

***CIVIC ASSOCIATIONS IN KHAYELITSHA :
TRANSITION FROM POLITICS OF RESISTANCE
TO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT***

REMBULUWANI BETHUEL NETSHISWINZHE

***A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Social Science
and Humanities, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Social Science in Social Work
Administration***

***University of Cape Town
1996***

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own work and that the assistance obtained has been in the form of professional guidance and supervision, that no part of this dissertation has been submitted in the past for a degree at any other university, and that the information used from other authors has been correctly acknowledged.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to a number of people whose contributions made this study possible. To my supervisor Dr Lionel Louw, I appreciate your support and encouragement that you gave me for the period of this research study.

I am also thankful to the Civic organisations that participated in this study, that is, Western Cape United Squatter Association (WECUSA) and South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) of Khayelitsha, it is through their cooperation and willingness to share information that this study was completed.

I also acknowledge the financial support I received from the Centre for Science and Development (CSD) towards this study.

I can also not leave out all my friends and classmates who helped with ideas and giving support. I am particularly grateful to Donald Qwalane, who as my research assistant helped in data collection.

My greatest thanks go to my parents who gave me emotional support and courage, not only in this research project, but throughout my studies.

ABSTRACT

The new political dispensation gave way to much questioning of the importance of the organs of civil society, and the role they play in development of our society. Civic Associations are but one of such institutions of civil society, and this study seeks to explore the role they will continue to play in a post apartheid South Africa (SA). Civics truly played a major role in bringing about democracy in our country. Now the political changes that have occurred forces Civics to redefine their role within a democratic society. Widespread speculations are that Civics will focus in development and/or that they will be watchdogs to government.

This is a qualitative study and data was collected mainly through interviews (structured and unstructured) and use of secondary sources. The study was conducted in Khayelitsha in the period July to December 1995, before the local government elections. Two Civic organisations participated in this study, that is, Western Cape United Squatter Association (WECUSA) and South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) of Khayelitsha. The respondents were mainly members of the executive committees of the two organisations. The sample was drawn through non-probability sampling, using purposive and snowball sampling. This allowed the researcher an opportunity to choose respondents who best meet the purpose of the study.

The major conclusions of the study are that Civics are aware of the need to redefine their role, though to date they have achieved very little in this regard. The perception is that Civics will continue to exist, and shift their focus to development work. The other role that Civics see themselves as playing is that of acting as watchdogs to government. This view is rejected by some people because of the close relationship that Civics have with the political parties. Civics are aligned to specific political parties, for example, both Civics (WECUSA and SANCO) who participated in this study are aligned to the African National Congress (ANC). In the local government elections, these Civics canvassed people to vote for the ANC.

The findings of the study have also shown that Civics are playing a significant role in their communities. They are concerned with provision of basic services such as water, electricity, building of roads, schools and health facilities. The major challenge that still remains facing Civics is for them to redefine their role and the question of their alliance with political parties.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

- (i) Declaration
- (ii) Acknowledgements
- (iii) Abstract

CHAPTER ONE

PAGE NO.

1.	Introduction	01
1.1	Civic associations in transition	03
1.2	Motivation for study and research questions	10
1.7	Summary	11

CHAPTER TWO

2	Literature review	12
2.1	Historical background of Civics	12
2.2	Civics in the 90s : Current trends	19
2.3	Civics as organs of civil society	27
2.4	Summary	32

CHAPTER THREE

3	Community development	34
3.1	Defining community development	37
3.2	Basic elements of community development	40
3.3	Theories of community development	44
3.3.1	Growth centred and spend versus service development approach	44
3.3.2	Human scale development	46
3.3.3	People centred development	49
3.3.4	Social development	51
3.3.4.1	Strategies for social development	53
3.4	Summary	57

CHAPTER FOUR

4.	Community profile	58
4.1	Historical background	58
4.2	Population	59
4.3	Housing	60
4.4	Economy	67
4.5	Education	68

4.6	Health	69
4.7	Welfare	71
4.8	Leadership	76
4.9	Summary	78

CHAPTER FIVE

5.1	Study design	79
5.1.1	Research methodology	79
5.1.2	Research population and sampling	80
5.1.3	Data collection methods	82
5.1.4	Reliability and validity of methods	83
5.1.5	Data analysis	85
5.2	Significance of the study	85
5.3	Aims and objectives of the study	87
5.4	Limitations of the study	88
5.5	Presentation and analysis of findings	90
Theme 1	The role of Civics in a community	91
Theme 2	The structure and functioning of Civics	121

Theme 3	The future of Civics in a democratic society	138
5.6	Summary	146

CHAPTER SIX

6	Conclusions and recommendations	147
6.1	Conclusions	147
6.1.1	Role of Civic Associations	147
6.1.2	The structure, nature and functioning of Civics	150
6.1.3	The future of Civics	151
6.2	Recommendations	155
6.2.1	Defining the new role	155
6.2.2	Re-defining the relationship with political parties	155
6.2.3	A move towards greater co-operation	156
7	References	157

Appendix : Interview schedule

List of Tables

		Page No
Table	1 Houses built in status areas	61
	2 Houses built by Developers	62
	3 Houses built in Non-Status areas	63
	4 Number of Shacks in Serviced sites	64
	5 Number of Houses in Unserviced sites	65
	6 Number of Shacks in Backyards	66
	7 Housing needs	66
	8 Number of educational institutions	68
	9 Health facilities	70
	10 Welfare organisations and informal groups	72
	11 Government departments	78

List of abbreviations and acronyms used

ACA	Alexandra Civic Association
ACO	Alexandra Civic Organisation
ANC	African National Congress
HSD	Human Scale Development
IDASA	Institute for Democratic Alternative in South Africa
IDT	Independent Development Trust
KHARA	Khayelitsha Residents Association
KDF	Khayelitsha Development Forum
NICRO	National Institute for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
PCD	People Centred Development
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SANCO	South African National Civic Organisation
SHAWCO	Student Health and Welfare Centres Organisation
UDF	United Democratic Front
WECUSA	Western Cape United Squatter Association

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

" It is generally believed that Civics will not survive long in the new democratic order. They will be replaced, it is argued by new and democratic local government institutions " (Shubane, 1994 :40).

The future of Civics like many other organisations, for example, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), has come under scrutiny as a result of the political changes that have occurred in the country. It is the focus of this study to sketch the current role of Civic organisations and to research the role that key leaders of Civics in Khayelitsha perceive these organisations will continue to play in our new democratic society. Civics have in the past been and are still recognised as sub-structures of certain political parties, for example, the South African National Civics Organisation (SANCO) is ideologically aligned to the African National Congress (ANC) and there are other Civics which are aligned to other political organisations. Their essence in the past was to a greater extent to dismantle apartheid. That has been achieved, and the question is what position should Civics take in a post apartheid South Africa ?

Most Civics' leaders took senior government positions immediately after April 1994 general elections and the question is whether that was an indication that Civics no longer have a role to perform ? The study will try to answer these and other questions about the future of Civics.

The major task confronting the Government of National Unity (GNU) is to reconstruct and develop the country, hence the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). Civic Associations are central components of civil society and they can therefore play a major role in community development. This study is accordingly trying to locate Civics within the field of development, but that will depend on amongst other things the question of whether Civics will continue to exist and the role they will choose and allowed to play.

1.1 CIVIC ASSOCIATIONS IN TRANSITION

As our society is undergoing transition, that is, moving from the apartheid era to democracy, institutions which exist are also compelled to change their make up and utility. There is no institution which can expect to escape the transformational process and continue to function as in the days of yore. Some organisations will have to continue to exist, most will change drastically while unfortunately others will have to dissolve.

"Civics are local social movements accountable to local communities. They have elected executives, formal constitutions and their organisational structures are based on active grassroots participation by membership" (Cas Coovadia, in Swilling et al, 1991:336).

Swilling (1993:16) defined Civics as "localised grassroots organisational structures that are accountable to local constituencies, seek to address the local grievances that residents have with their conditions of daily living, and are located outside formal governmental, party-political or development agency institutions".

The Oxford Dictionary of Current English (1992) defines the concept **Civic** to mean **Citizens and Association** to mean a group organised for a joint purpose. This simply means that Civic Association is a group of citizens organised for a specific purpose.

The central element in these definitions is that Civics are grassroots social movements, formed by residents themselves at the local level. Their major focus is to organise and mobilise communities around issues such as, housing, land, health, welfare, education, crime and local government functioning.

In this study the word Civics will be used interchangeable with Civic Association.

Civic Associations played a very meaningful role in bringing about democracy. It is in this way that they have come to be associated more with political activities than with community development. Civics in the past were located within a political resistance paradigm as opposed to development. Their core function was then to fight against the apartheid regime. There are arguments that, it is the location of Civics in politics that raises questions about their future existence. Civics however, cannot be blamed for their political orientation, because it is true that politics and development cannot be

divorced from each other, the two are intimately related. This is particularly so in our South African context due to the fact that, lack of development in townships and rural areas was the result of political reasons.

In the apartheid era the government purposefully neglected black communities, at the expense of developing white communities. One is therefore saying that the political struggle of creating equality and freedom has been achieved, and Civics should stop engaging in party politics, but in societal politics. The government is no longer the enemy, and the struggle has thus to take a different turn, it is now the struggle for reconstruction and development of our country. This suggests that Civics will have to adopt a new role within the context of a democratic society, and what that role will be is the focus of this study.

Ndukwana (1994 :20) noted that " in the 90s Civics will need to play a role in development. In order to do that they will need to understand the obstacles to development and deal with them." He went on to say that Civics must promote peace so that they can deal with development issues that are important to the community. Civics like many other organisations which, if they fail to develop a clear vision about their future, will not survive the new democratic order. If Civics want to ensure their continued existence, they have to understand the rapidly changing and often unpredictable environment, and be able to formulate strategies to adjust.

Civic Associations are community based organisations and they are in this way in a very strategic position to play a pivotal role in development. Heymans (1993:1) noted that, "it has become well-nigh impossible to discuss, plan or implement development in South Africa without engaging with, or at least having to take account of civics associations". It has come to be accepted in theory and in practice that development should involve community based structures. Community participation is the buzz word in development circles in recent times.

Civics have tried in the past to play a major part in advocating for provision of services and organising communities around development issues. The environment was however not conducive to function effectively. The major problem was that the apartheid government did not recognise Civics and they were seen as the enemy. Civics directed their struggle towards the local government structures and this was particularly so because most of the problems they had to deal with were the consequences of apartheid policies, for example, the issue of high rentals and poor quality of services in townships.

The problem with Civics in their formation years was that they were not properly organised and they did not have a clear programme of action. They were basically involved in single-issue campaigns, for example, rent boycotts.

The environment in which Civics operate has changed. In the past Civics had to struggle for recognition, now they are being regarded as being legitimate structures that represent people at local level. The new dispensation allows organs of civil society to operate freely, and there is a willingness for cooperation between different stakeholders. The new role of Civics will be shaped by how they see themselves and what they want to be. If they see themselves as formations of civil society their role will be to address the development needs of the marginalised sections (Mayekiso,1993).

What is this concept called civil society ? Botha (1992:59) stated that, "civil society can be conceptualised as the matrix of private organisations, standing outside of state structures and political parties, which embody different, often opposing special interests and as the institutional arrangements which sustain the autonomy and the capacity of these organisations to act in furtherance of their interests". Civics are one of the structures of civil society, and others can include, trade unions, religious groups, women and youth organisations.

The other view is of Civics seeing themselves as "watchdogs" whereby their duty will be to safeguard democratic principles. There are however, strong arguments that Civics are too partisan to act that role. In the past Civics managed to act that role, they served as watchdogs over councils, and contested the councils' claim to represent the community (Seekings, in Moss

and Obery, 1992). This was particularly possible because local council authorities were undemocratic, and Civics represented alternatives to these structures. Civics claim that they are independent of political parties but in reality this is not the case. As indicated earlier there are Civics which are aligned to certain political parties. The question of whether Civics will continue to be watchdogs to government is debatable and this study will try to explore this further.

One of the major challenges facing Civics is the question of who they represent ? This will remain a major concern, especially if Civics will choose developmental route. Civic leaders often say in public statements that they represent "the community", however it appears to be more of a community of interests than a geographical one. To illustrate this, a case study in Alexandra shows that from the 1980's there were a number of Civic organisations, namely, Alexandra Civic Association (ACA), Alexandra Civic Organisation (ACO) and Alexandra Land and property Owners (Madiba, 1994). All these Civics represented different constituencies and in most cases it is in terms of political ideologies. In Khayelitsha where this study was conducted there are a number of Civics, for example, South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO), Western Cape United Squatter Association (WECUSA), Lingeletu for the Community, United Residents Front (URF), Khayelitsha Residence Association (KHARA).

A general understanding is that Civics represent masses of people at grassroots level and the question of who these people are depends on what Civic it is and where it is located. While Civics often claim to represent the community in a broader sense, this is not true in practical terms due to the fact that Civics are aligned to specific political parties. This led to a situation where each political party has its own Civic organisation. The advantage for political parties was that Civics provided mass based support.

Civics authentically epitomise people at locality level, and consequently community development cannot be seen as complete without the involvement of such structures. In most parts of the country, Civics enjoy legitimacy and support from the people. People associate themselves with Civics and they presume that Civics will continue to advocate for their needs.

Civics as all other structures in South Africa, are now challenged to start asking themselves about what contribution are they going to make in the implementation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP).

1.2 MOTIVATION FOR STUDY AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The reason for conducting this study stems from the significance role that Civics have played in the past. Civics were involved in resisting apartheid, negotiations with various stakeholders and identifying developmental needs. Their experience can be relevant in development, for example, they enjoy acceptance and legitimacy in communities. They were largely involved in negotiating tenders with building construction companies.

It is also this period of transition that necessitates this kind of study. The transition from apartheid to democracy has resulted in institutions of all kinds having to undergo transformation. At a personal level there is also motivation in that the researcher has been involved in working with Civics in the past. One is therefore inquisitive to understand the impact of changes that have occurred on the future role of Civics.

The study will try to seek answers to the following questions about the future role of Civics :

- * Are Civic Associations expected to continue to exist and play a meaningful role in a post apartheid South Africa ?
- * What role are they going to play, will Civics establish themselves as organs of civil society or will they be replaced by democratic local government structures ?

- * What is the structure, nature and functioning of Civics ?
- * What will be the relationship between Civics, local government and other community structures, for example RDP Forums ?
- * How do Civics see their role in the implementation of the RDP ?

1.3 SUMMARY

This chapter argues that the democratic dispensation forces organisations in our society to redefine their role. The challenge for Civics is to move from the politics of resistance to community development. It is however, not clear what role Civics will continue to play in a post-apartheid era. The major focus of this study is to research about the role Civics will play, and whether they will continue to exist.

Civic Associations played a major role in bringing about democracy in this country, and it is this period of transition that necessitates this kind study. The assumptions are that Civics will move from party politics and establish themselves as organs of civil society in which case their role will be to focus in community development.

Chapter two is about literature review, focusing on historical background of Civics and current developments on the state of Civics.

CHAPTER TWO

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF CIVIC ASSOCIATIONS

The study seeks to explore the role that Civics will play in our new democratic society. It is therefore important to begin this section by focusing on how Civics came about, the role they played in the past and how that has changed over the time.

The re-establishment of Civics can be traced from the period of the student uprisings in the middle of 1970s. The June 1976 Student uprising set the scene for continuous mass resistance against the apartheid regime. It was particularly students who were organised by that time and according to Shubane & Madiba (1992:2), "it was therefore essential that the 'parents' or 'residents' also participate. Civics emerged to fill the gap in the armoury of township resistance created by the lack of organisation among the parents." Similar to student organisations the focus of Civics was to oppose the apartheid regime.

The other important impetus in the formation of Civics was the increasing organisation of workers into trade unions in the late 70s (Shubane & Madiba,1992). Trade unions collaborated with organs of civil society such as Civics and other community based organisations, in their endeavour to pressurise the business sector and government to meet their demands for better wages and improved working conditions. There was an interlink between the struggle of workers and the problems of poor living conditions in the townships. This automatically resulted in strong collaboration between trade unions, political parties and other social movements in the communities. The strong relationship that existed between trade unions and community organisations was evident through consumer boycotts which followed strike actions by workers. Community members supported strike actions by workers and other defiance campaigns that were organised. According to Shubane & Madiba (1992:2) Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation is a prime example of a Civic which resulted from solidarity action between workers and communities.

The re-emergence of Civics also coincided with the prolonged period of decline in the already limited financial viability of the townships (Shubane & Madiba, 1992). The socio-economic conditions in the townships were appalling, such as, poor provision of facilities and housing rentals that were un-affordable. Such conditions were largely attributed to apartheid policies

in the past, for example, a policy of separate development which gave attention to the white areas at the expense of black townships and rural areas. And the other example is a policy which regarded Black people as temporary residents in cities.

The focused attention of Civics in their formative years was to fight apartheid. Civics brought people and organisations together at a local level. They also engaged in various indirect defiance campaigns against the apartheid system, for example, they organised boycotts of white business, work stay-aways, education boycotts, and they strongly stood against Black Local Authorities (BLAs). In that historical period it was an inescapable necessity to have resistance to apartheid as the primary focus in the existence of Civics. The environment was not conducive for development to take place.

The role that Civics played in ushering the new democracy cannot be underestimated. Their struggle was political and that cannot be seen in isolation from development. This view is also shared by Meintjies (1994:12) when referring to the political function of CBOs by stating that, "the political function of CBOs can be related to development in two ways : first, real development cannot take place in the absence of democratic elbow room and respect for human rights, and second, the political action undertaken by CBOs is usually coupled with a focus on the issue of resource distribution in South

Africa. In essence the political role of Civics had a development orientation. It is for this reason that there are assumptions that the role of Civics in a democratic society will be to focus on development issues.

The introduction of the Black Local Authorities (BLAs), as Shubane et al (1992) see it, deepened the sense of injustice amongst already politicised township residents who insisted that they were being asked to participate in bestowing a blessing on their own oppression, directly precipitating boycott campaigns and the emergence of organisations to lead them. The illegitimacy of the BLAs strengthened the existence of Civics. This point is also shared by Seekings (in Moss & Obery, 1992:216) when he stated that, "Civics existed because local government institutions were seen as illegitimate and credible political parties were banned or more recently, preoccupied with national issues".

In the early 1980s Civics and other community organisations launched the United Democratic Front (UDF). The UDF was in the forefront to ensure that Civics are established in every township in the country. Shubane & Madiba (1992:4) are of the view that the formation of Civics was a key feature of resistance strategies against apartheid and the UDF was concerned to establish Civics since they provided mass based rooting character which enhanced its ability to lead the struggle against apartheid. In the days of the

UDF, Civics also operated as underground movements for political parties since they were banned.

Civics continued to gain momentum and their concerns were around political issues, especially boycotting township council elections. The introduction of a state of emergency in 1986 paralysed most Civics, but continued struggle over rents and other issues led to their prominence at the end of the decade (Seekings, in Moss & Obery,1992:217).

The motivation for the formation of Civics was not universal. Keck (1994:21), when referring to Brazil's experience, stated that "there is no single pattern for what we call urban social movements in Brazil. Virtually all of them are organised around quite concrete local problems, and most address their demands to local authorities". The same can be said about the evolution of civic movements in South Africa. Some were established to address a particular issue, for example, service charges, and they quickly disbanded after the issues were addressed. Others came about in demand of basic services, while still others were formed to oppose the BLAs. It is for the latter reason that other people argue that once democratic local government structures come into place Civics will have no role to play. These democratically elected local government structures will have legitimacy in the communities that voted them into power and will therefore assume the role fulfilled by Civics in the past. The new democratic local government structures

will in a way be a threat to the future existence of Civics. The role of Civics was both to weaken the government at local level and to raise the political awareness of township populations to prepare them for higher forms of struggle.

The re-emergence of Civics in South Africa is related to the experience in other countries, Brazil being one of the typical examples. In Brazil, as noted by Keck (1994:2), "Social movements played an important role in Brazil's lengthy transition from military to democracy. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, a variety of local initiatives arose in both urban and rural areas, mainly organised around immediate local needs such as sewers, child care and roads".

The same can also be said about the issue of the relationship between these social movements, trade unions and political parties. According to Keck (1994), during the formative years of the Workers' Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores or PT) it derived its identity from the links with the organised social movements.

" Social movements normally direct their demands at the local state agencies responsible for that particular service - be it housing, sanitation, public works, education, health, or some other " (Keck, 1994:3). In South Africa Civics also emerged in response to addressing poor conditions in their local communities, and the target was also the local government authorities.

The challenge for Civics, and other social movements is to re-establish a new role within a democratic society. Their role in the days of oppression and during the transition to democracy has been recognised. When referring to Brazil's experience Keck (1994:4) noted that, " conventional wisdom has it that although social movements were important during the transition period, they became considerably less so after Brazil returned to democratic rule". The same argument is shared by Swilling (1993:17) when he stated that, "the international literature on social movements repeatedly points to the fact that social movements rise up to challenge an existing social order and decline after social change ". It is the crux of this study to research the future of Civics and the role they will continue to play.

2.2 CIVICS IN THE 90'S : CURRENT TRENDS

"The aim is a totally new and just constitutional dispensation in which every inhabitant will enjoy equal rights and opportunity in every sphere of endeavour" De Klerk, as State President on the opening of parliament, Feb. 1990 (Smith, 1990:1).

It is this famous speech by De Klerk which drastically led to changes in the political paradigm in which Civics and other organisations have been operating. The unbanning of political organisations together with the release of political prisoners and most importantly the release of Nelson Mandela, gave way for a negotiated settlement which was ultimately achieved. We now have a democratic government, which Civics themselves played a role in its formation. All these changes challenge the previous strategies and approaches used by Civics in the past and raises debate on their future.

In the 90s the continued prominence of Civics resulted from the state's search for credible community representatives to deal with (Seekings, in Moss & Obery, 1992:216). In this way Civics became important organisations in the communities, being involved in negotiations over rents, development, service provision and the restructuring of local government. Circumstances ensured that civics would play a role in the transition period, but their role beyond that is contested and is very unclear. In the '1990s Civics were receiving funds

from the international community and other organisations such as Independent Development Trust (IDT). They were then able to sustain themselves as organisations and to a limited extent facilitate delivery of tangible benefits to communities and that gave them more credibility.

These conditions have changed and funds are now being channelled to the RDP. According to Jacobs (pseud.) (1992), Civics will lose their status as sole channels into communities for business, government and aid agencies.

This poses a threat to the significance of Civics and the role they will continue to play in a democratic society. This view is also shared by Seekings (in Moss & Obery, 1992:224) when he stated that, "Civics may play a key role in the unfolding transitional period, but their role in a post apartheid South Africa is uncertain".

Jacobs (pseud.) (1992) has seen the massive centralisation of Civics through SANCO as a threat to their own existence. According to him SANCO's constitution transformed a loosely federated movement into a hierarchical organisation. The constitution of SANCO restricts the affiliates to function in accordance with national policies and principles and this ignores the diversity at local level. For example, clause 22.2 of SANCO's constitution states that, "the policies, principles and attitudes of the functionaries of all such structures shall not be contrary to the national position of SANCO" (SANCO's constitution). When SANCO was formed, it adopted a unitary constitution that defined local Civics as "branches".

The centralisation of Civics however, has some advantages. Heymans (1993:17) noted that, "co-ordinated policy formulation would enable Civics to pursue their objectives more forcefully and with the backing of consolidated structures ". There are however many Civics which refused to join SANCO, for example, in a survey done by Cullinan (1992) in the Western Cape, when he asked Enoch Madywabe of the Western Cape United Squatters Association (WECUSA) about the chances of them joining SANCO he replied that,

We are not part of SANCO or any other organisation. We are independent. As long as the shack dwellers still exist, we will keep on fighting for the homeless people. Our needs are not the same. The people living in houses want services. But we have to fight for the land first. After the land, we then struggle for it to be serviced. After that, we then struggle to build proper houses. There is a big difference between us and the people living in townships.

There are three other major views which characterise the future role of Civics :

Nzimande & Skosana (1992:26) hold amongst other views that, " if Civics are part of the liberation movement, for example the ANC, they must therefore subordinate their programmes to its priorities". This view raises many questions, especially now that the ANC is the majority party in government, for example, which interest should Civics represent, that is, those of the local residents or the ANC ?

The other view argues that Civics are important formations of civil society and in this regard, according to Mayekiso (1993) their role will be to address development needs of the marginalised sectors of the population. It is this view which seems to be widely accepted and this study is centred around finding out if this is the direction Civics in Khayeltsha are likely to take.

The third view which is also supported by many people is of Civics being regarded as going to be "watchdogs" for democracy with the democratic government coming to power. According to this view Civics will, for example, ensure that elected municipalities remain accountable to those who elected them and run a clean administration (Anon, 1990, in Shubane & Madiba, 1992:6).

Another challenge facing the future of Civics is the relationship they will have to establish with local government authorities. This is more so now after democratic local government structures have come into being. It is no longer time for Civics to organise rent boycotts, but rather to facilitate provision of services, for example, Civics have started to support the Masakhane campaign established to encourage people to pay for their services.

Shubane & Madiba (1992:8) are of the view that "there is an agreement that Civics are not local government in waiting, rather they are groups whose primary focus is to ensure that municipalities remain sensitive to the needs of the poor and marginalised sections of the community".

SANCO together with Urban Foundation have organised strategic planning workshops in other parts of the country focusing specifically on the future role of Civic Associations (*Focus*,1994). The general perceptions in these workshops were that Civics will have to adopt a new role and a new relationship with local government structures and other community organisations.

In a strategic planning workshop for Civics held in November 1992 (SANCO, Southern Natal, and Urban Foundation) it came out clearly that in the 1990s Civics have started to focus on development issues. It was identified that Civics are now concerned about their communities and issues that affect them in their day to day lives, for example, housing, land, unemployment, crime and caring for the environment.

According to Cas Coovadia (in Swilling & Humphries,1992) many Civics now see themselves as involved in the process of development, addressing issues stated above. This is a shift from previous involvement in mobilising and organising communities around political issues. He went further to say that development strategy should be based on building community richness for development during the current period. Community based organisations such as Civics, therefore, have a central role to play in community development.

The general understanding is that the political objectives of Civics have been achieved. What is left is for Civics to strive towards the development of their communities, that is, to achieve development objectives. Ndukwana (1994:8) put it clearly that "old Civics tended to be more political, while recently established Civics tend to focus on development issues". This implies, therefore, that old Civics have to critically re-assess their new role. Civics have to understand that the environment in which they function has changed.

"The key focus in the debate about the future of Civics is the transition from protest to development" (Shubane, 1994:37). Although the impression is often created that Civics intend abandoning their protest-resistance role in favour of an exclusively or predominantly development role, there is little evidence to indicate that. According to Shubane (1994) Civics seem to want to take on both concerns, with the result that considerable tension is generated. In the local government elections SANCO, for example, campaigned for the ANC and this has complicated their recent claim to become non-partisan and inclusive of people of all political persuasions.

Civics participated in the local government elections by forwarding their candidates to stand under the political parties they are aligned to. This shows that at the moment Civics are not yet ready to break away from party politics. When Tsenoli (1994:21) was asked about the future of Civics and how they have been doing since the April 1994 national elections he explained that,

The climate is one in which it is easier to mobilise and organise. Key ongoing issues for SANCO include the involvement of our structures at various levels in the implementation of the local government Transitional Act. Our campaign for community responsive banking is ongoing, we have been centrally involved in ensuring that the implementation of the RDP is people driven and lastly we are interacting with various Ministries to ensure that the policy frameworks which are emerging are Civics friendly.

All that indicates that Civics have started to engage in development activities. Tsenoli also shares the view that Civics are not going to replace local government by running in the elections. Their concern is to make these institutions friendly to Civics. He also went further to dispute the perception that local government elections will make Civics unnecessary. According to him the concern for Civics is good local governance, and this means that community structures will interact with formal local public authorities from a position of strength.

There is relationship between social, political and economic development even though the values, objectives and action systems for each of these focuses in society might differ markedly. Politics and development are intimately related and cannot be divorced from each other. For example, problems such as unemployment, poverty and crime cannot be confronted without intervention at the political level (Gray, 1993). This study is therefore not trying to separate the political role of Civics from development, the purpose of the study is to explore the political role that Civics will continue to play and its relation to community development. The political role of Civics is rooted in their commitment to social justice, peace and stability and the improvement of the standards in society.

This section has highlighted that, there is an agreement that the role of Civics will change, but there is no consensus about a single new role they will have to take. What is evident is that community development will be prominent in whatever dominant role a specific Civic Association determines for itself.

The next section will focus on Civics as organs of civil society. The current emphasis on the significance of organs of civil society serve as the basis for the continued existence of Civics and other community based organisations.

2.3 CIVICS AS ORGANS OF CIVIL SOCIETY

Civil society is a modern concept which is related to the democratisation of society. It is associated with the notion of rights which citizens have. In a democratic society for example, people have the right to organise themselves outside the state and political organisations, the state allows people the right to choose, equal claim upon the state. The idea of civil society is rooted in the belief that people are capable of organising themselves independently of governmental systems and structures.

The apartheid government in South Africa has destroyed the space where voluntary associations can lay down the parameters of public discourse and hold the state responsible to the people. This was done by the banning of political organisations, restricting freedom of association, detention of the leaders of Civics, political parties, religious groups and of other community organisations involved in the struggle for human rights. One will, therefore, agree more with Chandhoke (1992:27) when he noted that, "the origins of the recovery of civil society are political. The focus of this sphere has been a reaction to the "overreach" of the state in East Europe ". The same applies in South Africa where organs of civil society, such as Civics, came about as a reaction to the oppression of people by the state. These organisations came about to mobilise and organise people against the government which was not responsive to the needs of the majority.

Omvedt (in Chandhoke, 1992:24) described organs of civil society as, "social movements in the sense of having a broad overall organisation, structure, and ideology aiming at social change".

The importance of the organs of civil society has been realised in many countries world wide. Effective and efficient service delivery and sustainable development would be significantly achieved through the involvement of organs of civil society at all stages of development. Community participation is the key to the development process, and that cannot be achieved without the involvement of community based organisations. Schreiner (1993:72) noted that, "the omission of civil society from development will result in a highly bureaucratised and inefficient state delivery system". A good example is the under utilisation of RDP funds and the delay in its implementation which can be largely attributed to the red tape attached to the whole process. Organs of civil society in a way also exist to fill the gap which results from the highly bureaucratised system of government and political parties which are far removed from their constituencies.

Chandhoke (1992 :30) also noted that,

Social movements in civil society simply reject the right of the state to intervene in their projects, and thereby oppose all efforts of the state to control social life. These new social movements have thus relocated the discourse of democracy from the political to the civil domain. This marks the return to the classical liberal tradition, that a democratic state is not one which is limited not only by constitution and institutions such as parliaments, and political parties, but by associational life that occurs in the space beyond the purview of the state.

It is in this way that Civic Associations see themselves as going to be watchdogs to government. There is a general understanding that the state cannot be trusted with the task of managing the lives of the people without someone watching over them.

The discourse of civil society provides a space where people in their local communities can pursue their self defined ends. This in line with the principles of democracy, in which people have the right to participate in activities which directly affects their lives.

Since the early 1990s South Africa has witnessed the mushrooming of organs of civil society through the re-emergence of many community based organisations. There are also many regional and national forums which were established to coordinate development, for example, National Housing Forum, National Economic Forum, National Electrification Forum, etc. According to the RDP (1994:131) "many social movements and CBOs will be faced with the challenge of transforming their activities from a largely oppositional mode into a more developmental role". It is further stated that organs such as the National Economic Forum constitute important opportunities for organs of civil society to participate in and influence policy-making. The organisation of civil society provides the government with an opportunity to consult widely with the masses on policy issues. Organs of civil society are, therefore, important partners with government in the planning and delivering of services to the community.

According to Schreiner(1993:67), these forums which are formed by members of civil society share much in common and they are intended to achieve at least the following :

- * To bring together relevant actors in a representative capacity in legitimate structures.
- * To facilitate negotiation both between parties to these forums and between these forums and state.
- * To curtail unilateral restructuring and secret lobbying.
- * Through broad cooperation, to formulate coherent and sustainable development approaches.

Njobe (1994) noted that the ultimate challenge for Civics in South Africa is to create a strong civil society which will remain the basis for their own effective existence. In this way Civics will become important component of civil society when it comes to civic issues. There is however, still much confusion about this because while some Civics participated in the local government elections on their own, others will did so through the political parties they are aligned to, for example, SANCO forwarded its candidates to ANC, and during the elections they mobilised people to vote for the ANC. This means that Civics are still stuck in party politics, and unless they break loose from political parties, they will not be able to function as fully-fledged organs of civil society.

THE STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF CIVICS

The strengths and weaknesses of Civics will vary with local contexts in which they operate. The strengths of Civics lie in their ability to enter into negotiations with various stakeholders in addressing community needs. Civics feature in negotiations with the state and other institutions over issues such as rents, provision of services, for example, houses, water, electricity, roads and the restructuring of local government. In most of these situations Civics negotiate from positions of strength and they are able to set conditions which best represent the interests of the community (Botha, 1992). For an example, Civics have proven to be in positions to negotiate with developers that they should utilise local labour and this helps to create jobs for community members. In some areas Civics have been receiving funds to be used in community projects. In such situations they were able to facilitate delivery of services in their communities.

According to Botha (1992) the most important strength of Civics remains their legitimacy. Civics have derived considerable legitimacy from their successes in securing improvements in local living conditions and in isolating illegitimate local government structures.

The weakness of Civics has to do basically with the issue of autonomy. As long as Civics are seen as sub-structures of certain political parties they will not claim to be representatives of the whole community. Another weakness is emerging in the wake of legitimate government structures being established. Funds that were formally channelled directly to NGOs and civil society institutions such as Civics, are now given to government. Civics, therefore, do not have enough operating funds on a sustained basis.

2.4 SUMMARY

Chapter two has focused on the historical background of Civic Associations, current developments and discussion of Civics as organs of civil society. It has been pointed out that the origin of Civics and the role they used to play in the past was political in nature, that is, they were located within the resistance paradigm. As a result, Civics collaborated with political parties to fight against the apartheid regime.

In the 90s the political environment started to change. The government recognised Civics as legitimate representatives of the of their communities. Civics then became involved in negotiations about restructuring of local government and also in development projects. At the present moment we have democratically elected government structures, and this forces Civics to

redefine their role within the new socio-political context. Indications are that Civics view themselves as organs of civil society, and they will play a major role in addressing civic issues of a developmental nature. The democratisation process has resulted in the recognition of the role of organs of civil society in the development process.

Chapter three will focus on community development and more specifically on theories of development. This Chapter is particularly important in establishing the place of Civics within development field.

CHAPTER THREE

3. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

" After the Second World War, the western countries became increasingly concerned with the development of Third World countries" (Ferrinho, 1991:20). It is in this way that development of third world countries has been shaped by colonialism and much of the problems experienced in those countries, including lack of development, are attributed to colonial history. Western countries had so much influence and control over developing countries to an extent that they were able to dictate how development should take place in those countries. This was so even long after independence, that is, through neo-colonialism, imperialism and structural adjustment programmes.

According to Ferrinho (1991:20), " the Western concept of development was identified with technological progress and economic growth". In order to help developing countries, the western countries pushed for industrialisation to happen in third world countries. For this to take place they granted large amounts of loans to developing countries, and this latter led to debt crisis in many countries. Instead of development to take place in the third world countries, the results were continuous disparities in growth between developed and developing countries.

Many questions can still be asked even today about the way development has progressed, why third world countries are still living in poverty, what has been happening to poverty, what has been happening to unemployment and to inequality ? According to Friedman (in Seers, 1971:30) if one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the result "development", even if per capital income doubled. This means that the approaches that were used were not relevant to advance development in the third world countries. The first world countries were not interested in the development of poor countries either.

The approaches adopted by western countries put emphasis on economic growth and as noted by Ferrinho (1991:21), "development embraces not only economic growth, but also any other processes contributing to generate a life which people themselves define as a better one". One of these processes is participation of people in the actual process of development. It is not only resources that are important to development, but the process in which they are provided. There is no easier way to destruct development than to deny people an opportunity to participate in the activities that directly affects their lives.

Economic development cannot be separated from development of the society as a whole. To put emphasis on accumulation of wealth as development is like trying to separate economic needs from other needs such as social and political. Development is not simply an economic issue since it places people at the centre of planning and is concerned with the overall quality of their lives (Gray, 1993). Economic growth should therefore not be promoted at the expense of people, that is, economic growth is not panacea. It should also be noted that resources and technology alone cannot change the lives of people without their active involvement in the whole process. According to Gran (1983:2) the principal problem for human development are large concentration of power in government and corporations, the ideologies, economic doctrines they claim and the process of exclusion they practice. Political and economic power is still concentrated in first world countries, and those countries continue to ensure that developing countries depend on them for their livelihood.

The conventional approaches to development such as modernisation and dependency theory, ignored the needs of the people and the role they can play in development process. Development in the past was not centred around people, but it was focused on the economy, it was people who were supposed to serve the economy and not vice versa. According to Ferrinho (1991:22) "the key people for speeding development is not politicians, but the

common people themselves, whose motivation or lack of it, will determine how far the goals set by politicians will or will not be attained". This emphasises the importance of community participation which will be discussed in detail later on in this chapter. Development cannot happen without the involvement of people. It has come to be accepted by a growing number of theorists that people are the centre and drive of development. The buzzword in development circles today is community participation.

3.1 DEFINING COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Community development as a concept has been defined differently by various people.

The following are some of the definitions used :

- * " Community development refers to the deliberate process by community people to work together to guide the future of their communities and development of corresponding set of techniques for assisting community people in such a process " (Cary, 1989:1).

- * " Community development is a process designed to create conditions of economic and social progress for the whole community with active participation and the fullest possible reliance upon the community initiative " (Dunham, 1970).

- * " Community development is a process which through consciousness raising, promotes and utilizes human resources, leading to the empowerment of individuals and communities so that they can understand and solve their problems and create new circumstances for their livelihood " (Martin Costa & Serrano Garcia, 1983, in Cox, et al,1987:362).
- * " Development is the process by which the members of society increase their personal and institutional capacities to mobilize and manage resources to provide sustainable and justly distributed improvements in their quality of life consistent with their own aspirations " (Korten, 1990).
- * Biddle & Biddle (1965:78) defined Community development as a social process by which human beings can become more competent to live with and gain some control over local aspects of a frustrating and changing world.
- * According to the United Nations, Community development embraces the "process by which the efforts of the people themselves are joined with those of the government authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation and enable them to contribute to national process" (Ferrinho, 1991:40).

* Community development is also defined as "a movement designed to promote better living for the whole community with the active participation and, if possible on the initiative of the community, but if this initiative is not forthcoming spontaneously, by the use of techniques for arousing and stimulating it in order to serve the active and enthusiastic response of the movement " (Roberts, 1979: 175).

Important to all these definitions, is the involvement of local people in activities to improve their living standards. Participation is the basic tenant of what is considered development. This is the radical move from theories of the past which put emphasis on accumulation of wealth and economic growth as what development is. The process is also largely rested on the initiative of local people to take efforts towards their own betterment. In this sense development is not about handouts, but rather a process which can be sustainable in itself and which is about consciousness raising to help people realise their needs.

The definition of community development to be used in this study is the one which sees the process as one of meeting the basic needs of people through their active involvement and partnership with governmental authorities.

3.2 BASIC ELEMENTS OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

These definitions given above share in common the basic elements of what is considered development. These include, community participation, community as the unit of action, local initiative and leadership, and use of resources from both within and outside the community (Cary, 1989).

(i) Community participation.

This is the central element of community development, that is, community as a whole should be involved in development activities. Community development is very much about changing the attitudes of people and that can be achieved once people are involved in development projects. Cary (1989) refers to inclusive participation which means that all segments and groups within the community are given an opportunity to take part. In most situations and more practically so, participation happens through organisations which represent people, for example, church organisations, women groups, civic organisations, school committees, and other community based organisations. It is therefore important for communities to organise themselves outside of government. Civics as organs of civil society are therefore, strategically located to facilitate community participation.

Community participation is seen differently by different people and as noted by Paul (1988:2), "some use the term to mean active participation in political decision making, and others like development economists tend to define participation in terms of the equitable sharing of the benefits of projects". What is important is however, for the community to be involved in activities that affects their lives directly or indirectly. According to Berger (1974) as quoted by Gran (1983:20), "to call for participation is to render "cognitive respect" to all those who cannot claim the position of experts... such respect is based on the understanding that every human being is in possession of the world of his own and nobody can interpret their world better than he/she can himself/herself".

The major advantage of community participation is that it promotes empowerment of community members. Once people are involved in running of their own development projects, they gain experience and exposure on a number of issues. The other advantage of community participation is that it tends to enhance project effectiveness when the involvement of beneficiaries contributes to better project design and implementation, and lead to better match of provided services with beneficiary needs and constraints (Paul, 1988).

(ii) Community as the unit of action.

"Community refers to people who live in some spatial relationship to one another and who share interests and values" (Cary, 1989:1). There are other definitions of community, and as noted by Ferrinho (1991:1) "almost all view community as a way of life defined by a set of common values and interests around which institutions are developed and which residents identify themselves, a network of social interaction..., a system of reference and a place from which a human population obtains the energy it needs to live".

The concept of community means that members of a community need to come together and act as a group in an attempt to address their needs, and according to Edwards & Jones (1976) the unitary effort they undertake is referred to as community action. Civic Associations in South Africa have managed to achieve high levels of success in terms of organising communities to take action against or for a certain move by government or business. This was evident through rent and consumer boycotts that were organised in the 1980s. The aim was to put pressure on government and/or business to meet certain demands for the people.

(iii) Local initiative and leadership.

Community development cannot be imposed from outside, it is an internal process of change that should start with local initiatives. Cary (1989:2) argues that, "the direction of development process is directed from within, the community must assume leadership positions". If local initiative is not forthcoming, it is the role of development agents to train local people and empower them on how they should deal with their situation.

(iv) The use of resources from both within and outside the community.

It is imperative for people involved in development to explore and identify resources that are needed for the process to take place. In practice, people tend to ignore to make use of existing resources within their communities, the tendency is to look for external resources. It is however true that most developing communities have fewer resources to develop themselves, but at the same time external resources should not be used at the expense of the internal ones. A good example for utilisation of both resources (external and internal) is a construction company which tries to employ local people as sub-constructors.

3.3 THEORIES OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

New theories of community development have evolved from the failures of conventional approaches of the past, for example modernisation and dependency theories.

3.3.1 GROWTH CENTRED AND SPEND VERSUS SERVICE DEVELOPMENT APPROACH

Planact* (in Moss & Obery, 1992:201-215) provides a two-fold classification of community development theory, that is, growth centred and spend, and service development approach. According to Planact*, (in Moss & Obery, 1992:201)," growth centred orientation equates development with quantitative growth of economic output and wealth generated in production. To measure this development, reference is made to productivity, technological advancement, trade volumes, markets, returns on investment, savings, investment levels and so on".

* The work compiled by Mark Swilling, but the article brings together the work of all PLANACT's staff. Ahmed Vamda and Marc Feldman assisted in facilitating staff collective discussion about the ideas of the paper.

The growth centred and spend approach is rooted within the free market principles and the assumption is that if greater wealth is generated more will trickle down to the poor section of society. This approach has failed in many developing countries, especially in South Africa because it ignored the needs of the black majority who were purposefully marginalised from the mainstream economy.

As stated by Planact, (in Moss & Obery, 1992:202) this approach reinforces marginalisation and as a result appears inherently anti-development, that is, it basically consolidates positions of those who benefited in the past, without fundamentally challenging basic power relations. The spend and service approach is located within the dependency school of thought, and as stated by Planact in Moss & Obery (1992:202) it measures development in terms of a comprehensive list of material indications. These are for example things such as homelessness, malnutrition, unemployment, low literacy, lack of skills, poverty and poor health. To address these problems the approach calls for a programme that focuses on goods and services to be "provided" to meet these needs (Planact, in Moss & Obery, 1992:202). A good example of this kind of approach in South Africa was the national food aid scheme. Millions of rands were spent on trying to feed the poor, but the very same people are still hungry even today. This approach suggests that material interventions will put everyone on an equal economic footing. It is a recipe for promoting dependency in that it does not focus on capacity building and addressing

other issues that play a role in development, for example, the question of power relations. It provides no room for the community to participate in the process of their own development.

These approaches have failed to achieve high levels of development that was to the advantage of the majority of people in developing countries.

3.3.2 HUMAN SCALE DEVELOPMENT

Massive poverty in many third world countries can be attributed to the failure of theories of the past which neglected basic needs of the people. Human Scale Development (HSD) focuses on satisfaction of fundamental human needs and favours to achieve development through active involvement of people. According to Max-Neef (1991) human needs, self reliance and organic articulations are the pillars which support HSD. The involvement of people in the development process is central to this approach. van Zyl (1994 :9) noted that, "people should be regarded not only as a useful means but as the end of the development process as a whole".

This approach becomes relevant in our society today because its emphasis is on working with community based organisations. Schlemmer (1992:17) states that, "community based organisations work on a co-operative basis and they undertake actual development projects within their communities". The

involvement of community based organisations is empowering and it enables such organisations in the long run to take effective control of development process.

It is through the use of this kind of approach that the RDP can truly be a people driven process.

BASIC PROPOSITIONS OF HUMAN SCALE DEVELOPMENT

The following are two of the basic propositions of HSD as presented by Max-Neef (1991) :

i] DEVELOPMENT IS ABOUT PEOPLE,NOT OBJECTS

This proposition gives way to development process which allows the greatest improvement in peoples' quality of life. Max-Neef is of the view that peoples' quality of life can be improved if their fundamental needs are met. His view of needs is contrary to the one held by Maslow, who categorised human needs in a hierarchical structure. According to Max-Neef (1991) there are two categories of needs, that is, axiological and existential needs. Axiological needs include the following categories of needs : subsistence, protection, affection, understanding, participation, idleness and creation. On the other hand existential needs are include needs such as of being, having, doing and interacting. Clarke (1993:10) noted that, Max-Neef understanding of fundamental needs broadens our understanding of poverty, " for it is now

becomes clear that we talk of poverties in respect of other human needs as well". This means that we cannot talk of poverty in singular, because poverty is not only lack of material goods and services. A good example is the one given by Connor (N.d.) when he stated that, "people with no opportunities for leisure activities are impoverished even though may not lack food, clothes, housing or medicine".

ii] HUMAN NEEDS ARE THE SAME IN ALL CULTURES

According to Max-Neef (1991:19), "fundamental human needs are the same in all cultures and in all historical periods, what changes and is different is the way to go about or the choice of satisfiers". This disputes the traditional notion that human needs change all the time and that they are different in each culture. It is suggested here that communities use different approaches, strategies and programmes (satisfiers) to deal with the problems they experience in their day to day living. Van Zyl (1994) defined satisfiers as the many different societal processes or practical means and ways that people (group, communities or society at large) adopt or choose to structure their lives.

The other major components of HSD are self reliance and participatory democracy. Max-Neef (1991) maintained that it is only by generating self-reliance where people assume a leading role in different domains and spaces that it is possible to promote development which meet fundamental needs. HSD is not a top down kind of approach in which people are passive recipients of welfare services. It instead promotes and encourages broad participation. Community based organisations such as Civics have a central role to play if HSD is to be followed as a model for development.

3.3.3 PEOPLE CENTRED DEVELOPMENT

This approach just like HSD, is a deviation from conventional theories of the past. It is based on the notion that theories of the past were anchored on production needs, that is, meeting the needs of industrialisation at the expense of human needs. According to Korten & Klauss (1984) People Centred Development (PCD) is an approach to development that looks to the creative initiatives of people as the primary development resource and to their material well being as the end that the development process serves. This approach maintains that development should be based on principles of participation, equity and sustainability. The approach calls for broad participation and a need to decentralise the decision-making process.

Organisations of all kinds are challenged to involve service consumers in activities that directly affect their lives. This approach criticises industrialisation as a means to development for focusing on industry over agriculture, urban over rural areas. The majority of people in developing countries yet live in rural areas and agriculture is the basis for their livelihood.

Korten & Klaus (1984), sees the role of the state as one of creating an enabling setting within which people can be more effective in meeting their needs. This supports the view that development cannot be handed out, it is rather a process which happens through the active involvement of people.

The RDP embraces most of the principles advocated by these two approaches, that is, Human Scale Development and People Centred Development. The most important one being the participation by people in the development process. "The RDP is a people driven process. The RDP is focused on our peoples' most immediate needs, and it relies in turn, on their energies to drive the process of meeting these needs" (RDP,1994:5).

Community participation can take place through community based organisations such as Civic Associations and other institutions of civil society.

3.3.4 SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT APPROACH

As indicated earlier on, development crises in many Third World countries is largely attributed to approaches and policies that failed to take into account social, economic and political conditions. Social development is a new approach to development which tries to harmonise economic and social objectives in an attempt to promote human welfare. According to Midgley (1995: 1), " the social development approach transcends the residualist - institutionalist debate by linking social welfare directly to economic development policies and programmes". Social development as defined by James Midgley (1995:25) is, " a process of planned social change designed to promote the well-being of the population as a whole in conjunction with a dynamic process of economic development". This approach is more relevant in a developing country because it emphasises that social policies and all other forms of social interventions should be compatible with economic development. According to Gray (1996), social development is a macro-policy perspective, primarily aimed at eradicating poverty in society. The emphasis of this approach is on bringing all sectors in society into interaction with one another, requiring that they work co-operatively for development to take place.

Social welfare policies in many countries have been influenced by residual and institutional approaches, and advocates of social development are now criticising these approaches for neglecting the problem of recession and structural unemployment. " The residual model to development refers to interventions that perform a secondary, safety-net function in society focusing public resources on the most needy sections of the population. In contrast, the institutional model emphasises interventions that play a "front-line" role, treating social provisions as a normal, integral part of society" (Midgley, 1996 :2). The basis of social development is that the government cannot continue to invest more money in social welfare if the economy is very low. The social development approach is rather comprehensive in nature, it encompasses socio-economic and political readjustment in order to improve the quality of life.

The socio-economic and political conditions cannot be separated from each other if development is to be achieved. Social development is different from other approaches which are used to promote well-being of members of society. Midgley (1995:23) stated that, " unlike social philanthropy and social work, social development does not cater only to needy individuals but seeks to enhance the well-being of the whole population". Social development instead focuses on the community or society as a whole. This approach seeks to enhance the well-being of the population, not just few individuals in

society. " Social development most distinctive feature is its attempt to link social and economic development efforts" (Midgley, 1995:23). Social development reduces the emphasis on economic growth as they way in which development of the society as whole can measured. It suggests that economic growth should lead to development, and vice versa. Social development approach would allow the majority of people in society to participate in the main stream of the economy, and in this way contribute to the development of the society.

3.3.4.1 STRATEGIES FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Change in society does not happen naturally, it happens through some form of intervention. Midgley (1995:102-138) presented three strategies in which social development takes place. First is the one that places primary responsibility for promoting social development on individuals, second is the strategy that stresses the role of local communities in fostering social development, and thirdly is the strategy that relies on government to promote social development.

(i) Social Development By Individuals

Individual members of society have responsibility to promote their own development. This means that individuals have to take initiatives to facilitate the development process. Midgley (1995:103) stated that, "proponents of this approach believe that the welfare of the whole society is enhanced when individuals strive to promote their own welfare". This view is influenced by western individualist ideology, based on the capitalist economic system. According to this strategy the individual is placed with the responsibility of his/her own welfare. While this strategy is individualistic in nature, Midgley (1995:103) is of the view that, "there is a difference between an extreme laissez-faire approach and the idea that steps should be taken to help people to become self-reliant and participate effectively in the market ". There are different strategies or programmes that are used to help people become self-reliant, and according to Midgley (1995) these include, fostering an enterprise culture to promote social progress, promoting small enterprises for needy people, and promoting social welfare by enhancing individual functioning. Such programmes will contribute a great deal in enabling individuals to enter into the main stream of the economy and thereby improve their social functioning.

(ii) Social Development By Communities.

This strategy is referred to as the communitarian approach, which according to Midgley (1995) is a strategy in which social development can be best promoted by people themselves working together harmoniously within their local communities. This strategy is related to recent emphasis on the significance of organs of civil society. Institutions of civil society have a crucial role of organising communities around development issues. The notion of civil society suggests that, people and communities have an inherent capacity to organize themselves and to ensure that their basic needs are met. The emphasis is that, people should organise themselves, work together in identifying community needs and ways to address them.

There are different strategies for promoting social development through communitarian approach. Midgley (1995:115) stated three of such strategies which can be used, that is, community development, community action, and one that focuses on gender issues and the contribution women can make in development. All these strategies are putting emphasis on the major role that people in their local communities can play in an attempt to improve their social functioning.

(iii) Social Development By Governments.

This strategy is based on the statist school of thought. It is based on the belief that the state embodies the interests of society as a whole and that it has a responsibility to promote the well being of all citizens (Midgley, 1995:125). According to this approach, governments have a role of developing, formulating socio-economic policies and ensure that these policies are implemented. In a democratic country this will be done in consultation with all other stakeholders, for example, business, labour, NGOs and other institutions of civil society. Government's role in promoting social development can happen through, first, a unified socio-economic development approach, secondly, through strategies that emphasize redistribution of resources as a basic requirement for social development, and thirdly is the basic needs approach which charges governments with responsibility of ensuring that social needs of all citizens are met (Midgley,1995).

One can conclude this section on social development by stating that the well-being of the people can be best achieved by integrating the three strategies discussed here, that is, social development by individuals, communities and by governments. For development to take place, there should be partnership between various stakeholders.

3.4 SUMMARY

Chapter three has presented some perspectives on community development and focusing in great detail on current theories of community development. There are many different definitions of community development, but they all share a common understanding that community development is a process of bringing about social change in society through the involvement of people themselves in activities that will help improve their social functioning. Central to the whole process is the participation of people themselves.

The following theories of community development were discussed in this chapter, that is, growth centred and spend approach which put focus on economic growth, productivity and technological advancement as a measure of development, and service development approach which looks at material conditions as indications of development, human scale development approach which put emphasis on satisfaction of basic human needs, people centred development approach which maintains that development should be based on principles of participation, and social development approach which seeks to integrate socio-economic and political conditions for development to take place.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. COMMUNITY PROFILE OF KHAYELITSHA

This research study was conducted in Khayelitsha during the period before 1995 local government elections, that is, July to December 1995. It is, therefore, essential to provide a profile of the community of Khayelitsha. The presentation here is based on a community profile report compiled by Lingeletu West City Council in 1992. The major limitation is that the data contained in the report is not up to date. The researcher up-dated information where possible through interviews with members of staff at Lingeletu West City Council.

4.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Khayelitsha (translated as "our new home" from Xhosa language) is situated 26 kilometres from the centre of Cape Town on the white dunes of the Cape flats and is bordered by the N2 highway to the north and the False Bay to the south, with Mitchells Plain to the west.

In March 1983 Dr Piet Koornhof, the then Minister of Plural Relations announced that a black township at Swartklip, east of the coloured township of Mitchells Plain will be developed, and that was the beginning of a new housing development called Khayelitsha. The aim was to house the "legal" squatters in core houses and "illegal" squatters on site and serviced land. The original plan to move "illegal" squatters living in and around Old Crossroads to Khayelitsha never happened and became an international symbol of black poverty and resistance to resettlement. The pressure of new arrivals and the pent-up demand for housing in the overcrowded townships, swept Khayelitsha into almost instant existence (Source : Community Profile, Lingeletu West City Council :1992)

4.2 POPULATION

In 1992 the population size was estimated at 435 000 people, and by now that figure has grown tremendously due to the continuing influx of people from other regions, especially the Eastern Cape.

4.3 HOUSING

Housing in this community is one of the biggest problems, this is evident by a daily growing number of shacks.

(i) Formal housing

There were 12 873 formal houses built in Khayelitsha (period 1984 - 30 June 1992). 6 417 of these houses were built by private developers and are situated predominantly in the non-status areas*.

Of the remaining 6 456 houses within the Lingeletu West City Council jurisdiction are : 3 731 are leased

2 725 are home ownership

* refers to areas which were previously outside the jurisdiction of the Lingeletu West City Council.

(ii) Residential areas (status areas *)

Table 1 : Houses built in Status areas

Description	Number
Core-houses	5 000
Demo houses	30
Job creation	95
Self help	252
Totals	4 376

(Source : Community Profile, Lingeletu West City Council :1992)

* refers to areas within the jurisdiction of the Lingeletu West City Council.

Developers have built 1 080 houses in the Status Area.

Areas concerned are :

Table 2 : Houses built by Developers

Location	Number
Bongweni	179
Tembani	390
Washington Square	183
Khulani Park	1
Zolani Park	118
Khaya Park	145
Totals	1 016

(Source: Community Profile, Lingelethu West City Council :1992)

(iii) Residential areas (non-status)

In this area there are 4 337 houses built. The following areas are concerned :

Table 3 : Houses built in Non-Status areas

Location	Number
Town 2, Village 1	1 536
Mandela Park	2 450
Town 2, Village 4A	219
Town 2, Village 4B	132
Totals	4 337

(Source: Community Profile, Lingeletu West City Council :1992)

(iv) Informal Housing

Formal squatters (serviced sites)

There are eight formal squatter areas which have been in existence since June 1987. These comprise the total number of 23 131 shacks.

Table 4 : Number of Shacks in Serviced sites

Location	Number
Site C	3 465
Town 1 Village 3 (Trevor Villakazi)	3 920
Town 1 Village 4 (Victoria Mxenge)	5 223
Town 2 Village 4C (Griffith Mxenge)	1 582
Town 2 Village 2A (Harare)	3 405
Town 3 Village 3	4 312
Town 3 Village 4	910
Town 3 Village 5	314
Totals	23 131

(Source : Community Profile, Lingeletu West City Council :1992)

Informal squatters (unserviced sites)

Some 20 142 shacks are standing on unserviced sites with no immediate municipal services at their disposal. The total number of 20 142 is divided amongst areas outlined in the table below :

Table 5 : Number of Houses in Unserved Sites

Location	Number
Site C Buffer	4 100
Town 1 Village 3	7 000
Town 1 Village 4	5 500
Greenpoint, Bermuda, Silverton	
Totals	20 142

(Source : Community Profile, Lingeletu West City Council :1992)

Backyard

Table 6 : Number of Shacks in Backyards

Location	Number
Site C	3 465
Town 1 Village 1 & 2	4 500
Non-status area	485
Totals	8 450

(Source : Community Profile, Lingeletu West City Council :1992)

(v) Housing needs (as at 13 June 1992)

Table 7 : Housing needs.

Local Authority Area (status area)	Non-Status Area	Estimated Needs
35 374	5 089	40 463

(Source : Community Profile, Lingeletu West City Council :1992)

4.4 ECONOMY

Almost the entire sector is informal. The only formal businesses are about 46 retail businesses in four shopping centres and three free-standing formal supermarkets. There are three service stations and three post offices.

There are no formal or major manufacturing facilities in town. It only has a few informal manufacturers that are largely family businesses making food, storage boxes, kitchen cupboards, clothing and knitted garments.

There is, however, a healthy service sector consisting mainly of hairdressing saloons, a few puncture repair shops, a small number of panel-beaters and motor car repairers.

People are generally improving their standards of living in spite of having little education or capital. As regard to work ethics, the normal workday is 10 to 14 hours a day, seven days a week, particularly in the retail trade.

The biggest single sector is probably that of spazas (house shops). Around 50 have a turnover of R12 500 per month or R150 000 per year.

Another major activity is that of offal sellers particularly on weekends.

Markets in the townships are very limited and due to lack of business skills many manufacturers are not able to conduct effective market research and consequently are not able to provide adequate design and development.

(Source : Community Profile, Lingeletu West city Council, 1992)

Unemployment is one of the major problems facing the community, and this is generally due to the lack of factories and the poor economy. The formal sector of the Greater Cape Town provides employment opportunities for most people in the community.

4.5 EDUCATION

The following educational institutions exist in Khayelitsha as indicated in the Community Profile, Lingeletu West council (1992).

Table 8 : Number of educational institutions.

Description	Number	No of pupils
Primary Schools	21	22 251
Secondary Schools	4	6 655
Teachers college	1	758
Specialised School	1	60
Educare facilities	44	Not provided
Adult Training Centres	9	163
Totals	80	29 887

(Source : Community Profile, Lingeletu West city Council, 1992)

4.6 HEALTH

The rapid development of khayelitsha, coupled with the poor socio-economic circumstances, has led to a situation where there is a very large, young population which is susceptible to the health problems related to urbanisation. These problems include tuberculosis, measles, gastro enteritis, sexually transmitted diseases, teenage pregnancy, violence and crime.

The table below indicates health facilities in the community :

Table 9 : Health Facilities

Organisation	Type of service and area
Cape Provincial Administration	Day Hospital - Site B - Site C - Harare
Western Cape Regional Services	Fixed Clinic - Site C Mobile Clinic - Town 2 - Harare - Khayelitsha
MCT	Midwife Obstetric Unit, Site B

Philani Nutrition Clinics	- Site B - Site C - Town 2
Students' Health and Welfare Centres Organisation (SHAWCO)	Nutrition Clinics - Site B and - Khayelitsha Community Health Worker Project - Town 2
South African Credit League Association (SACLA)	Community Health Workers - Site B - Site C

(Source : Community Profile, Lingeletu West City Council, 1992)

The health status in the community is very poor. This is evident through high mortality rate, high level of tuberculosis (TB), and teenage pregnancy. As recorded in the community profile, Lingeletu West City Council (1992), the infant mortality rate was 30 and 35, that is, roughly 30 children die in the first year of life out of every 1000 born.

The occurrence of TB is around 600 per 100 000 people. Teenage pregnancy rate is around 17, that is out of every 100 babies born, 17 are to the mothers less than 20 years of age.

4.7 WELFARE

Table 10 : Welfare organisations and Informal Groups

NAME OF THE ORGANISATION	TYPE OF SERVICE
1. Abalimi Bazekhaya	Gardening courses
2. African pre-school	Organising and representing educare workers
3. Cape Mental Health	Social Work Services Daycare Centre for severely handicapped children
4. Child Nutrition Education Project	Children Clinic Info. on feeding, food and cooking
5. Catholic Welfare Bureau	Nutrition Centre Social Work Services Old Age Home
6. Child Care Info. Centre	Toy Library
7. Child and family Welfare Society	Social Work Services Daycare Facility

8. Cape Provincial Admin	Social Work Services Administrations of pensions and grants
9. Children Resource Centre	Setting up children groups Workshop and training programmes
10. Community Arts Project	Art
11. Development Action Group	Help community on housing, rents etc.
12. Early Learning Resource Unit	Pre-School training for child - minders
13. Grassroots Educare Trust	Educare training Resource centre Executive committee training
14. Khayelitsha Advice Office	Advice on pensions, disability grants, UIF, Workers compensation.
15. Khayelitsha Day Hospital	Medical Social Work Services

16. LAMLA	Gardening projects Children' programmes Sewing
17. League of Friends of the Blind	Transport services for the blind Life skills training
18. Manna Community Food Service	Buying and selling nutrition food
19. Masifundise Educational Project	Literacy programmes
20. Masiphatisane	Selling building materials
21. Mfesane	School for deaf children Elderly club
22. Missionaries of charity	Centre for mentally disabled children
23. Movement for christian workers	Projects on health and music
24. NICRO	Social Work Services to ex-offenders and their families Crime Prevention

25. Nolungile Clinic	Primary Health Care
26. Operation Hunger	Hunger relief and malnutrition
27. Philani Nutrition Centre	Day Centres for malnourished children
28. Progressive Primary Health Care	Primary Health Care
29. Rape Crisis	Counselling services for survivors/victims of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - child sexual abuse - battering - sexual assault
30. Red Cross Society	Health Education First Aid Courses Youth Groups
31. SACLA Clinic	Centre for disabled children

32. SHAWCO	Community centre Food Parcels Shop Health clinic Clubs (senior lunch)
33. Surplus People's Project	Legal Assistance Educational Programmes
34. Vumani Pre-school project	Workshops for teachers Parents and children minders
35. World vision	Child minding Literacy training
36. Yomelelani	Resource centre Services for children
37. Nonceba project	Services for mentally handicapped persons
38. Vukhambe	Disabled people
30. Lingelethu West City Council	Social Work Services

(Source : Community profile, Lingelethu West City Council,1992)

4.8 LEADERSHIP

The following Political, Civic Associations, Financial and Business Organisations exist in the area :

- (i) South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO)
- (ii) Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)
- (iii) United Residents Front (URF)
- (iv) Foundation for African Business and Consumer Services (FABCOS)
- (v) Black Business Women's Forum
- (vi) African National Congress (ANC)
- (vii) Azanian Peoples Organisation (AZAPO)
- (viii) Khayelitsha Business Association (KHABA)
- (ix) National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (NAFCOC)
- (x) Western Province African Chamber of Commerce (WEPCOC)
- (xi) Western Cape United Squatters Association (WECUSA)
- (xii) Ntsikayesizwe Democratic Party

(Source : Community Profile, Lingeletu West Cit Council, 1992)

GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS IN THE AREA

Table 11 : Government Departments

NAME OF DEPARTMENT	SERVICE
Education and training	Schools
Regional Service Council (RSC)	Health services Firebrigade
South African Police (SAP)	Crime prevention
Cape Provincial Administration	Hospital Services
South African Communication Department	Communication
Manpower	Training
Telecommunication services	Infrastructure
South African Railways	Transport
Lingeletu West City Council	Local Authority

(Source: Community profile, Lingeletu West City Council, 1992)

4.9 Summary

This research study was conducted in Khayelitsha. Khayelitsha is a typical black township, characterised by a wide range of social problems such as, unemployment, crime, lack of resources and facilities, and high levels of poverty. These problems are the results of apartheid policies of the past which purposefully neglected black townships and rural areas.

The next chapter is about study design and presentation and analysis of findings.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.1 STUDY DESIGN

5.1.1 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This is a qualitative research study. Rubin & Babbie (1993:399) noted that, "qualitative studies allow depth of understanding, being there is a powerful technique for gaining insight into the subject under study". Flexibility is another added advantage of qualitative research, it allows one an opportunity to modify research design at any time. The disadvantages of qualitative research are related to the issue of subjectivity and generalisability, for example, interpretation of findings is always influenced by one's orientation and background.

It is also an exploratory study in that, very few empirical studies have been conducted about the future role of Civic Associations. Exploratory studies are essential for breaking ground on a new topic for research. The chief shortcoming of exploratory studies is that they seldom provide satisfactory answers to research questions. They can only hint at the answers and give insights into the research method that could provide definitive answers (Rabin & Babbie, 1993).

The study also has components of social impact research. Francis (1988:53) noted that, "social impact research focuses on what is wrong in society or one of its institutions that the study will address". In this case, the study focuses on Civics as institutions of civil society and the role they will play in a democratic South Africa.

5.1.2 RESEARCH POPULATION AND SAMPLING PROCEDURE

Two Civic organisations in Khayelitsha participated in this study, these were, WECUSA and SANCO. The two organisations were chosen from a total of 5 Civic Associations that exist in the community. The remaining of these Civics are, Lingeletu for the Community, Khayelitsha Residents Association (KHARA), and United Residents Front (URF). WECUSA and SANCO were chosen for this study because they are the oldest and the most prominent Civic organisations in Khayelitsha.

The respondents were members of the executive committees of the two Civics. The researcher chose to interview six members from the two organisations, that is, three from each organisation. People interviewed hold key positions in their organisations, for example, chairpersons, general secretaries and project coordinators. This was done because these are the people with broad information about how their organisations operate.

The sample was drawn through non-probability sampling, using purposive and snowball sampling methods. According to Bailey (1987:95) to conduct purposive sampling the researcher uses his/her own judgement about which respondents to choose and picks only those who best meet the purpose of the study. The advantage of purposive sampling, as Bailey (1987:94) puts it is that, "the researcher uses his/her research skills and prior knowledge to choose respondents".

Snowball sampling is the method in which the researcher ask for people who can provide relevant information from those already interviewed and the same process was followed in this study. According to Grinnel (1988:253), "the procedure is simply to gather data from the known persons and to request information from them as to other appropriate persons". This process is repeated until the desired sample is achieved.

These methods were chosen for their obvious advantages such as being simple to implement and less expensive.

5.1.3 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

The researcher used interview schedule as a method for data collection. Interviews were conducted with each respondent. These interviews were planned in advanced, and they happened in both structured and semi-structured ways. According to Rubin & Babbie (1993 :374), "highly structured strategies attempt to ensure that all respondents are asked the same questions, in the same sequence to maximise comparability of responses and to ensure that complete data is gathered from each person on all relevant questions". In this study interviews were conducted using an interview schedule which outlined the topics and issues to be covered in the interview process (see appendix A for an interview schedule). This was done to allow the researcher an opportunity to adapt the sequencing and wording of questions to each particular respondent.

The advantages of interviews are basically related to naturalness, spontaneity, flexibility and control over the environment (Bailey,1987). It is for these reasons that this method was chosen for data collection in this study.

The other added advantages of the interview schedule are that it allows one to "have access to firsthand information from people who are close to the situation being studied, information which may not be tapped by the questions in the questionnaire, interviews can be used to establish

perspectives on situation, identify and gather opinions and evidence on an issue, follow-up on observations, explore specific problems and probe for depth on widely held views, and that interviews can reveal aspects, patterns or processes which other methods may fail to do" (Loveness Kaunda,1996).

5.1.4 RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY OF THE METHODS

Data collection instruments should always be assessed for their reliability and validity. Bell (1993:63) defined reliability as the extent to which a test or procedure produces similar results under constant conditions on all occasions.

Validity on the other hand simply means "measuring what we wish to measure" (Bailey, 1987:283). Reliability and validity of a measuring instrument can simply be interpreted to mean measuring what you want to measure, and measuring it correctly. Bostwick & Kyte (in Grinnel, 1988:111) simply defined reliability to mean " the degree to which a measuring instrument is measuring what it is supposed to measure, and validity to refer to the degree of accuracy".

One of the major shortcomings with qualitative studies is that it is not easy to prove reliability and validity of data collection instruments. In contrast, with quantitative studies one can simply use scientific tests or scores. In a qualitative study the researcher, for example, cannot guarantee that any of the questions will yield the similar description of a phenomena if it is repeated.

In this study the researcher used a pilot study as a measure of assessing reliability and validity of the interview schedule. The process of checking reliability and validity of instruments is rather more complex, especially in qualitative research studies. The focus of the pilot study was therefore on assessing whether the questions devised are likely to answer the research questions. The findings of the pilot study conducted were used to modify questions to be asked during the interviews to ensure that information gathered answers basic research questions. These findings (of the pilot study) were integrated with the overall findings of the study. This was done by having second interviews with respondents who participated in the pilot study.

Interviews allow the researcher some control over the environment, and this according to Bailey (1987) strengthens the quality of data collected. The researcher is there to make sure that questions are fully answered and well understood, but at the same time the researcher has to guard against creating bias. This ensures the reliability and validity of the methods to be used.

5.1.5 DATA ANALYSIS

The researcher formulated themes from the interview schedule and the data was presented and analyzed according to the themes developed. These are, the role of Civic Associations in a community, the structure, nature and functioning of Civics, and the future of Civics in a democratic society. Data analysis was based on the views of the respondents in terms of the questions asked, and these responses were integrated with the data collected in the literature review for analysis of the findings.

5.2 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study will be of great significance in terms of the following:

A] SOCIAL WORK PROFESSION

The study will help to increase the effectiveness of social work practitioners in their day to day functioning, especially those involved in community development. Social Work is about helping people, individually and in their communities to improve their social functioning and the standards of living in general. One way of doing this at community level is to work with community based structures such as Civics. Community participation is a central domain in social work, but in practice it seems there is a tendency by social workers

to disengage themselves from such tasks. The value of this principle has been acknowledged by Katan (1990:31) when he stated that, " the value system of social work profession recognises the importance of safeguarding the client's self determination and acknowledges his full right to participate in organisations that affect his life". Civics are accustomed to social action approach and social workers have to realise a need to start working with such organisations. Social Workers have been involved in initiating their "own" projects and little has been done to work with the existing organisations such as Civics.

B] THEORY

The study will contribute to the knowledge base of the profession by generating new avenues in which community development can be practised as a method of social work. While the need to work with community based organisations has been identified by many other people, it is important to get views and opinions of those involved in such structures about how they want to see development taking place.

C] SERVICE PROVIDERS

The findings of the study will help policy makers realise new ways of ensuring effective service delivery, that is, through working with already existing community organisations.

D] SERVICE CONSUMERS

The findings of the study will help community members understand the role that Civics will continue to play in a society. The study will also highlight to members of the community that development is a process that happens through their own active involvement.

The study will also help Civics realise a need to strategise about their future. Civics have to abandon some of the approaches they have used in past and adjust themselves to the present conditions.

5.3 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The aims and objectives of the study are :

- * To develop a better understanding on the nature and functioning of Civic Associations.
- * To analyze the role that Civics want to take in a new democratic society.
- * To explore and analyze the role that Civics can play in community development.

5.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study will have the following limitations :

A] Generalisability Of Findings.

The findings will be limited to the community in which the study is conducted.

It will be difficult to make generalisations because Civics operate differently and they address different issues depending on the type of community, for example, Civics in urban areas, for example, do not function like those in rural communities.

The non-probability sampling method used in this study also limits researcher's ability to generalize findings beyond the sample studied.

B] Lack Of Resources.

Time and funds available have put serious constraints and therefore limited the extent to which a comprehensive study could be done.

The course requirements also do not give room for ground breaking. It is a mini dissertation in partial fulfilment of the degree.

C] UNDER-STUDIED AREA.

There are very few South African studies in this field and as such available data is limited for the literature review.

D] INTERVIEWS.

Interview as a method for data collection has been used in this study and this method has its own limitations. Bailey (1987:208) states that, "this method does not provide opportunity to consult records and that the process itself is time consuming and costly". The method has however been chosen for its advantages such as adaptability and high response rate. This is also noted by Bell (1993:90) by saying that, "a skilful interviewer can follow up ideas, probe responses and investigate motives and interviews". The other obvious advantages of this method are flexibility and control over the environment.

5.5 PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

The data will be presented according to the three major themes of the study.

Responses will be summarised and presented in italic form.

The themes are :

Theme 1. The role of Civic Associations in a community.

Sub-Themes are :

Sub-Theme 1.1 : The involvement of Civics in community development.

Sub-Theme 1.2 : The role of Civics in the implementation of the RDP.

Sub-Theme 1.3 : Major challenges that confront Civics in development work.

Sub-Theme 1.4 : The major achievements of Civics

Theme 2. The structure and functioning of Civics.

Sub-Themes are :

Sub-Theme 2.1 : Organisational structure of Civics

Sub-Theme 2.2 : Financial status of Civics

Sub-Theme 2.3 : The relationship of Civics with other organisations in the community.

Sub-Theme 2.4 : The representation of women and youth in Civic structures.

Theme 3. The future of Civics in a new democratic society.

THEME 1 : THE ROLE OF CIVIC ASSOCIATIONS IN A COMMUNITY

CIVIC ASSOCIATION NO. 1 [WECUSA]

RESPONDENT A

The role of Civic Associations is to organise communities and direct them through a new dispensation. As Civics we are there to represent people and their aspirations. It is our role to deal with various problems we experience in our communities, for example, the question of crime and unemployment.

We have just had our first meeting of the new executive committee yesterday (7/11/95) and one of the issues on the agenda was to outline our programme of action. We now have an executive committee which was democratically elected during our annual general meeting (AGM) on the 14 October 1995. Our short term goals are to do with a number of administrative issues facing the organisation. We need office equipments such as fax machines, photocopying, type writers, and we also need to settle out telephone and rent accounts which are very behind. We do not have permanent office staff, no transport and we do not have funds to operate. All these issues need to be addressed as a matter of urgency.

Our medium to long term goals are about facilitating delivery of services, for example, services such as houses, health facilities, schools and educare facilities, and a range of other issues.

RESPONDENT B

Civics are there to assist communities in whatever problems that people face, and we link up with relevant government departments to deal with those problems. WECUSA was specifically formed to address problems of people staying in informal settlement areas. The focus was to get land for people to live in and to demand provision of services in those areas. Civics are resource centres for the community, we give advice to people on how they should deal with problems they experience, for example, helping people on how they can apply for social welfare grants.

Our programme of action depends on the situation on the ground. The priority now is to ensure that the government deliver services to the people, people need houses, schools and health facilities.

RESPONDENT C

WECUSA is an organisation for squatter communities and our role is therefore to try and develop these areas. There are two types of squatter communities, that is, there are those which are serviced and those with no facilities, and our role is to ensure that those areas are developed. We are concerned with development of our communities, and we are trying to ensure that there are services and infrastructure such as roads, water and electricity.

Our role as Civics is to help people with problems they experience in their day to day living, for example, we help people on how to apply for social welfare grants, and we refer people to relevant government departments. Our long term goal is to bring an end to the problem of squatting and erection of shacks by securing land for our people to live.

CIVICS ASSOCIATION NO. 2 [SANCO]

RESPONDENT A

*The role of Civic Associations is to promote the well-being of our people in the sense that we have to ensure that people have houses, water, electricity, and a wide range of services. Civics also have a role of acting as **watchdogs** to all levels of government. As SANCO we will challenge the government if they are not delivering. While we are aligned to the ANC, we are also independent in our functioning, that is, we cater for all people regardless of their political affiliation. The other role of Civics is to ensure that there is peace and stability in the community.*

We do not have a clearly defined programme of action, but i can say that our short term goal is to see to it that democratic local government structures are in place. There after we will have to ensure that they deliver services to the community.

RESPONDENT B

Civics as vanguards of civil society have a role of protecting the interests of the community. We try to unite people across the political spectrum, and we also try to forge the divergent interests of civil society. It is also our role to preach peace, but we are more concerned about development of our communities. Our programme of action is to help the ANC in democratising our society. Our immediate concern now is to focus on local government elections. We want to take the whole democratisation process further by having democratically elected local government structures and as SANCO we want elections to be won by the ANC. Our focus is to mobilise people to vote for the ANC so that we reverse the blunders of last year's elections in this region. Our long term programme of action will be to focus on development, and normalise payment of services. You will remember that it was SANCO which was calling people to boycott rent payments in the past, and now we have to call on our people to support the government.

RESPONDENT C

I see the role of Civics as to unite people in the community, promoting the values of ubuntu. Civics also function to address the day to day needs of the people in the community, just as trade unions which represent the interests of workers. Civics are bargaining agencies, and our approach is collective in trying to solve the problems in our communities. Our concern is to continue

educating people about politics by giving them information. This will help people understand the transition process and the way the government is functioning. We are also concerned about making the promises made by the government during the 1994 elections real, that is, we want to pressurise the government to deliver houses and jobs, build schools, and clinics. SANCO strongly believes that the government cannot make promises and deliver without somebody watching over them. We are talking of putting positive pressure, we are no longer fighting with the government, but our role is to ensure that delivery of services take place.

Discussion on Theme 1 : The Role of Civic Associations in a Community.

From the respondents it is clear that Civics are playing an important role in their communities. Their role ranges from organising and helping communities to deal with problems such as crime, unemployment, to getting involved in development work. Even in the past, Civics had achieved functioning as a grassroots voice, mobilising communities, representing them and facilitating development. Their major concern is about delivery of basic services such as electricity, water, building of schools, houses and health facilities. These are crucial areas for development. As shown in chapter three, development is multipurpose. Its major features include education,

social welfare and health, housing, youth and women's development programmes.

These respondents also see Civics as representing the interests and needs of the community, and it is on this basis that they justify their existence. It is widely believed that the state cannot always represent the interests of the community. Elected officials and political parties are not always close enough to the people to know best what is needed to deliver the goods and services. Civics operate at a community level and they are therefore strategically located to know the needs in their communities.

In the 1990s Civics gained further prominence because they were seen as the only legitimate structures to represent people at local level. The situation has now changed because there are legitimate and democratically elected local government structures. This means that Civics will not be able to claim the monopoly of being the only legitimate structures that can represent members of the community across the political spectrum.

The period before 1990 was a difficult one for Civics, they were not recognised by the apartheid government. The introduction of the state of emergency in 1986 paralysed most Civics, but the continued struggle over rents and other issues led to their prominence at the end of the decade (Seekings, in Moss & Obery, 1992:217).

One view that is shared by the respondents in this study is that the role of Civics, especially within a democratic context, is to act as **watchdogs** to the government. In the past the watchdog role of Civics was based on the fact that local councils were illegitimate. According to Seekings (in Moss & Obery, 1992 :235), the fact that local government elections will be contested by various political parties and a range of "independent" candidates meant that these elected officials will play a role of critics of and watchdogs over each other. This means that the space of Civics to perform watchdog role could diminish. However, if Civics can establish themselves as strong organs of civil society, that is, being independent of government and political parties, they could be able to play a watchdog role. The same contention is shared by Chandhoke (1995:35) when he stated that, "state power, needs to be controlled and limited through the activities of a vibrant civil society". It is time that the inhabitants of civil society take over the responsibility of managing their own lives and control the conditions within which they live and work (p.32).

3The results of this study also show that Civics have different orientations, in terms of their role in the community. While SANCO tend to have a generic approach, WECUSA is more concerned about addressing problems in informal settlement areas. This apparent difference in priority is due to the historical formations of Civics. Civics were established on the basis of what the local people see as their most pressing needs, for example, the question of rentals, housing or land.

SUB-THEME 1.1: THE INVOLVEMENT OF CIVICS IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

CIVIC ASSOCIATION NO. 1 [WECUSA]

RESPONDENT A

Community development is about the upliftment of the standards of living in the community, that is, addressing the day to day living needs of the people. Civics have a vital role of acting as a bridge between people on the ground and government, at local, provincial and national levels. Civics are major custodians of grassroots people and communities rely on us for provision of services. The role of Civics in development is to reform communities and ensure that there is peace and stability for development to take place. We are involved in a number of projects such as housing, emergency relief programmes, community policing forums, youth, cultural and women's development programmes. All these programmes are aimed at developing our communities, to make them better places to live in.

RESPONDENT B

When we talk community development, we should be talking about having consultations with the community, giving people an opportunity to raise issues which they see as of priority. Involvement of the community is important for development to take place. We are involved in ensuring provision of basic services such as electricity, water, houses, schools and others. People rely on Civics for provision of these services and we therefore have a big role to play in development.

RESPONDENT C

We are involved in community development, for example, it is through our involvement that some of the previously un-serviced areas such as Marcasa and Strand are now provided with services. It has however been difficult for us to operate because of lack of funds. People who used to fund us in the past have withdrawn their support because of conflict between different Civic organisations. Our aim has always been to promote capacity building through establishing self help projects. We are also involved in the establishment of RDP forums which are formed by all organisations in the community.

CIVIC ASSOCIATION NO. 2 [SANCO]

RESPONDENT A

We understand community development as to be about development of the community across political spectrum, and as a process that will lead to self sufficiency. SANCO is involved in Community Policing Forums, and the general development of Khayelitsha. Our organisation is one of the co-founders of Khayelitsha Development Forum (KDF). This forum brings all political parties, Civics and other community organisations together. We are also involved in housing projects and at the moment we are also trying to establish a brick making self help project.

RESPONDENT B

I think the focus of development should be on empowering people, people should be self reliant, and that is what I understand as community development. We need to take people in our communities who are operating in dark corners, for example, electricians, and expose them to opportunities so that they can develop themselves further. Development depends on the availability of funds, and at the moment we are having consultations with business and NGOs, in an attempt to raise funds. We are also involved in organising workshops on fund-raising, the aim is to empower people to be able to write fund-raising proposals.

RESPONDENT C

SANCO is against handouts, that is a total destruction of the community because it leads to dependency. Community development should be about enskilling people and addressing basic needs of the people. Our programme of action in terms of development is to monitor development and play a major role in the whole process. There are still misperceptions about the role of Civics and the one to be played by political organisations. This leads to conflict and for development to take place we need to clear that confusion. Development should be people driven, and SANCO as a community based organisations is in a position to set priorities about the needs of people.

Discussion on Sub-Theme 1.1 : The Involvement of Civics in Community Development

The findings of this study indicate that Civics have a good understanding of what community development is, and they are actually involved in development work. The general understanding is that development is about improving the standards of living in the community, through the involvement of people themselves. This is currently referred to as community controlled development that happens through the organisations of civil society. Community development as defined by Cary (1989:2) is, "the deliberate attempt by community people to work together to guide the future of their

communities and development of a set of techniques for assisting community people in such a process". Civics show concern about provision of basic services in their communities. The re-establishment of Civics in the late 70s was also about ensuring that there are basic services in the communities. This view is also shared by Shubane & Madiba (1992) when they noted that the emergence of Civics also coincided with the prolonged period of decline in the already limited financial viability of the townships. It is for that reason that even today Civics see their involvement in development as about facilitating the delivery of services. Civics were established at local level to articulate socio-economic demands for the development of their communities.

Two of the basic elements of community development are : community participation and emphasis on local initiative and leadership. Community participation in the development process can happen through the organisations of civil society such as Civics and other organs. These organisations work directly with their local communities and they are therefore in a position to know best what the needs of the community are. Since the early 1990s it was unthinkable to talk about community development without consulting Civics. Heymans (1993:1) stated that, " Civics have managed to become perceived as being able to strengthen, prevent or obstruct development initiatives. Actors across the socio-political spectrum therefore find it strategically useful to engage with them around development issues".

Community development cannot happen without the involvement of people themselves. Beger (1974) as quoted by Gran (1983:20) noted that, "to call for participation is to render cognitive respect to all those who cannot claim the position of experts... such respect is based on the understanding that every human being is in a position of the world of his/her own and nobody can interpret their world better than he/she himself/herself".

Community development cannot be handed out to a passive community. Their involvement, initiative and use of local resources is paramount. One of the respondents in this study put it as follows: "SANCO is against handouts, that is a total destruction of the community because it leads to dependency" (Respondent C, Civic Association No. 2). It is argued that the direction of the development process should be directed from within, the community must assume leadership positions (Cary, 1989). The theories of community development as discussed in chapter three also acknowledge very strongly the role of civil society in community development. Community development should be driven by people themselves.

SUB-THEME 1.2 : THE ROLE OF CIVICS IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME (RDP).

CIVIC ASSOCIATION NO. 1 [WECUSA]

RESPONDENT A

We have a role of making the RDP work in our communities and for this reason we are involved in setting up RDP forums. These forums have to be inclusive of all structures in the community. Civics also have a liaison role to play, that is, to link the community with local government structures and with other stakeholders. The best strategy in the implementation of the RDP is for all organisations to come together and address community needs jointly.

RESPONDENT B

Civics have a major role to play in the implementation of the RDP. RDP is our priority at the moment, and it is for this reason that we emphasise that RDP structures should be recognised by the broader community. We are involved in setting up RDP forums which are inclusive of all community structures. Our role as Civics is to bring the community together, get people understand what the RDP is and how can it be implemented. The implementation of the RDP will not happen unless local authority structures are changed. Once new local government structures which are

democratically elected are in place, they will have power to implement the RDP. At the moment issues are being politicised and that hinders the implementation of the RDP.

RESPONDENT C

Civics and other organisations in the community have a role of forming RDP forums. It is in such forums where community needs and problems can be dealt with. RDP forums have to address the needs of people and help the community understand what is happening in terms of service delivery. As Civics we to have ensure that RDP meet the needs of the people. As WECUSA we are very much involved in the establishment of RDP forums and we are doing this with other organisations in the community, for example, SANCO. RDP is for everybody, and as such what needs to happen is that organisations need to come together and deal with problems in our communities. RDP forums needs to be representative of all community structures.

CIVIC ASSOCIATION NO 2 [SANCO]

RESPONDENT A

Khayelitsha Development Forum is our local RDP coordinating body. As Civics we have a role of ensuring that RDP forums are established and that the formation of such forums is non-partisan. RDP forums need to work hand and glove with the local councils. There should be proper coordination of activities and full participation by the wider community.

RESPONDENT B

SANCO's position is that RDP is supposed to be people driven in order to ensure community participation. RDP is seen as ANC's programme, the reality is that it was designed by the ANC, but it must be driven by people. There is a lack of information, people do not understand the process of delivery. SANCO has been involved in holding discussions with all other sectors concerned with the RDP. We want people to understand the RDP and not sabotage it. We do have RDP forums, but they are not very effective because the whole process is politicised.

RESPONDENT C

This is the area where we have differed with other organisations, but there are some areas where we managed to set up RDP structures. SANCO has played a major role in setting up RDP forums and we have to ensure that these forums start working. RDP forums have to identify the needs of the community. These forums should be formed by people themselves and they should be educated about RDP, how it is supposed to work. All sectors in the community should be equally represented in the RDP forums.

Discussion on Sub-Theme 1.2 : The Role of Civics in the Implementation of the RDP.

The findings of the study show that Civics recognise that they have a crucial role to play in the implementation of the RDP in their local communities. It is also acknowledged that the success of the RDP is based on greater cooperation between all stakeholders involved in development work. The common view is that the RDP should be owned and driven by people themselves. This view is shared by both Civics in this study, that is, WECUSA and SANCO, and this is in spite of their different histories and priorities. The view of the RDP as a people driven process is in line with the values and principles of the RDP itself. The RDP (1994:5) states that, "development is not about the delivery of services to a passive citizenry. It is

about active involvement and growing empowerment". The RDP recognises the role organisations of civil society should play in its implementation. Role players identified as crucial include Civics, CBOs, the public sector, NGOs, private sector, trade unions, etc. Organisations of civil society should play a supportive role in relation to local government to enhance the delivery process (RDP, 1994). The same view is articulated by new theories of community development discussed in chapter three, that is, human scale development, people centred development and the social development approach. These theories put emphasis on community participation as a key to sustainable development. Community participation implies that people should organise themselves, work together in dealing with the problems in their communities.

The role of Civics in the implementation of the RDP is apparent through their involvement in the formation of RDP forums. These forums are crucial for bringing people together, and work jointly in addressing the problems they experience in their communities.

The RDP has been embraced by the majority of people in South Africa, and even by the international community. Development in this country will therefore very much be measured by assessing the extent to which the RDP was implemented, for example, the RDP promises to build one million low-cost houses over five years (RDP, 1994).

**SUB-THEME 1.3 : MAJOR CHALLENGES THAT CONFRONT CIVICS IN
DEVELOPMENT WORK.**

CIVIC ASSOCIATION NO 1 [WECUSA]

RESPONDENT A

Our major challenge is that people are demanding provision of services, people want houses, schools, health facilities, etc. People have high expectations and because of bureaucracy it is difficult to deliver. The other problem is to address the question of unemployment and crime. In the past there were problems of political struggles between different Civic organisations and that hindered development from taking place. We have however achieved to create a climate of political tolerance and as such there is no longer conflict between Civics or political parties. Civics have to separate politics from development so that we can be able to address the needs of our communities. It is however difficult to separate politics from development, and as Civics we are caught in between. Some of the Civics are aligned to political parties and at the end of the day each issue is politicised.

RESPONDENT B

Violence is a major problem. There has also been conflict between various Civic organisations which started in the 90s and it was conflict over control of areas. These conflicts and violence have retarded development in many ways. Presently we are trying to solve these problems, we have had a number of meetings with SANCO in order to discuss our differences.

RESPONDENT C

The big problem we have is that we do not have funds to run the organisation and to establish projects that will help the community. We do not have any transport to visit our branches, and the fact that people work voluntarily impact negatively on our organisation. We do not have money to employ full-time staff. We need funds to run the organisation and also to establish development projects.

CIVIC ASSOCIATION NO. 2 [SANCO]

RESPONDENT A

The fact that we do not have democratic local government structures is a problem to us. These are the only structures where the government can put funds for development. At the moment we have appointed councillors who were not elected by people. Delay in local government elections is a problem. As Civics we are faced with the problem of funds, we do not have funds to function. Crime is still a major concern that we need to address in our community. The sooner we have local government structures the better the situation will be. Delivery of services will be possible once we have such structures.

RESPONDENT B

There are many challenges that we are faced with, to me transformation is difficult process than the struggle itself. People are now expecting delivery of services, not slogans and promises. As Civics we were not used to that, we were used to singing slogans. Our major challenge is that as Civics our role is not well defined, the same problem is being experienced by political parties themselves. Our challenge is to redefine our role. Civics have to change their role and focus on civic issues, not politics. We now have a government composed of ourselves.

RESPONDENT C

There are numerous problems that we are faced with. We have people who are self centred, who will try to disrupt any programme because they see themselves not well positioned. There is also lack of cooperation between various organisations, for example, if a project is initiated by SANCO, other organisations will try to oppose it. We take problems that we are faced with as a learning experience to us, and I think it is through working together that we can address problems in our communities.

Discussion on Sub-Theme 1.3 : Major Challenges that Confront Civics in Development Work.

The respondents acknowledge that Civics are faced with some serious problems. After the new Government of National Unity came to power, people's expectations about delivery of services became very high. This was the result of the pre-election promises made by political parties. Civics, because they also canvassed for political organisations they are aligned to, are also faced with the task of addressing the expectations of the people on the ground. This is putting pressure on Civics in terms of what they can afford to deliver. This is related to the other serious problems facing Civics, that is, the question of funds. It is now difficult for Civics to raise funds because they have to compete with other community based organisations.

In the early 1990s Civics were regarded as the only legitimate structures in the communities, and as such it was easy for them to raise funds from the international and business communities. Without adequate funds Civics will not be able to survive long, and/or to adequately articulate the aspirations of their respective constituencies. This study has found that there is very little if any, that Civics are doing to address the problem of finance.

The findings of this study also show that one of the major challenges facing Civics in this era is to redefine their role, and their relationship with political parties and other organisations in the community. The majority of Civic organisations are aligned to political parties, for example, both Civics in this study, WECUSA and SANCO, are aligned to the ANC. The problem with this alliance is that Civics will find it difficult to represent the whole community, that is, they will lose credibility and support from the community as a whole. The continued alliance of Civics with political parties will be in contradiction with their desire to establish themselves as organs of civil society. Civics have to re-evaluate their party political role and focus on the politics of development.

The relationship between Civics themselves, and also with other community organisations, should be redefined. There should be more cooperation and working together between different organisations. The respondents in this study do recognise that they have to redefine their relationship with political parties and also to revive their relationship with other community based organisations. In the past years Civics were in conflict with each other, and such conflict was based on control over areas, for example, the issue of "no go" areas. It is through coordination of efforts and activities that Civics will be able to address problems in their communities.

SUB-THEME 1.4 : THE MAJOR ACHIEVEMENTS OF CIVICS

CIVIC ASSOCIATION NO. 1 [WECUSA]

RESPONDENT A

The major breakthrough has been in the area of service charges. As Civics we have managed to negotiate rates which are affordable, and as a result people are now paying for their services. The other area of achievement is the formation of Community Policing Forums. These forums bring the community and police together. The aim is to fight crime and rebuild the image of police. The community is getting involved in fighting against crime, that is, the community is policing itself. Civics have also succeeded in creating a climate of political tolerance. This means that we have managed to create a conducive environment for development to take place, development cannot take place where there is violence and crime. We need to make our environment conducive for business to operate, there should be peace and stability.

In the past different Civics were at logger heads, but now they are working together. There is a move of trying to bring all Civics together so that there will be cooperation and greater coordination of activities.

RESPONDENT B

We have managed to get land for our people to live in and development has started taking place in most of these previously un-serviced areas, for example, there is electricity in some of these areas, schools, clinics, have been built.

RESPONDENT C

We have managed to facilitate development in most informal settlement areas which did not have any services in the past, for example, Marcasa, Strand and here in Philipi. These areas now have some basic services, for example, water, electricity, roads, but however there is still much to be done in those areas.

CIVIC ASSOCIATION NO. 2 [SANCO]

RESPONDENT A

The formation of Khayelitsha Development Forum (KDF) is a major achievement because that forum will facilitate development in the community. While there is still crime in the area, we have achieved to put it under control to a certain extent. We have also managed to create an atmosphere of political tolerance amongst different organisations. We have had negotiations with organisations such as ESKOM on electrification projects and also with

Banks on the issue of bond boycotts. SANCO has also managed to persuade people to start paying for their services. Most of the projects that are coming up, is because of our involvement.

RESPONDENT B

SANCO is fairly new, Civics were operating on regional basis. In the Western Cape, we had the Western Cape Civic Association, WECUSA, Hostel Dwellers Organisation, etc. Civics were competing with each other and that created a lot of conflict situations. SANCO was established in 1992 after a decision was taken to supplement Civics which were not united. It is not all organisations that joined SANCO, for example, WECUSA pulled out of the process of trying to merge.

The first major success was in 1992 when we chased councillors, it was SANCO who led the whole campaign. The other area of achievement was in education, the schools that you see here were built through our involvement. As Civics we demanded building of schools, and we got them. We also managed to secure schools in town, for example, we have schools in Mowbray and Woodstock. These schools were locked and we demanded that they should be utilised for our children.

We also achieved to bring electricity in our community, there was no electricity at all in Khayelitsha.

RESPONDENT C

Electrification of Khayelitsha is a major achievement to us. We were the first to put electricity in Shacks, using a model we got from Brazil. We also had success in the area of building schools, and trying to unite people across the political boundaries. As SANCO we also had success in recruiting for the ANC. ANC will only succeed with the support of SANCO.

Discussion on Sub-Theme 1.4 The Major Achievements of Civics.

Civics came into being in different formations and for different reasons, but the fundamental objective was the concern about addressing problems experienced in their communities. This study has found that Civics have managed through their involvement in community issues, to facilitate delivery of some tangible basic services, for example, electricity, schools, houses. Civics are involved in setting up development projects, for example, the formation of the Khayelitsha Development Forum (KDF), Community Policing forums and RDP forums. These projects have a crucial role to play in facilitating development and delivery of services. They are responsible for developing an integrated development strategy based on the needs of the community.

This study has also found out that Civics have managed to create a climate of political tolerance. In the past there were so many factional conflicts, which prevented development from taking place. It is also due to conflict between various Civic organisations that many donor agencies withdrew their support.

Civics in the past were involved in mobilising people to boycott rent payments as part of their struggle for liberation. In recent years Civics have been challenged to re-cultivate the culture of payment for services. The Masakhane campaign, which was initiated by Nelson Mandela, has been embraced by Civics, and as such they have started motivating people to pay for their services.

THEME 2 : THE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONING OF CIVICS

SUB-THEME 2.1 ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF CIVICS

CIVIC ASSOCIATION NO. 1 [WECUSA]

RESPONDENT A

Civics are formed by residents themselves. At community level the structure starts with street committees, and then there are block committees. A representative body is elected from block committees. The executive committee is elected through a secret ballot system during our annual general meeting. Members of the branch executive committees do participate in the regional executive committee, for example, all treasures from branch committees form a special committee in the regional body.

The structure of our organisation is divided into various departments such as health and welfare, education, housing, etc. These departments perform different tasks, for example, Health Department is concerned with ensuring that health services such as clinics are provided and it also focus on educating people about diseases.

RESPONDENT B

At community level we have area committees, and members of each area committee form a council committee. At the higher level there is a regional executive committee which is responsible for the day to day running of the organisation. The regional executive committee has five members, that is, the chairperson, vice-chairperson, secretary, vice-secretary and the treasurer. People are elected into leadership positions through a democratic process, we use a secret ballot system. These elections are held at the end of each year during our annual general meetings. To ensure broader representation, two members from each branch committee serve in the general council.

We do have a number of departments in our organisation, and these include housing, education, health and social welfare. Each department has its area of concern, for example, housing is concerned with facilitation of housing delivery. As Civics we have a role of informing people about what is happening in government, for example, with the issue of subsidies, we have to inform people about how the scheme will work.

RESPONDENT C

At the top we have the executive committee which consists of ten people. Five of these people, chairperson, vice-chairperson, secretary, vice-secretary and treasurer form the management committee. The other five heads various departments that we have, for example, we have departments such as education, health, housing and social welfare. At the community level we have branch executives, block and area committees. People are elected from different branches during our annual general meetings. The term of office is one year, after which a new committee is elected.

CIVIC ASSOCIATION NO 2 [SANCO]

RESPONDENT A

We have a local general executive council, then we have branch, block and street committees. The general executive committee is elected in a general council, people nominate those that they see suitable. The term of office is two years, after which new executive is elected. The structure of the organisation is divided into various departments such as housing, administration and finance, health and welfare, sports and Culture.

RESPONDENT B

We have street committees, branch and executive committee and the general council. People are elected to serve into these committees in our general meetings, and SANCO's term of office is two years, our term of office is coming to an end by February 1996. We have a number of departments, for example, health, education, housing, social welfare and environment.

RESPONDENT C

The structure of SANCO starts at community level with street committees, branch committees, local regional and national executive committee. The term of office is two years, and new members are elected through a democratic process during our annual general meetings.

Discussion on Sub-Theme 2.1 Organisational Structure of Civics.

The findings of this study show that Civics are community based organisations which are formed by people themselves in their local communities. This is the strength of Civics, they work directly with their communities, they are accessible and as such they enjoy support from the community. The structure of Civics start with street committees, block committees, area committees, branch and regional executive committees, and some have provincial and national structures.

The findings of the study also show that the term of office differs from one organisation to another, for example, for WECUSA it is one year, and for SANCO it is two years.

The way Civics operate allows the community to participate, for example, mass meeting mobilisation has always been the key in the activities of Civics. The proximity of Civics to the local community provides them with opportunities to mobilise people and understand real issues affecting people. The launch of SANCO in 1992 led to the centralisation of the civic movement. It is the UDF that encouraged its Civic affiliates to unite. This move was criticised by some people, hence it is not all Civics who joined SANCO, for example, WECUSA is still not part of SANCO. Jacobs (pseud) (1992), noted that SANCO's constitution transformed a loosely federated movement into a hierarchical organisation. This threatens the existence of Civics because bureaucratization tended to ignore diversity at local levels.

SUB-THEME 2.2 : FINANCIAL STATUS OF CIVICS

CIVIC ASSOCIATION NO. 1 [WECUSA]

RESPONDENT A

We rely on membership fee which is R3 per person and also on donation from the business community . We do not have any stable source of funds.

RESPONDENT B

Lack of funds is our major problem,, we have no stable sources of funds. In the past we once got funds from the Australian Embassy, they gave us R32 000. They did not continue funding us because of some mismanagement of funds. We do keep records, but there is a problem because of lack of necessary book keeping skills. As a result records are not kept in a way that can satisfy donors, we need proper book keeping. The conflict between various Civic organisations also made other potential donors to withdraw their intention to support.

RESPONDENT C

At the moment we are having a serious problem because we do not have adequate funds to run our organisation. We get money from the subscription fee, but that is not enough for the organisation to function. Our subscription fee is R3 per person, and that money is shared between the executive and the branch committees. We are presently trying to restructure the organisation in order to ensure proper control of funds. In the past we did not have proper book keeping and that resulted in mismanagement.

CIVIC ASSOCIATION NO. 2 [SANCO]

RESPONDENT A

Funds are a problem to us, we only rely on subscription fees and donations. Sometime people contribute from their own pockets to ensure that the organisation is running. We do keep records of the very little money we have and how it is spent, but it is difficult as we hardly have a budget to work on.

RESPONDENT B

We do not have any source of funds, we are dependent on subscription fees but that is very little and we basically operate from nothing.

RESPONDENT C

SANCO finances itself through subscription fees from our members. Our subscription fee is R8 per person, and this fee is shared in four levels, that is, national, provincial, local and branch level. We also do fund-raising, but most often our fund-raising does not generate funds. We ask companies that are involved in the development of our community to make some donations to us, for example, our offices were donated by the company which was involved in building houses.

Discussion on Sub-Theme 2.2 : Financial Status of Civics.

The findings of this study show that Civics are faced with serious financial problems and this threatens their whole existence. If Civics do not have any stable source of funds to operate, and also to help them set up development projects, they will not survive long. Civics presently rely on subscription fees from their members, and the money they get is too little for them to operate. In the past Civics used to get funds from the business and the international community. That helped them to operate and also to initiate development projects in their communities. Things have now changed. After the 1994 national elections, for example, the international community started channelling funds to South Africa through the RDP office, and not directly to Civics and NGOs which was the earlier pattern. Civics are losing their status

as sole channels of resources into communities for business, government and donor agencies. They have to compete for resources with other community based organisations. If Civics want to continue to function, they will need money for staff salaries, equipment, offices and training programmes. The conflict between Civics themselves has also led to a reluctance from funding organisations to continue with their support. There is no effective future functioning for Civics without funds. Voluntarism alone cannot sustain and develop organisations.

SUB-THEME 2.3 : RELATIONSHIP OF CIVICS WITH OTHER ORGANISATIONS IN THE COMMUNITY (NGOs, CBOs and Political Parties)

CIVIC ASSOCIATION NO. 1 [WECUSA]

RESPONDENT A

As WECUSA we work closely with other organisations, for example, SANCO, United Residents Front, Lingelethu for the Community, etc. In some areas the relationship is formalised. We do meet from time to time with these organisations, but with SANCO we meet regularly. Civics and other organisations meet under the umbrella body of Khayelitsha Development Forum (KDF). This is a newly established forum to bring all stakeholders

together in an effort to address problems jointly. We also work very closely with NGOs, for example, organisations such as, SHAWCO, IDASA, Red Cross, Philani and others. We are in alliance with the ANC, but this is for election purposes. We work independently from political parties, but as they are community organisations we work with them in dealing with civic issues.

RESPONDENT B

We have a strong relationship with a number of organisations in the community. Our relationship with these organisations is not formalised, but with SANCO we are beginning to formalise the relationship. We have good relationship with IDASA who are helping us with the issue of capacity building. Other NGOs that we work with include SHAWCO, Red Cross, NICRO, etc. We are in alliance with the ANC. Our relationship with ANC dates back to 1989 when a delegation was sent to Lusaka to meet with Oliver Tambo to discuss problems in our communities. In the days of UDF it was agreed that we can form our own organisation to deal with problems in informal settlement areas. We are however not aligned to SANCO, they are an independent organisation, but we do work together to address community issues.

RESPONDENT C

We are working together with other organisations in the community and that includes NGOs such as SHAWCO and IDASA, and we also cooperate with other Civic organisations. When SANCO calls a general meeting in the community we attend and they also attend our meetings. There is however no proper coordination of activities of various organisations.

We are aligned to the ANC because of our history. WECUSA was formed after a delegation was sent to Lusaka to meet with Oliver Tambo. We stayed there for three weeks and after a number of discussions it was decided that we should form our own organisation. In the 80s, when political organisations were banned, we were operating underground for the ANC.

CIVICS ASSOCIATION NO. 2 [SANCO]

RESPONDENT A

We are still at initial stages of trying to forge relationships with other organisations, WECUSA has shown interest in working with us, and to facilitate this we have set up a committee. SANCO is the only dominant Civic organisation in Khayelitsha, but there are organisations which claim to exist and some of them we only read about them on papers. So far we do not have any formal relationship with NGOs but we do work with them. Our relationship with the ANC is formalised, we meet with them every week to

discuss our plans and other issues of concern. We are however independent of the ANC, in the sense that we have our own structures and we are able to take decisions free from their influence.

RESPONDENT B

We have good relationship with other organisations like church groups, other Civic organisations. There are problems with NGOs because they are too many and they are not united. It is therefore difficult for us to liaise with them. There is a newly formed NGO forum and we hope it will make it possible to work together with these organisations.

We do have a formal relationship with the ANC, but I think we need to redefine it because of the new dispensation in which we are.

RESPONDENT C

We do not have any formal relationship with other organisations, but we have a working relationship with them depending on the needs in the community. The ideal is to establish some form of a formal relationship, but at the moment we have not achieved that yet. It is by working together with all stakeholders that we can be able to develop and improve the standards of living in our communities. At the moment we are working together with NICRO in fighting against crime.

We are in alliance with the ANC. The nature of the relationship is a debatable issue at the moment, there are concerns that the alliance should be reviewed. We are also beginning to work closely with other Civic organisations, for example, WECUSA. We have come to understand that as Civics we need to work together. Civics should not fight against each other. At the moment IDASA is helping us in bringing all Civic organisations together and if things might go well we might end up with one Civic structure.

Discussion on Sub-Theme 2.3 : The Relationship of Civics with other Organisations in the Community.

The findings of this study show that Civics have a long way to go in terms of building relationship with other community organisations. Organisations seem still to be functioning on their own, with little coordination of activities. Civics who participated in this study, that is, WECUSA and SANCO, both acknowledge that there is no coordination and they have realised a need for cooperation between organisations in the community. Recent developments in this regard has been the formation of the Khayelitsha Development Forum, which aims to bring all organisations together. This is a move in the right direction because development can take place effectively when all organisations are jointly involved. Community participation is a key to development. The formation of Khayelitsha Development Forum will facilitate

participation and it is something in line with the RDP's thesis that, multipartite forums representing major stakeholders from different sectors should be established. Existing forums should be restructured to promote efficient and effective participation of civil society in decision making. Such forums should exist at national, provincial and local levels (RDP,1994).

The two Civics that are involved in this study are both aligned to the ANC. Many people, including respondents interviewed in this study, believe that the nature of the relationship between Civics and political organisations should be reviewed. If the relationship continues as it is now, Civics will lose credibility as the representatives of people on the ground, for example, people who are not members of the ANC will find it difficult to participate in the activities of SANCO because they see it as an "extension" of the ANC. It is therefore crucial for Civics to redefine their relationship with political organisations. The emphasis of such a relationship should rather be on cooperation, in contrast to the past when Civics operated as underground movements for political parties.

SUB-THEME 2.4 : THE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN AND YOUTH IN CIVICS

CIVIC ASSOCIATION NO. 1 [WECUSA]

RESPONDENT A

Women are fairly represented in our organisation and as you can see from our new executive committee, there are four women members. There are other structures like women's league which deals with women issues. Youths are also well represented in our organisation, in the executive committee we have two youths. At branch levels we also have youth portfolios.

RESPONDENT B

We do have women participating in our organisation, but that depends on who gets elected, subject to how hard working a person is. There are four women in our executive committee. We have four youths in the executive. Youths are also involved in the running of the organisation.

RESPONDENT C

We consider gender equality and that is why we have four women represented on the executive committee. We also do accommodate youth, and as a result of their involvement we have Philipi Youth Development Project.

CIVIC ASSOCIATION NO. 2 [SANCO]

RESPONDENT A

We do have women represented in our organisation, for example, our general secretary is a woman. We have five women in the executive committee. The representation of youths is still a problem, we only have two youths in the executive committee.

RESPONDENT B

Little has been achieved in this area, but we do have women and youths in our organisation, we have six women and four youth represented in the executive committee. We do not have adequate programmes targeted on addressing problems of women and youths.

RESPONDENT C

This is one area that SANCO neglected for ages. It is only in 1994 where a decision was taken to involve youths. We feel that youths should be part and parcel of decision making, for example, when addressing the problem of crime, youths should be involved. We are aware of gender equality but like I said, little has been achieved in his area.

Discussion on Sub-Theme 2.4 : The Representation of Women and Youth

The findings of this study show that Civics are aware of the importance of equal representation, particularly when it comes to youth and women. Youth have generally played a very important role in the struggle for liberation. June 16, 1976 was a turning point in the liberation struggle, and it was youth who on that day took to the streets to rebel against the oppressive system of apartheid. The re-establishment of Civics in the late 70s was linked with the organisation of youth at that time. According to Shubane and Madiba (1992 :2), "in the late 70s it was particularly students who were organised, and it was therefore essential that the 'parents or residents' also participate. Civics emerged to fill that gap in the armoury of township resistance created by lack of organisation among the parents". Women also played a crucial role in the liberation struggle. They participated in so many ways in the liberation struggle, for example, the 1956 march by Women to Union buildings to protest against the pass laws. Women and youth in particular have been historically disadvantaged. Organisations of civil society should have special programmes to empower these groups, through capacity building projects.

While the need for women and youth to participate in community organisations such as Civics has been recognised, their involvement is at the periphery, for example, women occupy positions such as secretaries and vice-secretaries. Women are expected to volunteer their time free of charge in helping organise meetings, and during the functions they are expected to prepare food. This challenges Civics to embark on real capacity building programmes to empower women and youth.

THEME 3 : THE FUTURE OF CIVICS IN A NEW DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

CIVIC ASSOCIATION NO. 1 [WECUSA]

RESPONDENT A

Civics will continue to function for a long time until things are normal. Civics have to go through transformation like any other organisations in our society. My vision is that there will be one Civic Association. The future of Civics also depends on how local government structures will function, if they will be highly politicised, Civics will continue to exist.

Our new role will be to focus on reconstruction and development of our communities, no more fighting, the aim is to build our communities and improve the standards of living. It is our role to help people understand the

transition process, people are tired of politics and they need to be provided with basic services. Our immediate concern now is to focus on the coming local government elections. We want local government structures that will be able to deliver services. We will participate in the coming local government elections under the banner of the ANC. Our role in the local government will be to continue to represent the aspirations of people on the ground.

RESPONDENT B

Yes, Civics will continue to exist because of the role that they have to play. We formed this government and we need to continuously "bark" at them if they are not doing what people want. The impact of the political changes have been positive to us because the present government recognises us, we are free to voice our problems and say to government that this is not right, and this is not what people want. The government has opened its doors to us and we can now work together.

Our future role is going to be to push for development to happen and to ensure that services are provided. We are going to work hand in hand with government in dealing with problems in our communities.

We will participate in the coming local government elections, but under the ANC. Local government structures are the third tier of government, and it is not true to say that those structures will take up the role of Civics. Local

government will deal with government issues, and Civics will continue to represent the interests of the community as a whole.

We are developing an organisational strategy that will enable us forge new relationship with government. We want the government to come to the people and discuss development plans, unlike in the past where the government used to do things without consulting people. We are also in the process of trying to change the way the organisation used to function. The previous executive committee was doing things in a loose way and the work of various departments was not properly done.

RESPONDENT C

Civics will continue to exist because they are watchdogs to government.

Government is made up of political parties, and if we demolish Civics, it will result in problems because they are there to represent people on the ground.

We are concerned with delivery of basic services, our people need houses, schools, health facilities and other basic services.

We are going to participate in the local government elections under the ANC.

In my understanding the people who will stand as Councillors from Civics will not forget where they are coming from. In this way they will continue to represent the aspirations and needs of people on the ground. I do not think local government will replace Civics, as Civics we will continue doing our work, and watching over the government to ensure delivery of services.

CIVIC ASSOCIATION NO. 2 [SANCO]

RESPONDENT A

It is very difficult to say that Civics will continue to exist because at the moment there are RDP forums in various communities and they seem to be doing what Civics have been doing. Having said that I think the future of Civics is not bright, and I personally have doubts if they will continue to exist for a long time. The impact of the political changes that occurred is that, before the new government came to power we were fighting for liberation, things have now changed. People in government are our comrades that we have been fighting together against apartheid. The struggle now has to change, the present government is prepared to talk to us. The changes that have occurred have soften our attitudes, what we have been fighting for has been achieved.

Our new role is going to be acting as watchdogs to government. As Civics we are part of civil society and our role is to ensure that the government is delivering. The political role of Civics is facing out. While we will participate in the local government elections, we will not do so as SANCO, but we will only send our candidates who will stand for ANC. Local government is not going to replace Civics, they (local government) will exist as government, and as Civics we will be there to ensure delivery and transparency.

I foresee a good relationship between Civics and local government structures and like I said, we will be talking to our comrades. As an organisation we still need to do a lot of planning about the future role of Civics. There are some areas that need restructuring, we have to check the role of SANCO at street level because there is a lot of duplication of what RDP structures are doing. We have to draw a line on who should handle what projects.

RESPONDENT B

I think that Civics will continue to exist and my dream is to see SANCO as a strong organisation which is highly respected. At the moment we do not have strong leadership to give direction, we have lost many leaders who have gone into government. The future existence of Civics is based on the fact that the government cannot always represent the interests of people, Civics will therefore have to fill the gap, we need to act as mouth piece between government and people.

SANCO has to be non-aligned with political organisations. Civics will not be credible enough if they continue to be aligned with political parties, for its own existence SANCO has to be neutral. SANCO is not going to participate in local government on its own, but we will forward our candidates to the ANC and those elected into local government will relinquish their positions in SANCO. In the 80s Civics were more like local councils, and now things have

changed and we need to redefine our role within the new dispensation. Civics are not part of the government, but the role should be to support the government.

RESPONDENT C

SANCO is still very necessary, it is like as much as we still need trade unions. Civics have a future, but there is a need to clearly defined what that role will be. I think the political changes that have occurred have weakened the structure of Civics, some people say it is because of the Civic leaders who left to join the government. I think it is due to the lack of understanding about the struggle, people think the struggle was only to have black government. The struggle is still going on and now it is the struggle against poverty. It is also not true to say that local government structures will replace Civics, we will continue to represent the interests of the community.

Discussion on Theme 3 : The Future of Civics in a New Democratic Society.

This study has found that there is a general agreement that Civics will continue to exist in a new democratic South Africa. It is also realised that in order to survive Civics will have to redefine their new role within the context of a democratic dispensation. The government is no longer the enemy, and there is now a willingness for greater cooperation between government and community based organisations.

One of the general views shared by the respondents is that, Civics should be watchdogs to government. According to Annon (in Shubane and Madiba, 1992:6) this view suggests that Civics will, for example, ensure that elected municipalities remain accountable to those who elected them and run a clean administration. The major problem with this view is that at the moment Civics are too partisan to act as watchdogs to government, for example, both Civics in this study, WECUSA and SANCO, are aligned to the ANC and they might find it difficult to challenge the ANC led government. This makes it essential for Civics to redefine their relationship with political parties. If Civics continue to engage in party politics, they will not be able to fulfil their role of watching over the government to safeguard democratic principles and effective delivery of services to communities.

The other challenge about the future role of Civics is the question of local government structures which now come into place. Unlike in the past, these structures have been democratically elected. This study has however found that Civic leaders do not see local government structures as a threat to their existence. Civics have lost experienced leaders to national, provincial and local government, for example, WECUSA and SANCO have forwarded their candidates to stand for the ANC during the local government elections. In this period of transition Civics will require strong leadership that will facilitate transformation. SANCO has, for example, recalled its former president Moses Mayekiso from the parliament to boost leadership in the organisation.

This study has also revealed that Civics see themselves as going to play a role in community development. This view is also shared by many other Civic leaders, for example, Ndukwana (1992) who stated that, "in the 90s Civics will need to play a role in development. Civics must promote peace so that they can deal with development issues that are important to the community". The problem with Civics is that they have not started with the actual process of transformation. It is not enough for Civics to say that they will be watchdogs to government and that they will play a role in development. They need to develop a clearly defined programme of action. If Civics want to continue to survive, they have to formulate new set of goals and objectives. This should happen through strategic planning processes.

5.6 SUMMARY

Chapter five is divided into two sections : the first section presented research design and methodology, significance of the study, aims and objectives of the study, limitations of the study. This a qualitative study using multiple research methodologies. Research subjects were two Civic organisations in Khayelitsha, that is, WECUSA and SANCO. Sampling was drawn using non-probability method. Data was collected through interviews.

The second section focused on presentation and analysis of data. The data was presented according to the three major themes of the study, that is, the role of Civics in a community, the structure and functioning of Civics and, the future of Civics in a new democratic society.

The study has found that Civics have a central role to play in the community, organising communities, representing the interests of the residents, helping people with problems they experience in their day to day living. Civics are involved in development projects and they are concerned about the provision of basic services in the community. There are however some issues that Civics have to deal with, for example, the question of their alliance with political parties, financial sustainability and redefining their role within the new context of democracy.

The next chapter will present major conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER 6

6. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter presents summary about the findings of the study, and the recommendations the researcher would like to make, based on the findings of the study.

6.1 CONCLUSIONS

5.1.1 The role of Civic Associations

It was the aim of this study to research the role of Civics in a community and the role they are going to play in a post apartheid South Africa. Civics are regarded as organs of civil society and therefore they have an important role to play in society. The literature reviewed in this study shows that Civics in the past were located within a resistance paradigm. Because of the changes that have occurred there will have to be a shift of focus from politics of resistance and party politics to development.

This study has found that Civics see themselves as having a major role to play in their communities. They organise communities, help people deal with problems they experience in their day to day living, promoting peace and stability. Civics regard themselves as representatives of the community and its interests. Civics have already started becoming involved in community development. This is evident through the projects they are involved with, for example, establishing RDP and Community Policing Forums, projects in housing and electrification. The concern for Civics is to ensure provision of services in the community.

Civics are also involved in the government implementation process of the RDP. Their concern revolves around the success in the implementation of the RDP which will only be achieved if RDP forums are inclusive of all community structures. This means crossing the political boundaries and beginning to work together as one in addressing the needs of the community.

This study has also found that Civics have had some success stories in their communities. Most of the development that has taken place is due to the involvement of Civics, for example, building of schools, houses, and electrification which was done through the involvement of Civics. Civics are also becoming successful in encouraging people to resume paying for their services, that is, through the Masakhane campaign.

Civics are however also faced with many problems that impinge on their functioning. The most serious problem they are faced with is the lack of funds to operate and to initiate other development projects. Unless this problem is addressed, Civics will not continue to function for long. The findings of this study have shown that Civics do not have any stable adequate source of funds since they are solely dependent on subscription fees, which do not generate enough funds for them to operate. This poses a serious threat to the future existence of Civics. The situation is made worse because Civics do not seem to have a clear strategy on how to deal with this problem.

The other serious problem facing Civics is that their role is not yet clearly defined within this new local government dispensation. This creates organisational problems because they end up functioning haphazardly without any programme of action. In the end Civics will become what they were in the 80s, that is, they will become reactionary movements engaged in single-issue campaigns, and reacting to whatever issue is of interest at the time, for example, high service charges.

6.1.2 The structure, nature and functioning of Civics

In an attempt to further understand the role of Civics in a community, it is essential to explore the structure, organisation and functioning of such institutions.

The study has found that Civics are community based organisations formed by residents themselves. The organisational structure of Civics start with street committees, block committees, branches, regional, provincial and national executive committees. The study has found that the term of office varies from one to two years depending on the particular Civic organisation. In this study, for example, WECUSA's term of office is one year and for SANCO is two years.

Civics have realised a need to move towards greater cooperation and begin to work with other organisations. The data gathered however shows that it is not much that has been achieved in terms of Civics establishing formal working relationships with other organisations within and outside the community. While they are beginning to work together with other organisations, that relationship is not formalised. The findings of the study however, do indicate that Civics have a strong relationship with political organisations, for example, the two Civics involved in this study do have a formal relationship with the ANC. The respondents in this study also

acknowledge that the nature of the relationship needs to be reviewed. It is strongly argued that if the relationship continues as it is at the moment, Civics will lose credibility and they will not be able to claim to be representatives of the community as a whole.

On the question of the representation of women and youth, the study has found that a need has been realised to involve these groups which have been left out in the past. Women and Youth are starting to participate in the activities of Civics but there is however, a need to do more.

6.1.3 The future of Civics in a democratic society

The crux of this study was to explore whether Civics will continue to exist, and if so what future role are they going to play? The study has found that of the six respondents, five are of the view that Civics will continue to exist in a democratic South Africa. They maintain that Civics will continue to represent the interests of the people on the ground, and that they will be watchdogs to government. This view is however contested. It is argued that Civics are too partisan to act that role. This is therefore a challenge for Civics to redefine their relationship with political parties. If Civics want to play a watchdog role they should abandon party politics, assume that function and also focus on development issues to maintain community relations.

The respondents in this study have, however, acknowledged that to ensure future existence of Civics they have to redefine their role and the relationship with political parties. Civics see themselves as playing a role in the development of their communities. Civics are concerned with ensuring provision of basic services such as water, electricity, building of schools, health facilities and roads.

While Civics have realised a need to change their role and to move towards development work, the findings of this study show that Civics do not as yet have any strategic plan in this regard. The danger is that if Civics do not develop a strategic plan about their future role and secure sustainable finance they might well die a natural death.

It is only one respondent who holds the view that the future of Civics is not looking bright. He is of the idea that RDP forums that are being established are taking up the role of Civics, and as such Civics will not have any basis for existence. RDP forums truly will play an essential role in the communities, and if properly established, will be able to bring people from across the political spectrum together. Once those structures are organised they will be able to deliver tangible goods and services to the community in partnership with local authorities.

The new democratic local government structures that have come into place are a challenge to the future of Civics. The findings of this study however dismiss this as a myth. The respondents in this study do not see local government structures as a threat to their existence. They foresee a situation where Civics will work together with local government, and support them in delivering services to the community. The view that democratic local government will take up the role of Civics is based on the notion that, in the past Civics gained prominence because local government authorities were illegitimate. Civics came in as legitimate structures to represent the interests of the community. In the early 90s, the apartheid government also started to recognise Civics, and they engaged them in negotiations about development issues and restructuring of local government authorities.

In conclusion, the study has found that Civics maintain that they will continue to exist in a democratic South Africa, play a role in development, and also act as watchdogs to government at all levels. There are however, questions that still remain to be researched in future.

These are :

- * Will Civics ever break away from political parties, and if not, what still remains of the alliance ?
- * How will Civics finance themselves in order to survive ?
- * Will Civics really be watchdogs to government, or will they just play a limited role of lobbying the government, just like Rate Payers Associations or Civic groups in white areas ?
- * Unity or co-operation, that is, should Civics form one organisation or should they opt for co-operation ?

6.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

The researcher would like to make the following recommendations :

6.2.1 Defining the new role

Civics should, as a matter of urgency engage themselves in a strategic planning process, re-defining their role within the democratic society. It is not enough for Civics to say that they will play a role in development and/or they will be watchdog to government without contextualising that and having clear plans on how it will happen.

6.2.2 Re-defining the relationship with political parties

In deciding about their future role, one of the central issues should be the question of their alliance with political parties. Civics have to redefine their relationship with political parties. Indications are that if Civics continue their alliance with political parties they will lose credibility in the community and as a result they will fail to claim that they are representatives of the community as a whole.

Civics should secure their future by strengthening their base as organs of civil society. In this way they will be able to play the watchdog role and address civic issues that affect people in their communities.

6.2.3 A move towards greater co-operation

Government, NGOs and other organisations should render supportive services to Civics and help them move through the transition stage. Such help could be in the form of capacity building and also with funds. The need for greater cooperation amongst different organisations cannot be over emphasized and what is left is to put that into practice.

Civics need to be assisted with capacity building, that is, they need training in leadership, organising, coordination, planning and administrative skills. This will help them deal with the problems they experience, the most crucial one being lack of funds.

7. REFERENCES

Atkinson, D (May,1992). 'State and Civil Society Influx : Parameters Of A Changing Debate' Theoria,79 :1-27.

Bailey, K D 1987. **Methods of Social Research.** New York : Free Press, Macmillan Inc.

Bell, J 1993. **Doing your Research Project.** Bristol, Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Bernstein, A & McCarthy, J (Nov 1994). 'Community Organisations And A Democratic South Africa'. Journal of Development And Democracy 8: 68-81.

Biddle, W & Biddle, L 1965. **The Community Development Process.** New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc.

Botha, T (May 1992). 'Civics Associations As Autonomous Organs Of Grassroots' Participation' Theoria, 79 :57-74.

Cary, L J 1989. **Community Development as a process.** Columbia: University of Missouri Press.

Chandhoke, N 1992. **State and Civil Society.** Explorations in Political Theory. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Christianson, D & Ndukwana, S (Nov 1994). ' **The Future Of Civics : Contours Of The Debate**' Journal of Development And Democracy, 8: 38-49.

Clarke, J.G.I 1993. **Human Scale Development : A South African Perspective.** Bellville, South Africa : Ecumenical Foundation of Southern Africa.

Connor O P B (N.d). **Needs and Satisfiers, Reflections on Consumerism.** The Network for Human Scale Development (Southern Africa) Western Cape Province.

Cooper, C & Ensor 1981. **A Black Mass Movement.** South African Institute of Race Relations. PEBCO

Cox F M, Erlich, J L, Rothman, J & Tropman, J E (eds) 1987. **Strategies of Community Development** (4th edition). Itasca: Illinois F.E. Peacock Publishers Inc.

Cullinan, K (December 1992). **Building Unity is a Painful Process.** Work In Progress 86 :5-16.

Dunham, A 1970. **The New Community Organisation.** New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Inc.

Edward, A D & Jones, D G 1976. **Community and Community Development.** The Hague, Netherlands: Mouton & Co.

Ferrinho, H 1991. **Towards A Theory Of Community Development.** Cape Town: Juta & CO.

Francis, B 1988. **The Proposal Cook Book** (5th Edition). Minneapolis, MocoFutures, Inc.

Focus. No. 3, January 1993.

Foster - Carter, A 1985. **The Sociology of Development.** Ormskirk: Camsey Press LTD.

Gran, G 1983. **Development by people.** New York: Praeger Publishers.

Gray, M. A 1993. **The Relationship Between Social Work, Ethics and Politics.** Ph.D. thesis, University of Natal, Durban.

Gray, M. A 1996. **Towards an Understanding of Developmental Social Work.** Social Work Practice, 1: 9-13

Grinnel, R. M 1988. **Social Work Research & Evaluation.** (3rd edition) Itasca, Illinois: F E Peacock Publishers, Inc.

Heymans, C 1993. 'Towards Peoples Development ? Civic Association and Development In South Africa ' Urban Forum, Witwatersrand University. 4, 1 :1-19.

Jacobs, B (pseud.) December 1992. **SANCO: Heading For Disaster ?** Work In Progress 86 :23-25

Journal of the Human Rights Trust : October 1993.

Katan, J 1990. **Social Workers and Client Participation In Human Service Organisations : Professional Disengagement and its Potential Sources.** Social Development Issues, 12, (3): 27-37.

Kaunda, L . **Research Methods: Intricacies of data collection.** Monday Paper, July 29 - August 05, 1996. Media Services Section, Department of Development and Public Affairs, University of Cape Town, 15.20.

Keck, M (Dec.1994). **Social Movements in Brazil.** Journal of Development and Democracy, 8, 2-9.

Klein, L&Mkhabela (July 1994). **'Contesting Public Space For Democracy'** Paper presented to the project for a Civil Society Conference, Cape Town.

Korten, D & Klauss R 1984. **People Centred Development:** contributions towards theory and planning framework. West Hartford, Connecticut: Kumarran Press.

Lingeletu West City Council, 1992. **Community Profile**, Khayelitsha.

Max - Neef, M A 1991. **Human Scale Development.** New York: Apex Press.

Mayekiso, M 1993. **'Institutions That Themselves Need To Be Watched Over'** Urban Forum, Witwatersrand University Press, 4, 1 :21-54.

Mayibuye, June 1991. 2, 5.

Meintjies, F 1994. **Community -Based Organisations and Development.** Journal of Development and Democracy, 7 :12-16.

Midgley, J 1995. **Social Development: The Developmental Perspectives in Social Welfare.** London: SAGE Publications.

Midgley, J 1996. **The Developmental Perspective in Social Welfare : Transcending Residual and Institutional Models.** Social Work Practice. 1 :2-5.

Moss, G & Obery, I 1992. **South Africa Review 6, From "Red Friday" To CODESA.** Braamfontein, South Africa: Ravan Press.

Ndukwana, S 1994 **The Future Of Civics.** Journal of Development and Democracy 8 :22-25.

Njobe, B 1994. **The Role of Civics.** Journal of Development and Democracy, 8 :36-37.

Nzimande, B & Skosana, M 1992. **"Civil Society", Mass Organisations and Peoples' Power In South Africa.** Paper presented at the Ruth First Memorial Colloquium, University of Western Cape, 17 - 18 August 1992.

Nzimande, B. & Skosana, M 1992. **Civil Society and Democracy.** African Communist (1st qtr.)

Oxford Dictionary of Current English, 1992. New York, Oxford University Press Inc.

Paul, S 1988. **Community Participation in Development Projets.** Washington DC, World Bank.

Reconstruction and Development Programme: A policy framework 1994. Johannesburg, South Africa, African National Congress.

Roberts, H 1979. **Community Development : learning and action.** Toronto Buffalo London, University of Toronto Press.

Rubin , A & Babbie, E 1993. **Research Method for Social Work** (2nd Edition) California: Wadsworth Inc.

SANCO's Constitution 1992.

Schelmmer, L 1992. **Transition to Democracy : policy perspectives.** Cape Town : Oxford University Press.

Schreiner, G 1993. **Civil Society and Development.** Monitor: Journal of Human Rights Trust, Oct. 1993.

Seers, D 1971 **Development in a Divided World.** Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Shubane, K 1994. **The Future Of Civics.** Indicator : Centre for Policy Studies, University of Witwatersrand, 11, 12 :40-42.

Shubane, K May 1992. **'Civil Society In Apartheid And Post-Apartheid South Africa'** Theoria, 79 :33-41.

Shubane, K & Madiba, P 1992. **The Struggle Continues ? Civics Associations In Transition.** Johannesburg, Centre for Policy Studies: University of Witwatersrand.

Smith, D M 1990. **Apartheid In South Africa**. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

Swilling, R, Humphries, R & Shubane, K (eds) 1991. **Apartheid City In Transition** . Cape Town : Oxford University Press Southern Africa.

Swilling, M 1993. **Civic Associations in South Africa**. Urban Forum. Witwatersrand University Press, 4, 2 :15-35.

Tsenoli, L 1994. **Interview with Lechesa Tsenoli**. Journal of Development and Democracy, 8 :31-35.

Van Zyl, J 1994. **What is Human Scale Development ?** The Network for Human Scale Development (Southern Africa). Western Cape Province.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Introducing the researcher and the purpose of the study.

QUESTIONS

A. Theme one : The role of Civic Associations in a community.

- * What is the role of Civic Associations in a community ?
- * What is your involvement in community development ?
- * How do you see your role in the implementation of RDP ?
- * What challenges are you confronted with in development work ?
- * What do you regard as your major achievements ?

B Theme two : The structure and functioning of Civic Associations

- * What is the structure of organisation ?
 - How is the community represented ?
 - How do people get elected to serve in committees ?

- * How do you finance your organisation ?
- * What is your relationship with other organisations in the community, eg, NGOs, Political Parties ?

C. Theme 3 : The future of Civic Associations

- * Do you think Civics will continue to exist and function in a new democratic order ?
- * How do you see your role in our new order ?
 - What issues are going to be of focus in your functioning ?
- * What will be the relationship between Civics and local government institutions ?

- * What is your organisation doing to adapt its nature and functioning to present socio-economic and political changes ?

CONCLUSION

Thanking the respondent for participating in the study and for his/her time.