

"ENHANCING PARTICIPATION THROUGH RURAL SELF-HELP
STRUCTURES IN KWAZULU -
THE CASE OF A BUREAUCRATIC PUBLIC INSTITUTION"

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"The problem in South Africa ... is to maintain a just equilibrium between the central and the local control of all public activities, and to unify the efforts of the expert on the one hand, and the intelligent citizen on the other...
... However large a part expert control may play ... no organization can flourish which does not assign to the South African people a very important share in its control. Our past history has proved this".

E.G. Malherbe : "Education in South Africa".

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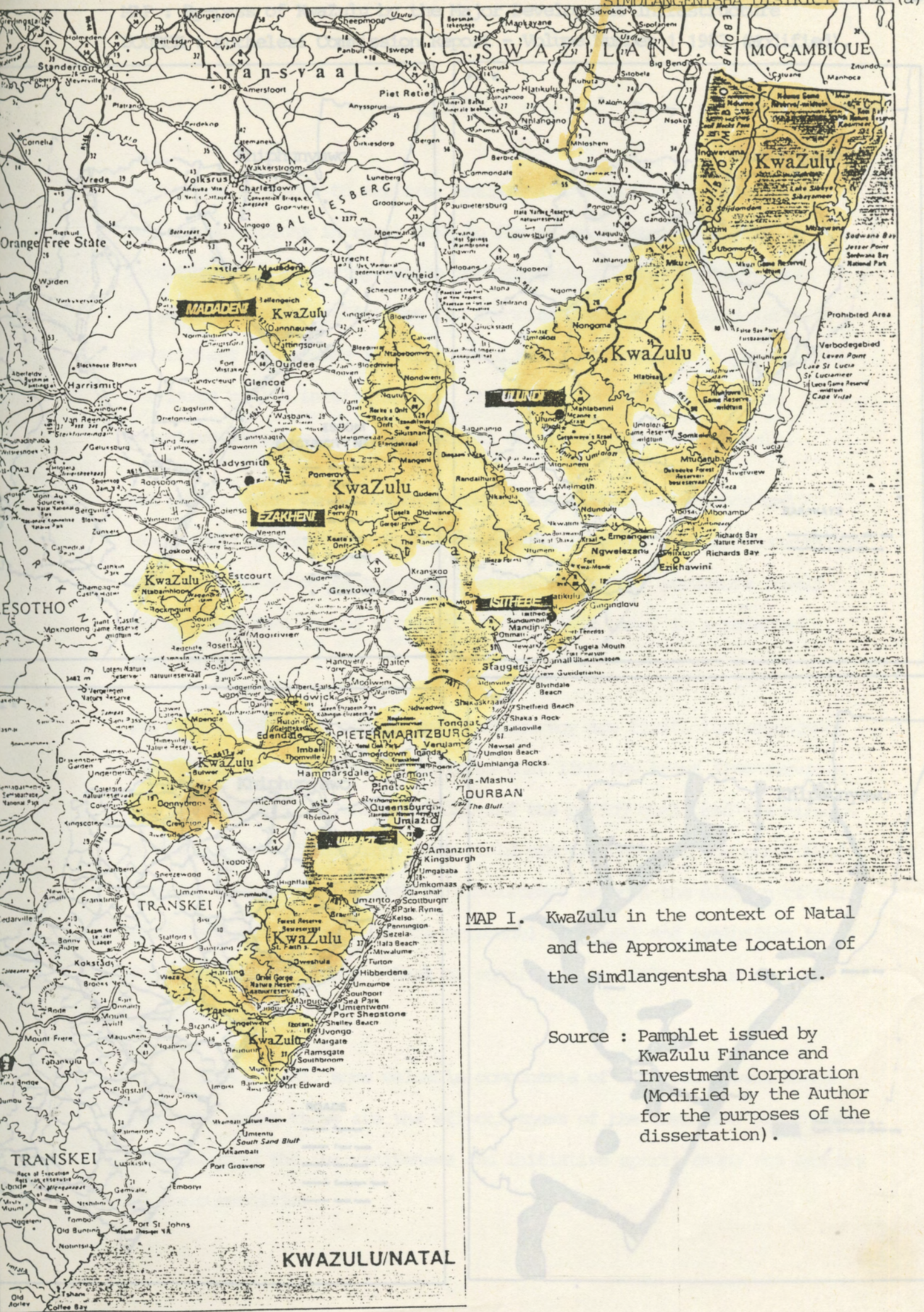
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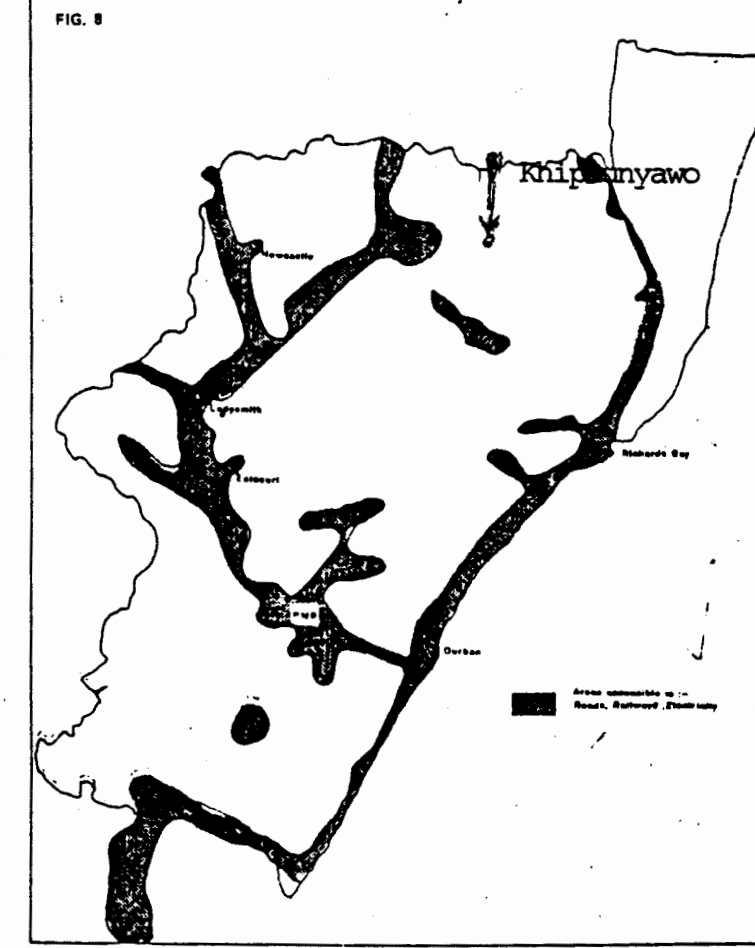
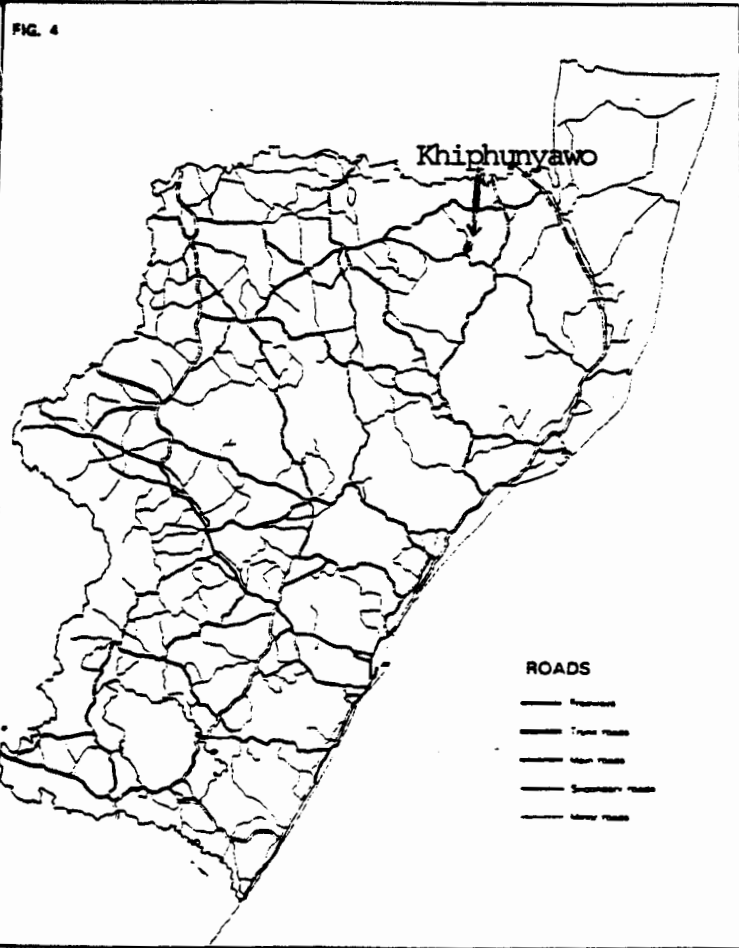
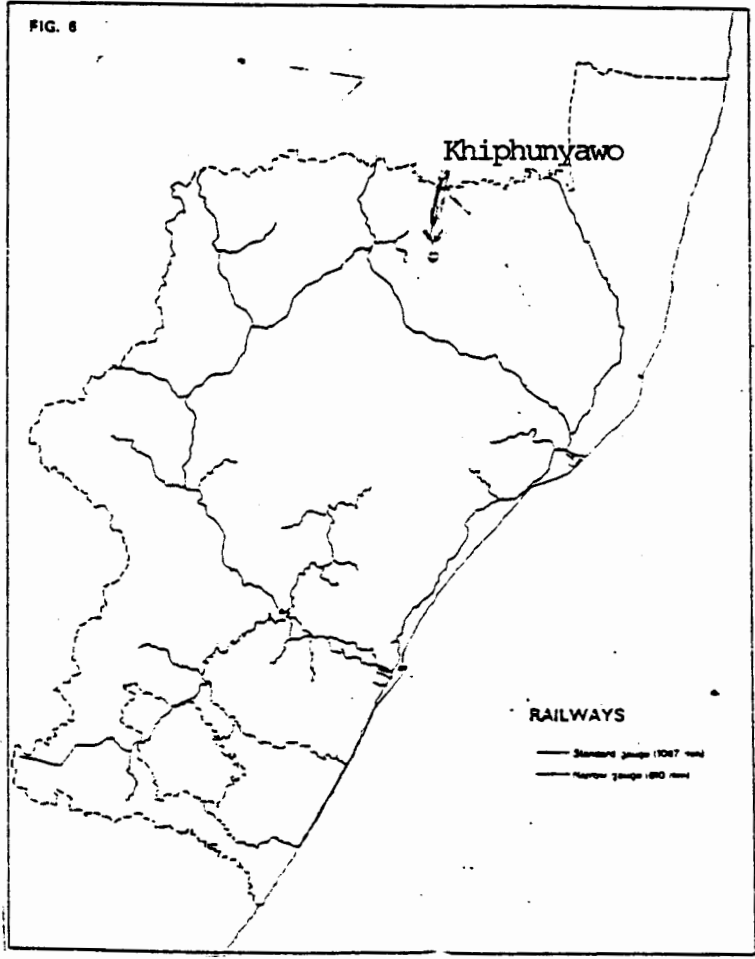
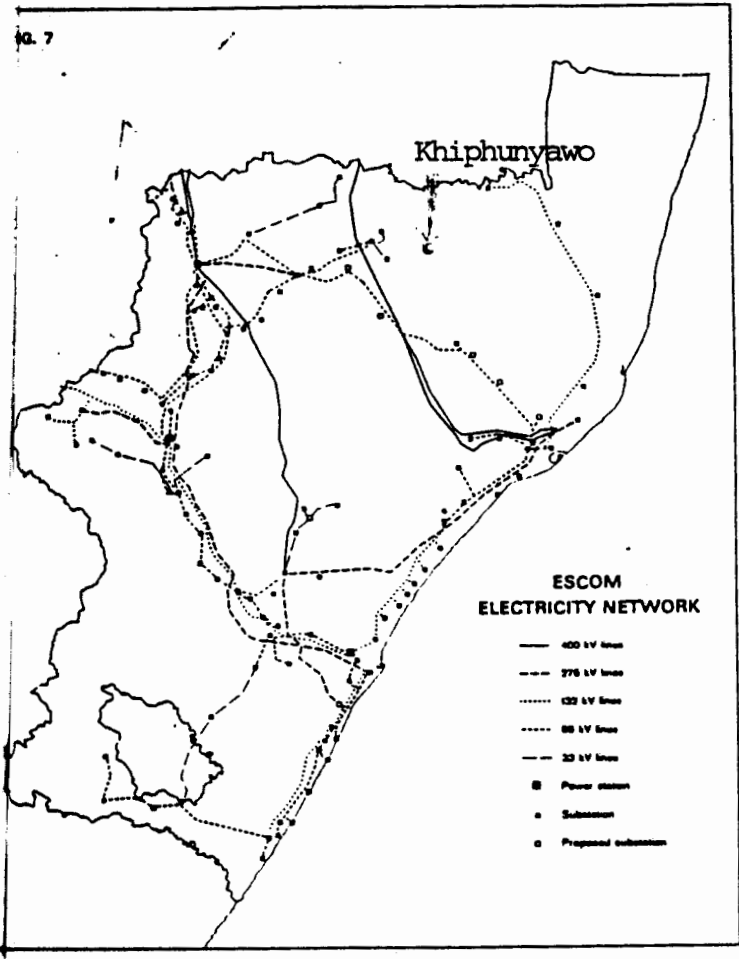
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MAP I. KwaZulu in the context of Natal and the Approximate Location of the Simdlangentsha District.

Source : Pamphlet issued by KwaZulu Finance and Investment Corporation (Modified by the Author for the purposes of the dissertation).



ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to explore, analyse and evaluate the aided self-help organizations in rural KwaZulu for their potential role as structures for enhancing people participation. The objective was to generate policy guidelines for agencies involved in participative development programmes in rural Third World environments - particularly the large public institutions. It selects two sectors, the co-operative development and the school committee systems as models.

The study, which uses a combination of data gathering methods and ideographic descriptions starts by looking into the possible constraints and facilitators of participation within the agency structure itself and narrows down to the situation at the field level in a selected case study.

The main problems in the KwaZulu bureaucracy are first, the absence of clearly defined operational policies that link the front line services and the community on the one hand, and the policy goals and the mission of the agency and the front line field practitioners on the other hand. There is also a general lack of consistency between the mission of the agency and the contents of the personnel appraisal and evaluation tools and processes and hence - lack of commitment to goals and/or goals' displacement.

At the field level, some valuable components of the system were found. Important among these are the effectiveness of the community programmes in developing the innovativeness and initiative spirit among the members of the communities.

These resulted in a shift in power relationships from the promoters to the community. Also valuable is the feeling of satisfaction derived from practical and material involvement in the development of public goods by the community. The rural communities are also capable of generating their own effective co-ordinative and communication systems and reject strategies introduced from outside to replace them.

Although the financial capacity appears to be a major constraint, the community does not view it as a priority. Control seems to be correlating with payment and therefore, ownership. However, there is a need for "hard aid" to increase the community organizations economic and social capacity to perform.

There are also some serious intangible costs intrinsic in the present methods of granting aid. Instead of closing the regional, inter-district and inter-family development gaps, they tend to perpetuate the problem. This is caused by equal access to aid by all areas and also the tying of aid with ability to generate own resources. Strategies are finally recommended to improve the situation. These relate to facilitating communication within the agency and the upgrading of communities through information motivation, and allowing them additional roles and status.

CHAPTER 1

GENERAL CONTEXT AND METHODOLOGY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Ever since the colonization of South Africa by the Europeans, there has been changes in the meanings of various indigenous names of places and their conceptual meanings. "KwaZulu" is one of such concepts. Originally, the term was used to refer to the Kingdom of the Zulu nation as well as the geographical area in which the kingdom was located. Several constitutional legislations were passed by various governments subsequent to the colonial era, which culminated in the Black Homelands Constitution Act (Act 21 of 1971). The act provided for the establishment of the geographical and political so-called Black National States, with a view to ultimately making these regions and their occupants sovereign states in every respect. KwaZulu came into its present being in 1972, through the 1971 act and subsequent schedules to the act which prescribed the amount of political power the region was to have in the context of the greater South Africa. The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly was thence created and given certain powers limited by the act and subject to the final assent by the central government cabinet ministers and the State President. Today KwaZulu has the following eleven main functions, represented in the form of its government departments:

- (i) Chief Minister, which houses, inter alia, the Community Development and the local government (tribal areas) function;
- (ii) Interior;
- (iii) Agriculture and Forestry;
- (iv) Finance;

- (v) Education and Culture;
- (vi) Health;
- (vii) Welfare and Pensions;
- (viii) Police;
- (ix) Public Works;
- (x) Justice;
- (xi) Economic Affairs.

Although technically separate, particularly in political terms, the regions of KwaZulu and Natal are so intermeshed and economically, socially and geographically interdependent (Map 1) that many experts agree that their separation is not only detrimental to the regions development and service planning, but is also undesirable. According to Thorington-Smith and others, the boundaries of the pieces of land that constitute KwaZulu - which in terms of the 1975 government consolidation proposals amounted to 33,161 square kilometres - have been fixed by historical rather than physical circumstances, thus making the political boundaries "quite arbitrary". "Hence ... to appreciate the physical form of separate parts of KwaZulu, it is necessary to review the physical structure of Natal as a whole - noting how the component parts of KwaZulu fit into the overall context". (1)

According to the 1985 population statistics, KwaZulu has over 3,7 million people, as compared to over 3,1 million in 1980 and 2,3 million in 1970. The total population of people who are officially registered as of Zulu national group was over 4 million in 1970, as against over 5 million in 1980 and over 6 million in 1985. In terms of the central government policy, these figures represent the size of the population over which the KwaZulu government has a responsibility. The differences can be safely taken to represent the size of migrant labour which is the main socio-ecological and economic feature in the region.

The growth in figures indicate the extent to which the land and other resources are strained. The largest parts of KwaZulu, and therefore its people, are underdeveloped and rural. Hence a need to focus this study in rural KwaZulu.

Also significant in prefacing a discussion on the issue of people participation in an administration like KwaZulu, is that KwaZulu, besides anything else, is viewed by her people and their leaders as a political struggle. In his memorandum to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Commons (Britain), the Chief Minister of KwaZulu Dr M.G. Buthelezi, who is also the President of Inkatha National Cultural Liberation Movement, a dominant socio-cultural and political movement in the region, reviewed the background to the present KwaZulu. (2)

Explaining the strategy of participation as the best alternative approach to a political struggle, he relates to his pre-homeland "vigorous" campaigns against apartheid in South Africa, the separate political institutions for KwaZulu, the rejection of the so-called homeland policy ... "the complete rejection of these institutions by the Zulu people followed". However, "in typical dictatorial fashion the Government then bluntly told us that we had no say in the matter and they would be forced on us willy nilly, whether we liked it or not". It was under these circumstances that "I vowed to lead my people in the tactics and strategies which would ensure that they would retain their South African citizenship and would continue to be entitled to exercise their democratic rights to oppose apartheid ... Had I not accepted the challenge to lead in the way the people demanded, KwaZulu may well by now have been manipulated into the same position as Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei". (Which have since become independent states). The Chief Minister further notes that it is not only the political achievements that have been realized, but also the ability "to utilize available resources where people need them most".

Addressing a symposium on Inkatha and development, Dr O.D. Dlomo, the Secretary General of the movement who is also a Minister in the KwaZulu Government explained, " ... I think it is singularly important for this symposium, Inkatha would view liberation and development as two sides of the same coin without the one the other is incomplete". (3)

The conclusions that can be drawn from the above is that KwaZulu is a double meaning and conflicting concept. On the one end, it represents the purpose of the South African central government to systematically alienate its people from, and deny them the right of citizenship and political, economic and social participation in the greater South Africa. On the other end, the people of KwaZulu and their leadership, opted to use this opportunity, through participative tactics, firstly to oppose the South African apartheid policy, secondly to do this, among other things, by blocking from within, the intended creation of a separate sovereign unit in KwaZulu and thirdly, by using the limited legislative powers afforded them to direct the use of resources to where they need them most. Basically, it is what one might call quasi-participation aimed at realizing real participation.

1.2 THE KWAZULU RURAL CONTEXT

It has been mentioned that the majority of the KwaZulu people live in a rural context. The rural areas of KwaZulu are typified by the characteristics of third worldliness. Whilst variations exist in these areas, which manifest themselves in lifestyles, preferred customs, population densities, geographical location, topography, etc., the communities share common political, social and institutional variables that regulate their lives. (4) For instance, KwaZulu is the largest institution that provides for their basic services and is responsible for their development. Also, the authority structures and political organizations have been found to be of similar pattern and support among the communities. (5)

The people are generally conservative as far as certain traditional values are concerned and these play a determining factor in their response to service delivery systems and development programmes.

Like most other regions of South Africa and elsewhere, the KwaZulu regions are characterized by an uneven distribution of economic development. The economic growth points tend to coincide with the areas statutorily defined as White areas. This has resulted in Black areas remaining virtually underdeveloped. The Buthelezi Commission noted in 1982 that KwaZulu "has little or none of the major infrastructure on which the region depends for its economic success". The major development infrastructure will still be in Natal, "although in some areas these systems are close to the envisaged borders". (6) (See Map II). According to Mkhwanazi, (7) as a consequence of the pulling power of the developed regions, human and material resources have been drained away from the underdeveloped to the developed regions - including a large number of people who had hitherto been engaged in subsistence agricultural activities.

Many studies have revealed that the process of seasonal migration, or of oscillation results in large numbers of productive bodies (15 - 64 years) spending most of their time in the developed White areas and that the process is sex and education selective. "It can thus be concluded that White South Africa benefits through expenditure on social overheads incurred by homeland governments". (8)

Studies have also shown that the KwaZulu rural people derive a large proportion of their incomes from the migrant labour system, and that, for lack of consumable commodities in the rural areas, such income flows back to the developed areas - thus perpetuating an ever increasing development gap between these two areas.

There has also been noted, a modernization trend among the KwaZulu rural populations. This can be attributed to two reasons. Firstly, the social and economic demonstration effect - leading to conspicuous consumption - caused by the larger sections of the populations spending their lives in two different worlds, the developed and the underdeveloped. Secondly, the geographical proximity of the rural areas on the periphery, and within the influences of large and small White occupied towns and the relatively urbanized Black townships. This goes a long way in reshaping the value systems and other preferences of the otherwise traditional societies. For instance, there is a growing preference of wage and market economy as against the subsistence agriculture and the communal economy, although a number of other indigenous systems still persist. A migrant worker would still take his rural home, where his father's family and other members of the extended family system have a root; as his "real" home. He would shuttle between his "temporary home" in a peri-urban area and his "real" home for traditional ceremonies, weddings (sometimes going to the extent of having two wedding parties, one in each of the "real" and "temporary" homes), and major communal meetings. These are some of the problems which the development practitioner, both in rural and in peri-urban (townships) areas have to contend with.

1.3 THE PROBLEM

The disillusionment with the purely economic measures of development, specially in the third world countries, coupled with the questioning of the validity of such theories as the "trickle-down" has led to a search for alternative approaches. Two themes are dominant in this search. (9)

Firstly, it is the search for the appropriately defined approaches and secondly, the successful implementation of the approaches.

Community Development, Self-help, the Basic Needs, Social Planning and Participation have all received some prominence in literature as the possible alternatives to traditional views. The new approaches are basically meant to correct a situation aptly described by one writer as " ... devoid of sufficiency, efficiency, effectiveness and responsiveness ... (and) ... consists of a patchwork quilt ... that leaves too many holes uncovered". (10)

In an endeavour to solve her problems, KwaZulu has adopted a multi-strategy approach to development - based on the principle of pragmatism. The central theme of the strategy is Mahatma Gandhi's "realization of the human potential". (11) The adoption of the "Basic Needs Approach", "Participation" and "Self-help" is reflected in the organization's increasing reference to these terms in various official reports, plans, policy speeches and other official documents. It has therefore become necessary even in KwaZulu to search for appropriate definitions and operational meanings of these concepts. It is in this search that practitioners and researchers encounter problems.

In its qualified endorsement of the "Basic Needs Approach", the Buthelezi Commission foot-noted that " ... the successful implementation of the basic needs approach to development relies upon full community involvement. In societies that are severely dislocated by the migrant labour system, it may be very difficult to generate the needed level of community participation". (12)

Others question the political feasibility of the participative approaches. (13) Jolly cites questions like; will the basic needs not perhaps "even mislead people as to the true nature of the causes of their oppression" and the need for a political struggle to precede an attempt at such issues?

This study will concern itself with the practice (or the practicability) of self-help and participation in rural development in KwaZulu. The underlying assumptions concerning participative programmes are firstly, that due to the migrant labour system, coupled with the policies of the South African government, the prospective participants in rural development in KwaZulu are often at wrong places at the time when they are needed. Traditionally, men have to take most decisions that affect the communities, whilst as it is, men, and in fact, the able bodied members of the communities are, for most time, away from their homes and beyond the jurisdictional areas of the KwaZulu government. Secondly, over the past few years, there has been the mushrooming of self-help groups and organizations in rural KwaZulu. A recent study identified two main types of these organizations. ⁽¹⁴⁾ The first category is the provoked, or the aided organizations, and the second lot is made up of the spontaneous, or the locally initiated types. Whilst the latter groups can be said to be responding to the need for communal feeling and support, following the much written about break-down of the extended family support systems, it may also be emerging as a result of our complex human service delivery systems failure to effectively deal with certain personal and social problems, as well as the professional and political inattention to the needs of certain oppressed groups. ⁽¹⁵⁾

The central questions are to what extent do the aided self-help programmes facilitate participation and development? Do the prevailing socio-economic and cultural problems justify increased investment in these types of programmes? Jolly asserts that institutional constraints need not be the reason why people based approaches should not be emphasised, particularly if they reveal that the resources required are within reach. ⁽¹⁶⁾

It has also been suggested that public institutions can be as much part of the solution as they can also be part of a problem. (17)

Between being a solution and being a problem, where does KwaZulu, as a development aid institution lie?

1.4 THE OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY .

Using the above questions as a general framework, the study seeks to explore, analyse and evaluate the aided participative programmes in rural KwaZulu. It is centred on two of the agencies policy sectors, the co-operative development and the community school system. The former relates to co-operatives as both, the commercial and economic enterprises and as social institutions. The latter refers to community controlled and financed schools as opposed to the government, or the so-called territorial schools. The study starts by evaluating the programmes on the bases of related literature and policy documents and narrows down to the practical aspects of the programmes on the basis of a community case study. It assesses, on a post hoc basis, the social and the private costs and benefits - direct and indirect - of the programmes. It aims to provoke deeper insights into problems and the potential long term results of the methods adopted and the prospects of their replication to other service sectors. The ultimate objectives of the study is to develop guidelines to this end. The author suspected that there are important variables in these programmes that can be further nurtured for more sustained development; and those that can be done away with as harmful to progress.

It is hoped that the study will not only attempt to define participation in practical terms, but will also develop questions and hypothesis for further studies and therefore contribute to the knowledge base of the social sciences.

1.5 DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

This is essentially a policy study, and it uses a combination of the evaluative and the explorative methods. The approach has been successfully used and recommended in similar studies. (18) The primary purpose of an exploratory study is to discover the key internal and environmental variables that influence or are influenced by the programme and the prevailing social systems. The evaluative methods are utilized:- (19)

- i) to discover whether and how well objectives are realized and the principles underlying successful programmes,
- ii) to determine specific reasons for successes and failures,
- iii) to direct the course of experiments with the techniques for increasing effectiveness, and
- iv) to lay the basis for further research or to determine reasons for relative successes of alternative techniques.

The case study design has been found to be particularly suited to, and used for conducting these types of studies. The characteristics of a case study design make it adaptable to use by practitioners involved in direct services, planning and administration by clarifying what appears to be the relevant factors. (20) The study is developed broadly from a framework of related literature, policy documents, projects, reports and governing legislations and is ultimately narrowed down to exploring, analysing and evaluating the practical projects and programmes in a selected community.

1.6 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

This study combines the literature and records study, unstructured and semi-structured interview survey methods as well as the non-participant observation technique. The history of programmes together with their underlying principles and philosophies are drawn from literature sources, the KwaZulu government records and from interviews with knowledgeable practitioners. One hundred and fifty household heads or their adult representatives were interviewed to gather qualitative data. The study, which was conducted between May and September 1987 employed the services of four trained and experienced interviewers to assist in data gathering. Limitations were experienced as a result of poor programmes records, general lack of statistical data and absence of specific documented programmes objectives for basing evaluation. Policy statements were widely used for this purpose and were related to literature on related programmes elsewhere. There has been very little written on community participation in community schools. Projects that are carried out in the name of participation are abundant. But virtually all of them, including the co-operative projects, have no operational meaning of participation in measurable qualitative terms. Reports tend to side step this aspect and concentrate on quantitative measures. In other words, the working definition of participation is just non-existent - save for the provisions for the establishment of committees. However, it is this situation that prompted the selection of this field of study. Such problems were therefore not unexpected.

1.7 METHODS OF ANALYSIS

Ideographic descriptions are largely used in this study. Quantitative methods are used mostly where the tangible programmes results have to be analysed and described.

The qualitative methods are employed in an attempt to delineate, isolate and describe variables of a socio-psychological nature. The study will also borrow tools from business sciences to calculate the costs and benefits of the programmes where necessary. Where there are no prescriptive guidelines, a framework using the generally accepted meanings of concepts, the problems surrounding them, the indicators of the most important choice options and the consequences of certain choices regarding policy and action, have been suggested as sufficient. (21) Wherever possible, this will be further supplemented by extracts from models used elsewhere.

Although a detailed analysis of the KwaZulu organizations capacity to bring about people participation, the general environment as well as the effects of the KwaZulu organizations participative programmes based on a selected community will be the main concern of this paper. The Khiphunyawo community is taken as fairly representative of most of the rural KwaZulu communities in terms of the provision of basic human development services. However this community has been found to be better responsive to aided self-help programmes relative to other KwaZulu areas. In 1984, a KwaZulu field worker remarked in his report that there are far too many self-help organizations "than they are known and recorded" in the area, (22) and that input from the various KwaZulu government departments was the **cause** for this development. In addition, the area is worst affected by incomplete land consolidation issues which, as will be discussed in Chapter 4, have a bearing on progress. A combination of these factors thus motivated the selection of Khiphunyawo as a unit of the study.

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CHAPTER 2

ORIENTATION TOWARDS THE STUDY

2.1 THE MEANING OF DEVELOPMENT

There is a general consensus among writers that there is a growing disenchantment with the earlier conceptions of development. They agree also that the root of dissatisfaction lies in the economics bias of the measures of development - particularly as applied to developing countries. Seers ⁽¹⁾ asserts that whilst it can be argued that increases in national income lead to the solution of social and political problems, the experience of the past decade "makes this belief look rather naive". Bryant and White concluded that early expectations of development proved "unduly optimistic" - poverty escalated, inequalities increased, etc. ⁽²⁾ The authors go on and recommend the conception that does not only encompass the economic growth, but also the capacity of the people to assimilate it, equity and empowerment. Jolly notes that the "over-expectations" on the earlier strategies, based on resource relocation, savings and ultimately the shifting of people from some traditional to the modern sector, has led to disenchantment. ⁽³⁾ He concludes that "we are thus in a period when the clouded inadequacies of earlier approaches are giving way to a new consciousness, combining the elements of both the immediately practical and the visionary ... for changes to be effective and truly directed to the liberation of the human spirit ... we need new forms of participation and democratic involvement". Cochrane argues for the local culture as the basis for appraising development. ⁽⁴⁾ He cautions against the tendency towards ignoring the social variables of development - especially the assumption that indigenous rural structures are not suitable for serving development than those that serve the industrial countries - an attitude which is aptly described by Brandt and others as "cultural imperialism". ⁽⁵⁾

Along this trend of thinking several writers have advanced a fresh set of definitions of development. (6) (7) (8) It is viewed as a "normative" concept - almost synonymous to improvement. It implies subjective choices about goals for achieving the "realization of the human potential". The subjective judgement is about what is good and desirable and that which is not in terms of economic and social equity, the elimination of poverty, education, political and economic participation, grassroots democracy, self-reliance, personal fulfilment, etc. In conclusion, the authors propose such development objectives, or processes as empowerment, equity, life sustenance, self-esteem and freedom from servitude.

The operational meaning of these concepts raises the question of administration and management of development programmes. Development administration has been defined as "the public mechanism set up to relate the several components of development in order to articulate and accomplish the national social and economic objectives". (9) Its purposes are change, innovation and movement as contrasted with the purposes of maintaining the status quo ... the purpose is to conduct programmes of development as specified by the people.

From the above passages, the responsibility of a development planner is prescribed. He is to ensure that the programmes are based on the subjective articulation of the problems and needs by those who are affected by them and who are to be the targets of such programmes. Various approaches have been advanced for this purpose and tested with varying degrees of success. The next parts review the conceptual meanings of these approaches.

2.2 SOME APPROACHES TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT

2.2.1 The Concept of Rural Development

Whilst "development" refers to a general context, i.e. not to some confined area, rural development refers to the development of those areas and their people that are rural. The "rural people" does not however differentiate among the various classes of people that are found in areas that are rural. Hence, terms such as the "rural elites" have been coined to single out : " ... that section of the rural population whose basic minimum needs for life, and existence with human dignity, are unfulfilled. Such a condition of poverty is characterized by low incomes, widely associated with various forms of oppression under social structures through which dominant social groups are able to dictate the conditions of life of the dominated and to appropriate much of the product of the latter's labour and often also the material assets the latter may initially possess". (10) McCallum views rural development as "the development of an area, a rural area ... ". (11)

Put together, the above definitions imply the making available of development resources to those areas, and their inhabitants, that are generally behind. The resources that normally select areas populated by the more powerful or are controlled, to their self benefit, by the elites who are in rural areas. Rural development therefore means "a process of improving the living standard of the mass of the low income population in rural areas and making the process of their development self-sustaining. (12)

Reflected on the earlier meanings of development, the element of subjective participation is superimposed to rural development.

2.2.2 Participation as a Rural Development Concept

Literature clearly reveals that participation is intrinsically a component of development, or at least that is what it ought to be.

The two cannot be disentangled from each other. "Development as a process of increasing the people's capacity means that people need to be included in the process - they need to participate". (13)

As a development concept, participation has taken at least three shades. During the 1950's up to the 1960's, the promotion of participation was generally seen as a disruptive political interference - linked to the peasant struggle against domination by the higher social classes. Even where there was a re-think in favour of the development meaning of the concept, efforts were made to prevent its programmes - particularly at national levels. Where it was encouraged, this was done at community levels with a very limited scope. (14) Some proponents of the approach have been painstakingly trying to disentangle participation from a political strategy and from its confinement to a narrow community reference. White argued that participation, (and other approaches) need not be so broadly defined as to refer to the "macro-societal goals" such as democracy, employment ... "except where community participation projects contribute, usually in a minor way, towards these goals". (15) He conceded however that narrow definitions "will divert attention away from the broad goals and give a spurious impression that they are being achieved".

Another view of participation has been the one that defines it in terms of receiving the benefits of economic development. This view is linked to the "trickle-down" theory of which validity has been empirically weakened.

Lately, the concept of participation is associated with the administrative processes. This view was sparked by political reformists who saw it as having a "counter insurgency quality" and an acceptable alternative to revolutionary movements and the green uprising. (16)

The view is based on the assumption that if the masses of the under-privileged poor are mobilized into being part of the development mainstream, they would expend their energy on creative issues and in the process gain knowledge, experience and consciousness which are all contributing to a double edged goal - their psychological and political emancipation as well as their development. The view however poses what Bryant and White call, "the paradox of underdevelopment" whereby: " ... administrative incapacity deepens underdevelopment, but strengthening administration can inhibit the generation of political power - both the power of leaders and of the public ... " (17) Put in another way, this means that whilst effective administration is essential in development programmes, its very effectiveness can also retard political development since the latter is about the issue of power. The dilemma occurs in establishing a balance between the control of scarce resources and the expanding of the access to decision making about those resources, which is necessary to enhance the people's capacity.

It is proposed that whilst a pragmatic view of participative development takes into consideration the most basic of the needs of the people, which are largely physical in nature, the sustenance of programmes aimed at realizing such needs, is largely dependant on the less tangible social and political and other variables pertinent in the environment - hence a need for a broader view of participation rather than a narrow community based approach is more realistic.

2.2.3 Participation and Community Development

A study of Community Development revealed that its experience has contributed the following valuable lessons: (18)

- (i) Participation should not be a separate programme. It is a process and hence, should be intergrated with other activities.
- (ii) Participation has to be based on local organizations.
- (iii) More equitable distribution will encourage more participation.
- (iv) Instead of basing development on isolated efforts, linkages between various levels need to be created. Participation need to be part of a broader conceptualization of development, with much more attention to organizational structures and linkages.

There is literary evidence that a dispute exists as to whether participation is in fact related to community development. The proponents of their relatedness hold that community development should emphasize attitude change "in order to stimulate participation". (19) Others are critical of "tying the vague notion of community participation in planned change with community development". (20) One community development critic observed that " ... in spite of its participating rhetoric, time and again programs were formed and targets set from above ... ," in an essentially top-down process. (21) "By focusing on the local community, community development ignored the larger economic and political context that frequently subverted its impact". Meister, in his arguement for the localization asserts that Community Development problems are not solved by progressing from the level of the local community "because the change in level alters the whole conception of the work". (22)

The above arguments on community development seem to be true also in participation as a development strategy.

The conclusion is the same. People have to be aware of, and engage in strategizing against external constraints that threaten their local endeavours to improve themselves. An approach which ignores these facts is unlikely to realize meaningful participation.

2.2.4 Participation and Self-help

Two types of self-help groups have been identified; those that spring spontaneously and those that are aided into existence by some external agency. The first group has been said to be emerging to challenge the inequalities and the inadequacies in the provision of human services. (23) They are therefore causing the traditional human services to be more responsible to the needs of the clients. (24)

The second group consists of those which are initiated externally from above through purposeful programmes. Some authors see these as usually manipulated and regulated from above and are aimed at "developing on the cheap" or to "escape responsibility". (25)

Similar arguments as advanced in the approaches discussed above are also found in self-help. Janice Perlman; who expressly excludes government created organizations in her conception of self-help groups, asserts that emphasis in national goals leave the grassroots ill prepared for the long social change struggle. (26) She however sees self-help groups as community based, independent and constituted of members who desire to act on their own behalf. Cox suggests that the limitation of self-help to small group activity seems unnecessarily narrow. " ... they build large followings ... share certain common ideological beliefs ... and consciously seek to expand beyond their single issue image and character". (27)

King and Meyers see "the myriad of factors (which) make the resurgence of self-help groups a more viable alternative for the delivery of services to a larger number of people ... there remains a role for such (human service) agencies ... (and practitioners) to further their professional and ethical goals of enhancing the quality of life". (28)

From the above is clear that even in community self-help organizations, aid agencies will still be expected to make a contribution. This means therefore that there is a point of intersection somewhere in the process of the development of both types of self-help groups. Cochrane offers an important criteria for determining true participation by the aided groups. He suggests that changes in power relationships should be expected and used as a criterion for judging the effects of participation and "ways in which such shifts affect the capacity of different groups to influence the public policy must be recognized". (29)

2.2.5 Participation and Co-operative Development

Writers tend to view co-operatives between two mutually exclusive, yet interdependent points. Some look at them purely from the socio-political and ideological view point, while others view them from an exclusively economic perspective. The former view has established itself mainly in the socialist countries and the Third World; whilst the latter is dominant in Western industrial countries. Whilst in the former countries, the economic element is regarded as necessary, it is not given as much prominence as the social element. The economic elements, which are as decisive for the stability and the success of co-operative endeavours are usually the less pronounced of the two components.

In industrial countries ideology is viewed as irrelevant. The co-operative principles are merely "historically given residuum". They maintain that, in the first place, it is difficult to define ideology in practical terms and secondly, the competitive struggle determines the norms for business activities nowadays - this, the legislation and the policy of the state rather than "philosophically dressed principles", are relevant. (31) Attempts have however been made to reconcile the economic and social ingredients as equally decisive in the successful co-operation. Enriquez, views co-operatives from the "economic imperative" and the "social parameter" points of view. (32) He argues that whilst the success of co-operative efforts in achieving economic goals has established a place for this form of business structure among free enterprise institutions, and that there is no doubt that co-operatives are economic institutions, "it is also recognized however, ... important social benefits can emerge as people interact and share group experiences. The co-operative environment can promote growth and development of individuals as they learn by participating in the organization's business". Benecke concludes that one can therefore classify co-operatives according to one's personal appraisal - either as "an economic instrument with social consequences" or, at another time as "a social instrument with economic consequences". (33) If this double nature can really be sustained, co-operative organization must be granted both an economic and a social function. However, experience has shown that co-operatives are socially fruitful only after they have achieved successes in the economic sphere.

In addition to the above, most writers also view the co-operative's commercial and economic component as the missing ingredient in Community Development.

Enriques asserts that through the co-operatives democratic structure, as prescribed by its principles, "members can participate in discussions on social issues and community programmes ... as a consequence, people are frequently motivated to participate in educational and training programmes for self-help, social and cultural projects". (34) Levi proposed an hypothesis that the most effective form of economic and social development, particularly in rural areas, is one that intergrates community development approach and co-operative structures. (35) He subsequently tested the hypothesis using cases drawn mainly from under-developed regions of the third world. He concluded that neither the community development approach nor the co-operative approach, each on its own can be expected to achieve the kind of fundamental change in attitudes and activities at the local level which are necessary for communities, and hence for the economic and social structures to be revitalized.

The view that the success of a co-operative as a social institution is dependent on its success as an economic enterprise is adopted by this study. It is proposed that an aided, rather than a spontaneous organization is less likely to yield social benefits in the short run - especially the one that is expected to have a broad base of membership because of its dependence on the economies of scale and size. It will first have to convince the existing as well as the prospective members that it is capable of producing tangible benefits which are consistent with the prevailing levels in the hierarchy of the basic needs; and then gradually develop into a sustained social unit as people increasingly interact around its project and find trust and support in each other. The critical point therefore is the organization's ability to withstand the market place competitive pressures in both, the economic as well as in human relations terms.

This view is in line with Levi's hypothesis that community development per se, which emphasises attitude change without any complement in the form of economically quantifiable project particularly directed at meeting the people's physical needs, cannot be expected to succeed. On the other hand, a co-operative cannot be said to have realized its objectives without conducive attitudes and a stable social element as an identity criterion. This is further compounded by the fact that should it succeed economically, it is likely to realize a multiplier effect - thus snowballing into neighbouring communities and making human relations even more complicated and yet more important.

2.2.6 Participation and Community Schools

A holistic view on the development of the rural areas in third world countries finds its expression, inter alia, in the satisfaction of the basic needs. Intrinsic in the meaning of this approach is community participation. The International Labour Office summarized the implication of the basic needs strategy as among other components, access by the communities to the vital resources expressed in quantitative terms, and to such qualitative aspects as participation in decision making processes to determine the acquisition of resources, their distribution and their utilization. (36) Whilst participation in the provision for education, particularly school education, has found various meanings in terms of levels of involvement, the fundamental premise is found in the view that the school is only one of the many interwoven societal relationships which co-operate with each other in an organized (or unorganized) education system which, in the process of working together, such sub-organizations as state departments, regional councils, school boards and committees, parent-teacher associations, etc., come into being. (37)

A trend in the latest thought regarding the provision for education is twofold, first, there is criticism about overemphasis of quantitative measures at the expense of qualitative ones. Todaro observed that "most developing nations have been led to believe or have wanted to believe that it is the rapid quantitative expansion of educational opportunities which holds the basic key to national development ... one must recognize (in spite of the positive contribution made by the formal education system) that many of the early claims on behalf of the unfettered quantitative expansion ... have been shown to be greatly exaggerated and, in many instances simply false". (38) Citing Weiler in emphasising that the recent investigations have shown that a purely quantitative extension of educational institutions does not necessarily lead to greater wealth for the individual or the entire country, Bude goes on to demonstrate the need for intergrating the education function with the concept of self-determination by the communities within which each system functions. (39)

The second trend relates to the old problem of role differentiation between the community and the school authorities. In analysing the weaknesses of the school committee system, Malherbe held that one of the reasons for their failure was the confusion of duties and the vagueness of statutory provisions, one of such being " ... the community shall inspect the school after notifying the head-teacher ... ". The author argues that "the teacher ... ought to be absolutely free from interference of any layman ... ". (40) Musaazi found in Nigeria that "in some cases, ... teachers reject the idea of having local villagers participate in managing the school. They would restrict local community participation to attending open-day activities ... their rationale is simply that the villagers are unqualified". (41) Malherbe would not have agreed.

He wrote, around 1925 that "the problem in South Africa ... is to maintain a just equilibrium between the central and local control of all public activities ... and to unify the efforts of the expert ... and the intelligent citizen ... we should strive after an education system, which, while safeguarding the democratic principle, is scientific, efficient and economic in organization and operation". (42) He noted further that there is ample scope for popular control in the local areas, " ... the public can frame all policies which affect their immediate needs, and work out particular regulations ... ".

The weakness of the popular policy approaches to the provision of education, i.e. the social demand (or social equity), the manpower requirements, the cost-benefit and the cost-effectiveness approaches, have very little or no reference at all to the participative role of the communities. They tend to focus on people more as objects which are part of the factors for mixing with other factors in order to realize certain objectives out of them rather than as conscious participants who should be part of the players in deciding on the outcomes of education. Hence participation as a component part of the qualitative variables has received little or no attention in the use of educational measures - in spite of the fact that school committees and other people based governing bodies have long become part and parcel of the education control function.

Secondly, the successful implementation of these approaches have special problems in South Africa generally and in KwaZulu in particular. Whilst there are disharmonious objectives between KwaZulu and South Africa, KwaZulu has limited powers to influence broader policy decisions which involve variables that are necessary for incorporating in the established approaches.

For instance, whilst the social benefits of education refer to both the local community context, as well as the broader societal context, the nature of the present educational system coupled with the countries economic imbalances widely accepted as brought about mainly by the policies of the central government, perpetuate urban drift and consequently, brain drain into developed White areas at the social cost to the underdeveloped communities. Conversely, the escalating rates of unemployment even among the educated people, has resulted in serious social costs to the developed areas to which the people drift. So the problem spreads country wide - although manifesting in different forms - to areas beyond which KwaZulu has a jurisdiction in planning for education. On the other hand, if the social demand approach is adopted, both the resources (the budget) as well as the economic outcomes in the form of unemployable education products, are beyond the political power of KwaZulu under the present constitutional arrangements and underdeveloped circumstances. The author is however not in a position to evaluate the whole system in its comprehensiveness. The paper will only deal with the issue of participation in the management of community schools.

In the next chapter the policies underpinning and guiding the rural development planning in KwaZulu are critically reviewed with a particular emphasis on the two services with which the study is concerned. For now a framework is developed for further evaluation and analysis.

2.3 FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

2.3.1 Participation as a Social Policy

From the literature that has just been reviewed, it can be concluded firstly that participation is a desirable policy and secondly,

/that

that the criteria for judging what is, and what is not participation is contingent upon a given situation. A social policy is taken to refer to both, a philosophical concept,⁽⁴³⁾ of the principle whereby members of large organizations and political entities "collectively" seek enduring solutions to the problems that affect them", and as a framework for action,⁽⁴⁴⁾ - encompassing the product and the process. The product in turn encompasses conclusions reached by persons concerned with the betterment of social conditions and life and with the amelioration of deviances and social disorganization. The process refers to the manner in which they sustain stability and, at the same time seek to continuously modify options in the changing conditions in an endeavour to bring improvements. In this sense, policies are never fully developed, they are adapted to changing values and choices. The criteria for judging participation therefore goes beyond its philosophical adoption, it is whether there is a genuine will, expressed in practical terms to provide the country's "silent majorities" with an effective role in the planning of the country's future.⁽⁴⁵⁾ The philosophical base of participation is therefore an expression of well delineated statements, legislations, white papers and the like, the willingness to share decision making and the outcomes therefore - as opposed to domination and "rugged individualism" - whether by individuals or by certain classes of people. It places a greater challenge in a pluralistic society, marred by tribal, ethnic, racial, economic, social and other categories which impose a system of values, choices, etc. that often conflict with each other. The extent to which participation is realized is found in the process and practice of dealing with these values and choices in a manner that is equitable and satisfying to all.

2.3.2 Implementation Capacity

Upon the determination of a participatory policy, the next requirement of a planner is to scan the environment to ensure that minimal hurdles exist to prevent the implementation and then, generate the criteria for evaluating progress. Two key areas are proposed for this purpose; firstly, the capacity of both, the target community and of the technocrats and bureaucrats who are to be the facilitators in the implementation of the policy. Secondly, the structure and flow of communication from the policy maker through to the target community. It is basically within this framework that the analysis shall first be based. However, owing to the scope, not much emphasis shall be put on the promoting organization's capacity.

The rest of the study will be based on the following framework:

- Financial and other means for making participation possible
- Performance evaluation of the projects, including the costs and benefits in both, the quantitative and the qualitative terms, as well as their objectives.
- Roles differentiation, decision making and accountability
- Relationships with other local organizations, to discover interorganizational support, factioning, etc.

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CHAPTER 3

A CRITICAL REVIEW OF RELEVANT POLICIES AND
THEIR IMPLICATIONS

3.1 THE RETROSPECT OF THE BLACK EDUCATION POLICY

KwaZulu can be said to have taken over the human service systems from the central government as a going concern with minimum radical changes. When the present central government came into power in 1948, the organization of schools, and particularly Black education had been in the hands of the missionaries. Upon taking over, the government saw Black education as "part of a plan of social development and particularly as essential to the overall policy of separate development ... (1) Having observed that the then existing arrangement had constituted "nothing less than an instrument in the hands of liberalism ... nothing beyond succeeding in making the Native an imitation of the Westerner", (2) the government set off to take over and to systematically reconstruct Black education under the auspices of the "Bantu Education Act of 1953" and to phase out the missionary run and controlled school systems. This can be taken as marking the end of any real local autonomy in the schooling system - even though the missionaries cannot be said to have shared that autonomy with the local people. Dr H.F. Verwoerd, who became the minister in charge of Bantu education explicitly delineated the policy that was to be adopted by the country when he stated that: "It is the policy of my department that (Bantu) education should have its roots entirely in the Native areas, and in the Native environment and in the Native community ... There is no place for him (the Bantu) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour ... it is (therefore) of no avail for him to receive training which has as its aim absorption into the European community ... up until now he has been subjected to a school system which

drew him away from his own community and practically misled him by showing him the green pastures of the European but still did not allow him to graze there. This attitude is not only uneconomic ... but it is also dishonest to continue with it ... ". (3) By this period, only 37% of the Black population is said to have actually been domiciled in the 'homelands', 63% were working in the 'White areas', either as farm hands or in urban areas. (4) It had apparently become necessary to retain certain forms of labour necessary for the prosperity of White areas whilst, as the political events proved, "the aim was that the Bantu child was to be taught that he is a foreigner when he is in White South Africa, or at best stateless". (5) Basically, the aim was therefore to harmonize a political process of separatism. For this purpose, the government had to ensure that Black education was in the control of the right hands - the government itself.

One of the biggest changes that were affected was at the local levels where the control and the administration of schools was statutorily shifted from the church to the local communities. There was however no training provision to improve their capacity to take over such apparently foreign responsibility at the stroke of a pen. The hand over was done through the formation of the school committees and the school boards.

Malherbe attributes the "dramatic decline" in the quality of Black education that followed to the phasing out of the missionaries. Whereas in 1953, the teacher-pupil ratio was 40, by 1960 it had grown to 50 and was even worse in 1974 at 60. By this time the missionaries, who had been the mainstay of Black education, had been reduced to the care of about 63,000 (or 1,8%) of the pupil population.

The situation was further aggravated by the growth in school population brought about by both, the natural causes coupled with the apparently increasing value of education among the Blacks. By 1954 the population had increased so greatly that some measures became inevitable. One of the measures taken was the imposition of indirect taxation on the Black parent, over and above other general taxes, by way of transferring the financial burden in respect of education of the Black children to their parents. Thus the primary role of the school committees, which comparatively did not require much training, became the collection of school building and other related moneys. The parents were also individually responsible for the purchase of school books and stationery for their respective children. In spite of all this, more children attended school voluntarily than could be adequately accommodated, - such that many had to be turned away. (6) Consequently the government decided to pay all funds accruing from direct Black taxation into Black education instead of only four fifths as had hitherto been the case. This patchwork quilt continued until the emergence of regional and homeland governments, one of which was KwaZulu.

3.1.1 Conclusions

This type of strategy, i.e. of phasing out the missionaries from education provision for the purpose of using it to promote a socially biased policy - is not unique in South Africa. Keller wrote in respect of Kenya that during the 1900's, the Natives of that country were called upon by the colonial government to develop various types of social services, including schools, in the name of self-help. (7) It was protested that "Self-help ... more than anything else made it seem only natural that the people begin to do things for themselves, when the government was unable to meet their demands ... " which was consequential where the government sought to take over the control and leave the material and

provision to the people primarily as a matter of a political expediency. Sometimes such contributions were coerced, but most often peasants viewed these efforts as beneficial to improving the quality of their lives, this despite contrary objectives by the government. This eventually led to the emergence of the independent schools such as the "Harambee School Movement" - which was sparked by a conflict of values between the Kikuyu people of central Kenya and the Europeans. The lesson to be learnt from this is that left with no other immediate alternative, valuable elements can be extracted from an enforced undesirable system for eventual nurturing into the desired form, rather than its outright rejection. The limited control power given to the school committees seems to have been one slip in favour of the otherwise powerless people. The challenge facing their leaders was to nurture this into something more effective and efficient through relevant training, education and the introduction of extramural programmes aimed at making their schools more future and desires oriented - this besides the fact that their functions and powers were prescribed and were only limited to their immediate locality. In other words these committees could double as the learning grounds for democracy, leadership and other administrative skills.

The most serious side of the system was more of a dilemma. There was obviously an increasing attachment of values to school education among the Black populations. This is evidenced by increasing enrolments in spite of the financial and other direct costs they had to incur. This means that in their subsistence, people would still direct some of their meagre earnings to school education. As it proved later, the opportunity costs of doing this resulted in other development sectors remaining underdeveloped - even those that relate to the production of food.

This contributed greatly to the creation of development imbalances, gaps and influx into more developed areas. Education on the other end, continued to pressurize the communities to provide quantitative means in its provision and hence, regional disparities adding to development deficiencies.

It is this situation that the leadership of the National States that ultimately emerged were faced with. Apart from other emotional factors which make their people subscribe to the view of a single people in a single country, the viability of the National States as social and economic sovereigns within the greater South Africa also played a significant role in the determination of the issue of the envisaged independence of their regions. There are others however who saw the whole community school in another light. Ruberti held that the community borne costs in the system was in line with the homeland policy "as each homeland will eventually have to do it before it can lay claim to defacto independence". (8) However had it been so, it is doubtful if any homeland would have since got independence.

3.1.2 Developments in KwaZulu

The KwaZulu Education Act of 1978 provides for "the control, administration and supervision (of) education and for matters incidental thereto". (9) Section 33 of the act provides for the "establishment of boards, committees or other bodies for participating in management of schools". Section 3 (1) enables the Minister, in consultation with the Treasury "to establish, erect and maintain schools in KwaZulu which shall be known as the Government Schools". Section 4 (1) provides for the establishment and maintenance of schools in an area where school buildings and sites have been or will be provided or maintained by a KwaZulu

community or tribal authority, which shall be known as community schools. Also provided for in the act is the establishment and maintenance of schools where school buildings and sites have been provided or maintained by any other body in respect of which loans and grants in aid are paid in terms of the act, which shall be known as Government Aided Schools (Section 4 (1) (b)).

By virtue of the fact that the above cited act is a primary document as far as KwaZulu is concerned, its definition of various types of school ownership can also be taken as primary. That be the case, it can be safely held that the distinguishing features are the extent of contribution towards school buildings and their subsequent maintenance by either one of the government, the community (or tribal authority) or any other (private) body. Conclusively, the basis for evaluation and the identity criterion of community schools is, in terms of the act, the extent of material contribution towards school buildings and their maintenance by the community. This excludes such qualitative measures as people control and the quality of such control. The term "establishment" merely refers to the process of registering the school. However sections 33 (2) and 37 (1)(5) does provide for the Minister to make regulations (secondary legislation) "subject to the provisions of this act and the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act, 1971 (Act 21 of 1971) '...'", in which the constitution, powers, duties and functions of the school governing bodies may be prescribed. This has however not been done, instead, the prescriptions of the "Department of Bantu Education Regulation R1755 of 1968" based on the "Bantu Education Act" are utilized. ⁽¹⁰⁾ According to the regulations, Chapter 11 Section 27, a school committee shall consist of 5 parents elected by the members of the community who have children in the school, 4 members nominated by the circuit inspector from among the members of the school committee.

The elections shall be subject to the approval of the secretary (or Director) of the department. The duties and powers of the Committee include:

- i) To notify the circuit inspector of any matter which affect the welfare and efficiency of the school.
- ii) Expulsion of any pupil for misbehaviour on certain conditions.
- iii) Enquire into complaints and/or recommend enquiries to the circuit inspector.
- iv) Consider inspection reports and when necessary, make recommendations to the circuit inspector.
- v) Advise the circuit inspector and make recommendations in respect of the appointment of teachers.
- vi) Establish, control and administer any school fund.
- vii) Be responsible for the supervision of construction work at schools.
- viii) Convene general meetings of parents at least once a year during March.

The Buthelezi Commission noted in summarizing the Bantu Education Act that it had, inter alia, "heavy bureaucratic controls ... there is the assumption that aims formulated by White South Africa are entirely suited to Black South Africans". (11)

The policy of KwaZulu in respect of the school governing bodies are found in the various statements of the leadership of the organization. In 1986, the Minister of Education and Culture explained that "the department places a high premium on school committees and governing councils ... these statutory bodies play a vital role in the day to day

administrative affairs of both community and territorial (government) schools ... (they) provide an important communication link between schools and the local communities and between schools and the department ..., (their) membership ... affords parents and members of the community the opportunity of promoting a congenial working atmosphere and stability. (12) In another statement the minister noted that " ... our communities through a system of voluntary taxation are providing more classrooms for the education of their children. While this is very much appreciated, we look forward to a time when the responsibility for the building of schools will be borne by the government as is the case with other racial groups in the country". (13) Other aims identified include, a commitment to free and compulsory education, a stress on the value and importance of education and the amelioration of conflict within the school situation. (14)

There are also statements to the effect that the aim is " ... the promotion of education as a prerequisite for the attainment of the liberation of the Blacks ... (although) our efforts in this field are tantamount to treating the symptoms and neglecting the root cause of the disease ... the government must ... give an undertaking to outlaw apartheid in education before there can be meaningful movement towards a sound educational policy for the whole country ... " (15) The solution cannot be found in education alone, but "in a dramatic overhaul of the present political dispensation which excludes Blacks from participating in the central decision making processes". (16)

3.2 THE HISTORICAL RETROSPECT OF THE CO-OPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT

3.2.1 Developments Before KwaZulu

The co-operative idea among the Black South Africans was, like education, spearheaded by the missionaries.

Notable among these was the Reverend Bernard Huss who was instrumental in providing co-operative training and education in the early 1900's. Although the concept was only received enthusiastically in 1926, it was only in 1934 that any legislation was promulgated to control their development. This was in the form of Proclamation No 191 of 1934. The then Minister of Native Affairs however expressed fears that the introduction of co-operatives "might prove to be to the disadvantage of the Blacks". (17) Following a report of the Parliamentary Select Committee which was appointed to investigate the co-operative situation in 1937, and which reported inter alia, evidence of gross inefficiency and mismanagement, "the societies were left to take their own course". (18) In 1946, the old proclamation was repealed by a new regulation, Proclamation No 215 of 1946 which provided for the creation of an office within the government structure to regulate and promote co-operative development among Blacks. According to Coetzee, there was a distinction between credit co-operatives (or credit unions) - which were registered in terms of the 1946 Proclamation, and other types of co-operatives - which were provided for by the Co-operative Societies Act No 29 of 1939 - which also catered for the White co-operatives. The organizations however failed to realize their objectives. The registration was later changed by the promulgation of Proclamation R117 of 1971 which took over all types of Black membered co-operatives. By this time, there were divergent types of co-operative organizations among Blacks whose functions ranged from agricultural marketing and supply to consumer co-operatives (grocery stores). During 1963 a government appointed commission of enquiry into co-operatives, under the chairmanship of Professor W.G.J. Steenkamp, reported inter alia that "the existing measures to support Black co-operative development are inadequate ... " whereas the legislation for the White co-operatives " ... are sufficiently elastic to allow for the registration of different kinds of co-operative organizations ... ". (19)

In 1966, another commission, "the Interdepartmental Commission on Agricultural Credit Facilities in Black Areas" was commissioned to investigate the availability of funds for agricultural credit and the existence of a suitable organization for channelling such funds to Black farmers. (20) The commission recommended inter alia, that:

- i) Active steps be taken to develop the co-operative movement amongst the Blacks.
- ii) Timely action to be taken for the early registration of the organizations to protect the image of the movement.
- iii) The department should undertake the registration "in terms of appropriate legislation".

Following these recommendations, Proclamation R117 of 1971 was promulgated in May 1971 to replace the previous legislation. Digby reported in 1972 that there was still more informal organization among Black co-operatives ... Black farmers were "still not organized in co-operatives to any appreciable extent". (21) There is also no evidence of any significant funding of co-operatives that followed.

The 1971 Proclamation provided for, inter alia, that:

- i) The formation of primary and secondary co-operatives.
- ii) The formation of non-agricultural co-operatives.
- iii) Democratic participation on a one member one vote basis.
- iv) Limited liability of members.
- v) Proper financial control and administration.

- vi) Proper management.
- vii) Corporate existence of co-operatives, allowing the co-operative to extend credit, negotiate loans and enter into agreement on behalf of its members.
- viii) Voluntary membership.

In addition to the safeguards provided for by the legislation, the office of the registrar was to undertake inspection and training among co-operatives throughout the country. Also, the records of the co-operatives were to be audited annually and a copy of the report submitted to the registrar. The underlying operational policy was to allow "every opportunity ... for experimentation and adaptation as long as the interests of the members can be protected". (22) In spite of all that had so far been done, the co-operatives still failed to realize growth in both the economic and the social terms. The registrar concluded in 1982 that: "Reviewing the sad history of co-operative development amongst Blacks in South Africa it is clear that the failure of the co-operatives was due to poor management, uncommitted members with a low level of participation and the inability of the co-operatives to compete successfully with existing business. These reasons can be further retraced to inadequate training and inadequate development of the members before co-operatives, seen by many as creations of government, have been strongly promoted by government for acceptance by the people". (23)

When the KwaZulu government came into being in 1972 and partially took over the administration of the region, little changes were affected in the administration of co-operative development.

The central government retained the registration and the inspection functions and the promotional functions were transferred to KwaZulu. This will be further discussed later hereon.

3.2.2 Conclusions

From the foregoing, it appears that the government went to great lengths in an endeavour to promote co-operative development among Blacks. Legislation after legislation and commissions of inquiry prove this. Coetzee (24) and Steenkamp et al, (25) touched what seemed to be one of the critical areas that is proposed as crucial. Because of the strong communal spirit and bonds that existed among the traditional rural societies, it was thought that the co-operative movement, by its nature, might be the correct instrument for developing these societies. However as it turned out, that was not to be the case. The point that seems to have evaded the policy makers was that traditional societies were, possibly until recently, not enterprising in their service and commodity exchange activities. Co-operatives on the other hand, are judged not only by their success as social entities, but also, and primarily as commercial organizations, capable of enterprising and of competing with other non co-operative undertakings - particularly where they exist in a capitalistic environment. From this emerges ~~two~~ requisites for a successful co-operative development endeavour. First, either the attitudes need changing and this means discarding some of the values rooted deep into the culture of the African; adjust the co-operative development approach to the prevailing social system; for instance by basing enterprises on extended family clans and then allowing evolution to change this arrangement over time as modernization and other unavoidable forces break up the traditional systems.

This would have necessitated a complimentary educational programme directed at the change in attitudes as well as supporting policies and legislations. However the whole endeavour would have depended on the willingness to change on the part of the communities of the time. Secondly, for the organizations to be able to engage in trade competition efficiently, they needed to be at relatively competent levels with their competitors as regards the capital and the skills invested in the business. Whilst there is ample evidence that the government went out of its way to provide direct and indirect "hard aid" towards the stable grounding of the White co-operatives, there is little to suggest the same was done to support Black co-operatives. In 1905 the Cape Government Act (Act 43 of 1905) provided for, inter alia, the allocation of a sum of R300,000 for loans to co-operatives; The Natal Government's Agricultural Development Act of 1904 provided for, inter alia, the rendering of financial aid to farmers and to co-operatives; In 1906 the Orange Free State Government voted a sum of R20,000 for the development of a co-operative dairy industry, are some of the examples. It would also appear that the people were expected to learn the intricate skills of business management - for competitive ends - without adequate learning capacity to do so. It is proposed as not realistic to expect a person of primary school or lower level of education to have the capacity to learn business strategies, planning and other entrepreneurial skills, bearing in mind that educationally selective urban migration had already begun to cream off the better educated during these periods. However, a positive policy would have provided for the availability, whether by training or otherwise, of such skills and for the training of the co-operators in their role within the expected level of participation as ordinary members to complement the capital aid given and thus minimize the risk of failure.

Similar measures were taken with positive results to prop up White co-operatives in their infancy. The Cape Government in 1905 and that of the Transvaal in 1907, respectively imported experts in the persons of Messrs P.J. Hannon (Scottish) and J.M.B. Stilling-Anderson (Danish) to help complement the direct financial assistance given.

It is apparent therefore that successful participation by the people in co-operative organizations requires that their capacity to do so be developed and that this should take the form of:

- i) the provision of skills,
- ii) the creation of favourable enterprising attitudes, and
- iii) the provision of capital investment aid which is enough to put the organizations at a competitive level with other organizations with which it is expected to compete.

3.2.3 Developments in KwaZulu

There have been very little changes in the policy regarding co-operatives' development since the KwaZulu Government came into existence. The KwaZulu Co-operative Act, of which draft was initiated around 1983, is as yet not operational. With the exception of the transfer of the registry and inspection functions and the incorporation of the provisions for the establishment of credit co-operatives, the Act is basically a duplication of Proclamation R117 of 1971 which is so far operative.

There has also been a very small, if not insignificant increase in the provision of trained personnel to run this function - if this is measured in terms of changes in the quality of service, vis a vis the quantitative increase in the number of projects.

Since about 1983, there has been a marked reluctance on the part of the registrar to register additional projects, owing to the failure of the previous endeavours in this line of development. Inspection visits also decreased even though a number of National States opted for, and were granted political independence which, by deduction decreased the geographical size of the area of work.

3.3 THE PLANNING, ADMINISTRATIVE AND POLITICAL STRUCTURES

3.3.1 Introduction

The most important decisions which faces an organization as large, and as political as KwaZulu is firstly the extent to which and the form in which it should effectively delegate or decentralize itself to reach, in an equitable manner, all its subjects. Secondly, flowing from the first, is the best way of developing and maintaining effective and efficient communication. Seers identified three "leading participants in planning" who form the "basic triangle of forces" viz, the politician, the planner and the administrator. To these can be added the consumer of the outcomes of these interacting forces. Numerous problems are identified in the literature that are encountered in the process of the interplay among these forces. They include poor co-ordination, poor communication, cumbersome bureaucracy and red tape, lack of commitment to goals, overemphasis on private and sectoral objectives, resistance to change status and role struggles and to innovation, etc. These problems become even more frighteningly wide where an additional and extra tier is added in the name of grassroot participation. The following paragraphs will attempt to briefly review the planning, administrative and the political structures operating in KwaZulu and the extent to which these disperse powers to the grassroot communities.

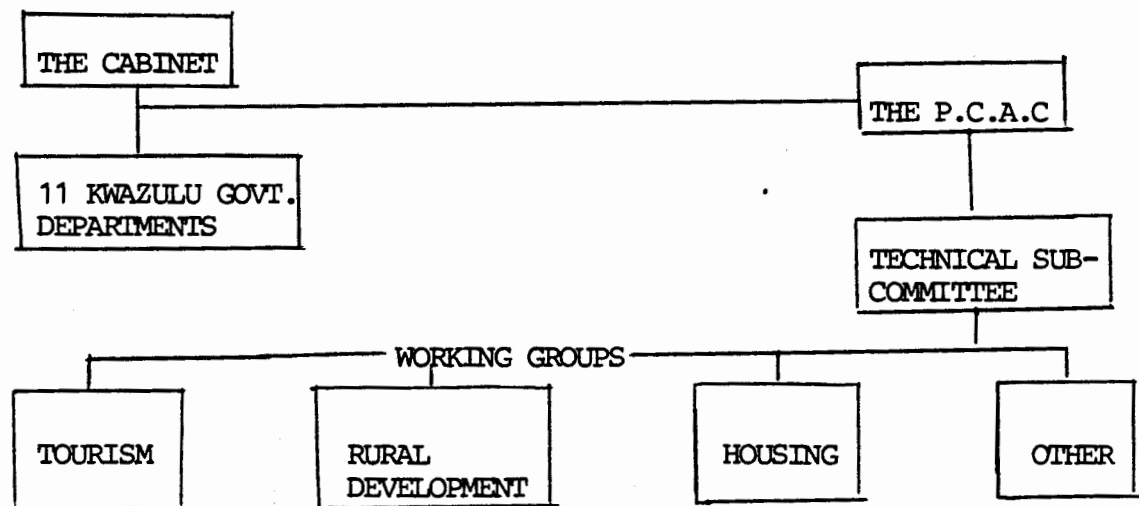
3.3.2 The Planning Structures

Basically, there are three categories of planning in the KwaZulu government service, the central overall planning - which is represented by the P.C.A.C. (the Planning, Co-ordinating and Advisory Committee), the departments planning divisions and the field programmes and projects planning - represented by field officers engaged in specific field projects. It can be estimated that there are generally no less than ten levels of authority between the executive and the front line workers. A distinction needs to be made between the support service departments - which provide the services to other departments - and the direct service departments. The three categories of planning are now discussed.

3.3.2.1 The P.C.A.C.

The following is the diagrammatic presentation of the structure of the P.C.A.C. :

Fig. 1. The Structure of the KwaZulu Planning, Co-ordinating and Advisory Committee



The P.C.A.C. is a sequel to the recommendations of the document "Towards a Plan For KwaZulu" that this committee be established to "cover both economic, social and physical planning". (27)

It is made up of the administrative heads of all the departments, the head of the KwaZulu Finance and Investment Corporation - a para-statal economic wing of the KwaZulu government, - a representative from the central government's Department of Development Aid, the chairman of its Technical sub-committee - who is the head of the Department of Economic Affairs, (which co-ordinates the functioning of the P.C.A.C.) - and seven members drawn mainly from the professional and academic fields. The chief minister is the chairman of the P.C.A.C. and the rest of the cabinet attend the meetings as observers.

The technical sub-committee gives input to the P.C.A.C., advises it, co-ordinates it on the technical aspects of programmes and projects proposals and assess such programmes and projects on the basis of the objectives of the KwaZulu government. The committee does this by collating information and appointing consultants whenever necessary and feasible. As the situation arises, the technical sub-committee establishes working parties and appoints members with relevant necessary expertise to prepare development and planning strategies on specific programme proposals. The parties in turn have powers to co-opt any person or persons who, in their opinion can make a meaningful contribution to the objectives.

3.3.2.2 Department Planning Structures

There are certain planning divisions with specific planning tasks as well as certain activities or actions which, though not expressly put, constitute planning of a development nature within the KwaZulu government departments. These were found to be largely fragmented within and between the departments - a recent study found planning within departments "without any reference to the P.C.A.C". (28)

Among the departmental planning divisions, and relevant to this study are:

- a) The Bureau of Community Development and Youth Affairs whose activities include "to promote the development of the people of KwaZulu based on as much self-help and self-reliance as possible ... ". (29) The modus operandi of this division include grass root projects, the formation of co-operatives and credit unions, group action based on resources which communities can tap within themselves, etc., lately, the bureau which has all along been concentrating on village level and community based development, has been restructured to incorporate only the interdepartmental development co-ordinating function both centrally and locally.
- b) The Local Government Division is housed in the same department with the Bureau of Community Development. This division serves to administer and train tribal and regional authorities on their roles. The attempt is to make these structures more representative of the people and to have a role in their development. Their main functions include participation in taking decisions in respect of local and regional development, collecting and distributing of local taxes and development funds, settling local disputes and trying of certain civil cases. The working relationships between the above two divisions have so far been more of a consultative nature at the community project level.

This has been necessitated more by the fact that the tribal authorities are responsible for the allocation of land in their areas than much else. At the central level, there is neither formal structural linkages nor communication. Both have no direct reference to the P.C.A.C. in their activities.

- c) The Department of Agriculture and Forestry exists for the planning of balanced agricultural development, the promotion of a healthy agricultural economy and the rendering of related field services. Engelbrecht found recently that there was "yet no formal arrangement exist whereby the policies and physical planning actions of the Department of Agriculture are regularly considered by the P.C.A.C." Like the Bureau of Community Development, this department also has the function of promoting co-operative organizations in the rural areas. The distinction is however made between the "agricultural" and the "non-agricultural" co-operatives. The applications for registration of both types of co-operatives are a responsibility of the Department of Agriculture.
- d) The Department of Education and Culture is another development sector that has plans that run parallel within and without. A working group towards the education policy has however been initiated by the technical sub-committee of the P.C.A.C. The department has at least four main planning activities. The deputy secretary of the department is responsible for the drawing up of the annual budget.

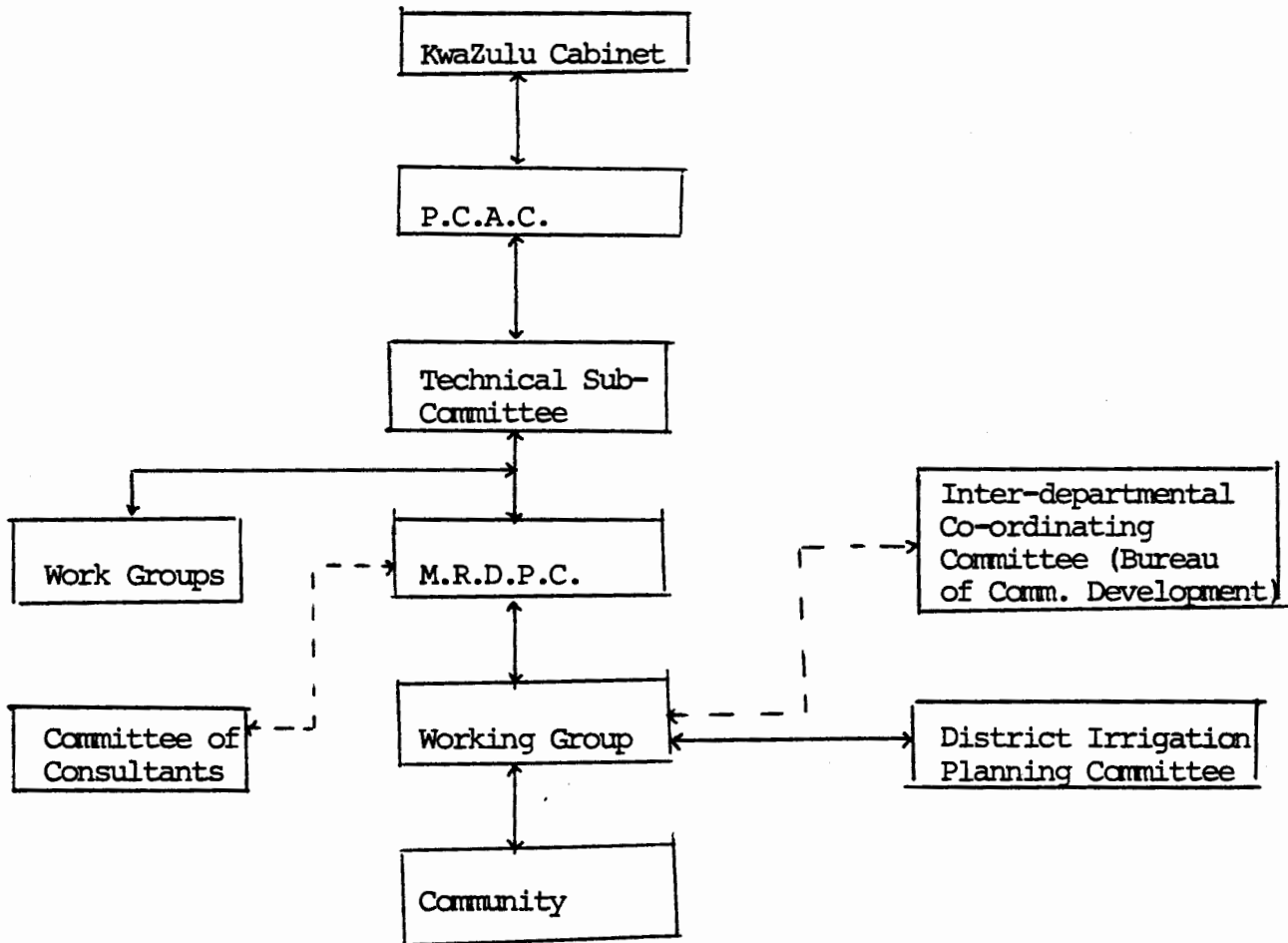
Apart from inputs which are either in the form of the duplication of the previous year's expenditure documents, expressed in monetary terms, or motivations for increases in such expenditures, there is little else in the form of inputs from the other departmental units. The Education Planning division handles plans of a semi-administrative nature, such as the periodic review of curricula and, to a lesser extent, the quantitative provision of educational resources. The Administrative services division handles the "5 year Budget/Plan". It however has no functional linkages with the other planning units. Lastly, there is the school control section which is responsible for, inter alia, the administration and control of the school governing bodies such as the school committees. A recent empirical review conducted by the Development Planning division of the KwaZulu's Department of Economic Affairs noted extensively disagreeing statistical data on the same issues between this division and the Education Planning branch. In terms of both, the legislation governing the administration of schools by the school committees, and that governing the functioning of the tribal authorities, there are linkages between these two bodies and circuit inspectors have to attend certain relevant tribal authority meetings, there is no formal working relationship between the education field workers - including the circuit inspector - and those of the local government.

3.3.2.3 Local Planning

The KwaZulu structure has extension services that reach down to the communities and is linked to such communities by various types of service sector oriented committees. Local project plans are largely the responsibility of the front line workers who are mostly of the junior ranks. These report to either the regional directors or direct to the head office in the case of the departments which have no decentralized facilities. The reports and plans of these officers seldom reach the executive in their raw form. They are usually incorporated in summary reports in a consolidated fashion and at various stages until, by the time they get to the executive, they are in the form of a departmental report. Different levels of authority take decisions regarding what are relevant issues for inclusion in their reports and what are not - such that the most junior officer cannot guarantee that his achievements and opinions will receive the attention of the executive. There has recently been initiated situations whereby the high ranking officers get involved in field project planning. One example of this is the so-called "Maputaland Regional Development Planning Committee", (M.R.D.P.C.) which drew its membership from the reputable professionals within the KwaZulu government and from private agencies, the heads of departments and local political leadership. This endeavour appears to be enjoying greater financial and other support than the ordinary projects run by field officers and has a direct link with the P.C.A.C. Its structure can be presented as follows:

Fig. 2

The Structural Linkages Between the M.R.D.P.C. and
Other KwaZulu Planning Structures



SOURCE : Records of the M.R.D.P.C. with minor modifications to reflect the working group of the P.C.A.C.

3.3.3 The Administrative Structures

For the purpose of this paper, the "administrative structures" include both, the professional and the administrative workers. Their authority and category differentiation can be broadly summarized as follows in the two sectors with which this research is concerned:-

Fig. 3 Authority Levels and Worker Category Classification
In the KwaZulu Service Structure

<u>Authority Level</u>	<u>Professional</u>	<u>Administrative</u>
Level One	Secretaries, their deputies and assistants	ditto
Level Two	Chief Prof. Officers	Senior Admin. Officers
Level Three	Principal Prof. Officers	Admin. Officers
Level Four	Senior Prof. Officers	Senior Admin. Clerks
Level Five	Professional Officers	Admin. Clerks
Level Six	Assistant Prof. Officers and Trainees	Assistant Admin. Clerks

With the exception of only a few cases, the level of seniority and of professionalism tends to lower with the dispersion from the central core to the local levels such that the lower ranks and the junior professionals are found more at the local field level than they are at the central office.

Also found was an inconsistency between the sources of reference as pronounced and referred to at the higher levels and those used at the lower levels. Whilst the higher levels have accepted the documents such as the Buthelezi Commission report and "Towards a Plan for KwaZulu", the lower ranks use procedure manuals and duty sheets which do not refer to the

reports because they were not produced with such reports as a guide. Similarly the personnel evaluation and appraisal tools contain the criteria that were designed by the central government and have no reference to the above mentioned documents.

3.3.4 The Political Structure and Leadership

The KwaZulu Legislative Authority derives its power from the First Schedule of Act 21 of 1971 as discussed in the first chapter of this paper, and is limited by the power of assent which is retained by the central government. The seats in the assembly are distributed among 87 elected members from ordinary people and 70 members nominated by the King from among the Amakhosi (Chiefs). This is apparently a compromise of Western and African models of democracy.

In the election that followed the founding of the Inkatha Movement, an overwhelming majority of the legislative assembly seats were taken over by the Inkatha sponsored membership. The large majority of the body of Amakhosi had also become Inkatha members. Through this movement, the members of the legislative assembly and the leadership communicate regularly with the people via the Inkatha central committee; rallies, conferences and meetings.

The emphasis in the strategy of Inkatha is on grassroot mobilization in politics and practical development involvement through divergent types and sizes of projects. It is therefore not uncommon to get political and traditional leaders involved in a variety of local programmes and to find political meetings having developmental items on their agendas and vice versa.

3.4 ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

3.4.1 Communication of Policy

The basic premise regarding the designing of the functions of an organization and structuring of the establishment is that it must relate to the policies of the organization. For instance, if a policy statement is pronounced regarding a certain observation that is problematic and a commitment to its eradication, the first duty of a planner is to relate such a statement to, and check whether or not there is provision for the correction of the situation in the existing structure of services. If a provision exists, he has to evaluate and propose corrective measures on the structure of services. If it is not provided for, he has to commence arrangements to have it provided for. The process would then go on until an action to correct the situation is carried out. Similarly, a statement regarding the absence of co-operation between the principal and the school committee necessitate checking whether there is a function in the establishment to improve the working relations between these two groups. The problem could be related to the absence of regulations which clearly delineate their roles in relation to each other, or an information programme designed to upgrade either one or both groups and thus improve their quality of participation. Quite commonly, there are professionals situated between the policy makers and the technocrats whose roles are to conduct policy researches, evaluate the situations and advance advices and recommendations through documented reports. The extent to which these advices and recommendations are converted into usable operational guidelines was tested by checking the degree to which they get communicated to the various middle category systems of technocrats and administrators. (See Fig. 3)

The assumption was that if the policies fail to get to be known, understood and used by any of the bureaucrat and technocrat levels it is even least likely to get to the lowest tier, - i.e. the grassroot communities. The 30 randomly selected officers were first asked a question : "How often do you make use of the report, "Towards A Plan For KwaZulu" as a reference document in the course of your work? The following responses were received:

Fig. 4 Knowledge about, and use of the Document
"Towards a Plan for KwaZulu" By the KwaZulu Civil Servants

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Authority Levels</u>					<u>(N)</u>
	<u>Two</u>	<u>Three</u>	<u>Four</u>	<u>Five</u>	<u>Six</u>	
Always when I have to	3	1		1		5
Never had to use it	1	2	1			4
Don't know if or how I can use it		3	2	2	1	8
Don't know what it is about		1	1	1	2	5
Don't know what it is			1	2	3	6
Declined to respond	1	1				2
	<hr/>					
	5	8	5	6	6	30
	<hr/>					

The second question asked on the participants was similar to the first, but referring to a newer and most frequently mentioned document - The Buthelezi Commission Report. The responses received were as follows:

Fig. 5 Knowledge about, and use of the "Buthelezi Commission Report" By the KwaZulu Civil Servants

Responses

	<u>Authority Levels</u>					<u>(N)</u>
	<u>Two</u>	<u>Three</u>	<u>Four</u>	<u>Five</u>	<u>Six</u>	
Always when I have to	3	2	1			6
Never had to use it	1	3	2	1		7
Don't know if or how I can use it		2	1	2	2	7
Don't know what it is about			1	2	2	5
Don't know what it is				1	2	3
Declined to respond	1	1				2
	5	8	5	6	6	30

Although it may be argued that it is not every worker who has an interest in every project report or policy document, it was considered that the above two documents are cross-sectoral and form the basis for the overall policy and therefore functions in KwaZulu in both, the development and in the administrative sense. It is therefore expected that a cross-section of the civil service should at least know what they are about, and each should be able to relate his particular job package to either one or both of these documents. A similar pattern of responses was received on the knowledge of the existence and meaning of the P.C.A.C.

The above responses indicate a concentration of knowledge and uses of the fundamental policy guidelines at the upper echelons and a higher proportion of uncertainty. (Don't know if or how I can) use it) in the middle categories and a situation of general ignorance at the lowest echelons. The conclusions are that grassroot participation cannot be expected to be effective if the front line workers, who are expected to transmit participation from the top and enable the bottom to be involved, are themselves not participating. Secondly, the need for communicating policies in the form of usable operational policies is confirmed. Having got the above responses, it became necessary to find out what documents are most popular as sources of reference. A second sample of the same size was selected a week later and each respondent was asked to list any number of documents which he/she considers crucial for the performance of his/her work. The following were the responses.

Fig. 6 Popularity of Documents by Level of Authority
 - KwaZulu Civil Servants

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Authority Levels</u>					<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>
	<u>Two</u>	<u>Three</u>	<u>Four</u>	<u>Five</u>	<u>Six</u>		
N (Respondents)	(5)	(8)	(8)	(4)	(5)	(30)	-
Governing Acts/legisla- tions	4	4	6	2	2	18	27,0
Duty Sheets	2	6	6	3	5	22	33,0
Procedure Manuals	2	4	3	4	3	16	24,0
Researched Policy Documents	0	1	0	1	0	2	3,0
None in Particular	2	3	1	1	0	7	10,0
Other	0	1	0	1	0	2	3,0
	10	19	16	12	10	67	100

The above responses indicate the greatest reliance on duty sheets and procedure manuals (33,0% + 24,0% = 67%), followed by the governing acts and legislations. Researched policy documents enjoy only about 3% of usage as reference documents. It should be noted that the documents which, combined account for the highest usage preference are usually designed by a department in the central government - or are based on those of that government with little or no reference to the value premises on which the KwaZulu policies are based. The possible explanation that is suggested for the popularity of the duty sheets and the procedure manuals is that the personnel appraisal and evaluation systems are based on these documents more than on anything else. Therefore whether the worker is committed to the course of KwaZulu or not, he/she will still get positive appraisal in his work. On the other hand if the worker is found not to be committed to the stipulations of his/her procedure manuals and duty sheets, and by implication to the values premises of the central government, he/she is not likely to get positive appraisal. It can further be concluded that the appraisal system is regressive to the political aspirations of the people of KwaZulu on which the policies and policy statements of their leadership are supposedly based. In this way the intended grass-root participation is again restrained because of a "misdirected" focus of accountability criteria.

To correct the above situation, it is recommended that a policy study work group be established by the P.C.A.C. The group, which should operate under the technical sub-committee of the P.C.A.C. should have the following as its functions:

- To study the policies and evaluate them for their feasibility and organizational complement.
- Develop and communicate operational policies and engage ongoing evaluation thereof.
- Consider the present personnel appraisal and performance evaluation systems, duty sheets and manuals in terms of their relevance to policies and make necessary recommendations.

The committee, which should ideally have members drawn from a cross section of field workers, (bureaucrats and technocrats) should also look at the prospects of giving the representatives of field level programmes recipients a say in the personnel reporting system.

The following chapter attempts to explore the situation at a community level. As had already been mentioned, the community of Khiphunyawo is used for this purpose.

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CHAPTER 4

A BRIEF PROFILE ON KHIPHUNYAWO

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Khiphunyawo lies on the Simdlangentsha magisterial district, in the north western border of KwaZulu and Natal, (Map 1). The district typically represents a politics based land consolidation problem of KwaZulu, Natal and indeed, most other parts of South Africa. The geographical district overlaps among the Natal, the KwaZulu and the Transvaal regions and is also sharing parts of its borders with the Swaziland sovereign state. KwaZulu also shares borders with Mozambique, Lesotho and the Transkei. For one to get to the district magistrate's office from the Khiphunyawo part of the district, one has to travel through the land administered by two other bodies, i.e. Natal and the Transvaal.

Khiphunyawo area is estimated to be 120 square kilometres in size and is situated in the middle (about 60 kilometres) of each of Pongola (in the east) Piet Retief (in the west) and Paulpietersburg (in the south) - the White controlled industrial towns. The latter town is in Natal and the former are both in the Transvaal. The community is subdivided into Oranjedal, Tobolsk, Bongaspoort and Belgrade. The origins of these names will be discussed in the next part.

4.2 THE GENERAL BACKGROUND OF THE PEOPLE

The area of Khiphunyawo, which was originally a part of the Zulu empire, was given to a group of German settlers through a Zulu traditional Khonza arrangement, by the then Zulu monarch, King Mpande (1840 - 1872) - a brother and a successor of King Shaka and King Dingane to the Zulu throne. In the Khonza system, a foreigner is given a right to settle and use the land but not to own it, in exchange for gifts as a gesture of goodwill to the king. The immigrants divided the land amongst themselves and started farming operations. They renamed the pieces so divided, Oranjedal, Tobolsk, Bongaspoort and Belgrade - among others which fall beyond the present Khiphunyawo community. One Mtshekula Sibiya was subsequently appointed by the empire king as the representative of the monarch in the area. This need apparently arose out of two developments. Firstly, the presence of the foreigners in the area and secondly, because the foreigners tended to employ Swazi labour from across the border as farm hands. The Sibiya representation in the area has been hereditary practice to the present inkosi (chief) Sibiya - albeit not without some restructurings and reduction in authority which was a common practice associated with the post colonial governments. In terms of the provisions of section 1 of the "Native Administration Act of 1927" (paragraph (a) subsection 1. Act Number 38 of 1927), the Sibiya Tribal Authority was declared by the government and the borders were duly demarcated and declared. Part of the area was set aside and a new tribal authority structure - the Masidla Tribal Authority was created to administer it jointly with the Sibiya inkosiship.

(It is claimed that two "chiefs", who had hitherto been izinduna (councillors) to the then inkosi, were elevated to the chief status by the White government of the day). As the government's apartheid policy was intensified, the immigrants were subsequently phased out of the land and the area was transferred to its present ownership situation.

The transfer of the land back to its indigenous occupants has not been finalised to this day; in that it is presently titled to three administrations. Some parts remain in the ownership of the South African government which bought out the White settlers with an intention of transferring it later to the KwaZulu government. (i.e. the "released" areas). A second part consists of the land owned by the South African Development Trust (S.A.D.T.) - a statutory body which is constituted to take over the land from South African government, develop it if expedient to do so, and then in turn, finally transfer it to the KwaZulu government - which would then own it on behalf of its subjects. The third part is the land that had since been transferred. Consequently, the area is a typical example of a region consisting of a complicated multi-administration overlap and duplication, (in addition to the Natal and the Transvaal administration mentioned herein earlier, and other local municipalities) that makes service planning and development a long complicated bureaucratic jigsaw - with each administration appearing to be reluctant to commit its resources. In 1982 the Buthelezi Commission reported that: "It is difficult to define accurately the present position of land distribution (in KwaZulu/Natal) because the final distribution is not clear. The commission was made aware that the problem of land is one which raises acute feelings and anxieties.

On the one hand the view was strongly put that KwaZulu is starved of land, and this is a major cause of extreme poverty ... ". (1)

During 1987, the KwaZulu Minister of the Interior pointed out as follows in his policy speech, "Honourable members of this house have expressed themselves ad nauseam on the urgent need for the immediate transfer of trust farms to KwaZulu ... (the) cabinet as a whole have painstakingly and persistently followed this matter up ... ". (2)

During the same session, the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry noted that, " ... I must state that agricultural development and the aspirations of many capable and motivated farmers are being frustrated by the inability or lack of commitment on the part of policy makers to come to a decision regarding the use of the trust farms and their inclusion into KwaZulu. I would earnestly appeal to the South African government to take positive steps to finalize the transfer of all the S.A.D.T. farms to KwaZulu without further delay". (3) In response to a question regarding the physical planning at Khiphunyawo, an officer in the KwaZulu government's survey and mapping section responded that the area does not even appear in certain maps because "it is in the Transvaal".

The consequences of the situation discussed above are that firstly, the proximity of Khiphunyawo to the Swaziland border, coupled with the earlier migration of the Swazi nationals to work in the farms has resulted in a community of a peculiar mixed culture, value systems and a language accent. This has been further emphasized by the strong cultural links of the people with the Zulu monarch of which they regard as a proud heritage.

The latter is demonstrated by their apparent loyalty to the Zulu leadership and cause. In 1982/1983 when the central government initiated its aborted attempt to excise certain parts of KwaZulu land and people into Swaziland, they demonstrated against the move, rallying their allegiance to the Zulu monarch. Secondly, the yet unsettled issue of local authority is believed locally to be the root of sporadic factioning in the area. Such sporadic factioning is not however a problem that is confined to Khiphunyawo - but to several other KwaZulu areas. A scientific study is necessary to verify the causes and to determine how conflicts can be used for positive results. Lastly, the unsettled land situation is obviously one of the major hurdles and setbacks to development service planning.

4.3 DEMOGRAPHY AND SOCIAL STRUCTURES

According to the 1985 Census records, Khiphunyawo has a population of over 19,000 people, which is about a quarter of the Simdlangentsha district population of over 80,000. The community is constituted of about 310 traditional extended household systems - or 2,700 nuclear families within the extended structures, thus averaging a family size of about seven members each. ⁽⁴⁾ The study was informed of a considerably large proportion of nuclear families without any relatives in the community or whose other extensions are elsewhere but within the Khiphunyawo area. The former consists mainly of civil servants and families who came to request settlement rights under the Khonza custom. There is therefore a balance between the nuclear and the extended types of family systems, with the latter remaining relatively dominant. This is evidenced further by the dominance of certain family names such as "Sibiya" and "Nhlengethwa" as well as a scattering of those that are uncommon.

The systems also comprise both, the polygamous and the monogamous types of marriages although the former has since become rare to find.

The survey revealed that over 60% of the population falls within the age dependency category (below 15 and above 65). The sample population covered a total of 1,110 people of whom 701 were female and 409 were male - thus making the ratio of slightly below two women for every one male. However a large proportion of the working male members are away from the community for most of the time.

Clan determined conglomeration of clustered settlements were also found to be a readily noticeable feature. According to local civil servants, an attempt to introduce planned land usage has been largely frustrated by reluctance of people whose family extensions are in the community, to erect their dwellings in demarcated sites. They will still squeeze their dwellings within the surroundings of the family head's dwellings - sometimes even if it means erecting them on the grazing land side of the dividing fences-as long as the plot is within a shouting distance from other family dwellings. An attempt to introduce social work services in the community failed because the people just did not utilize the service - despite an information programme that was conducted to inform them thereabout. The services were consequently withdrawn.

During 1981, an attempt was made by government officers to introduce a "Sibiya Rural Development Committee" with a view to effecting co-ordination and to promoting local development. The committee, which was made up of co-opted civil servants and community members had, according to some of its members, failed to even take off the ground

in spite of its endorsement by the KwaZulu government by way of entrusting it with a first instalment of a promised over R54,000 grant-in-aid towards a specific predetermined project. There are other projects and programmes which have however been received enthusiastically by the community - with formal and informal management structures forming around them. Their growth in size and operations have been such that the technical capacity of extension services have not been able to cope. Except for a very small number, these tend to be socio-economic and welfare in nature. They include buying clubs, credit and savings clubs - which have since incorporated the latter and turned into registered consumer and savings co-operatives, vegetable clubs, burial clubs, Inkatha groups, pre-school care and education, etc. These organizations were found to have replaced the welfare systems found in the traditional extended family structures as organizations that dominate rural life and provide for most of the family and community needs. The school projects are also some of the organizations around which people interact, discuss and engage in programmes that are outside the school administration sphere.

4.4 POPULATION MOBILITY AND UNEMPLOYMENT

One of the questions asked during the survey was that the respondents give information regarding the employment status and frequency in which the able bodied and employed members of their households spend time with their families. Table 1 presents the responses to this question in percentage form. The picture presented is that of a highly mobile male member of the population - mainly oscillating on weekly and on monthly basis between their places of work and home.

Also revealed is a more than 50% unemployment rate which is highly women sex selective at 42%. The close proximity of Escom industry near Piet Retief and at Ermelo, which was found to be one of the largest consumers of the community male labour force, coupled with the location of the community relatively close to a busy National road transport route (N2), can be attributed to the oscillatory rather than migratory behaviour of labour. Whilst it can be said that any employment situation that disintegrates families is undesirable, oscillation can also be said to be less harsh, as it at least makes regular consultation possible between those members of the community who remain at home to run the community affairs, who are mainly women and those of their usually male counterparts who are away most of the time.

TABLE 1 Percentage Distribution of Population Mobility and Employment Status by Sex - KHIPHUNYAWO COMMUNITY

<u>Mobility</u>	<u>(N = 443)</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>
1. Unemployed/housewife	51,0	8,8	42,2
2. Work locally and spend every night at home	8,8	1,6	7,2
3. Usually come home once per week	12,6	9,9	2,7
4. Usually come home once per month	21,9	21,0	0,9
5. Usually come home once in three months	1,6	1,1	0,5
6. Usually come home twice per year	1,6	1,4	0,2
7. Usually come home once per year	0,7	0,7	0,0
8. Other/unaccounted for	1,8	0,7	1,1
	100,0	44,1	54,8

4.5 PUBLIC GOODS AND STRUCTURE OF SERVICES

4.5.1 Small Business Development

At least fifteen small businesses of a formal nature and an unknown size of the informal sector were identified at Khiphunyawo. The large proportion of the latter consists of casual goods and services traders as well as commercially oriented self-help groups. The formal sector is largely owner initiated whereas the informal sector is largely as a result of the promotional programmes of the KwaZulu civil servants, in particular the Bureau of Community Development and Agriculture and Forestry. The latter types include community garden clubs, stock sales, block-making and grocery stores.

4.5.2 Health and Welfare

Khiphunyawo shares a 130 bed district hospital with her neighbouring communities and is situated approximately 50 kilometres from Khiphunyawo. The official size of the hospital is however 92 beds. Given the total district population of over 80,000, each bed in the hospital caters for about 870 people. The mean number of out-patients treated per day is 125.

Two clinics are also at the disposal of the community. One of these is shared with other communities and the other is not shared. The mean case loads for the clinics during 1986 was found to be 42 patients per day. (5)

An attempt was made some years back to introduce a clinic committee in one of the clinics made up of the members of the civil servants and of the community. The idea is known to have failed to catch up and is assumed to have since been abandoned.

4.5.3 Agriculture and Forestry

Khiphunyawo has a district agricultural extension services office situated in her area. The bulk of the agricultural produce is produced for the local market. Cultivation is seasonal, there is virtually no agricultural activity during winter. During this period, people tend to switch over to non-agricultural activities. The extension services are manned by a staff consisting of a senior agricultural officer, 4 junior agricultural officers, 2 stock inspectors, 1 home economist and 2 clerks. As in the Health Services sector, the community shares the personnel with the rest of the district. The extension work, which is usually done to groups rather than to individuals, include soil production, livestock management, farmer organizations, water development, home economics and forestry.

4.5.4 Other Services

Other main services in the community are co-operative development and school education. This will not be discussed in this chapter since the next chapter will be dealing with them in greater detail.

4.6 SOURCES, SIZES AND SPENDING OF INCOMES

Out of the 150 households that were interviewed, 98 (or 65%) mentioned that their employed members derive their income from the sale of labour. The balance is made up of those who are either under employed, unemployed and a small percentage of the self-employed. Of those who derive income from full-time sale of labour, 35,7% are employed by the para-statal Electricity Supply Commission (ESCOM) in and around the South Eastern Transvaal areas whereas the rest are distributed over different types of industries locally and in the Transvaal.

This makes ESCOM the largest source of the income of the community. This is probably due to the fact that it is the largest industry located within a weekly or monthly oscillating proximity of the community and is consistent with the findings that 12,6% and 21,9% of the economically active members of the community come home once per week and once per month respectively (Table 1). The following table depicts the sizes of incomes of the households interviewed. This is based on a figure of 443 people within the 150 households who were found to be in the able bodied group.

TABLE 2 Frequency Distribution of the Monthly Sizes of
Income - KHIPHUNYAWO COMMUNITY

<u>Size of Income (R)</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
No income at all	91	21,0
Do not know	6	1,4
1 - 300	152	34,0
301 - 500	101	23,1
501 - 800	68	15,4
801 - 1000	14	3,2
1001 - and above	11	2,5
	—	—
	(N) = 443	100,6
	—	—

As can be seen from the table, the mode category is R1 to R300 per month. Respondents were further questioned on the manner in which they distribute the income among various expenses. The following table represents the responses received. This is based on the incomes of the heads of the 150 households represented in the survey.

TABLE 3 The Monthly Distribution of Incomes -
KHIPHUNYAWO COMMUNITY

<u>Item</u>	<u>Percentage of Total</u>
Food	43
Clothing	5
School	15
Community Projects	14
Transport	6
Furniture	2
Other	15
TOTAL	— 100 —

As can be expected, the largest proportion of income is spent on food. It is significant however to note that the schools and the community projects account for the second combined largest expense at 29% (15 + 14).

... who the decider as to how the income is to be distributed, an overwhelming 96% mentioned the mother of the household. The following chapters examines two specific community project areas in which a large proportion of the above is spent.

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CHAPTER 5THE PRACTICE OF PARTICIPATION -KHIPHUNYAWO CO-OPERATIVE ORGANIZATION5.1 INTRODUCTION

When the Bureau for Community Development was established in 1980, the rationale was to correct the tendency of the development practitioners of developing "things" around people and ignore the people themselves. (1) The new approach sought to "place people in the forefront of things" through inter alia, "to conduct awareness creation programs in the communities which is geared to activate communities for self-help and self-reliance". One of the priority target regions was Simdlangentsha - in which the community of Khiphunyawo is situated. The programmes at Khiphunyawo were started around 1982. The strategy which the Bureau team employed involved three stages first; getting contact with, and support of the local Inkosi (chief), the Inkatha branch leaders and the local member of the KwaZulu legislative assembly. Second; conducting the awareness creation and community activation programmes and, third; introduction of specific projects, such as co-operative organization. The development of Co-operatives was however confined to the non-agricultural types of projects since the development of agricultural projects remained the function of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry. It is the organization that emerged out of this endeavour which is about to be evaluated and analysed for the purposes of this paper.

5.2 PERFORMANCE OF THE CO-OPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT FUNCTION

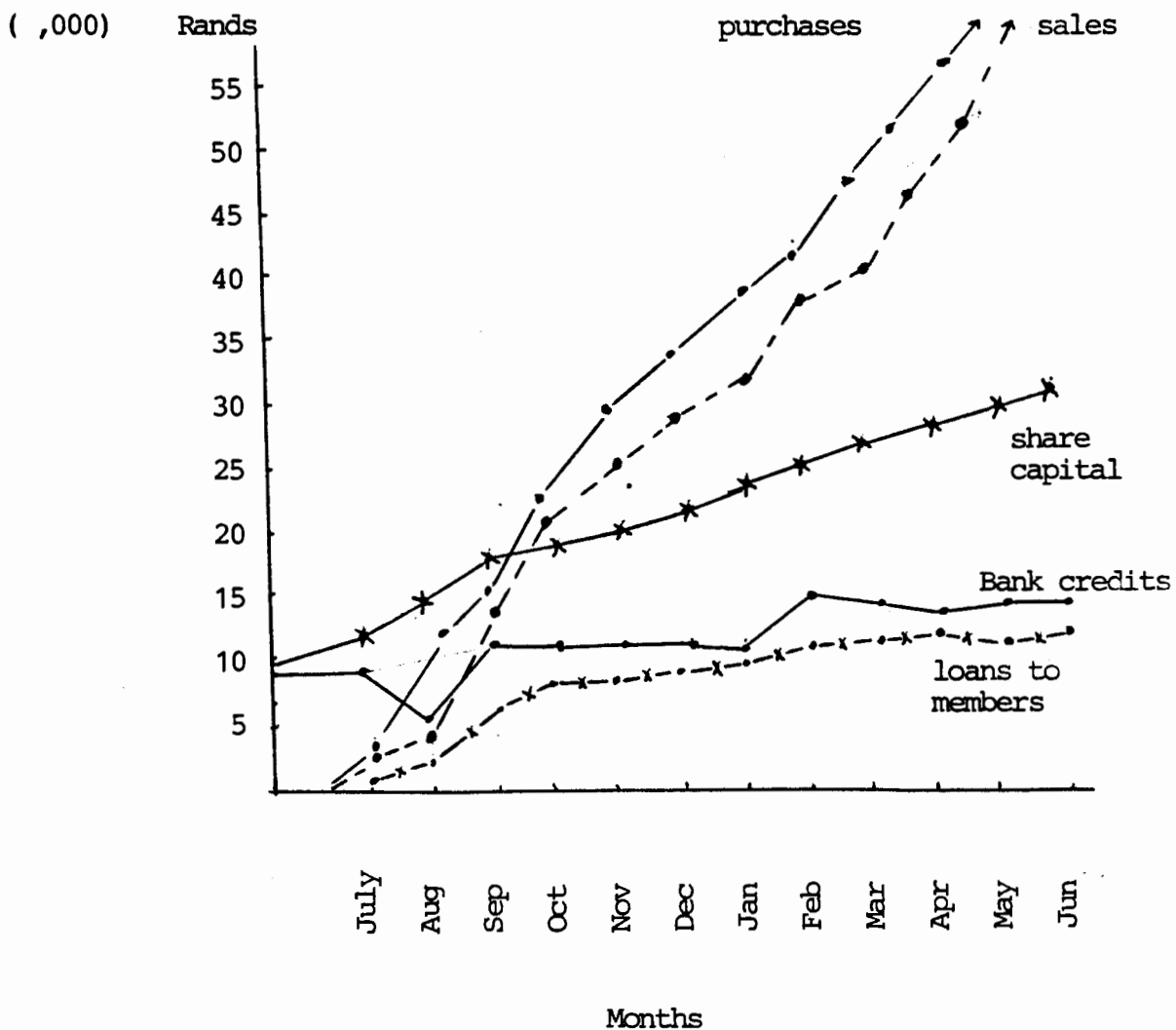
5.2.1 Financial Capacity

The financial ability of the individual members of the community to participate in a joint commercial venture was obviously the first concern of the promoters of the programme. Two approaches were attempted to counteract the situation. In the first, the promoters assisted the community to form a "Sibiya Rural Development Committee" with members drawn from the co-opted locally based civil servants, community leaders and ordinary members of the community. Upon the establishment of the committee, an application was made to the government for a grant-in-aid of over R50,000 for various community projects. The first instalment of over R15,000 was subsequently paid into the committee account by the government. The proposed projects of the committee have to this day never got off the ground. According to the members of this committee, it is non-existent. The only fraction of the grant that is accounted for is a sum of R5,000 loaned to the project that emerged from the second strategy. The second strategy involved encouraging people to form a Credit and Savings Co-operative and to accumulate enough money to start garment manufacturing and sewing projects. The amount of money that was targetted for this purpose was R25,000. The community was assisted in forming a committee out of its own ranks to spearhead the project.

Three years later the club had accumulated only about R9,000 and membership which stood at only 200, was growing very slowly. By this time there was a marked degree of dissatisfaction with the progress among the promoters and they had begun to reduce the frequency of their visits to the community.

One day during July 1985 a field worker visited the community and found that they had spent about half of their savings to buy groceries with the purpose of re-selling such groceries among themselves at slightly above cost prices. The rationale given for this was that by saving money they had to reduce the quantity or the quality of food they ate, whereas by buying food in bulk and selling it among themselves they accumulated savings which did not require them to starve their families. The following figure shows the performance of their organization over the first year of its trading.

Fig. 7 The Performance of Masibonisane Consumer and Credit and Savings Co-operative Over the Year Ended 31 May 1986. The First Year of its Trading Business



Other than the above, the co-operative contributed labour and money to erect shelters at three selected points in which they conduct business. As at the time of the conducting of the research for this paper, a large "community centre" building which, when complete is estimated to value in the region of R100,000, was at the roofing stage of development. The only external aid given was in the form of a R5,000 cash amount advanced by the "Sibiya Rural Development Committee". In the meantime, soon after the commencement of the trade business, there was a radical increase in the membership from about 200 to over 400 within a period of four months.

5.2.2 Organization and Leadership Structure

Contrary to the provisions of the enabling legislation as well as the constitution which was developed in conformity to the provisions of the legislation and the official guidelines, the co-operative was found to have spread itself into two geographically regionalized committees in addition to the main (official) one. There is a committee for each trade centre which reports to the chairperson of the main committee. The structure developed and operates as follows:

The main committee has the chairperson - a woman of remarkable leadership talents, strong personality and a standard one education background. She walks long distances on a weekly basis, gives encouragement to individual members and at the meetings of branches. She also makes a point of disciplining members or/and sections of membership which lag behind others in any co-operative activity. The chairperson is also known by the local chief, the local member of the KwaZulu legislative assembly as well as by local government offices to be persistent in demanding or in requesting their respective co-operation in various aspects of the aims and activities of her organization.

She is also reported to have sought and acquired a hearing from high ranking officers and political leaders in the KwaZulu headquarters. The committee also has the treasurer, who is also a woman. She seems to be more of the financial part of the leadership than anything else. With her standard six education background, she is crudely able to record financial transactions. Attempts by promoters to teach her the conventional book-keeping methods have failed. The records as well as the operations were found to have a number of flaws which will not make it readily possible to detect the financial behaviour of the organization. The book-keeping and other records systems which were laid by the promoters are just not adhered to - the tendency is to change to whatever non-conventional manner that appeals as convenient at a point of a transaction.

The main committee also has the secretary - also a woman - who is a primary school teacher by occupation. She was found to be the least co-operative and very irregular at attending meetings and to the affairs of the organization. The handwriting of the treasurer is more prominent in the secretary's records. Other than the above, constitutionally, the committee has also four other members who are virtually inactive.

The two other regions were found to be in a similar situation, (i.e. with two or three committee members who are active with the rest remaining inactive). Although the organization has male members, with the exception of only one who is doing most of the operations management, they are all at the background. There has been neither changes in the leadership structure nor were elections held since the organization was formed and this is in contradiction of a provision in the enabling legislation.

5.2.3 The Social and Economic Capacity of Performance

The social and economic capacity of performance is the extent to which the social and economic variables constrain or facilitate participation. The study noted that the increase in the membership size was associated with the achievements of the organization. A dramatic increase which is indicated by a sharp rise in the share capital curve in Fig. 6 was experienced when the organization started the grocery trade business. Another sharp increase from over 400 members to over 500 was experienced soon after the organization started to erect a community centre. The status of people who were found contributing labour at the construction sites was randomly sampled and tested on three random occasions, seven out of sixty-two people were not registered members. On the second, seventeen out of seventy-one and on the third twelve out of eighty-three were non-members. Probed further, it was discovered that the tendency was to assume that if a senior member of the household had his or her name registered in the organization, he did so not on behalf of him/herself only, but also for the rest of the household. Non-registered members would therefore still feel obliged to make whatever contributions are required of them. This was further confirmed by the absence of correlation between the membership fund figures and the number of members registered. The practice is however contrary to the requirements of the legislation and was found to be common with various other self-help organizations in the community.

The significance of the above is that it has size and scale economic benefits flowing from it.

The increases in the size of membership and support has been accompanied by the increases in the volume of business as well as accelerated progress as more manpower and money is contributed. The spread of the operations to other areas of the community not only boosted the social support, but increased the size of the stock which the organization purchases from the wholesalers and instead of having to pay R50 for a half-full truck load, they have **been increasingly decreasing** the costs per unit by increasing the size of the orders. It was further discovered that members in adjoining communities have also started to take membership despite the long distances involved, such that the organization was looking into the prospects of establishing additional branches in their areas, thus expanding the social and economic size of the community.

Another important discovery was the increase in the power of influence of the organization on, and its recognition by the local authorities as a representative of the community on certain aspects. Initially the organization was experiencing difficulties in having their requests processed or assented to by the local authorities, usually on the grounds of their "irregular" nature. However, as their organization grew, so has been the preparedness of the authorities to readily assent to their requests such that even the normally "irregular" are becoming accepted as legitimate. Also, the authorities have developed a habit of using the structure of the organization for communication purposes and for the delivery of certain services. However, in spite of this, the organization is known in authority circles not to accept its use without probing the motives and it displays a kind of an authority status itself.

As has been mentioned earlier, one of the potentially harmful weaknesses of the organization is the absence of necessary skills for the management of the business undertaking. The belief in the government circles is that they must be "self-sufficient" and free of "dependency". History of failure of agricultural co-operatives is marred by maladministration and other management related issues. When the leadership of the organization was asked to give their opinion regarding the nature of government involvement, they overwhelmingly mentioned book-keeping and auditing as a priority. Financial aid was not even among the top priority needs. This indicates an awareness of their limitation and this area is suggested as a necessary input. Much more so because even though they saw it as a priority need, they did not consider themselves to be in a position to hire the missing skills from elsewhere due to uneasiness about, and mistrust of strangers who are not from the KwaZulu government.

5.2.4 Roles Differentiation, Decision Making and Accountability

Several questions were asked of the members of the organization to determine their perceptions regarding the above variables. Responses to the questions are used in this part of the discussion. The first question posed was which of the existing community organizations did they consider to be the most successful in meeting their needs. The mode response was Masibonisane Co-operative. This was followed by a question, "who founded this organization?" Very few responded by "us". Most responses centred around three people who were mentioned by names; "Chief Sibiya" (who died soon thereafter), "Mr Nkehli" (the former Director of the Bureau for Community Development) and "Miss Zungu", the local KwaZulu member of the Legislative Assembly.

It transpired that Chief Sibiya was very much respected by his subjects. Constant references to his views, beliefs and intentions when decisions have to be taken were noted. He was, and still is probably a living inspiration. Mr Nkehli was known for his speaking talents in "motivating us to do the best with what we have" and for "telling us that if we work together we can achieve anything". Miss Zungu is regarded as "ummeli wethu" (our advocate). It is also significant to note that the latter, who is a former school teacher in the local primary school, attended a short course in community development in an overseas institution and was sponsored by Inkatha movement to do so. It was primarily due to her advocacy in community development issues that she was later elected a local representative in the legislative assembly.

Asked who the main decider in their organization was on issues affecting changes, the mode response was that it is "usihlalo" (the chairlady), a similar response was provoked regarding the ownership of "Masibonisane" followed closely by "eka Chief" (it belongs to the chief). On the question regarding who benefits from Masibonisane, the mode response was absolutely "it is us". Later this question was re-formed to read "whose interests does Masibonisane serve?" again an overwhelming "our interests" was received. The above responses can mean different things to different people. Whilst there is a detachment in the links between the founding and the present functioning of the organization as far as control is concerned, there however remain a continuing emotional link with its founders. It would seem also that the chairlady is taken as a representative of the founders. This is possible if the founders had an influence on her election as the chairlady and again, if they had confidence in the founders and trusted their intentions, such confidence and trust was thence transferred to the person whose election was influenced by such founders.

On the final analysis, the leadership will be supported and trusted as long as it serves "our interests" and "we benefit". This attitude and perception seems to be associated with the so-called "African democracy" whereby the leadership is hereditary and elections are ruled out, or become an unnecessary formality to satisfy the Western found legislative and administrative requirements. It is only when the leadership is found to corrupt his position of trust that changes come by and is accordingly deprived of the right to "own us and our resource".

5.2.5 Relationships With Other Organizations

Two discoveries were made by the study in this regard which are considered of significance in service planning. First, certain members of the households are tentatively mandated to represent others in community institutions. For every single member therefore, individual adult members of households are represented. In this way others find time to occupy themselves with other domestic occupations. People turn up in their numbers only if there is a crisis. Secondly, community organizations tend to share the same people as their members - as long as there are no artificial restrictions limiting their involvement. Also found was that organizations with restrictive membership enjoy less support from the non-members. The extent to which organizations share members is associated with the importance attached to the aims of the organizations. Virtually all the households represented had membership links with the Inkatha movement local branches. In turn, the households are spread over several smaller organizations as members. In this way, Inkatha serves as an interface organization in which the activities of the rest of the organizations are co-ordinated - even though there is no express statement of intention to do so.

In the meetings of Inkatha, members share issues and answer questions related to the activities and affairs of other affiliations such that further programmes are planned with the situations of other organizations programmes taken into account. Members have however no express mandate to discuss the affairs of their representative organizations, they merely take it as their responsibility as members who happen to be present when the issues are discussed. On the other hand, meetings of smaller organizations make references to the Inkatha programmes when they plan future activities. The programmes of other smaller organizations are discussed on the basis of what transpired about them at Inkatha meetings. Programmes are then adjusted accordingly to avoid clashes and to give prospective members an opportunity to support the programmes of other organizations. The programmes of the civil servants, development practitioners and others from within and without the community have to fall in with the community's general programme - which can be taken to ~~be the Inkatha programme~~ - otherwise people will not attend. Incidents were reported of practitioners quarelling over schedules, each claiming that the other wants to dominate the people such that they do not respond to the other's programmes. It arose out of the fact that each time one of them tries to arrange to meet the people, they inform him that on the day he wishes to meet them they are already committed - usually with the other's programme. The failure of the "Sibiya Rural Development Committee" may be partly attributed to its failure to fall in with the schedule. Also it could be that it tended to want to duplicate the co-ordinating function, albeit in a formal manner, which was already performed informally.

It also transpired that the community is not short of leadership skills. Incidents of similar people in leadership positions in different organizations are rare.

Leadership is also not correlating with levels of education and status. In fact better educated people, often measured by the ability to read and write, are commonly elected, or co-opted into positions that require writing letters and minutes.

Finally, it was discovered that sub-organizations form within organizations, with own committees, as a need arises. For instance, Masibonisane operates a burial association, within its structure. The burial association matters are itemized in the agendas of Masibonisane. The secretary merely writes, "Burial Association meetings duly discussed" in her minute book, and another secretary takes over with her own records and details the proceedings of the item. Also, a different chairperson and a treasurer takes over until all pertinent issues have been discussed. The meeting then returns to its original form. A probe into this development revealed that it got started as a temporary measure to assist a bereaved member but was subsequently retained for future incidents of bereavement.

5.3 ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

5.3.1 Motivation for Self Initiative and Innovativeness

A team comprising a mixture of learned skills, respected traditional leadership and eloquence obviously played a significant role in setting off the people into action at Khiphunyawo. However what actually propelled them was the realization of their own goal in the form of a grocery trade business and following a decision to disregard the original approach together with its objectives. The acquisition of food at unadulterated prices and out of their own initiation was in fact consistent with their basic needs.

It also proved to be the priority of many others who joined thereafter. It is quite a common practice among practitioners to promote programmes which they consider appropriate yet fail to get support. A well orientated community would therefore not only be most likely to reject such a programme, but would also take its own course.

5.3.2 Need for Flexible Regulations

The second lesson that can be learned from Khiphunyawo is that the effectiveness of leadership is contingent upon each situation. The failure of the Masibonisane to stick to the statutory prescriptions regarding leadership and still succeed in realizing their co-operative objectives bears testimony to this. Where the communities are not as motivated and as orientated as in the case of Khiphunyawo, they would not only keep struggling, without success to realize imposed objectives, but would also stick to the prescribed structures to their own frustration and that of the well intending promoters.

5.3.3 Need for "Felt Need" Related Goal Achievement

The case also proved that "achievement" can be as much a function of social and economic feasibility of the project as social and economic feasibility can be a function of achievement. Whereas a great number of prospective participants in a project would only join if it proves capable of producing results and thus boost the project socially and economically, there is a need for a small group of ordinary people within the community, with entrepreneurial attitudes, and who are prepared to risk their meagre resources and must make the project succeed in realizing its initial goal with maximum independence of action; and provided that that initial goal is consistent with a felt basic need.

Upon doing so, it then becomes possible to embark on other projects which meet the less felt and less basic needs such as the community centre and the burial association.

5.3.4 Importance of Indigenous Social Networks

The case of Khiphunyawo has also proved that rural people are capable of administering their affairs in a co-ordinative manner and with effective communication systems that are less rigid and formal. For this purpose they use interfacing organizations within the community. It may also be that formal and specialized co-ordinating structures such as the "Sibiya Rural Development Committee" are seen as elite structures and time consuming when the functions they have to perform are catered for in other structures without even having to itemize them in a formal fashion. In addition, structures promoted from outside are seen as meant for membership of the people who are "educated", hence local civil servants and religious leaders were elected. It should however be noted that in areas where Inkatha is not supported, it cannot be effective in playing a co-ordinative role. In this case, alternative organizations should be looked for, since persisting in using Inkatha is most likely to close out many potential participants. The KwaZulu government is not meant to serve Inkatha members and supporters only. It is meant for the people of KwaZulu. An alternative approach under the circumstances would be to broaden the geographical area of operation in situations where the non Inkatha support area is an island within Inkatha support areas. In this way, Inkatha's development activities will spill over in the "multiplier" fashion to other areas in a similar manner as is happening at Khiphunyawo.

5.3.5 The Changing Role of Traditional African Women

Finally, the claim that traditional African women are customarily not capable of taking community decisions as this is a function reserved for men appears to have since been mythified. It would appear that men have since accepted their role as leaders in their absence. If it happens in a community where men oscillate rather than migrate and, therefore issues can be delayed for attention by them at short intervals when they are home, it is more likely to happen where men are absent for longer periods of time. Contemporary African societies, may they be rural, peri-urban or urban, attach greater value to progress than to traditions that hamper progress. However, it should be noted that it may only be development administration related issues that women have been empowered. Issues that go beyond this may still remain a male sex prerogative.

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CHAPTER 6

THE PRACTICE OF PARTICIPATION -
KHlPHUNYAWO COMMUNITY SCHOOLS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

As at the end of its 1985 financial year, KwaZulu had 1,175 million school population distributed as shown in the following table. Rural communities do not only have to build their schools since the community type of control tends to select the rural, less developed areas, but also have to pay for certain teachers' salaries who are employed by them out of their own perceived need for additional staff over and above that provided for by the department.

TABLE 4 KwaZulu Pupil Population Distribution By Type
of Control

Type of Control	Primary	%	Secondary	%	Totals	%
Community Schools	960,378	87,7	203,313	17,3	1,163,691	99,0
Government and Aided Schools	821	0,1	7,229	0,6	8,050	0,7
Private Schools	1,799	0,6	1,556	0,1	3,355	0,3
Totals	962,998	82,0	212,098	18,0	1,175,096	100

Source : Constructed from Table 12 of the 1985 Annual Report of the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture

The following table presents this picture. Also significant as regards teachers is that out of a total of over 25,000, 5,547 (22,2%) were under-qualified to teach at the grades at which they were teaching. The bulk of these (i.e. 4,644 or 84%) were in primary schools. (1)

Considering the fact that 87,7% of the schools are community primary schools, it can be concluded that rural schools are again disadvantaged. The physical conditions of the community schools are also generally poorer in spite of the conditions to the contrary attached to the giving of building subsidies and registration. It is against this general background that the community schools at Khiphunyawo should be assessed.

TABLE 5 Teacher Distribution By Type of School Control -
KwaZulu - 1986

<u>Renumeration</u>	<u>Govt. & Govt.</u> <u>Aided Schools</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Community</u> <u>Schools</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Private</u> <u>Schools</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Totals</u>	<u>%</u>
Govt. Paid	355	1,4	22,927	91,5	10	0,0	23,292	93
Privately Paid	2	0,0	1,659	6,6	110	0,4	1,771	7,1
Totals	357	1,4	24,586	98,1	120	0,1	25,063	100

Source : Computed from data obtained from the 1986 Annual Report of the
KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture

6.2 THE PERFORMANCE OF KHIPHUNYAWO SCHOOLS

6.2.1 School Enrolment and Facilities

Table 6 shows the number and types of schools by various school levels, number of classrooms, as well as the growth rates over a three year period (1984 to 1986). At least 25% of the Khiphunyawo school facilities and resources are shared with other neighbouring communities and from as much of outside educational facilities and resources the community of Khiphunyawo benefits. (2)

The means growth rates as depicted in Table 6 compares as follows with the growth rates in the number of classrooms.

<u>Grade</u>	<u>\bar{X} G.R. Pupils</u>	<u>\bar{X} G.R. Classrooms</u>
Lower Primary	3,0	1,3
Higher Primary	10,1	0,0
Junior Secondary	26,1	-10,0
Senior Secondary	21,6	+10,0
	<hr/>	<hr/>
All Schools	<u>6,7</u>	<u>1,0</u>

As can be seen from these comparisons, the growth rates in pupil enrolment do not compare favourably with the growth rates in school accommodation. Negative growth rates in junior secondary schools are apparently caused by the upgrading of some of these schools to senior secondaries - hence an equivalent growth rate in senior secondaries. This means that if a secondary school is upgraded to a combined senior secondary/high school within the same buildings, junior secondary pupils have to be squeezed into fewer classrooms to open accommodation for senior secondary pupils. The mean growth rates for KwaZulu over a nine year period starting from 1977 are 7,4% for pupils and 7,3% for classrooms. (3)

TABLE 6

Time Series Distribution of Pupil Enrolment By Types of Schools, Grades and Number of Classrooms - Khiphunyawo

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School Names & Grades	Enrolment					Number of Classrooms				
	1984	1985	G.R.	1986	G.R.	1984	1985	G.R.	1986	G.R.
1. Bongaspoort	138	123	- 12,3	122	- 0,8	1	2	50,0	2	0,0
2. Kartnek	287	305	5,9	247	-23,5	4	4	0,0	4	0,0
3. Qambushilo	211	234	9,9	216	- 8,3	33	33	0,0	33	0,0
4. Sibiyangankomo	148	154	4,0	144	- 6,9	33	33	0,0	3	0,0
5. Siyeza	765	852	1,2	864	1,4	12	11	- 9,1	12	1,3
6. Sizamile	487	557	12,7	466	-19,5	10	10	0,0	10	0,0
7. Vimbimshini	160	157	1,9	153	- 2,6	5	5	0,0	5	0,0
Total	2,058	2,382	13,6	2,212	7,7	38	38	0,0	39	1,3
Mean Growth Rates			3,0%					1,3%		
Higher Primary										
1. Khiphunyawo	565	635	11,0	615	- 3,3	13	13	0	13	0
2. Altona	484	473	- 2,3	428	-10,5	10	10	0	10	0
3. Klipwal	303	293	- 3,4	218	-34,4	5	5	0	5	0
4. Lalela	328	339	+ 3,2	424	20,4	13	13	0	13	0
Total	1,680	1,740	3,5	1,685	- 3,3	41	41	0	41	0
Mean Growth Rate			10,1					0,0		
Junior Secondary										
1. Bonginhlanhla	19	61	70,0	112	45,0	3	2	-50,0	3	-50,0
2. Somile	148	272	46,0	238	-14,3	8	8	0,0	6	-25,0
Totals	167	333	50,0	340	2,1	11	10	- 9,1	9	-11
Mean Growth Rates			26,1					-10,0		
Senior Secondary										
1. Bambanani	582	785	25,9	949	17,3	12	12	0,0	15	20,0
Total	582	785	25,9	949	17,3	12	12	0,0	15	20,0
Mean Growth Rates			21,6					10,0		
Grand Totals	4,487	5,240	14,4	5,186	- 1,0	102	101	- 1,0	104	2,9

Source : Compiled and Computed from "Quarterly Returns" From Schools Kept By the Nongoma Circuit Office. June 1987

Whilst there is little difference in the rate of growth in school enrolment, the Khiphunyawo community lags far behind the rest of KwaZulu in the provision of classroom accommodation. From the above tables the following pupil/classroom ratios could be computed for 1986:

<u>Grade</u>	<u>Pupil/Classroom Ratios</u>
Lower Primary	57
Higher Primary	41
Junior Secondary	38
Senior Secondary	63
<hr/>	
Khiphunyawo Schools	51
<hr/>	

The mean ratio for KwaZulu was 56 calculated over an eight year period up to 1984. ⁽⁴⁾ Whilst much lower rates of at most 20 pupils to a class would be ideal, Khiphunyawo fares better than the rest of KwaZulu in this respect. However, with her enrolment rate of 6,7%, it is possible that there will soon be greater crisis unless more effort is put in increasing the number of classrooms.

It should be mentioned also that Khiphunyawo schools, like most community schools, has only the basic facilities - they generally have no libraries, laboratories etc. Recreational facilities consist of basic undeveloped sports grounds, usually a soccer ground and a netball field.

6.2.2 Teaching Staff Compliment

Apart from being understaffed, the Khiphunyawo schools were found to have high teacher mobility rates as well as a comparatively high percentage of underqualified teachers.

This is summarized in Table 7

TABLE 7 Time Series Distribution of Teachers By
Qualifications, Turnover and Grades - Khiphunyawo

	<u>Staff Size</u>								
	1984			1985			1986		
	<u>Q</u>	<u>U</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Q</u>	<u>U</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Q</u>	<u>U</u>	<u>%</u>
Lower Primary	13	23	(64)	11	24	(69)	20	15	(43)
Higher Primary	17	18	(51)	19	20	(51)	19	20	(51)
Junior Secondary	2	6	(75)	2	8	(80)	3	9	(75)
Senior Secondary	6	6	(50)	9	4	(31)	11	4	(27)
Totals	38	53	(58)	53	48	(43)	53	48	(43)
	<u>Staff Turnover</u>								
	<u>RT</u>	<u>NT</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>RT</u>	<u>NT</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>RT</u>	<u>NT</u>	<u>%</u>
Lower Primary	24	26	(139)	1	22	(66)	4	4	(23)
Higher Primary	19	21	(114)	13	23	(92)	13	15	(72)
Junior Secondary	3	6	(113)	1	5	(60)	3	4	(58)
Senior Secondary	7	5	(100)	1	9	(77)	5	4	(60)
Totals	53	58	(122)	16	61	(79)	25	27	(51)
Key :	Q	-	Qualified Teachers						
	U	-	Underqualified Teachers						
	RT	-	Resignations and Transfers						
	NT	-	New Teachers						

Source : Compiled from Information Obtained from the "Quarterly Returns" from various schools kept by the Nongoma Circuit Office

The picture presented above shows that almost half of the teachers at Khiphunyawo are underqualified and that the improvements have been very slight over a period under focus.

Improvements were experienced at primary school level where the proportion was reduced from 67% in 1984/85 to 43% in 1986, and at senior secondary level with a reduction from 58% to 43%. No change was experienced at the higher primary level, the proportion remained 51% whereas the junior secondary situation is worse and only a very slight improvement was realized - from 78% to 75%.

Although a slight improvement was experienced with the teacher mobility, the situation cannot be said to be encouraging at 51% as at the end of 1986. The teacher instability combined with a 43% underqualified teaching staff goes a long way in determining the quality of education that can be expected. There is therefore a need for further investigation and correction of the situation in this respect.

Other important determinants of the effectiveness of a school are the teacher - pupil ratios. It is often held that the lower the number of pupils the teacher has to teach, the greater the effectiveness. Community schools are often the most overcrowded schools since teachers tend to prefer to teach in the urban areas. Apart from the attractiveness of the environment, other factors that contribute to this preference are greater security since the government often provides for needed resources and salaries and also the fact that their boss, i.e. the government, is almost invisible - it is not like in the community schools where each adult person the teacher meets could be a hostile boss. This and other reasons have therefore led to comparatively higher teacher pupil ratios in the rural schools than in the urban schools.

TABLE 8 The Teacher Pupil Ratios at Khiphunyawo By Grades
Over a Period 1984 to 1986

<u>Grades</u>	<u>Ratios</u>		
	<u>1984</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>
Lower primary	1 : 57	1 : 68	1 : 63
Higher primary	1 : 48	1 : 45	1 : 43
Junior secondary	1 : 21	1 : 33	1 : 28
Senior secondary	1 : 49	1 : 60	1 : 63
<hr/>			
Total Khiphunyano Schools	1 : 49	1 : 54	1 : 63

6.2.3 Control and Management Structures

The school committees form the basic governing structures in the Khiphunyawo school system. There is a committee for each of the thirteen schools. The parents' meetings and the school committees are dominated by the women members of the community. The committees are known to exert great influence among the members of the community in the provision of school classrooms and facilities and in the appointment and dismissal of teachers. Social pressure is exerted on individual community members to contribute their dues in the provision of manual labour and finances by way of singling out those of their lot who are not co-operative. This usually happens at larger community meetings whose agendas encompass a variety of issues. Matters affecting the teachers are also discussed at these meetings. The Inkatha meetings, which enjoy greater attendance figures than the purely school committee sponsored meetings, were again found to play a co-ordinative and communicative role effectively in this respect. Hence, the ward and circuit inspectors make it their unofficial duty to attend these meetings over and above their official responsibility to attend school committee meetings.

There is also a parent-teacher association composed of 9 teacher association and 18 school committee members whose main task is to monitor and deal with disturbances in the school situations. Also represented on the observer status, in this organization is the Youth Brigade which is dominated by school pupils. Every school was found to have an active Youth Brigade branch which meets on a regular basis.

Recently, there has been a spontaneous emergence of a pre-school movement. At least two hundred pre-school children ranging in age from 3 to 6 are involved. The movement was initiated by members of the community without any input whatsoever from the government and continues to operate without the government's interference. The parents contribute a rand per child per month and supply their children with stationery. The financial contributions are spent on equipment and honorarium fees towards teacher/managers. Private homes and a church hall are used to house the programme. Attempts to have formal committees to assist in the administration has so far failed due to poor attendances. The community seems to be satisfied with the present arrangements and can be said to be having confidence in the manager/founders of the institutions.

6.2.4 Financial Administrative and Management Capacity

Like the co-operative management, the school committees were found to be marred by mismanagement and history of embezzlement of school funds. The controls in this respect are devoid of efficiency and effectiveness. The funds are however statutorily managed by the principals. The members of the community have to rely on the trustworthiness of the principal and regular checks by the school inspector. Apart from these there are no devices built in that make the committees able to monitor the activities.

However, situations have arisen in which the principal failed to account, and the community generally responds by demanding his immediate transfer and they make changes in the membership of the committee.

6.2.5 The Distribution of Financial Responsibility

When the KwaZulu government came into being the government only provided for part of the teachers' salaries and the equipment. On its inception the KwaZulu government has, through the education department, been steadily increasing its financial involvement. The rand for rand school building subsidization programme involves reimbursing, up to a certain amount per classroom, the money spent by the community towards the school buildings. The implication is that the community must make the initial move. KwaZulu has also been steadily subsidizing other costs such as the purchase of school books and stationery - thus moving towards a goal of free education.

Another area that is worth noting in this respect is the distribution of bursaries and direct aid to students by the government and private organizations. The research revealed that these are selective on the basis of the school grades and the geographical location of schools. Higher grades and urban schools which mainly consist of the government and government aided schools have the major share.

The following is a summary of the distribution of financial responsibility by various groups at Khiphunyawo.

<u>Service/Facility</u>	<u>Distribution of Responsibility</u>			
	<u>Parent</u>	<u>Community</u>	<u>Government</u>	<u>Other</u>
School buildings	30%	20%	50%	-----
School books	60%	---	40%	-----
School stationery	70%	---	30%	-----
Teachers' salaries	10%	---	80%	-----
Sport and recreation facilities	100%	---	---	-----
Equipment (e.g. furniture)	---	---	100%	-----
School uniforms	100%	---	---	-----
School cultural functions	20%	80%	---	-----
Means Distribution	49%	13%	38%	-----

6.2.6 General Attitudes

Certain questions were posed on the members of the community to determine their attitudes on various aspects related to the school system.

Whilst all the respondents felt that the school committees must remain and that they are an important aspect of the life of the community, only 20% stated that they would be prepared to stand for elections if nominated. Most reasons given for the negative responses to accepting nomination can be associated with the feeling of incapacity due to low or lack of necessary education and self confidence.

Most respondents felt that they have a responsibility to provide manual labour in the construction of schools since "it is for our children" but were divided on the extent of financial contribution.

The following was the pattern of responses in this regard; the question asked was "who, in your opinion should meet the following costs as far as the local schools are concerned?"

Attitudes Towards Distribution of Financial Responsibility Towards
The Provision of School Facilities (N = 150)

<u>Facility</u>	<u>Preferred Bearer of Responsibility</u>			
	<u>Government</u>	<u>Community</u>	<u>Parent</u>	<u>Other</u>
Financing school building	111	30	4	5
Provision of manual labour	17	120	10	3
Maintenance of School buildings & property	25	41	80	4
School books	30	—	119	1
School uniforms	9	1	140	—
Teachers' salaries	128	4	16	2
Recreation and entertainment	15	11	123	1

Most of the "other" responses mentioned "the chief" or the "tribal authority" as a preferred bearer of responsibility.

Another question posed was to determine who the community thought was the owner of schools. 48 percent thought they were owned by the KwaZulu government, 22 percent thought they were owned by the Inkosi of the tribal authority, 21 percent mentioned the community or parents and the rest did not know.

6.3 ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

6.3.1 Urban Bias and Implications in Service Distribution

The urban bias in the provision of support by the government is the main obvious criticism that can be levelled against the schooling system in KwaZulu. This bias, coupled with other factors such as the preference of urban life by the better educated, whether involuntarily due to the general lack of job opportunities in the rural areas or voluntarily due to what appears to be an attitudinal trend, can only serve to perpetuate the already serious regional development disparities. Whilst the communities have to spend money and time trying to realize what appears to be a more of a social rather than an economic investment in education at the expense of availing time and money in improving other sectors of development serves only to increase the development gap between the rural and the urban areas.

6.3.2 The Bias of Equality in Contributions

The rand for rand subsidization scheme may have positive effects in that once the community has completed the erection of classrooms, an amount is then reimbursed by the government which the community cannot be expected to, and does not, pay it back to the parents who had made contributions, but often has to invest it in another classroom building project if it hopes to have it paid back by the government. Thus the process becomes a cycle. However the apparent backlog does not suggest that this happens. The possible explanation for this is that the money is used in other projects which the community consider to be the next priority, yet are not covered by the scheme and therefore cannot be reimbursed.

The rand for rand scheme can also be said to contribute in creating development imbalances within and between the communities. Because the scheme does not discriminate between richer and poorer parents regarding the amounts contributed by each parent and also because of the social pressure for individuals to participate, poorer families are left with lesser resources for self-improvement. The fact that other communities are better off than others and therefore can pay more readily for the extension of school buildings or the erection of new schools, they enjoy a greater share of the subsidy than others.

6.3.3 Teacher Mobility and Quality of Education

The high mobility of teachers, coupled with high under-qualified teacher ratios, indicate poorer working conditions in the schools. Thus, the quality and therefore the product of community schools will be relatively poor.

6.3.4 Financial Audit Systems

Enquiries revealed that lesser administrative inefficiency and embezzlement of funds is experienced by Inkatha branches which are larger in size. The probable reason found for this was that whilst they enjoy a higher degree of autonomy their operations are directly linked to the central control office by way of established uniform reporting and financial record systems. The receipt books with serial numbers recorded at the central office are issued by that office and the completed books, together with the copies of receipt pages are returned thus enabling automatic audits of records. This however is not happening with the school committees.

The circuit inspector usually occupies himself with teacher administration and professional duties and can hardly be expected to "keep an eye" on the funds of over 30 schools in his circuit.

6.3.5 Practical and Monetary Involvement and Attitudes

Finally, the attitudes survey results indicate that the communities are generally satisfied to know that they are making some contribution towards the costs of establishing and maintaining the schools, even though "they do not own them". This is further evidenced by the fact that matters related to the schools are not confined to the parents and their committee meetings but they form part of the agendas of larger community meetings and organizations. The long history of practical involvement may have helped to establish emotional bonds between the schools and the communities. This could explain the almost non-existent school disturbances which result in the destruction of school properties which are common in the government and government aided schools, whereby there is much lesser practical involvement by the communities. This has some serious implications on the current move towards free education. Whilst this move is worth supporting, to what extent will it emotionally distance the communities from the school systems? Further studies along these lines are strongly recommended.

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CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS, POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND GUIDELINES

7.1 CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

7.1.1 The KwaZulu Bureaucracy and Communication

The participation of grassroot communities in service delivery systems, is often described negatively in terms of apathy, unresponsive and absence of capable leadership. Innovative and assertive communities, particularly in rural poor societies is something unknown. The community of Khiphunyawo has not only demonstrated assertiveness, initiation and innovativeness, but has also demonstrated that they have capable leadership. Also revealed are the self-generating systems capable of not only effecting co-ordination and communication, but also of resisting alternative structures and programmes imposed from outside. The community further demonstrates a model of democracy that makes a mock of the generally accepted democratic processes. The value systems and the pattern of doing things seems however not to be consistent with those of the middle and lower categories of the development organization systems. Here again we find a peculiar culture that is neither consistent with the community nor the upper echelons system. This is aggravated by the evaluation and the appraisal systems that neither refer to the community processes and goals nor to the policy options of the upper echelons. Whilst this system is not acquainted with the policy formulation systems, it can also not effectively communicate its experiences at the grassroots with the top.

Its only means of doing this, the periodic reports which are annually consolidated into a few, in fact eleven, reports of the various departments, is devoid of efficiency as a means of communication since the information is sifted through at various authority levels and in the process, is purified by value biases of those through whom it permeates through to the top echelons, who have to formulate policies. The top echelons on the other hand, whilst having access to the information pertaining to the problems at the grassroot levels, through the legislative assembly representation and political organization, the information which is supplemented by the reports of the executive planning organization - which are generally broad and less penetrating, is just enough to formulate as broad policies.

Stewart held that "the articulation of the attitudes and demands of those who live and work in the area is important for environmental analysis as for other parts of the authorities work". (1)

The final assessment of the bureaucracy situation is that the largest part of its middle is not participating - but is constraining the efficient participation of both, the top and the bottom. There is therefore a primary need to get the middle echelons to participate consciously in the articulation of service delivery problems experienced at the grassroot level and interpreting such information on the basis of their roles, experiences and the expectations of the grassroot communities and the executive. Whilst, on the other hand, receive policy information from the top, interpret such information in terms of their practical experiences and expectations and finally to disseminate the information in the form of programmes and projects to the grassroots and policy inputs to the executive.

If the people the organization is to serve are to have any control, communication bridges must be closed.

7.1.2 The Costs and Benefits of Aided Self-help Programmes

The implication of the proposal to develop locally based structures to disperse decision making power to as broad grassroot people as possible are that of creating an additional governing tier to be linked to the existing national structures. The existing local participatory and self-help structures can help to give an inkling of what can be expected of their performance as well as of the type of inputs that may be required to strengthen their capacity. This section will briefly attempt to draw conclusions regarding the costs and benefits of the approaches employed as well as of the programmes that emanated from them.

7.1.2.1 The Community Motivation and Activation Approach

The strategy of preceeding the establishment of programmes with a motivational input, staffed by a team of community and agency leaders obviously played an important part at Khiphunyawo by not only giving legitimacy to the forthcoming programmes but also by providing the basic education to activate the people. Whilst it was important that the introduction of programmes should follow up as soon as possible thereafter the strategy had a weakness in that it did not take into consideration the adequacy of the skills and knowledge either existing in the community or which could be made available by the government to close the gaps in the community. Also where the activation has been effective, the strategy can prove too costly in terms of created expectations without the means to meet them. If co-operative organizations are expected to participate effectively in a competitive environment, then they must be based on sound business principles.

Similarly if the school committees are expected to perform efficiently, they need to have a sound financial base and management control system. Schumacher held that development does not start with the goods, "it starts with people and their education, organization and discipline ... if aid is given to introduce certain new economic activities, this will be beneficial and viable only if they can be sustained by the already existing educational level of fairly broad groups of people ... there can be a process of stretching - never a process of jumping ... (otherwise) the activity does not promote healthy development but will be more likely to hinder it ... ". (2) However, before an educational programme is initiated, certain critical issues need to be addressed. Firstly, a clear delineation need be made of what should essentially be taught to the people or some of their lot, bearing in mind their capacity to learn it in terms of their formal education backgrounds and their right to control - especially where the payment of money, time and other resources presupposes this right. It follows from this that those in control know best what is best for them. (3) Secondly, whether or not the required skills can be hired either from within or without the community. The hiring of skills re-affirms the right to control. However if those who are to hire such skills have no basic means to control those they hire, chances are that those who are hired might soon realize the weakness and capitalize on it to the detriment of the whole effort. Thirdly, whether or not the government is in a position to provide such skills or the necessary supervision over those who are hired. The former alternative raises the question of the accountability direction of the skills provided and therefore - control. If the government servants are accountable to some official who spends most of his time in a regional or central office, the control factor cannot be said to be resting with the community.

However, if the basic premise holds - that the local community is organized into a tier - there is no reason why members of the community should not exercise control and discipline on the servant. This includes the transfer to the local governing body of the rights and powers to evaluate and appraise the performance of the officer for advancement purposes. Regarding the provision of the supervision of those who are hired, again the question of accountability props out. The hired worker becomes accountable to a government officer who, in turn is not accountable to the people. Also, ~~if~~ **if** neither or both of these have the community interest at heart nor the political motivation corresponding to the goals of the KwaZulu government, there is no guarantee that they will not eventually club together against the interests of the community. The conclusion to this boils down to the fact that if the community organization have to be the extension of the government organization - and thus effect participation, then it must have all the necessary governing and control powers that go with the responsibility.

7.1.2.2 The Legislative and Statutory Provisions

It is obvious from this paper that the communities have their own peculiar controls and modus operandi which do not always coincide with the legislations. A similar observation has been the concern with the organizations promoted by the Department of Agriculture and Forestry. ⁽⁴⁾ This means that certain provisions in the statute would, if enforced provide a constraint to development even though they were meant to facilitate it. Like most of the local governing authorities, there is no reason why there cannot be a provision for locally conceived by-laws with minimum restraints from the primary legislature.

7.1.2.3 Social and Private Costs and Benefits

As had earlier been mentioned, the financial and manual labour contribution obviously enhances a feeling of being part of a programme and minimizes the chances of it being abused as a symbol of external repressive forces. Also, the programmes become the only local platforms for learning to participate. However there are several costs to be borne in terms of the opportunity costs of spending limited resources on one or two sectors and not on others. Because of low incomes and therefore meagre surpluses to invest in the development programmes, the conditions remain sub-standard and unattractive. This helps to perpetuate the problems of out migration of the economically and educationally able people to other better areas. Another cost of the system is that it exasperates the racial, regional, inter-district and inter-family inequalities - a situation which may in the long run lead to tension and conflicts. This can also be flamed by the growing role of the rural community schools as refuges for children from trouble torn government and government aided schools in the urban areas whose parents have no practical involvement in and therefore, emotional ties with the rural schools. The influx of these children results in higher teacher - pupil and classroom - pupil ratios and hence, contribute to the low quality of teaching, and upon graduating, disappear into their urban origins to help develop them even further. The challenge facing the government is therefore whether to yield to political pressures of the urban areas and not only allow urban children influx into rural schools, but also continue to provide better facilities and funding to the urban systems which become targets for unguided anger and even vandalism.

7.2 PROPOSED OPERATIONAL POLICY GUIDELINES FOR EFFECTING PARTICIPATION

7.2.1 Establishment of a Policy Study Work Group

It is proposed that the P.C.A.C. considers the establishment of a policy study work group with members drawn from the cross-section of the bureaucrats and technocrats. The functions of the group would be, (i) To monitor policy statements, documents and reports adopted for policy ends, formulate tangible action programmes on the basis of such statements, documents and reports and recommend the establishment of appropriate structures, action and/or staffing in relevant departments. (ii) To monitor the situations needs and the reports of the field practitioners, correlate them with policies, make necessary adjustments where necessary and where appropriate make recommendations regarding the adjustments of policies. (iii) Study the existing bureaucratic systems and their compliments for relevance to the policies and make necessary recommendations to the Efficiency Division of the Public Service Commission.

7.2.2 Community Information, Motivation and Activation Programmes

The Bureau of Community Development and Youth Affairs should have as its functions, the information and education dissemination to the communities based on programmes developed by an interdisciplinary team drawn from various departments. Ideally, the team should also be responsible for the field programmes but be co-ordinated and supported by the Bureau in all respects and should be led by a person who has a grassroot oriented eloquence, in close collaboration with the popular local leadership. It should also be kept, and endeavour to keep itself informed of the resolutions and the programmes of the P.C.A.C.

7.2.3 Establishment or Upgrading of Project Based Community Representation

The establishment or promotion of project based structures rather than the Umbrella governing authorities at local levels are preferred for three reasons. Firstly, the people appeared to structure themselves and invest money, time and labour into various groups according to their respective needs. The Umbrella, or interface organization controlling the collection, control and dispersion of resources might be punctuated by biases and indifferences by those who do not have felt interests on other's projects. However, the Umbrella organization should be allowed to continue to play a communications and co-ordination role. Secondly, there is always a danger that the existing local authority structures might feel threatened by the emergence of a structure that appears to be more powerful than they are and thus, tensions might develop. Thirdly, building along the structures that develop spontaneously in the community has an obvious advantage in that it will not disturb, but will enhance them and be in line with the meaning of development rather than imposing externally conceived structures.

It is recommended that the Bureau of Community Development should extend its function recommended in paragraph 7.2.2 towards monitoring the formation of these structures upon completing the educational programmes. It should also be in a position to organize locally based as well as elsewhere based projects specialists to take over the projects implementation phases.

7.2.4 Structuring of Accountability

The Public Service Commission should consider officially appointing the elected chairpersons/directors of progressive project oriented community organizations and remunerate them along the same lines as the chairpersons of the tribal authorities. They should then be empowered to contribute in the appraisal and evaluation of government employees assigned to their projects and programmes. This will also mean that upon their election they will be required to undergo the necessary public service orientation course specially designed for their particular vocational rank and class category and they also obviously will be on temporary employed staff category. Senior regional government officers will then be expected to liaise with this new officer for further personnel evaluation and other purposes.

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