financial support to this sector should not be interpreted as an unwillingness on the part of government to assist the violence against women sector but rather, the bureaucratic hurdles and lack of information about funding and tendering processes hampers organisations' attempts to secure funding from the state (Vetten et al. 2002:1)

Another barrier for Embizweni to accessing funding was directly linked to the lack of organisational capacity at the time (writing skills, properly constructed programmes, computers etc) to write impressive funding proposals. In addition, the organisation also did

not have management committee members with the profile that would impress government and donors and in the words of one of the respondents:

> *Funders want to know who your board members are and unless you have prominent people known as doctor so-and-so you have no chance. They make you feel as if you do not know what you are doing and as such would be a risk to fund.*

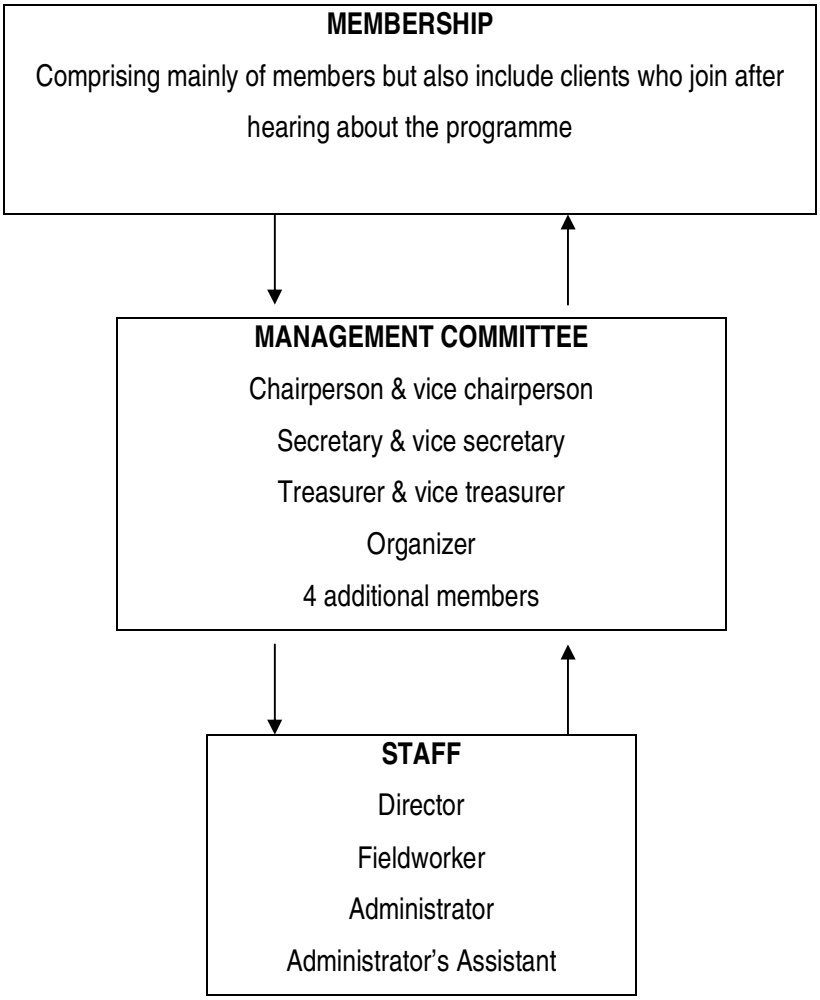
Charging for services was never an option given the level of unemployment and poverty in the area. In order to ensure the organisation's survival, the leadership decided to generate income by opting for a membership model targeting men as members. During this time the organisation had no stable source of income and relied solely on ad-hoc donations or sponsorships from the business sector and membership fees. Sponsorships helped to arrange the odd outing while fathers contributed a minimal amount towards the cost of the excursions.

The leadership of Embizweni then approached an NGO based in Cape Town (Quaker Peace Centre - QPC) to provide them with mediation skills. These skills came in handy as it created the entry point for dealing with family as well as individual conflicts and this helped to build a profile for the organisation bringing it closer to its goal of engaging with men on issues of gender violence.

Hence, while the membership model is what makes this organisation unique in its approach to building the capacity of its members and ultimately the community, it was born out of need to sustain the organisation. The first donor who provided funding to help establish Embizweni is the Catholic Lenten Fund[6] followed by the Open Society Foundation for South Africa.

[6] Recently changed its name to Fastenopfer Swiss Catholic Lenten Fund

5.6 Organisational Structure (Community Connections, 2004: 10)



5.7 Business Model (Membership)

The organisation is driven by its members and currently has in total 285 members each having to pay an annual membership fee of R50.00. The organisation does not only serve its members but also caters for walk-in clients and those referred by other network partners.

Upon joining the organisation the member signs and agrees to abide by a code of conduct that is enforced by a disciplinary committee should it become necessary. The purpose of the code of conduct is to ensure that:

- Members demonstrate at all times the kind of behaviour that would reduce gender-based violence
- Spouses have recourse in cases of non-compliance
- The organisation's reputation and standing in the community is enhanced.

There have been cases where members had to appear before the disciplinary committee. Cases are not always resolved at the first instance and can take considerable time to wind up. Generally it is felt that the code of conduct is an effective way of keeping members in check and because members support each other most cases are resolved (among members where they live) before it gets worse and need not be reported or referred to Embizweni's offices.

All members are usually invited to attend the organisation's annual general meetings where members elect a new management committee, formally introduce new members and receive and interrogate annual reports. The members are the organisation – the organisation empowers its members with a range of life skills which in turn becomes a resource to their partners, children, extended families, friends and ultimately the community. Members of staff are appointed from the membership pool subject to a rigorous and open recruitment process.

Despite the relatively modest annual subscription fee of R50.00, high unemployment levels in the area makes it difficult for most members to pay their membership fees which the organisation relies on to cover some of its operational costs. At the moment it is estimated that only about 25% of members are paid up and the organisation is currently devising strategies to improve the collection rate. Even if subscription rates are doubled and collection rates reach the 100% mark, it is almost certain that the organisation would not be able to rely on membership fees alone for its survival. While the organisation understands the impact of poverty on the community and never turns anyone away because they cannot afford to pay, they believe there is value in getting people to pay for services – clients can hold them accountable while staff can count on clients' cooperation because they have a vested interest. Donor and or government support would be essential to sustain these services and this hold true for many other service delivery CBO's throughout

South Africa. Embizweni's experience is that funding for gender violence work (service delivery) is not easily come by and because perpetrator programmes are seen by some gender activists to be taking money away from victim support programmes (directed at women), the problem is compounded substantially. The organisation has funding secured until the end of 2005 and despite volumes of proposals being sent out, no positive responses have been received thus far and the future for 2006 seem uncertain. This, in the absence of a proper funding strategy by government stand to weaken service delivery organisations considerably as they would tend follow money and venture into areas for which they are ill-equipped and dilute what used to be very good services (Vetten et al, 2002:1).

5.8 Governance

The Management Committee (Manco) currently consists of 11 members and is the highest decision-making structure in the organisation. Members of the committee are nominated to form a disciplinary committee when dealing with member transgressions. The main role of the Manco is to oversee the general functioning of the organisation, employment of staff, developing the programme strategy, raising funds and making sure the relevant policies are in place and are implemented. The Manco is positioned very close to the daily running of the organisation (unlike a Board) and is consulted frequently by staff to advise on certain matters or respond directly to certain requests. As the chairperson, George, of the Manco puts it:

> *We want to know everything that is going on in the organisation because we are providing direct services to the community. I do not want to read in the newspapers or be confronted in the street about something that involves my organisation and have no knowledge or answers.*

The Manco is ultimately accountable to donors and members are elected annually from the membership-base at the annual general meeting. The annual election of Manco members is viewed positively even though there are also problems with this system. On the positive side members who do not perform well during the year know that they stand to lose their

position and tend to try and give their best. The difficulty however on an operational level is that members do not always attend meetings regularly while at times some members would exceed their powers and encroach on staff terrain.

At the time Embizweni was started the skills-base at Manco and programmatic level was regarded as "adequate" but not ideal. The organisation lacked formal policies, management systems and a constitution. With no guiding documents in place the Manco members relied on each other for guidance as to what the organisation should do. They remained unclear about their individual roles and responsibilities but understood their role as providing oversight, promoting the organisation, raising funds and to ensure that staff carried out their duties. The lack of skills among members made it difficult to assign individual responsibilities hence they preferred to operate as a collective which presented a range of problems some of which include:

- Difficulty in reaching consensus on certain issues
- Debating issues that could have been resolved by policy
- Ad-hoc meetings and knee-jerk decision making
- Encroaching on staff responsibilities
- Failure to adhere to a common strategy.

In order to remedy these problems, Embizweni approached an NGO (Planned Parenthood Association of South Africa - PPASA) for guidance and assistance. Because the PPASA also works with perpetrators it was an ideal partnership – policies and ideas on how to strengthen the organisation were shared which contributed to the growth of the organisation in a major way and in a relatively short space of time. Manco members currently feel much more confident in providing strategic leadership to the organisation and pride themselves in the fact that they were able to construct all the funding proposals during 2005. It appears that there is a solid cadre of dedicated members on whom staff and members can rely to take the organisation forward.

However, this model of governance limits the Manco's role in providing actual governance. This might be because governance can and has been interpreted in so many different

ways. The management committee type model is common amongst CBO's which generally means members are immersed in the day-to-day running of the organisation. This approach can result in management committee members losing sight of their duty to govern the organisation thus placing the organisation at risk of straying from its constitutional mandate and obligations, weakening organisational leadership, and disintegration of systems and structures that ensure accountability. What has worked in Embizweni's favour thus far is that by implication the governance role was shared or taken over by their donors and this is something the Manco has to be vigilant of as they move into the future without the mentoring of their donors.

5.9 Roles

Four full-time employees play the following roles in the organisation:

Director: There is one director in the organisation and he has the following main duties: Supervises staff, promotes and represents the organisation, implements strategy, prepare funding proposals, manages funds, liases with donors and provides direct counselling services

Fieldworker: One fieldworker undertakes needs assessments, recruits new members, set up networks with other organisations to strengthen partnerships, promoting the organisation, organises skills training workshops, arrange follow-up workshops to assess programme impact, and offers direct counselling services when necessary

Administrator: The administrator is responsible for the overall administration of the organisation, manages the reception area and functions, schedules appointments, supports the fieldworker and director, maintain networks and represents the organisation when neither director or fieldworker is available

Administrator's Assistant: He cleans the office and supports the administrator (collecting mail and faxes, delivering correspondence, answering the telephone, recording appointments).

Volunteer: This is not a full-time position but is necessary at times. It is usually filled by one of the organisation's members. This person manages the front desk in cases where the administrator or his assistant is not available – management believes that the front desk must always have a person managing that area.

When staff came on board in 1998, even though they had no practical working experience they had the necessary formal qualifications to do the work. A qualified social worker with a tertiary qualification to take care of counselling services and a person with a secondary qualification to do basic client interviews and administrative work. However on an intra-personal level the lack of experience hampered their confidence which was further compounded by the fact that they worked as volunteers (unpaid) from a backyard garage with no basic office infrastructure – they felt that their self-esteem was somehow being compromised which resulted in them struggling to satisfy the programme objectives because they were not always sure if they were doing the correct thing and whether the community regarded them as professionals.

Given that the organisation was in no position to pay for organisational or staff development services, staff were also assisted by the PPASA. This arrangement exposed staff to further practical training workshops (different counselling models, train-the-trainer programmes) as well as debriefing sessions, which proved to be invaluable. This partnership helped staff build the necessary confidence in a relatively short time, which was bolstered by the knowledge of having a strong ally that could advise on more complicated cases – staff became highly motivated to push the boundaries of their interventions and take on more complicated cases.

While this model seems to have worked well for Embizweni, there are numerous examples of where such partnerships resulted in much animosity. Relations between CBO's and NGO's are not always harmonious but Embizweni's view is that the level of trust between them and the PPASA was extremely high and they (Embizweni) made a conscious effort to rather question the applicability of certain recommendations or suggestions instead of framing it in a way that may suggest an ulterior motive on the part of the PPASA.

The role of the organisation's donors (Catholic Lenten Fund and the OSF-SA) in strengthening the organisation, according to Embizweni should not be underestimated. According to staff, had it not been for donor interest and advice, the organisation's development may have been retarded in a major way. The roles of the donors are further elaborated on later in the document.

While staff capacity is an important ingredient in the quality assurance equation, Embizweni's view is that it is not the only element that impacts on the output of an organisation. Organisational capacity can be influenced among others by the capacity of governance structures, management systems, combination of skills in the organisation, infrastructure, and networks. Failing to recognise this distinction can be disastrous because, organisational development or skills development interventions could be misdirected missing the target completely and wasting much needed resources.

5.10 Networking

The overall strength of the Embizweni model is that it is rooted in the community and relies on different community resources to sustain its work and membership-base. Community networks therefore form a critical extension of the organisation's work and capacity and must be regularly maintained. Structures such as churches, traditional healers, burial societies, school governing bodies, business forums, civic associations, taxi associations, political structures, tavern associations all make up the Embizweni arsenal and play a vital role in preserving and feeding local custom into westernised models of work. A few examples are briefly outlined below:

Religious Bodies: Religion plays an important role in the lives of people living in Khayelitsha. These structures provide spiritual guidance and support to both perpetrators and victims of abuse.

Traditional Healers: They assist with performing various rituals associated with certain events which in this case could be a ritual to mark reconciliation between couples and their families

Civic Associations: These structures are usually broken up into smaller units called block or street committees and they concern themselves with every problem that occurs within their block. Apart from being a referral partner they often assist Embizweni in locating partners/members and play an important monitoring role of agreements that have been reached between spouses.

An added bonus is that these services are in no way reliant on funding generated by Embizweni and without it the organisation and its members would be so much poorer. For these structures to effectively compliment Embizweni's work, it is crucial that they understand the issues surrounding gender violence. Embizweni's work includes having to run educational workshops for such bodies.

5.11 Programme Theory

Network partners played an important role in shaping Embizweni's theory. Embizweni started without a formal programme theory but because some of the founder members came from abusive homes they understood the impact it has on the family. The theory of masculinity and gender violence was developed over time from personal experience of the founders, engagement with network partners, and exposure to formal models that focused on perpetrators. In terms of experience, all of the respondents viewed families as the foundation of functional society. Some of them had been perpetrators of domestic violence and observed firsthand how families disintegrated. By working with the PPASA in their 'Men as Partners' (MAP) programme and studying of the Mankind Project (psychological model used by the PPASA) the founders were able develop the current Embizweni theory and model.

Embizweni theorises that gender stereotyping disempower and prevent men from enjoying a good family life. The organisataion is also of the view that because the bulk of interventions are directed at women, it gives women better access to information and as such in many instances the woman is far more empowered than the man she is having a relationship with. Because women tend to be caregivers there are public health places they often frequent where information is made available. In addition, the manner in which

women tend to socialise also facilitates the spread and sharing of information. The difficulty that arises from this information overload when an empowered woman tries to negotiate with a less-empowered man, is that most of her efforts to enrich the relationship may be met with resistance and sometimes even violence which may lead the woman to believe it was a mistake to seek help in the first place. Working with men empowers men so that when their spouse experience problems they (men) are more enlightened and open to joint problem solving. This approach also teaches men how to raise issues with their partners so that dialogue is promoted.

One of the common causes cited for marital or relationship problems relates to culture. Culture is often misunderstood and used as a means to disadvantage and oppress others. According to George Dingiswayo culture can be a double-edged sword and unless couples are skilled to interrogate and negotiate around these issues, stereo-types are easily reinforced. He says:

> *In our (black) culture men are perceived as 'providers' or 'head of the household' while women generally have to take care of the home and children. But when the man becomes unemployed and the wife or partner becomes the breadwinner, men see themselves as inadequate and in a sense feel they cannot fulfil their role as head of the family. Some men do not know how to cope with such situations and tend to withdraw. This often leads to depression, substance abuse, and domestic violence and as a result, relationships and communication break down and family-life disintegrates. Being unable to provide and support the family also exposes the man to serious stigmatisation – he stands to lose the respect of the family and extended family, and it could go as wide as the community. In these circumstances, women and children are placed at high risk of victimisation.*

It can therefore be deduced that culture can be used against a partner or that it can actually also work against both partners. It places the man at the head of family with a clear expectation that he has to provide for his family irrespective of his capabilities/circumstances while the wife/partner is charged with the responsibility to

manage the home and raise the children without recognising other attributes she may have – a serious imposition.

With regards to the suicide problem, the respondents all agreed that suicide is not something that is easily spoken of or openly admitted among the black community and this phenomenon posed serious challenges for the organisation when they started. According to them, committing suicide can further fuel the perception that the man is a coward but more often than not, result in blame for the suicide being apportioned to the wife/partner resulting in devastating consequences for her and the children. Without a proper theory they saw job creation or finding jobs as an obvious answer to the suicide problem. This proved much more complicated than originally thought but the organisation had to find an entry point and in Dumisane's words:

> *The image of men in the area generally deteriorated to an all-time low. The high level of domestic violence in the area presented men as perpetrators while the accompanying suicide rate labelled men as cowards. This problem affected all of us because even we happened to be among the unemployed and were not exempted from this reality. We decided to shift the focus from being "head of the household" to that of "caregiver" because essentially that is what most of us were doing to keep busy even though some men would not openly admit it – we were looking after our children and doing chores around the house to ease the burden on our partners. Children need to grow up in a caring and loving environment and most men are quite capable and willing to do this. Men need to understand that their behaviour in most instances determine how close or distant the family become, thus, men can and should learn about these dynamics, the consequences of gender violence, and how a change in mindset can transform their role in positive ways.*

For most men the concept of self is formed around work as an activity. – worklessness can lead to a feeling of worthlessness (Webb, 1998, cited in Hurst 2002:3) Employment opportunities and economic activity in Khayelitsha are limited with the local authority being the single largest employer. Thanks to apartheid-era educational and labour policies, a

high percentage of the population in Khayelitsha are found to be under-educated and unskilled (DPLG, undated: 4 & 7) and this holds true for the majority of South Africa's black population even today

In 2002 a total of 41% of job seekers nationally were unemployed for more than three years and Embizweni found that this emotional and psychological stress intensified the levels of violence in the home and within the community. According to Hurst, men who remain unemployed also tend to lose a sense of control of self and are particularly vulnerable to mental health problems, including domestic violence issues. Hence, traditional conceptions of masculinity need to be investigated to reduce the potential for negative social fallout if high unemployment is going to remain a possibly persistent fact of life in South African communities (Hurst, 2002: 3 &16)

The annual Global Employment Trends Survey from the International Labour Organisation (ILO) shows that half of the world's 2.85 billion workers are living on less than the $2-a-day poverty line – the same as a decade ago. In addition, jobless people in the world increased to a record high of 191.8 million in 2005 despite the world economy as a whole growing by 4.3% which is not far below 2004's three-decade high of 5.1%. The job crisis was also found to be acute among those aged between 15 and 24, who make up half the world's unemployed and are three times as likely to be out of work as adults. The ILO says this is "troublesome" given that this category makes up only a quarter of the world's working population (*Mail and Guardian*, 2006, January 27 to February 2)

The report concludes:

> Without a chance to get a decent job and work themselves and their families out of poverty, a large segment of the world's population has little hope for a better life

Therefore, Embizweni argues that promoting men as caregivers places them at the centre of the family from where positive energy can be radiated to and from those around him. In a sense it minimises the potential for social fallout by reconstructing work and its utility in a different paradigm. It has been the experience of Embizweni that this alternative caregiver

role (supported by life skills training and education) automatically creates the space to link the spouse and children to the hub of the family which in the end draws everybody closer and begins to reduce gender violence and preserve and enrich family life by encouraging the man to:

- Work and earn an income for the family because he cares about making sure their basic needs are met
- Spend quality time with the family because he cares about the family sharing experiences and developing strong bonds
- Defend and protect the family because he cares about their safety and security
- Share in the responsibility of running the home because he cares about the well-being of his partner recognising that "many hands make light work" while also demonstrating a work ethic for their children to follow

In response to a question to explain why the Embizweni theory should work in practice respondents emphasised the approach of an organisation run by men for men – this does not mean they are a "boys' club" but rather, since men relate better to each other their approach provides a "safer" space for men to acknowledge, challenge and respond to the problem of gender violence. Because the theory has its roots in the community it influences practice directly – facilitators mobilise local resources (religious, cultural etc) to support and monitor interventions. Members are familiar with these customs and practices and it becomes easy to implement and respect. An added advantage is that the approach of the organisation is to find a joint solution and not to prescribe it – it remains important to show how the success/strength of the each partner (at different levels and not necessarily success as defined by the outside world) contributes to a happy home.

Joao, a 19 year old Brazilian teenage father who attends a health and gender equity promotion programme had this to say (Barker undated:2)

> …there's this guy who's a friend of mine and he had a girlfriend and she got pregnant and he abandoned her when she got pregnant, and he never liked to work, and he doesn't do anything, just takes from his mother. My point of view is

different. I believe in working because I want to have a family, a really good family. I want to be there when they need me, accepting my responsibilities […] They can think I'm square, so I'll be square then.

5.12 Beneficiaries

The table below describes the beneficiaries of the project.

5.12.1 Beneficiaries of the project

Beneficiary	Planned Outcomes
Men	✓ An understanding of their role as caregivers ✓ An understanding of how gender violence deprives them of a healthy marriage and family life. ✓ Acquire tools and support to make informed decisions and choices.
Women	✓ An improved relationship ✓ Better family functioning ✓ More support in parenting and household chores ✓ More free time ✓ A feeling of being valued as an equal partner
Children	✓ An improved paternal relationship ✓ Help with homework and other needs ✓ A feeling of being more protected (child-friendly boundaries instead of abuse) ✓ More family cohesions
community	✓ Improved family life reverberates through the community ✓ Planned social events

As illustrated, men are the critical target group of the intervention but women and children also benefit. While it is recognised at a practical level that when dealing with issues related to women and children that these cannot be separated, at a programmatic level it is important to separate these as the interventions and legislative provisions affect each group differently. Furthermore, some social events target the community and promote the organisation's work and how it can support families caught up in violence.

5.13 Delivery Strategy

All services are coordinated from the main office, which is equipped with all the basic office equipment like a telephone, computer, and an answering/fax machine. The reception area is where clients register their complaints and two separate offices serves as counselling or interview rooms. Workshops are conducted using community halls and venues usually at no or very little cost and recently the organisation purchased a vehicle to assist with networking and conducting workshops in outlying areas.

5.14 Embizweni Programmes

The organisation currently has three different programmes and is briefly discusses below.

5.14.1 Family Enrichment Programme

The Family Enrichment Programme consists of three components as indicated below.

Family Camps are usually held over a weekend at a venue that is reasonably priced, has proper overnight accommodation and workshop facilities. The organisation target mainly couples that are in a relationship and usually schedule at least four camps per year. These camps are run according to a pre-determined programme which include some time for relaxation, identifying and discussing problems as well as life skills training covering parenting skills, reproductive health, gender-based violence, HIV/AIDS, communication, and problem solving. The aim of the family camps are to make families aware of relationship dynamics, provide partners with the tools to strengthen and sustain their

relationship which Embizweni believes help prevent victimisation. Follow-up workshops are usually held 90 days after the camp to assess the impact of the camp and to provide follow-up support where needed.

Child Excursions targets fathers and their children and is usually a full day event visiting places of interest (museums, zoo, beach etc) and allowing children to experience new things e.g. going on their first train or bus ride. These outings are designed to give the spouse time off from looking after the children, but more especially to afford men the opportunity to experience the demands and rewards of child rearing. Men support each other on these trips with supervising children and assisting less-experienced fathers with feeding toddlers, changing nappies etc. These excursions gives the father a good sense of the amount of time and energy his partner has to invest in looking after the children and provides him with the opportunity to strengthen the bond between himself and his children. It drives home the realisation that a father is not only a provider but a parent too and must invest quality time with his children. This helps prevent child neglect as the bonds are strengthened and fathers become more aware of the needs and capabilities of their children.

Counselling Services are offered twice a week (Tuesdays and Thursdays) free of charge to both men and women. Unfortunately at the moment staff trained in counselling skills are engaged in other programme work hence this service is offered on a limited basis. This service is popular and on average between the director and fieldworker they attend to about ten people per day made up of a combination of individuals and couples and include referrals from other organisations, walk-in clients and members. The organisation is currently working on a proposal to secure funds for a full-time counsellor post so that these services could be available on a daily basis. It may be in the organisation's interest to investigate the feasibility of creating a full time counsellor post before submitting the proposal to a prospective donor. This money may be invested better elsewhere perhaps in organising more education and training workshops.

5.14.2 Education and Training

Both family camps and educational workshops are run on an ad-hoc basis. About six workshops a year are planned for members on various themes that help prevent family violence and build healthy family relationships. Achieving the number of workshops or camps per year is not always possible for a variety of reasons. Lack of funding is an obvious one but there are more subtle barriers like for example transport. Given that South Africa's public transport system is non-existent organisations and participants rely mainly on mini-bus taxis and busses to get around. Transport for workshops could be pre-arranged and in some cases even paid for in advance but on the day transport may simply not arrive – either due to break down or some other reason. Unforeseen events such as funerals also impacts on attendance of workshops and this is becoming more of a problem as the rate of funerals in townships begin to soar – speculation has it that it can be due to more people dying of AIDS.

Workshops vary in length from one day to fourteen days and the content ranges from stress reduction techniques to dealing with issues of racism. The table on the next page illustrates the typical kinds of life skills, duration and topics that are covered.

Life skill components and sample topics

	Training component	Duration	Topics
1	Domestic Violence and Gender Awareness	2 Days	▪ Legislation ▪ Definition of abuse ▪ Gender roles/equality ▪ Cycle of domestic violence ▪ How to train others in gender violence ▪ The impact of HIV-Aids
2	Community work training (Outsourced)	2 Days 1 Day	▪ Strategic Planning ▪ Conflict and mediation skills ▪ Conducting needs assessments
3	FAMSA auxiliary social worker training (Outsourced) Family Foundation Course (Outsourced)	12 Month block release	▪ Counselling and therapeutic models for addressing gender violence.
	New Warrior Training (Mankind Project)	1 Weekend	This focuses on men supporting other men to: ▪ Fight abuse against women and children ▪ Identify models of positive masculinity
5	Art of Living Project: Breath, Water and Sound	1 Week followed by 2 weeks advanced training	▪ Using breathing techniques to reduce stress levels

The Education and Training component has undergone some changes for the following reasons:

1) The original thinking of this component was to include hard skills training (plumbing, panel beating etc) in order to address unemployment, which the organisation found has a direct bearing on gender violence. Since this area of work proved much too challenging and had the potential of distracting the organisation from its core business, the

organisation decided to engage with this work on a smaller and more indirect way. Instead, Embizweni assists members in gaining access to certain skills by referring them to organisations that deal in job-finding skills (interviews, CV-writing) and practical skills/learnerships that help with securing employment or start a small business.

2) Embizweni is an organisation run by men for men. However, upon assessing the impact of the training workshops, spouses indicated in their responses that it would be more beneficial for the entire family if the wife or partner attended the education workshops as well. Embizweni finally gave in after much consideration and have since then encouraged both parties to attend the workshops. In the director's words:

> *This approach has enhanced the impact and content of our work tremendously but you have to know that all underlying issues has been dealt with – it has to do with timing as bringing both parties together at the wrong time can have disastrous effects.*

The above workshops are not just about skills transfer. The methodology includes engaging with real-life experiences hence participants are encouraged to share their experiences and to support each other in finding appropriate strategies for resolution. Rigid gender roles are challenged and in cases where positive shifts in thinking occur men pledge support and accountability to each other to reduce gender violence. Facilitators have to be skilled in this methodology as an already injured party could be further traumatised if he/she is not contained and supported in an appropriate manner.

5.14.3 Community Development

This work entails positioning the organisation within a broader development paradigm – its work has to feed into the broader community development plan. Physical infrastructure such as parks, clinics and libraries according to Embizweni plays an important role in sustaining healthy relationships. Given that a large portion of the community lives in informal houses often consisting of only one room, privacy and space comes at a premium.

Tension in these conditions can be difficult to contain and unless a community have access to recreation facilities and support services the pressures of life can become unbearable.

To this end the organisation provides leadership and facilitation of stakeholder engagement in raising particular needs. This provides another angle of community empowerment that can lead to the development of the social capital necessary to sustain further development. Embizweni identified the need for a Multi-Purpose Centre (MPC) in the area and besides approaching the Department of Social Services with the idea, Embizweni has played other important roles towards achieving this objective, including fundraising, chairing meetings, and assisting with drawing in other organizations

The original budget for this project was estimated at R8 million but has since grown to R40 million making this one of the largest MPC's in the country. Funding has been guaranteed from 6 government departments that will be moving its offices to the MPC. Phase one of the project is nearing completion.

This objective, because it is now carried out in partnership with a network of organisations belonging to the Khayelitsha Development Forum (KDF), Embizweni's role has changed significantly and they no longer have to drive this initiative as intensely as before. It has become much more manageable and does not require as much time and effort as before.

5.15 Exit Strategy

The local community is Embizweni's main target group and they are not intending to set up offices in other areas. Hence, unlike other organisations that work in a community for a period of time and having to exit at some point, in this case no exit strategy is required—the programme is already community owned. The knowledge-base vests in the communities where these members live and is not concentrated in an external organisation. All of its 285 members had been trained in various aspects of gender violence and other life skills.

Embizweni views itself as having an obligation to respond to the needs of its members and the broader community. Individual membership may change but the organisation stays the same and remains true to its mission.

5.16 Replicability

According to the respondents this project is regarded as being replicable anywhere. Domestic violence is a global issue and only varies in scope from one community to the next. However, facilitators need to understand the culture of the community they are working in, need to speak the local languages, have the trust of the community, be committed to resolving the problems and understand the background and history (especially recent history and developments) of the community. It is the view of the organisation that these skills are common in most if not all communities and that it is more a case of structuring the intervention and being clear what the objectives are.

5.17 Workshop Outcomes

The organisation uses participant evaluation forms to measure the impact of workshops. Findings indicate a high level of commitment and almost all respondents find the workshops to be well organised. Unfortunately, the organisation has not always been able to meet its targets in terms of the number of planned education and training workshops. The great value of being community based has been somewhat offset by the need to build staff capacity.

An external evaluation was conducted by Insideout in 2002. The Insideout evaluation included a survey that focussed mainly on the impact of a family camp utilising questionnaires distributed to spouses (by trainers) three months after training. It offered these findings:

- 25% reported less fighting in the households
- 36% reported change in sharing household chores

- 50% reported no change in spending quality time with families
- 17% reported men still hit their children

Insideout concluded that one-third of the members of Embizweni had improved their behaviour and that the organisation's programmes may enhance family values. Spouses in the family camp workshops reported that their husbands acquired skills that strengthened their marriages. Accordingly, these men could better identify causes of conflict and address them appropriately. However, these results are based only on testimony since no baseline study had been conducted. This makes it unclear as to whether this change could be attributed solely to the workshop. Further evaluation will therefore be required to validate these findings.

5.18 Role of NGO's and Donors in Capacity Building

Much of Embizweni's capacity building was provided by NGO's who were either funded by government or independent donors. Embizweni's experience in relation to capacity building programmes offered by NGO's is generally positive because founder members have all benefited from having attended several skills development workshops which contributed to most of them occupying better paying jobs currently.

On the other hand, it has also been their experience that some NGO's have to be treated with circumspection because they have hidden agendas and uses CBO's to further their own interests and was expressed as

> *Some NGO's come here and make money from our pain. It is not about helping us with the work that we do, it is about them seizing an opportunity.*

Ndlovu, (2004:4) confirms both experiences cited by Embizweni concluding with the latter that NGO's are often resented by CBO's because they are seen to be elitist and responsible for siphoning funds intended for community interventions.

Both Embizweni's donors have taken a strong developmental approach to the organisation's work. When funding proposals were submitted to the Catholic Lenten Fund and OSF-SA, it was the donors who suggested (independently of each other) and made funds available over a three year period for organisational strengthening. Embizweni regards themselves fortunate in that the donors understood and identified the need to link organisational development, programme funding and impact assessment into one intervention right from the outset because this was something Embizweni had not thought about. The role of the donors over and above making the funds available became that of mentor and facilitator and lasted for the entire grant period. During that time regular monthly progress meetings were held between the donors and Embizweni to ensure theory was translated into practice and that the organisation was moving forward. What this experience suggests is that donors should take a more "developmental" approach when working with CBO's. Much is bandied about in the CBO sector regarding how donors view CBO capacity building – some donors pledge their commitment while others fear staff would leave once they are better qualified. In sum it adds up to little or no money reaching CBO's for capacity building work because CBO's may be regarded as "high risk".

Eight years on and of the ten founder members who benefited from the capacity building work, four are still directly involved with the organization (staff and management), two have emigrated overseas but still keep contact, one passed away, one is an ordinary member while two still live in the area but have no further ties with the organisation. One could argue that an attrition rate of 20% is probably not higher than in any other sector hence donors should be motivated to do more in this area provided clear parameters for skills transfer are set. Conversely, donors also stand to gain much knowledge about how this sector works and how their development strategies can be enhanced by CBO input. In that way CBO's can also contribute to enhancing the capacity of the donor community.

While the general impression is that funding to this sector has decreased, recent studies conducted by and Swilling and Russell (2002) indicate not only that funding to this sector continued but that it has actually increased. Despite this finding, CBO's are getting the smallest piece of the funding pie despite the fact that no less than 53% of this sector is made up of CBO's. In 1998 this sector had an estimated income of R14 billion of which the

South African government contributed an estimated R5.8 billion, which included foreign government Overseas Development Aid (ODA). It is reliably estimated that of the R5.8 billion, no more than R500 million of ODA found its way to non-profit organisations. (Swilling & Russell, 2002:34)

Thankfully though even though funding for CBO's are hard to come by, a recent study confirmed that there are funders who are committed to supporting CBO's and that they have recognised that such grant-making should be linked to other types of support (Ndlovu, 2004:6) The question is how do these donors make themselves more visible to the CBO sector and engage in some serious organisational development work.

5.19 Heard it through the Grapevine

Information about policy shifts, funding opportunities and capacity building workshops are not easily come by and even though CBO's are a lot closer to the communities, business and government do not take the time to engage CBO's in partnerships. Public participation processes are mainly located in the hands of political structures which not only results in selective participation but also deprives a large proportion of people from development opportunities. While government (Dept of Social Development, Justice etc) has made effort to engage and consult with civil society their strategies, according to Embizweni, seems to favour NGO's more than it does CBO's.

One problem could be the medium of communication that is used. Information does not always filter through to CBO's and communities because e-mail and Internet have become the popular medium for communication and while many CBO's do make use of computers, Internet and e-mail access/services remain a costly affair. Embizweni (even though it has Internet and e-mail access) still relies heavily on the telephone to communicate with its clients and other CBO's – their networks, clients and members do not have Internet and email capabilities. It is also a well-known fact that South Africa has one of the highest telephone costs in the world (Gillwald and Esselaar, 2004: 12) and this undoubtedly has a negative impact on organisations such as Embizweni – having the telephone service suspended in the middle of the month is not uncommon. They believe emerging

technology and the cost thereof is widening the gap between rich and poor. This they believe can be changed if government and NGO's make a conscious effort to partner with CBO's in a much more meaningful way

5.20 Embizweni's Understanding of Capacity Development

Embizweni's understanding of organisational capacity building seems to incorporate a combination of what Postma, and Kaplan and Taylor defines capacity building to be. They see organisational capacity as having a direct relationship with the quality of output citing individual capacity as the foundation on which an organisation has to build and grow. If an individual has no skills and or experience organisational development is stunted in a major way.

Individual capacity in an organisation is built by life experiences as well as, formal schooling and skills development workshops. Individual capacity is also further enhanced as the individual begins to engage with service delivery. Interestingly, volunteering is regarded as a major individual capacity building tool rather than a means for service delivery and that confirms yet again why Embizweni prefer their model of using full-time paid employees. Organisational capacity in their view is much more complicated to achieve. According to Aubrey organisational capacity is like:

> *Putting a puzzle together on a daily basis with each person having and holding on to his/her unique piece of the puzzle. It requires everybody's effort. The systems in the organisation help to align the pieces so that the organisation becomes strong. But if the individual is not there or there are conflicts, the organisation becomes weak because a piece of the puzzle is missing.*

They understand organisational development interventions as one way to build organisational capacity which is usually offered by external consultants. According to Embizweni organisational development does not automatically translate into organisational capacity – this requires ongoing mentoring and takes time to develop and must focus on staff and organisational systems. Once-off workshops do not work either – consultants

need to immerse themselves in the organisation and work with the organisation until everything functions according to plan. In their words:

> *In that way we build each other's capacity (organisation, individual and consultants) and forge strong networks that will ensure each person becomes a resource to each other. By combining mentoring and monitoring an organisation's capacity can be effectively enhanced but is a process and on average takes about 12 months to achieve.*

6 FURTHER ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of the study was not to measure impact but rather to gain a better understanding of good practice management and capacity building strategies that may enhance the impact of perpetrator programmes. The following findings emerged from the study:

6.1 Job Descriptions:

Job descriptions for all staff have been developed and each staff member has been issued with a formal letter of appointment detailing exactly what his/her responsibilities are. Staff members are clear about what is expected of them and work accordingly. There is no overlap of responsibilities although there is some flexibility on sharing responsibilities. Staff members say they are now getting on better with each other and there are also fewer distractions in terms of petty tasks.

Guidelines for the Management Committee detailing their general roles and responsibilities have also been developed but members appear less clear about their roles. Possible reasons are that the guidelines have just recently been developed and Manco members need to be "workshopped" so that they all gather a uniform understanding. However the guidelines have assisted in giving the general direction of what the Manco's function is. These have all been incorporated into a staff policy manual. Achieving full attendance of Manco members at meetings remain a challenge and although not a serious problem the organization should attempt to recruit members that are able to invest the time the organization requires. More rigorous oversight, monitoring and support have to be provided by Manco in instances where the director has been delegated to meet with donors and network partners.

6.2 Organisational Policies:

Operational, staffing and financial policies have been developed. Staff and management committee members all agree that it makes their job much more tolerable as processes

and procedures for various issues are clearly articulated. Meeting time has been greatly reduced allowing more time to be spent on critical issues

6.2.1 Code of conduct for members:

The code of conduct for members is in the process of being revised. The evaluation carried out in 2002 by Insideout recommended that the functioning of the disciplinary committee should be reviewed in order to assess its effectiveness as well as having women represented on this structure. Given the time that has elapsed since this recommendation was made, it can be safely concluded that female representation on the disciplinary committee is not deemed appropriate. This could raise particular questions regarding how the organisation's understanding of gender equity is translated into the organisation's own structures.

However, the Manco's explanation is that the organisation is in principle not opposed to electing women into decision-making structures and their belief is because Embizweni is built on a cultural model it appeals to men and it is this power that the organisation uses to change the attitudes and behaviour of men. The chairperson had this to say:

> *No woman or man will be disadvantaged because of the composition of the Manco or disciplinary committee. It is how we as Embizweni understand and respond to gender violence and use local knowledge and resources to the benefit of the community. We are working with a captive audience and if we want to reach them we have to keep true to how things are done*

6.2.2 Organisational systems (monitoring and evaluation)

While all the systems have been developed implementation has only been recent so it is perhaps premature to comment on how well the systems function. Staff members agree that they have all received the necessary training and that they all participated in customising the systems to the organisation's needs.

Monitoring and Evaluation: Six workshops and one family camp were conducted for the year. There is evidence that the necessary data has been captured and that staff has a good understanding of how to apply the tools. The organisation should at some point evaluate the family camps in order to establish how it raises the bar to engage couples in more advanced levels of activities. The camps are cited by participants as a useful tool to build relationships and strengthen family bonds.

Reports and Action Plans: Reports on progress are regularly compiled and forwarded to the Management Committee for the purpose of staff and financial accountability. Submitting reports on time to donors needs immediate attention. Both donors attested to reports not being submitted on time and the director still needs a fair amount of prompting before reports are submitted. This area needs urgent corrective measures to be put in place

Fundraising: This area of work has improved exceptionally well in terms of writing up funding proposals and forwarding them to prospective donors. Management Committee and staff cooperation in this area is also working well. What may need to be improved upon as a matter of urgency is the funding strategy. Submitting the funding proposal is but one part of what can be a complicated and tedious process and without a strategy can add to frustrations and loss of good funding opportunities. The membership fee collection strategy is currently in progress.

6.3 Knowledge Management:

The organisation has until now not considered developing a knowledge-management system since it was highlighted for the first time by this study. This is not surprising because knowledge management is a very recent discipline and is more widely used in business and government sectors. Knowledge management is also not commonly spoken of in the sector. Embizweni was under the impression that having the relevant policies, procedures, and training manuals in place it would constitute preserving and updating the knowledge-base in the organisation. This area of work has been prioritised by the organisation and will be attempted during 2006.

6.4 Embizweni as a Learning Organisation

Much has been written about improving the management capacity of NGO's and CBO's particularly those in third world countries. Common themes that emerge are:

- The reticence of NGO's to accept that they have a management problem and;
- Whether the (scientific) management techniques and methods used by other types of organisations (profit-making, government bureaucracies etc in) in Western environments have any relevance for NGO's (Fowler, 1990:1).

According to both Pieterse (1997) and Edwards (1997) despite numerous organisational development consultations offered to NGO's and CBO's since the mid 1990's, they have been unable to become learning organisations in order to create a growth and development threshold which has been identified as a significant weakness in this sector. Edwards (1997) regards organisational culture of voluntary organisations as limiting learning, reflection and self-criticism and identifies this as being one of the main problems while Pieterse (1997) sees the most critical capacity challenge as being the inability of NGO's/CBO's to demonstrate professionalism.

The study found that in Embizweni's case there is sufficient evidence to suggest that capacity development interventions have significantly improved operations at various levels in the organisation. It may not be giant leaps but the organisation is clearly in a much stronger position than they would have been had it not been for the interventions. The organisation is clearly ahead of the average CBO in South Africa in terms of developing its own strategy, implementing policy, implementing systems especially in relation to monitoring and evaluation, and fundraising. That being the case, the organisation should be in a position to deliver its programmes more effectively thus improving its chances of enhancing impact.

6.5 Key Lessons Learnt by Embizweni

The following are five of the most critical lessons learnt by the organisation described largely in their own words about what works best to help reduce victimisation of women and children.

- Know the needs of the community and be known by the community that you intend to assist. If you come from somewhere else people may doubt you but if you are rooted in the community it creates a presence and a sense of accountability

- Locate influential people who can lend credibility to the programme both in terms of consultation and feedback to the community.

- Don't project yourself as an expert or impose ideas on people - position yourself as part of a broader group with a similar interest in trying to bring about change.

- Since the support of a spouse is important, it has proven to be a good strategy to include both males and females in workshops. Each case however must be assessed individually and it is advisable to only bring both sexes together once they are ready. If facilitated well, people can identify and resolve problems in a generalised way without personalising it.

- Media coverage helps to convey the message – use community radio but know the times that men are likely to tune in.

These are two lessons about practices that fail according to the interviewees:

- Coming up with a fixed a strategy that you try to impose on a community as if you already know all their problems and all the solutions (you cannot possibly know that)

- Avoid all negative labels and language as this makes people defensive and reinforces stereotypes

6.6 Conclusions

It is unlikely that Embizweni's programme will provide answers to all the problems confronting perpetrator programmes but then again it was not the purpose of the case study to do so - the study sought to identify good practice management and capacity building strategies that may enhance the impact of perpetrator programmes.

However Embizweni's approach to working with perpetrators is an interesting one and provides a completely different if not a new way of looking at the problem. For them it is important to balance the scale of power from a completely different and perhaps controversial perspective – men being disadvantaged due to a lack of access to information and capacity building opportunities which becomes crucial when engaging in problem solving with a more empowered female partner. While no longitudinal study has been done on their work, Embizweni is of the view that they are making a difference in the lives of many families as their programmes are beginning to show higher rates of satisfied clients. While they are not claiming to be winning the war against gender violence their optimism is supported by client evaluation forms that attest to relationships becoming much more manageable. But then their work also does not stand alone as it comprises both Western and local models for dealing with relationship dynamics and include counselling, education and training, cleansing rituals coupled with extended family support weaved into solid community networks. This gives us some understanding of what could be meant when we talk of holistic interventions and how these could or should be managed. This approach could very well be what sets this programme apart in the South African context at least – but it has to be tested at all these levels before any claims for success can be made. This study is probably but the first step in that direction.

What the above section highlights very strongly and is worth being noted as a separate point is the value of everyday life-experiences. Life experiences and or "common sense" as confirmed by both the literature and the case study, is what in the majority of cases inform what CBO's do. More attention should be paid by development practitioners to these lay theories and to interrogate these further to help CBO's to think more clearly about

what they do but more importantly, for them to contribute and become part of a body of knowledge.

Donors and government can contribute to knowledge building through capacity development. This may require a new or different approach to funding community-based organisations – the transaction needs to go beyond providing money in exchange services. Providing financial support for service delivery is crucial but if CBO's are to become better at what they do, donors need to ask critical questions about capacity and quality output but more than that, donors must make it possible for CBO's to become learning organisations. This implies giving more than just money – apart from funding organisational development practitioners to do the work donors should get directly involved and become mentors, enablers and facilitators of knowledge. Donors occupy a powerful and interesting space and by consciously sharing some of the knowledge that vests in donor organisations (sharing research findings and sectoral developments, encouraging and rewarding good governance principles, facilitating strategic planning sessions, inviting CBO's to participate in donor-strategy development), the voluntary sector stands to grow and contribute more meaningfully to addressing problems in their constituencies and the broader development agenda in the country. This can be one way of dealing with the problem of a skills deficit and poor quality of output.

This study provides but a snap-shot of an area of work that is highly complex hence it can in no way be construed as having the potential to revolutionise capacity development or the way perpetrator programmes work. Much has been highlighted for future research and investigation and it is hoped that with the combined interest of all concerned we can realise the vision of Embizweni where women, children and men live in a non-abusive society.

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