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**An investigation of factors impacting on facilitators' implementation of  
a participatory development programme in Orange Farm, South Africa.**

**DEBORAH R. DIEDERICKS**

**DDRDEB001**

This thesis is presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master  
of Education in the Centre for Higher Education and Development.

**FACULTY OF THE HUMANITIES  
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN**

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Supervisors: Doctors Salma Ismail

and

Linda Cooper

## DECLARATION

This dissertation represents original work by the author and has not been previously submitted in any form to any university. Where use has been made of the work of others, this has been duly acknowledged and referenced in the text.

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ 

Signed by candidate
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Date: 9 Feb 2009

## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis is concerned with investigating how four specific factors affected the implementation of a particular participatory development programme. As such, it is a case study of the Vukani group: a group of facilitators who implemented the participatory development programme of REFLECT in their area of Orange Farm, Johannesburg.

The four factors guiding my empirical research were: facilitators' prior experience in doing development work, personal motivations of facilitators, the extent and nature of organisational support for facilitators, and the extent and nature of facilitator peer support.

REFLECT - Regenerated Freirean Literacy through Empowering Community Techniques - is an approach to adult literacy with a strong focus on participatory learning processes. It is a fusion of Freirean educational philosophies and the practical methodologies of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA). 'Implementation', for the purpose of this thesis, refers to the regular facilitation of a REFLECT circle, guiding circle members through the REFLECT learning cycle of critical analysis, reflection and action.

The Vukani group was selected as the case study group, based on documented evidence that they had indeed implemented REFLECT. They were trained as REFLECT facilitators in October 2003. Four years later these facilitators had eight REFLECT

circles running - two of which had been regularly meeting since late 2003 - and various community projects.

My research is situated within an interpretivist framework, using qualitative data gathering methods. Interviews and observations were therefore my main fieldwork research tools. Additionally, the analysis of documentation, such as internal organisational documents and external research reports, provided in-depth information about the Vukani facilitators and their REFLECT circles.

In summary, the evidence suggested that the following factors had indeed aided the Vukani facilitators in their implementation of REFLECT.

Firstly, the facilitators' prior experience in doing development work. There was a clear progression that started from their involvement in another development programme and culminated in the eventual registration of Vukani.

Secondly, the support that these facilitators had received in starting their own organisation, the function of arbitration that the independent board members fulfilled, and the ongoing training and remuneration provided, are all evidence of extensive organisational support that undoubtedly aided the Vukani facilitators in their implementation of REFLECT.

Thirdly, the evidence suggested that the Vukani facilitators had a strongly developed peer support structure, with interpersonal relationships based on strong reciprocal trust, and that this had played a significant role in their implementation of REFLECT.

Finally, with regard to facilitators' personal motivation, this dissertation maintains that it was not the *initial* personal motivation and commitment of the facilitators that aided their implementation of REFLECT, but rather that the combined factors of prior experience in development work, consistent organisational support and the development of strong peer support systems, together allowed for the development and steady growth of deep personal motivation and commitment to implement REFLECT.

As the latter undoubtedly aided the Vukani facilitators in their implementation of REFLECT, this dissertation concludes that the implementation of participatory development programmes is likely to be positively affected by built-in processes, such as organisational and peer support mechanisms, that allow for the consistent development and growth of positive personal motivation and commitment of facilitators.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

These few pieces of paper have tried and tested me in ways that I did not think it was possible for academic writing to do. Therefore the acknowledgements will have to take the form of thanksgiving.

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Finally, thanksgiving to God for being with me in the still small hours of the night when I did not know what I was trying to do or why. For teaching me patience and interdependence through debilitating pain. For hemming me in at the moments that familial crises and trauma made me want to run away and bury my head in the sand of another continent. For giving me the dream and then the will and the means to pursue it.

Where does my help come from?  
My help comes from the Lord, the Maker of heaven and earth  
He will not let my foot slip, and He neither slumbers nor sleeps (Psalm 121)

## **DEDICATION**

**I dedicate this thesis to the Vukani facilitators in Orange Farm.**

University of Cape Town

## GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS AND ORGANISATIONS

- CBO** Community Based Organisation
- IIZ/DVV** The Institute für Internationale Zusammenarbeit des Deutschen Volkshochschul-Verbandes, more commonly known as the *dvv international*, is part of the German system of adult education with its national, European and international goals, tasks and activities. Since 1994 in South Africa, the *dvv international's* prime focus has been the support and consolidation of NGOs working in the field of Adult Basic Education and Training. It has become one of the key advocates and supporters of REFLECT as an approach to development in South Africa and funded the training of the Khayelitsha facilitators.
- PRA** Participatory Rural Appraisal is a label given to a growing family of participatory approaches and methods that emphasize local knowledge and enable local people to make their own appraisal, analysis, and plans. PRA uses group animation and exercises to facilitate information sharing, analysis, and action among stakeholders.
- REFLECT** Regenerated Freirean Literacy and Empowering Communication Techniques is an international approach to adult learning and social change.
- SARN** South Africa REFLECT Network represents participants, practitioners, organisations, and adult education and development activists across South Africa who are either using REFLECT or advocating for it as an accepted and preferred means to contribute to the realisation of the rights of the poor. As such it plays a central role in the promotion and effective implementation of REFLECT in South Africa.

- Sena** Sena is the pseudonym for the CBO in Khayelitsha that the IIZ/DVV depended on with regard to the recruitment of the Khayelitsha participants, and the provision of subsequent organisational support.
- SHARE** SHARE Community Development Project is an NGO in Somerset West, a town in the Western Cape that has adopted REFLECT to address issues relating to entrepreneurship/ poverty alleviation and strengthening community structures.
- Size** Size is the pseudonym for the CBO that the Vukani members all belonged to before they founded Vukani.
- Vukani** Vukani is the pseudonym for the Section 21 (not for profit) Company that people in Orange Farm started after their REFLECT Facilitator Training.

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# CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Description of the study

Rogers (1992: 169) asks a key question: since it is patently clear that the quality of life of the vast majority of the world's population is not improving, what is stopping development from being effective? One could write several dissertations trying to answer this question. One of the subdivisions of the question, would be to investigate the factors that aid or inhibit facilitators with regard to implementing development programmes.

This thesis is an attempt to answer a small, but important, fraction of the larger question. The research question is:

*How do the following four factors affect the implementation of a particular participatory development programme?*

- i) facilitators' prior experience in doing development work,*
- ii) personal motivation of facilitators,*
- iii) the extent and nature of organisational support for facilitators, and*
- iv) the extent and nature of facilitator peer support.*

The dissertation is a qualitative case study of a sample of a group of people from Orange Farm, Gauteng, who were the facilitators implementing REFLECT, a participatory development programme. This dissertation investigates how the above-mentioned four factors affected these facilitators' implementation of REFLECT.

REFLECT (Regenerated Freirean Literacy through Empowering Community Techniques) is an approach to adult literacy with a strong focus on participatory learning processes. It builds on the theoretical framework developed by Brazilian educator Paulo Freire, who believed that adult education should be about creating a critical

consciousness in people (Newman, 1993), while providing a practical methodology by drawing on Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) techniques.

Similar to other participatory development programmes, an integral part of the REFLECT implementation process is the training of local people as facilitators. REFLECT facilitators are trained to lead small participatory discussion groups, called 'circles', through a learning cycle that is designed to help people critically engage with their surroundings.

Members of the case study group, with one exception, were trained to be REFLECT facilitators in October 2003. Almost a year later they and their colleagues had formed a formally accredited Section 21 (not for profit) Company, Vukani<sup>1</sup>. Three years later, these facilitators, whom I will refer to as the Vukani group, were facilitating eight REFLECT circles - two of which had been continually meeting since late 2003 - and various community projects had been initiated through the circles.

In the remainder of this chapter I will give an overview of the origin, development and methodology of REFLECT, followed by a brief discussion of the South African development context in general, and thereafter the specific context of Orange Farm, the township in which Vukani is operating. The chapter concludes with revisiting the research question and outlining the structure of the rest of the dissertation.

## **1.2 The origin and methodology of REFLECT**

There is an abundance of literature on the use and implementation of REFLECT in a variety of contexts. It was therefore necessary to be selective in the discussion of this approach, so that what follows is a short overview of REFLECT.

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<sup>1</sup> Pseudonym.

### 1.2.1 A new approach to adult literacy

David Archer and Sarah Cottingham (1996b: 6), two of the main theorists and developers of REFLECT, describe it as an “approach to adult literacy<sup>2</sup> that fuses the theory of Freire and the practice of PRA”.

Archer and Cottingham (1996a: 14) state that in developing REFLECT they accepted that literacy is not in itself empowering, “that it does not in itself transform people and their ways of being”, as there is insufficient evidence to show that adult literacy leads to modernisation or changed attitudes, to democracy or to increased productivity.

This argument is supported by a World Bank Discussion Paper, published in 1994, which reviewed adult literacy programmes worldwide for a period of thirty years. It estimated that for every 100 learners who joined classes, on average only twelve of them actually learnt to read and write, and that adult literacy programmes have, in general, failed to link literacy to wider development (Abadzi cited in Archer and Cottingham, 1996a: 14).

However, although “literacy work contains no magic answer for any society” (Wagner cited in Archer and Cottingham, 1996a: 13),

the *process* of learning literacy is a significant moment in an adult's life. Joining a literacy class represents, in one way or another, a desire for something to change. The experience of learning - what happens within the process - is thus of fundamental importance in determining what happens to that desire. The imparting of literacy techniques will not significantly transform lives, but the wider processes involved and the *collective experience* of learning may do so (my italics) (Archer and Cottingham, 1996a: 14).

In effect, they are agreeing with Freire, who saw literacy acquisition as an area of education which, through the process of teaching a skill, could teach participative behaviour (Walters, 1989: 85). Freire described Brazilians as having no experience of

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<sup>2</sup> See Brian Street (1993, 1995) and Allan Luke (1996) for a deeper discussion with regards to literacy and how it is defined; and Archer and Cottingham (1996) and Ian MacPherson (2007) for a discussion on how REFLECT locates itself as an approach to literacy within the various debates about what it means to be ‘literate’.

democracy and believed that the people had to learn democratic behaviour through the experience of it. The desire to contribute to the development of a truly participative society was a strong motivation behind Freire's work (Walters, 1998: 84).

However, even though REFLECT is based on a theoretical framework developed by Paulo Freire, it is not an uncritical borrowing of his ideas. Archer and Cottingham (1996a: 18) identify the most serious problem with Freire, as his failure to formulate an effective literacy methodology.

Archer and Cottingham (1996a: 14,17) argue that almost all adult literacy programmes worldwide fundamentally use the same method, a method that is based on the use of the 'primer'<sup>3</sup>, and that although Freire criticised past primers, he ended up re-inventing them.

[Primers] were no longer developed by all those in isolation, but rather were produced following local socio-economic and linguistic research. Nevertheless the reinvented primers were very prescriptive: "The first generative word should be trisyllabic... Having chosen seventeen generative words the next step is to codify seventeen existential situations" (Freire cited in Archer and Cottingham, 1996a: 16-17).

Archer and Cottingham (1996a: 16) state that many of those who claim to be using Freirean methods, have simply replaced 'mechanical primers' with more socially-based words, phrases and pictures whilst retaining the essential structure and vehicle of the primer, since they still use a pre-fixed 'external' text.

Moreover, REFLECT theorists and practitioners define 'literacy' as broader than an individual's operative skills, i.e., the capacity for reading, writing and numeracy. Being literate also involves visual and oral communication, including proficiency in the language of power, comprehension of specific relevant vocabulary, and the confidence and ability to express oneself (Macpherson, 2007: 6).

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<sup>3</sup> The "primer" is the standard basic adult literacy textbook. "most of them have 20 or 30 lessons and each lesson starts with a picture which is supposedly based on the local reality of the learners" (Archer and Cottingham, 1996a: 15).

It is thus exactly this broad definition of what it means to be literate, combined with the desire to avoid the use of prefixed external texts, that brought REFLECT theorists to Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA). PRA practitioners start from the recognition that poor communities have a wealth of technical and social indigenous knowledge and argue that what is needed are techniques to enable non-literates to articulate their knowledge (Archer and Cottingham, 1996a: 18). They have therefore developed a wide range of techniques based on the idea that visualisation can help participation<sup>4</sup> (Archer and Cottingham, 1996a: 18).

### 1.2.2 Piloting REFLECT

ACTIONAID<sup>5</sup> used the PRA technique in pilot projects with 1 550 women and 420 men in more than 100 villages in Uganda, El Salvador and Bangladesh over a two-year period (October 1993 - September 1995), to develop and test REFLECT - Regenerated Freirean Literacy through Empowering Community Techniques - as an attempt to re-examine the basic methodology of adult literacy programmes and to provide an alternative.

In the subsequent report, *Action Research Report on REFLECT: The experiences of three REFLECT pilot projects in Uganda, Bangladesh, El Salvador*<sup>6</sup>, Archer and Cottingham (1996a: 96) conclude that the "REFLECT approach proved to be both more effective at teaching people to read and write and more effective at linking literacy to wider development".

Of those adults who initially enrolled in REFLECT circles 65% in El Salvador, 60% in Bangladesh and 68% in Uganda, achieved basic literacy over a one year period. This compared to 43%, 26% and 22% in the respective control groups

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<sup>4</sup> PRA techniques had been applied to broad appraisals, detailed diagnoses of health needs and local agriculture but, until the REFLECT pilot programmes, they had not been applied to literacy programmes (Archer and Cottingham, 1996a: 18).

<sup>5</sup> ActionAid is an international anti-poverty agency the aim of which is to fight poverty worldwide. Formed in 1972, it has been working with over 13 million of the world's poorest and most disadvantaged people in 42 countries worldwide.

<sup>6</sup> The REFLECT *Mother Manual* was published concurrently with this report and, as the name suggests, it is the handbook of REFLECT methodology.

(and a typical 25% according to Abadzi<sup>7</sup>)... Participants in REFLECT circles remained well motivated and dropped out in much lower numbers than those in the control groups<sup>8</sup> (Archer and Cottingham, 1996a: 96).

By 1998 there were REFLECT programmes in 25 countries, implemented by 95 organisations ranging from local NGOs to governments (Archer, 1998:31; Cottingham, 1998:43). In 2003 it won the United Nations International Literacy Award and by 2007 REFLECT was being used by over 500 organisations in 70 countries (Macpherson, 2007: 9).

### 1.2.3 REFLECT and literacy in South Africa

I will give a brief outline of the state of literacy in South Africa drawing on the report, *The development and state of the art of adult learning and education (ALE)* compiled by John Aitchison and Hassana Alidou for the CONFINTEA VI Preparatory Conference in 2008. In spite of decades of sustained efforts to eradicate illiteracy in Sub-Saharan Africa, illiteracy rates of adults (persons aged 15 years and above) remain high with disparities between men and women and between urban and rural areas. Illiteracy has several social implications such as low productivity and lower incomes which has some linkage with HIV/AIDS and therefore has effect on all national development efforts. In South Africa there is an estimated adult literacy rate of 86% in 2000- 2004 (EFA Global Monitoring Report, 2005).

According to above mentioned report, literacy programmes in Sub-Saharan Africa take several forms, namely:

- mass literacy campaigns generally driven by the state, such as the Kha Ri Gude mass literacy campaign in South Africa,
- functional literacy (often either adult basic education or literacy packaged with some form of life skills or technical or income generation training),

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<sup>7</sup> In the World Bank Discussion Paper, published in 1994.

<sup>8</sup> For a full write up of these pilot studies and the subsequent REFLECT theory see Archer, D. & Cottingham, S. (1996) *Action Research Report on REFLECT: The experiences of three REFLECT pilot projects in Uganda, Bangladesh, El Salvador*; Archer, D. & Cottingham, S. (1996) *The REFLECT Mother Manual*; and Archer, D. & Newman, K. (2003) *Communication and Power*.

- innovative participative NGO programmes (such as the REFLECT method) and
- the more recent stress in intergenerational family literacy projects (Aitchison and Alidou, 2008: 8).

Kha Ri Gude, the mass literacy campaign for South Africa, aims to reduce the level of illiteracy in South Africa by reaching 4.7 million illiterates (those who have never been to school) and 4.9 million functional illiterates (those who dropped out of school before grade 7) by the end of 2012.

REFLECT differs from Kha Ri Gude as well as other literacy approaches mainly in that it does not make use of a primer, or standardised adult basic literacy textbook. Instead, each circle produces their own learning materials analysing their own immediate circumstances and environment (Archer and Cottingham, 1996a: 22). This allows, and it indeed encourages, countries to reinterpret the approach to suit its own needs (Rogers, 2005: 50). However, the process of producing learning materials appropriate to a particular context inevitably requires facilitators to develop highly effective facilitation skills. Hence the implementation of REFLECT relies heavily on the facilitators, and it is this fact, in turn, that secures the relevance of my research focus, namely, investigating specific factors that may or may not impact on facilitators' implementation of REFLECT.

By 2003, there were several organisations in South Africa that were using the REFLECT approach to support a wide range of development and educational objectives, including family/adult literacy, HIV/AIDS, citizenship and sustainable democracy, natural resource management, economic empowerment and strengthening livelihoods. In early 2003, the organisations established an informal self-supporting partnership administered by the *dvy international*<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup> The *dvy international* or IIZ/DVV - Institute für Internationale Zusammenarbeit des Deutschen Volkshochschul-Verbandes - is part of the German system of adult education with its national, European and international goals, tasks and activities. Since 1994 in South Africa, the *dvy international*'s prime focus has been the support and consolidation of NGOs working in the field of Adult Basic Education and Training.

Subsequently, in July 2005, the South Africa REFLECT Network (SARN) was formally established as the consolidation of this partnership into a structured autonomous network (Knight, 2004: 4). SARN currently plays a central role in the promotion and effective implementation of REFLECT in South Africa. SARN is supported by the *dvv international*, who has become one of the key advocates for, and supporters of, REFLECT as an approach to development in South Africa.

### 1.2.4 REFLECT circles and learning cycles

Central to the REFLECT approach are its so-called 'learning circles'. Based on Freire's literacy circles, these circles are formed from pre-existing community groups (for example, women's groups, arts, HIV / AIDS or entrepreneurial groups) or from new groups who come together to gain literacy, numeracy and communication skills and to improve their livelihood (Coakley, 2005: 7-8).

These circles meet regularly and the idea is that each facilitator takes her/his circle through the REFLECT learning cycle. Each circle produces their own learning materials analysing their own immediate circumstances and environment, and so REFLECT facilitators begin each unit with the construction of a graphic using PRA techniques or a participatory tool. The topic or overall theme of the unit will depend on the issues that the circle has identified and prioritized in their initial meetings. Graphics can include various kinds of maps<sup>10</sup>, Venn diagrams, matrices, calendars, charts, cause and effect trees<sup>11</sup>, and so on (Coakley, 2005: 8).

The illustration on the next page shows the steps involved in the REFLECT learning cycle, beginning with the **participatory tool** at the top, and then going in a clockwise direction. Participants build their graphic on the ground using locally available materials, which facilitates a physically participatory process. Furthermore, the use of the graphics

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<sup>10</sup> See appendix A for an example of one kind of REFLECT map that was constructed by participants during a REFLECT Facilitator Training workshop.

<sup>11</sup> A full description of these graphics and how to make and use them is provided in the *REFLECT Mother Manual (1996)* and *Communication and Power (2003)*.

ensures that the starting point for discussion is the participants' existing knowledge. Moreover, once everyone has agreed that the "graphic" is complete it is transferred to a large sheet of paper using simple visual cards, which means that this knowledge is permanently recorded and displayed (Archer and Cottingham, 1996a: 24).

Hereafter, the participants record the graphic in their notebooks, and this graphic forms the focal point or framework for **discussions and analysis**, allowing participants to explore problems and solutions (Coakley, 2005: 8). The completed graphic is then used for the introduction of **reading and writing as well as numeracy work**. The whole process involves the REFLECT participants in a clearly focused dialogue which can lead to the **identification of local action for development** (Archer and Cottingham, 1996a:20).

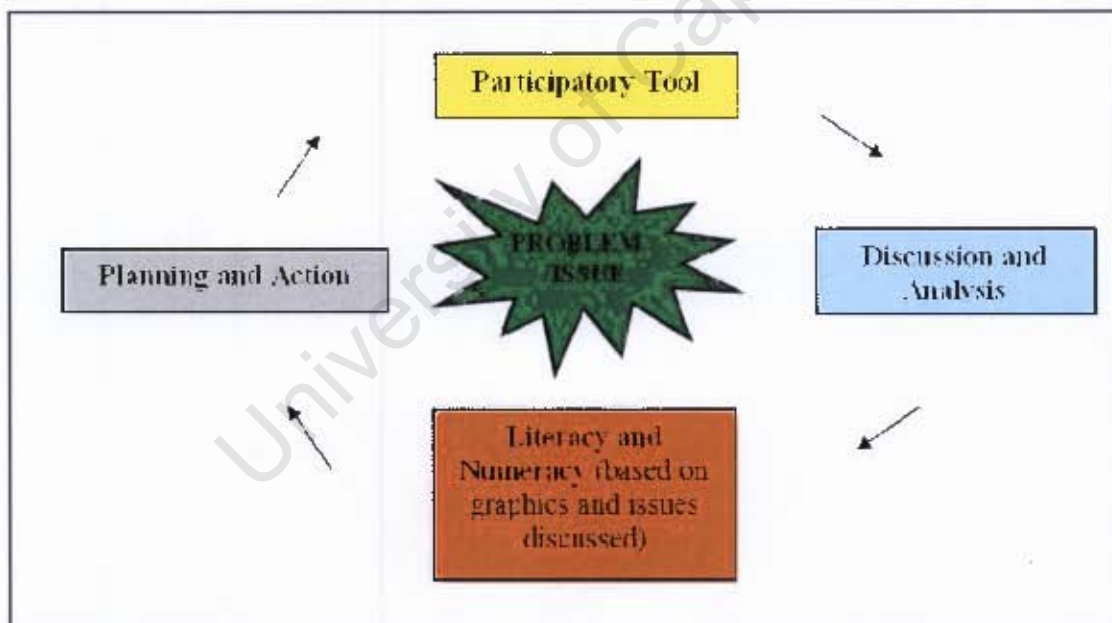


Figure 1: REFLECT learning cycle

### 1.3 The South African Development Context

In the past decade, South Africa has seen significant improvements in health, education and living standards. Yet, despite these achievements, poverty and inequality have increased. The unemployment rate, according to the official definition of unemployment<sup>12</sup>, was 26.7 percent in 2005; with a further 11 percent of the population that is of working age (between 15 and 65) deemed *discouraged work-seekers*, that is: “persons who want to work and are available to work but who say that they are not actively looking for work” (Statistics South Africa, 2005: ii). About 48.5 percent (21.9 million people) of the South African population fall below the national poverty line (Adelzadeh, 2003: 6)<sup>13</sup>.

Given this high percentage, South Africa's social assistance system of grants is an especially important aspect of addressing income poverty. However, only about 30 percent of the poor were eligible for receiving government grants in 2002 (Adelzadeh, 2003: 7). This implies that, even if there were to have been a full take-up of grants, more than 15 million poor people fell outside the social security support system. Thus, the social assistance system of grants in South Africa has limited impact on reducing poverty. The system is not designed to lift all or the majority of the poor out of poverty. Nor is it appropriately financed to achieve such an objective, with the result that it is able to target only a fraction of the poor (Adelzadeh, 2003: 7).

In addition, the percentage of the South African population deprived of access to ‘good’ quality basic services increased from 63 percent in 1996, to 65 percent in 2001 (Adelzadeh, 2003: 8). Despite the steps taken to improve service delivery and access to primary healthcare, it is perhaps a reflection on the quality of service delivery that infant

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<sup>12</sup> The official definition of unemployment is: Persons aged 15–65 who did not have a job or business in the seven days prior to the survey interview but had looked for work or taken steps to start a business in the four weeks prior to the interview and were able to take up work within two weeks of the interview (Statistics South Africa, 2005: ii).

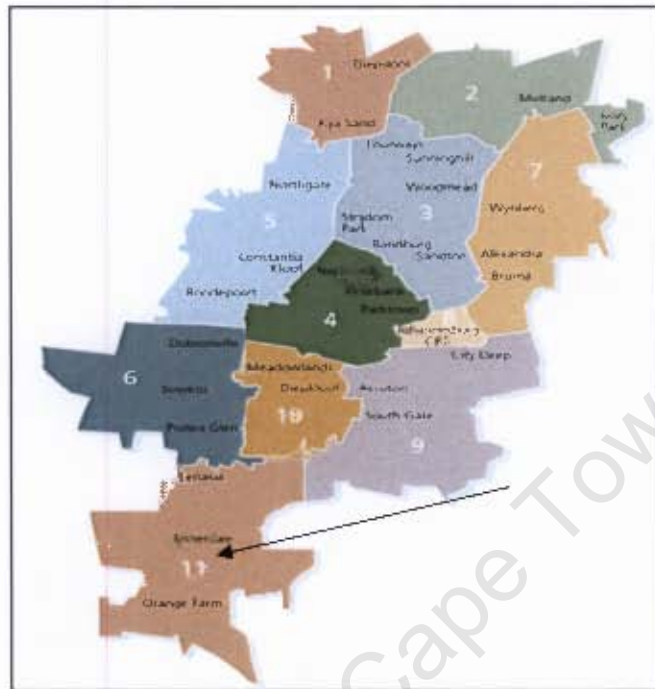
<sup>13</sup> The data gathered regarding the Vukani facilitators is for the period January 2003 to November 2006. I therefore use statistical data covering approximately the same period.

mortality, 45 per 1 000 in 2004, has remained virtually unchanged since 1990 and maternal mortality ratios average 150 per 100 000 live births (Vukani, 2005a: 4).

What is more, HIV/AIDS prevalence rates have increased and following the latest antenatal survey, the Department of Health, in collaboration with UNAIDS, WHO and other groups, published an updated estimate of 18.34% prevalence in people aged 15-49 years old in 2006. This equates to around 5.41 million people living with HIV in 2006, which is about 11% of the total South African population, and includes 257,000 children (Dorrington et al., 2006). Many studies have clearly demonstrated that HIV/AIDS contributes to a rise in poverty, and that poverty reduces the ability of the poor living with HIV/AIDS to cope with the disease. Moreover, AIDS generates new poverty as people lose employment and housing tenure (Adelzadeh, 2003: 7). It is within this context that development organisations in South Africa, including those using the REFLECT approach, function.

#### **1.4 The Orange Farm Development Context (home of Vukani)**

As can be seen on the map on the next page, the administration of Johannesburg has been decentralised into 11 regions. Orange Farm is situated in Region 11, which comprises nine wards. It is situated 60km south of Johannesburg. Known as the Deep South, the area developed mainly as a result of apartheid legislation, which forced an influx of work-seekers, resulting in the creation of a large informal settlement. Geographically displaced from the rest of Greater Johannesburg it is largely a marginalised, dormitory residential area. With no economic base of its own it is dependent on Johannesburg and, to a lesser extent, on Vanderbijl Park and Vereeniging. The long distances, however, make public transport expensive (Knight, 2005: 1).



**Map 1: The greater administration of Johannesburg**

Orange Farm suffers from extreme poverty and unemployment, and its relatively isolated position makes it costly to provide much-needed infrastructure. Open space areas are often used for illegal dumping as the waste removal system is inadequate (Knight, 2005: 1).

Information provided by the local government office in Orange Farm indicates that the population is estimated at 957 810. The population is extremely young, with 40% being younger than 18. Income levels are very low: 50% of the population have no income and approximately 62% of the remainder earn less than R1 500 a month, indicating that the majority live below the breadline (Knight, 2005: 1).

Unemployment is estimated at 70%, far higher than the national average, with most people in the area being employed in elementary occupations or as craft and related trade workers, which is indicative of low levels of education and skills development (City of Johannesburg, 2003:12).

Orange Farm has extremely limited provision of social services. A particular problem with regard to community services is the fragmented and uncoordinated nature of service delivery. As a result, service levels vary from nil to poor. Clinics in Orange Farm have rudimentary equipment, too few staff and are under-serviced. In most cases accessibility to clinics is poor and cumbersome in times of emergency. Clinics are operated in containers and/or are mobile. There is little or no access to information and training facilities. There is therefore a dire need to provide access to information in the Orange Farm community (Knight, 2005: 1).

Problems are being experienced with the supply of water to Orange Farm and the possibility of supplying the area from a temporary supply scheme is under investigation. The level of sewerage servicing is very poor and pit latrines are utilised. City Power provides street lighting but only on main routes and the majority of households have no access to electricity supply. The road network is of a poor standard and does not offer good coverage of the area, resulting in significant inconveniences and long walking distances. Most of the internal roads are dirt or gravel with no storm water drainage or pollution control (Knight, 2005: 1).

All the social and economic problems, the level of unemployment and the low skills of residents in Orange Farm mean that most can not afford to move elsewhere, implying poor social mobility. This impacts drastically on the natural growth and development of the area, reinforcing the dormitory and stagnation syndrome of the Orange Farm area. This has resulted in people largely needing to fend for themselves and finding themselves "trapped" amidst poverty.

Moreover, it is argued that poverty, low levels of education, poor access to services and a high residential density make Orange Farm particularly prone to the threat of HIV/AIDS and health problems (Knight, 2005: 2). While specific age group data for Orange Farm does not yet exist, it is estimated that prevalent levels of HIV infection for the Orange Farm community stand at 40 per cent. This figure is significantly higher than the average

for Gauteng province as a whole which stands at just under 30 per cent prevalence rate (Knight, 2005: 2).

## 1.5 The Research Question

### 1.5.1 Origins of my Research Question

The research question of this dissertation originated in a study which I carried out with another group of REFLECT facilitators. These facilitators were the first big group from Khayelitsha and the surrounding communities trained as REFLECT facilitators. Therefore, the *dvv international*, which, as I have mentioned, is one of the key supporters of REFLECT in South Africa, commissioned a research report. The aim of this report was to examine if and how, and why or why not, the Khayelitsha facilitators had implemented or used the REFLECT approach in the six months following their REFLECT Facilitator Training. 'Implementation' was defined as initiating REFLECT circles or any kind of project that would show a certain level of engagement with poverty-related issues.

The *dvv international* had partnered with a Community-Based Organisation (CBO) in Khayelitsha called Sena<sup>14</sup>. Sena was responsible for the recruitment of the facilitators, and for the provision of organisational support to the facilitators during and subsequent to the facilitator training.

The facilitators received their REFLECT Facilitator Training in February 2006, and in the six months following I conducted one-to-one interviews with twelve of the facilitators, and arranged and attended three group meetings. The group meetings were not well attended and so the report<sup>15</sup>, submitted to the *dvv international* in August, was mainly based on the information gathered during the twelve interviews.

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<sup>14</sup> Sena is a pseudonym for a CBO that was founded in Khayelitsha in 2002.

<sup>15</sup> See Diedericks, D. R. 2006. *An evaluation of the impact of a REFLECT workshop on its participants*. Cape Town.

The report was furthermore informed by independent observer Jenny Birkett's *Report on REFLECT Training* (2006), which evaluated this particular training session with the aim of identifying the possibilities of integrating REFLECT into a formally accredited training programme; and the *REFLECT Facilitator's Guide* (compiled by the trainers) (Diedericks, 2006:7).

The report noted that one Khayelitsha facilitator had continued to work with a youth circle started before the training, and two Khayelitsha facilitators had started completely new circles since the training. This meant that nine out of the twelve Khayelitsha facilitators had neither started nor been running REFLECT circles since the REFLECT Facilitator Training. Furthermore, there was no evidence that any of these facilitators had started new projects engaging with poverty related issues in the six months following the training.

This report concluded that there were four main issues that possibly played a role in preventing the Khayelitsha facilitators from implementing REFLECT.

The first was that the majority of these facilitators had had no prior experience in doing development work, especially with regard to the implementation of a participatory development programme. The second concerned personal motivation. The research showed that Sena had recruited the facilitators by promising them paid jobs as facilitators, and so nine out of the twelve Khayelitsha facilitators did the training because they thought it would provide them with paid employment. The third issue was that Sena did not provide the Khayelitsha facilitators with any organisational support after they had completed their facilitator training. The fourth and final issue was the lack of peer support; the Khayelitsha facilitators had at no point developed peer support mechanisms to support and help one another.

### **1.5.2 Re-introducing the research question**

In summary, I concluded by suggesting that there were four factors that had influenced the Khayelitsha facilitators' with regard to implementing the REFLECT approach. Namely, facilitators' prior experience in doing development work, personal motivations or reasons for becoming a REFLECT facilitator, the extent and nature of organisational support for facilitators, and the extent and nature of facilitator peer support (Diedericks, 2006). This thesis is an attempt to confirm my hypothesis.

Thus the research question guiding this study is:

*How do the following four factors affect the implementation of a particular participatory development programme?*

- i) facilitators' prior experience in doing development work,*
- ii) personal motivation of facilitators,*
- iii) the extent and nature of organisational support for facilitators, and*
- iv) the extent and nature of facilitator peer support.*

This dissertation attempts to answer the above question through investigating the conditions under which a participatory development programme was implemented by a group of REFLECT facilitators in Orange Farm, namely, the Vukani group. The next chapter explains in detail how the Vukani group was selected as the case study group for this study.

### **1.5.3 Qualifying 'implementation'**

Considering the abundance of literature on the use of REFLECT, combined with the variety of contexts in which REFLECT methodology is applied, as well as the strong focus on process rather than content, one could have a long debate as to what exactly it means to 'implement REFLECT'.

For the purpose of this thesis, I am concerned with the most obvious indication of the implementation of REFLECT. That is, whether REFLECT facilitators have circles which they regularly facilitate by using the REFLECT learning cycle of critical analysis, reflection and action.

Since my research question generalises REFLECT as a participatory development programme, such a definition of implementation might seem too narrow. However, most participatory development programmes follow similar steps, that is, to select local facilitators, train them in participatory educational skills, and then work amongst members of the target group.

This 'work' is usually to engage people to think, talk and take action regarding particular issues that affect their lives. The issues would depend on the goal of the development programme, for example, an HIV/AIDS prevention programme would aim to have facilitators engage people about, amongst other things, the use of condoms.

However, a central part of the implementation of most participatory development programmes, would be the regular, fairly structured engagement of the facilitators with members of the target group. Hence, gauging whether REFLECT facilitators have circles which they regularly facilitate by using the REFLECT learning cycle, is not too narrow a definition of implementation, as it is not merely an indicator relevant to the implementation of REFLECT.

## **1.6 The purpose of this dissertation**

This dissertation is relevant to REFLECT practitioners and organisations wishing to implement REFLECT, as well as to the development community in general, specifically because issues with regard to facilitators are especially important to the many development organisations and NGOs who try to work with local facilitators in order to implement their programmes.

Moreover, as Campbell (2003: 10) states, people running community programmes in various countries and contexts often repeat the same mistakes, or have to reinvent the wheel because of the lack of a conceptual framework for formulating and sharing lessons and findings from previous experiences. This dissertation is a contribution to this body of theory and practice, potentially helping to develop a more substantial conceptual framework for those involved in participatory development programmes.

## **1.7 Structure of the dissertation**

### ***Chapter 1***

This chapter provides the background for this dissertation: including the origin and methodology of REFLECT, a brief description of the South African development context and that of Orange Farm in particular, and the research question.

### ***Chapter 2***

This chapter outlines the methodological approach adopted to achieve the aims in this study and a justification for the specific method of enquiry is presented. This research essentially uses a case study approach, with the corresponding data gathering methods of interviews, observations and the use of documentary sources.

### ***Chapter 3***

This chapter presents the conceptual framework of this thesis. It is divided into two sections. In the first section I discuss the idea of 'development' by examining the terms 'development', 'empowerment' and 'participation', and briefly listing the contradictions inherent in development. The second section looks specifically at some issues with regard to selecting facilitators and providing facilitators with ongoing training and support processes.

#### ***Chapter 4***

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section looks at the Vukani group's implementation of REFLECT through presenting data about circles and circle actions, that is, where the learning cycle has gone through critical analysis, reflection and action. The second section presents a chronological history of findings which are directly and indirectly relevant to the following four factors, facilitators' prior experience in doing development work, personal motivations for becoming facilitators, the extent and nature of organisational support for facilitators, and the extent and nature of facilitator peer support. However, the exact nature of the relationship between the findings and the four factors will only be expanded upon in the third and final section, which is a thematic analysis according to the above-mentioned factors.

#### ***Chapter 5***

The final chapter provides a summary of the conclusions of this thesis and presents some recommendations.

## CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

### 2.1 Introduction

Any piece of research is underpinned by a view of knowledge, and I agree with Scott (2000: 50) that if this view is not made explicit, the concealment may serve to give the impression that “there is only one correct method of collecting data, that all other methods are illegitimate and that if the correct procedures have been followed, then the truth of the matter has been established”. According to Scott (2000: 50) there are four significant and influential traditions of knowledge, namely: positivism; interpretivism; critical theory; and post-modernism.

Both as an educator and a researcher I would situate myself within the knowledge tradition of critical theory. Critical theory places an emphasis on the social context of knowledge and education, and focuses on the relationship of knowledge, power and ideology (Foley, 2000: 15). Critical theory, also called emancipatory theory, has been influential in adult education. Freire and REFLECT are both situated within this knowledge tradition which says that people need both subjective knowledge (i.e. understanding of their own and others’ processes) and social knowledge (i.e. understanding of political, economic and cultural processes) (Foley, 2000: 16).

However, given the small-scale and intensive research that I planned to do, and the fact that my subject matter is already situated within the knowledge tradition of critical theory, I chose to use interpretivist research methods. Interpretivist researchers are believed to have subjective points of view which contribute to how they and their research participants construct meaning in a research situation (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994: 13). As such, interpretivism provided me with a framework to acknowledge and analyse my personal views, as well as with research methods suitable for analysing the experiences of a small number of facilitators.

One of the methods typically used by interpretivist researchers is case studies. The next section of this chapter specifically looks at why a case study approach was suitable for this research. This is followed by the sampling criteria, how access was negotiated, the profile of the sample group, which data gathering methods were used and how the data was analysed. The chapter concludes with validity, challenges and ethics.

## **2.2 Rationale for a case study approach**

Mouton (2001: 149-150) defines case studies as usually qualitative in nature, aiming to provide an in-depth description of a small number of cases. A case study approach was thus suitable for my purpose, that is, to do an in-depth investigation of the conditions under which a small group of facilitators implemented a particular participatory development programme. Mouton (2001: 149-150) also points out that a case study approach often presupposes no formulated hypothesis. In this case, however, I had a formulated hypothesis, namely, the four factors identified as having played a role with regard to the Khayelitsha participants' implementation of REFLECT.

Hence, this thesis is a case study of the Vukani group: a group of facilitators who implemented the participatory development programme of REFLECT in their area of Orange Farm. Four factors, namely, facilitators' prior experience in doing development work, personal motivations for becoming facilitators, the extent and nature of organisational support for facilitators, and the extent and nature of facilitator peer support, acted to guide my empirical research as I investigated to what extent they influenced the conditions under which the Vukani group implemented REFLECT.

## **2.3 Sampling criteria**

In order to do a case study about how the implementation of a particular participatory development programme, namely REFLECT, was affected by four specific factors relating to facilitators, I needed to find a group of facilitators who had implemented REFLECT.

As explained in the introductory chapter, 'implementing REFLECT', for the purpose of this thesis, refers to the regular facilitation of circles, using the REFLECT learning cycle. Therefore, my sampling criterion was to find a group of people who were, firstly, REFLECT facilitators, and secondly, had been facilitating REFLECT circles for at least one year, using the REFLECT learning cycle in their circle sessions.

As mentioned in chapter 1, the South Africa Reflect Network (SARN) was established in 2005 and is represented by participants, practitioners, organisations, and adult education and development activists across South Africa who are either using REFLECT or advocating for it. While writing the Khayelitsha report for the *dvv international* (in the first semester of 2006), I was introduced to a few of these participants, practitioners and organisations, one of which was Vukani.

Several conversations with the Project Director of the *dvv international* and the National Coordinator of SARN, verified that the Vukani facilitators were REFLECT facilitators who had continually been facilitating REFLECT circles, taking circle members through the REFLECT learning cycle. This was confirmed through several reports and other documents that were made accessible to me.

I selected Vukani as my case study group for two reasons. Firstly, because it is one of the few organisations in South Africa using REFLECT that has a substantial archive. There are several reports, short internal bi-monthly reports written by one of the facilitators, a document setting out a strategic three-year plan written by the Programme Manager, bi-yearly and annual reports to the *dvv international*, and more crucially, a research report written by a Masters student from Australia. Secondly, as a direct result of reading these reports it was easy to determine that Vukani did indeed meet my sampling criteria.

These reports confirmed that, firstly, the Vukani group had been trained as REFLECT facilitators in October 2003. Secondly, that nearly three years later, just prior to my fieldwork, these facilitators had eight REFLECT circles running, two of which had been continually meeting since late 2003. Lastly, the standard procedure during Vukani's circle

meetings was for facilitators to take circle members through the REFLECT learning cycle. There was documented proof of specific instances where the learning cycle has gone through critical analysis, reflection and action; specific instances of circle actions as a result of analysis and reflection will be discussed in detail in chapter 4.

## **2.4 Access**

I contacted Vukani's Company Secretary, who, after having discussed it with the facilitators, consented that I do a case study on Vukani. They, furthermore, gave me permission to do fieldwork in the last two weeks of November 2006.

## **2.5 Profile of sample group**

One of the Vukani facilitators was on extended, indefinite sick leave at the time of the fieldwork and thus not available for an interview. Another facilitator was suspended by a unanimous Vukani Board<sup>16</sup> decision<sup>17</sup> while I was doing my fieldwork, and even though I had an appointment to interview her in spite of her suspension, she did not arrive for the interview.

Therefore, it was only possible to interview four of Vukani's six trained REFLECT facilitators. John<sup>18</sup>, the facilitator of the Masibambane Sewing Circle; Maria, the facilitator of Vumani (a circle that focuses on HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment); Nomvula, the facilitator of Photo REFLECT Youth Circle; and Ayabonga, the facilitator

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<sup>16</sup> The Vukani Board consists of all of the facilitators, except Ayabonga and Siziwe, and four independent members. Ayabonga could not be a board member because he was the Circle Coordinator and it was decided that there would be a conflict of interest taking on both roles, and Siziwe was not on the board because she was only recently appointed as replacement facilitator. Both of them however attended Board meetings. The four independent members were elected every year for one year, and provided guidance and technical assistance as necessary, such as finance management and policy development (Knight, 2005:4). The independent members are Janet and Clinton, both of whom had been involved with the setting up of Vukani and were subsequently voted into their respective positions of Company Secretary and Chair; and two newer members, a school principal and a young professional.

<sup>17</sup> It seemed that this facilitator had been showing a lack of commitment by repeatedly not turning up to facilitate her circle meetings, even after numerous attempts by the Circle Coordinator and the other facilitators, as well as the circle members, to solve the problem.

<sup>18</sup> When referring to individual facilitators I use pseudonyms throughout this dissertation.

of Phaphama Agricultural Circle. Ayabonga is also the Circle Coordinator, which means that one of his responsibilities is to facilitate the weekly Facilitators' Circle in which the facilitators discuss issues regarding their circles.

In addition, I interviewed the 'replacement' facilitator, Siziwe. This facilitator used to be a circle member and had not officially been trained as a REFLECT facilitator<sup>19</sup>. However, a month before my fieldwork, she was voted as the replacement facilitator (in place of the facilitator who was on extended sick leave) by unanimous decision of the circle members of Siyaphambili Health Circle. Henceforth, when I refer to the Vukani group, I refer to the five people in my sample group.

These five facilitators ranged in age between 22 and 48, and they have Sotho, Zulu or Tswana as first languages. They all lived in different areas of Orange Farm, except one who lived in Sebokeng, an adjoining township. Two are male and three female. The oldest two have completed Standard 7 (Grade 9), two others have Grade 11 and one has a 'matric' (school-leavers') certificate. Other courses include a 6-month home-based care course, a 3-month computer course and experience working as a mechanic<sup>20</sup>.

## **2.6 Data gathering methods**

Mouton (2001: 150) lists case studies' correlating modes of observation or sources of data, as participant observation, semi-structured interviewing and use of documentary sources. I used interviews and observations as my main fieldwork research tools, and documentary sources to provide in-depth information about the Vukani facilitators and their REFLECT circles.

Triangulation as a form of cross-checking research findings is a widely accepted means of ensuring validity. Triangulation basically involves looking at the research topic or problem from a number of different vantage-points in order to check whether similar

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<sup>19</sup> The reason why Siziwe could not do the REFLECT Facilitator Training is because she was writing 'matric' (school-leavers') exams at the time.

<sup>20</sup> See appendix B for the exact breakdown of the sample group.

pictures are produced. If not, the validity of findings and their interpretation are questionable (Gounden, 2002: 16).

Data was gathered through interviews, observations and the analysis of documents. As such, this study used multiple data sources and techniques of data gathering, which is the most common form of triangulation. The more sources and types of data we can gather and compare, the surer we can be of the validity of our overall findings and interpretations (Davidson and Layder, 1994: 53).

### 2.6.1 Observations

I had chosen observations as a research tool because it complemented my other research tools, that is, interviews and the use of documentary sources, as it is not always possible to reveal the complexity of people's experience and subjective attitudes by means of interviews and documents.

The following are core elements of the REFLECT approach, as listed by David Archer and Kate Newman in *Communication and Power – Practical Resource Materials for REFLECT* (2003). I used these both as a guide to structure my observations and as a checklist to determine whether the Vukani group used REFLECT principles, which are largely based on Freire's ideas, in practice.

<b>CORE ELEMENTS of the REFLECT APPROACH (Archer &amp; Newman, 2003)</b>	<b>KEY QUESTIONS WHILE OBSERVING</b>
<b>Power and voice</b>	
REFLECT is a process that aims to strengthen people's capacity to communicate by whatever means of communication is most relevant or appropriate to them.	i) Are different ways of communication being explored in terms of language used, body language and gestures, the written word, pictures, etc? ii) Are participants met where they are at in terms of their communication abilities and self-confidence? Or is there just a small group that has specific communication tools that dominate?

<b>An intensive and extensive process</b>	
REFLECT circles usually meet for about two years, and seldom less than once a week. so this refers to the regularity and longevity of the process.	Is there evidence of the regularity and longevity of the REFLECT programme? i) Do they always keep an attendance register? ii) Is what is being said about how regularly a circle meets and for how long it has been meeting correlating with what is actually happening in these specific two weeks?
<b>Grounded in existing knowledge</b>	
REFLECT begins with respect and value for people's existing knowledge and experience (although it may challenge it), and gives people control over the process of acquiring new ideas and knowledge.	i) Is there a general feeling of respect amongst the circle members, between circle members and facilitators, amongst facilitators, and between facilitators and independent board members (in other words do people treat each other and each other's opinions with respect)? ii) How are new ideas or projects introduced? Are they given in completed format or are people given the opportunity to question and shift them to their own likings? Are people encouraged and given support to come up with their own new ideas or projects? Are new ideas or projects linked to existing knowledge/experience/ structures?
<b>Linking reflection and action</b>	
REFLECT involves a continual cycle of reflection and action, that is, reflection for the purpose of change.	i) Are ideas or understandings that are discussed in the sessions linked with discussions /explorations on suitable potential actions? ii) Is there evidence of actions that developed out of these cycles of reflection in the group sessions?
<b>Using participatory tools</b>	
REFLECT uses a wide range of participatory tools to help create an open or democratic environment in which everyone is able to contribute.	i) Is there evidence of the use of a wide range of participatory tools (linked with communication tools in no 1) to help create an open or democratic environment in which everyone is able to contribute?
<b>Power awareness</b>	
REFLECT is a political process in which the multiple dimensions of power and stratification are always the focus of reflection, and actions are orientated towards changing inequitable power relationships whatever their basis.	i) A general extension of questions asked at number 5. Additionally, are the discussions linked into a wider conceptualisation about the multiple dimensions of power, for example, do circle members know who the local councillors are, and do they think they can approach them?
<b>Coherence and self-organisation</b>	
REFLECT always aims the focus of the process towards self-organisation, so that groups are self-managed, rather than being facilitated by, or dependent on, outsiders.	i) Is there evidence that the REFLECT programme is managed, steered and controlled by local people?

<b>A democratic process</b>	
REFLECT aims to create a democratic space, in which everyone's voice is given equal weight, by constantly challenging local culture where the power relationships and stratification have created inequality.	i) Are there specific instances in which it is clear that all people, across the class/gender divide and including the facilitator, have at least the <u>access</u> to equal amounts of talk time? ii) Does the facilitator dominate or interrupt the circle members? iii) How does the facilitator handle it when one person tries to dominate or interrupt other people when they are speaking?

I observed<sup>21</sup> two sessions of the sewing circle; one session each of the two circles that are concerned with health promotion and HIV /Aids prevention and cure, and the circle that engages with the youth; two sessions of the weekly Facilitators' Circle where all the facilitators come together; and one session of the bi-monthly Vukani Board Meeting.

### **2.6.2 Interviews**

The qualitative researcher attempts to understand a situation as it is constructed by the participants (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994: 18), so I decided to use interviews as an integral part of my research project. Interviews enabled me to test the data gathered through my observations and documentary sources. Moreover, interviews provided me with the opportunity to listen to the first-hand experiences and perceptions of these facilitators, especially with regard to matters of facilitator selection and ongoing training and support provided.

I had a general interview<sup>22</sup> with each of the four Vukani facilitators during the month of November 2007. Each one of these individuals had been trained as a REFLECT facilitator, was running a REFLECT circle at the time, and was a founding member of Vukani. Moreover, each person was also a Member of the Board, except the Circle Coordinator, Ayabonga, whose position meant that he could not be a member of the Board. He did, however, attend Board meetings.

<sup>21</sup> See appendix C for a more detailed outline in terms of names, dates and times.

<sup>22</sup> See appendix D for a detailed outline in terms of names, dates and times.

I also interviewed the replacement facilitator, Siziwe. As explained in the Profile of Sample Group section, this facilitator used to be a member of the health circle, Siyaphambili, but had been elected as the replacement facilitator. She hadn't been officially trained as a REFLECT facilitator yet, but I decided to interview her because she had been a very active circle member, before she was elected as replacement facilitator, and had been working closely with the other facilitators since the beginning of Vukani. Even though she was not a Board Member she also attended Board Meetings.

The questions during these interviews were informed by the factors identified as playing a role with regard to the Khayelitsha facilitators implementation of REFLECT, and could be broadly summarised as follows<sup>23</sup>:

- 1) Questions about the community involvement of the facilitators prior to becoming facilitators.
- 2) Questions about how the facilitators had been recruited into the facilitator training and what their personal motivations were for doing the training, or in Siziwe's case, how she had been recruited into the REFLECT circle, and what her personal motivations were for joining the circle and becoming the replacement facilitator.
- 3) Questions about the extent and nature of organisational support for facilitators before, during and after they had become facilitators.
- 4) Questions about the extent and nature of facilitator peer support before, during and after they had become facilitators.

Additionally, after each circle session observed, I had an explanatory short interview with the facilitator of that session/circle. These questions were partly to serve as a double-check of official information regarding the specific circle, for example, how long the

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<sup>23</sup> See appendix E for a more detailed account of the kinds of questions asked.

circle had been running with how many of the same circle members<sup>24</sup>, and partly to check, illuminate and flesh out my own general understanding and perceptions regarding the absence or presence of the core elements, keeping in mind that I was unable to understand what was being said because of my language deficiency<sup>25</sup>.

Moreover, I interviewed two independent board members and the former Programme Manager<sup>26</sup> of Vukani, who did not live in Orange Farm and were from more affluent backgrounds. All three of these people had been continually involved with these facilitators since before the REFLECT Facilitator Training, and Laura, the former Programme Manager, had in particular played a key role in the introduction of REFLECT and the birth of Vukani. They could provide verifying data, and so questions put to them were broadly similar to those put to the facilitators, with a slightly different perspective and more formalised language<sup>27</sup>.

I conducted all of the interviews in English and used a tape recorder, with permission, and transcribed all of these myself. In two cases I had to conduct my interviews via email, since it was not possible to schedule meetings with Janet, the Company Secretary and Laura, the former Programme Manager, while I was doing my fieldwork.

### **2.6.3 Documentary sources**

Unlike interviews and observations, the record method is a non-reactive research method (Gounden, 2002: 23), and in terms of interpretative research, it would be of little use in and of itself. However, as mentioned before, there was extensive documentation with regard to Vukani – its organisational structure, goals and achievements, and the roles of the facilitators in all of these. This documentation was particularly useful for the research,

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<sup>24</sup> See appendix F, section A for sample questions.

<sup>25</sup> See appendix F, section B for sample questions.

<sup>26</sup> The full title was "Adult Education Advisor and Programme Manager". She held this position since the inception of Vukani in September 2004 to January 2006 when she left to become more involved in the advocacy of REFLECT in South Africa.

<sup>27</sup> See appendix G.

both to verify my own impressions and data gathered through interviews and observations, and as supplementary background information.

Vukani's internal documents<sup>28</sup>, which include a three-year plan, annual plans, annual reports, and bi-yearly reports for 2005 and 2006, contained detailed information with regard to the context of Orange Farm and the specific needs which Vukani planned to address; statistics with regard to the facilitators and their circles, circle membership, circle attendance, planned circle actions, reviews of these actions; and general information about the organisational structure of Vukani. Additionally, a report written by Prue Coakley, a Masters student from Australia who did a case study of the use of REFLECT by Vukani in 2005, provided me with an independent researcher's view of the facilitators' roles and experiences within the structures of Vukani.

## 2.7 Data analysis

Merriam (1988: 119) speaks of data analysis as a “simultaneous activity” in qualitative research. In other words, analysis begins with the first interview, observation, or document read, as the researcher develops hunches and gains insights (Merriam, 1988:119). These insights inform the progress of the research and may lead to the reformulation or refinement of the research question.

As such, elements of the analytical framework used in this dissertation had clearly originated during my research in Khayelitsha. It is the Khayelitsha report, *An evaluation of the impact of a REFLECT workshop on its participants* (Diedericks, 2006) which led to the current research question, namely, “How do the following four factors affect the implementation of a particular participatory development programme:

- i) facilitators' prior experience in doing development work,
- ii) personal motivation of facilitators,
- iii) the extent and nature of organisational support for facilitators, and
- iv) the extent and nature of facilitator peer support.”

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<sup>28</sup> See a detailed list of Vukani's internal organisational documents at the end of the Bibliography.

As can be seen from the data-gathering methods used during the research in Orange Farm, the interview questions were specifically informed by these four factors. After the interviews were transcribed, I organised the data gathered according to these four factors. This was done by reading through the transcripts, highlighting data relating to these four factors with four different colours, and grouping the verbatim quotes together, looking for contradictions and similarities.

The next step was to identify the data gathered during observations which would be relevant in terms of these four factors. As noted before, I had organised my note-taking according to the REFLECT approach's core elements. Afterwards I read through these observation notes and again highlighted data relating to the four factors and grouped the information as such. My observation notes provided me with a lot of data. However, I used the focus of this dissertation, that is, the research question, to ensure that I only used the data relevant to answer the question of this specific dissertation.

With regard to the use of documentation the process was similar. I scrutinised the documents and identified the data relevant to these four factors, highlighting it in four colours and grouping it accordingly. I also used the documents to provide background information to contextualise and make sense of the data gathered.

Furthermore, I read through the interview transcripts, observation notes and Vukani's documentation, and highlighted information with regard to Vukani circles and circle actions, that is, where the learning cycle has gone through critical analysis, reflection and action. This data points to the implementation of REFLECT<sup>29</sup> and is relevant as it illuminates the everyday work of the facilitators. The latter provides the context needed to understand and investigate the possible impact that the four factors had had on these facilitators' implementation of REFLECT.

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<sup>29</sup> 'Implementation' as qualified for the purpose of this thesis in terms of whether REFLECT facilitators have circles which they regularly facilitate by using the REFLECT learning cycle of critical analysis, reflection and action. See chapter 1 for a more in-depth discussion on the meaning of 'implementation'.

Consequently, the first section of the findings and analysis chapter of this dissertation reviews the Vukani group's implementation of REFLECT, through presenting data of circles and circle actions.

Once I had put together all the data, relating to the four factors and circles and circle actions, and gathered through interviews, observations and documents, I found that the data seemed to be relating a story. Hence, in the second section of the findings and analysis chapter, I let the data tell its own story by presenting a chronological history of findings which directly and indirectly relate to the four factors.

The findings and analysis chapter concludes with the thematic analysis of the relationship between the findings and the four factors which are the focus of my dissertation.

In the final chapter of this dissertation the findings are summarised and recommendations are drawn accordingly.

## **2.8 Validity**

I have interpreted validity to mean the truth-value of a report or how 'truth' is represented (Maykut and Morehouse cited in Ismail, 2006:84). In seeking to establish truth-value, I used triangulation, i.e., gathered data through observations, interviews and documents. My written notes, tape-recorded interviews and observations were all typed out and readable.

As Ismail (2006: 84) also notes, I understand that there can be more than one interpretation of the data, but since I took care to be thorough and ethical in the data collection process and in coding the data, I am confident that my interpretation of the data is valid.

## **2.9 Challenges of the methodology used**

A foreseeable limitation was the fact that I cannot speak the languages in which the circles were conducted, which not only inhibited my observations, but also my interviewing processes, as how people use their language, verbally and physically, is very culturally embedded and difficult for an outsider to interpret.

However, this particular community is so linguistically mixed that I understood more than I thought I would, just because I was able to pick up the English and Afrikaans slang that was used. The facilitators were all fluent in English and often conducted half of their meetings in English for my benefit. Furthermore, all of the documents that I referred to before are in English, and the board meeting was mainly conducted in English. Finally, as I was aware of my language and culture constraints, I always tried to check my understandings against other information gathered through interviews, observations and documents.

## **2.10 Ethics**

Ethical considerations in a qualitative case study are likely to arise during data collection and in the dissemination of findings (Merriam, 1988:179). Walker (cited in Merriam, 1988:179) suggests five ethical aspects to be aware of in the case study research process, namely: the researcher becoming involved in the issues and situations under study; confidentiality of data; different interest groups competing for control of data; anonymity of subjects; and problems arising from the audience being unable to distinguish between data and the researcher's interpretation.

In this case, since I only spent two weeks with the case study group, I did not become involved in the issues and situation under study. Secondly, in terms of confidentiality and anonymity of subjects, I provided both the organisation and the facilitators with pseudonyms. However, it would not be hard to determine the identity of both the organisation and the facilitators. The case study group and the independent directors of

the board of Vukani are aware of this, but as the nature of the research is neither personal nor controversial they agreed to allow my research.

Regarding different interest groups competing for control of data, I am submitting this dissertation as a report to the case study group, SARN, and the *dvr international*, but none of these interest groups had control of the data during the formulation of this dissertation. Finally, I have taken care to fairly represent my interpretations as distinct from the data, which should speak for itself.

The following specific ethical considerations relating to observations and interviews were taken into account. I made my intentions as a research observer transparent to the case study group from the outset, and was welcomed immediately. As Jones (2005: 50) notes, tightly structured interviews, on the one hand, may restrict the interviewees 'voice' (Macmillan cited in Jones, 2005: 50) and put interviewees under pressure to answer questions with which they may not feel comfortable. On the other hand, open-ended interviews may lead interviewees to reveal information or opinions that may be of a compromising nature (Merriam, 1988:180). I found that semi-structured interviews allowed me some control over the line of questioning, but also allowed the interviewees their own 'voice'.

Finally, I agree with Jones (2005: 51) that the ethical responsibilities of collecting and analysing data as accurately as possible are of vital importance. One's biases may be difficult to avoid, or may not even be apparent to oneself (Merriam, 1988:182), and it is critical that the researcher acts reflectively and meticulously accurately at all times to try to prevent bias from creeping in. One way of ensuring an accurate record of an interview, for instance, is to transcribe it verbatim. I agree with Jones (2005: 51) that this makes it much easier to extract accurate data and make real connections between data, than working from interview notes. Notes (this includes both interview and observation notes) are by their nature not a complete record but a representation of the event (Jones, 2005: 51). The use of triangulation, that is, using guided observation notes, transcribed interviews and extensive documentation, helped me to cross-check my observations and interpretations as a way to prevent bias.

In this chapter I gave a detailed account of the methodology used for this dissertation. The following chapter presents the conceptual framework.

University of Cape Town

## CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

### 3.1 Introduction

Maxwell (1996: 25) describes the conceptual framework of a dissertation as the conceptual context of the study, that is, “the system of concepts, assumptions, expectations, beliefs, and theories that supports and informs your research”. He furthermore contends that labelling this part of the research design as the ‘Literature Review’ could be dangerously misleading, as the conceptual context for a research study is something that is *constructed* and not *found* in others' writing (Maxwell, 1996:27).

This dissertation brings together not only the system of my concepts, assumptions, expectations, beliefs and theories as a white Afrikaans-speaking South African woman, born during late apartheid, schooled in the theories of adult education and development, and with particular experiences in exploring Freirean ideology and REFLECT practice in a South African urban township, but also the concepts, assumptions, expectations, beliefs and theories of people whom I spoke to, and studies, reports and books that I read and studied. As such, this study was not simply *found* in the literature of others, it was a *construction* and thus in need of a ‘Conceptual Framework’, as opposed to a ‘Literature Review’.

In a 25 000 word dissertation it is, however, not possible to describe all the facets of this construction. This chapter derives mainly from the following three sets of literature that were conceptually and/or empirically most defining.

Firstly, this dissertation draws on the literature of Freirean pedagogy, including both his own work and others' critiques.

Secondly, this dissertation draws on REFLECT literature, including the report of the REFLECT pilot study, numerous reports and case studies about specific REFLECT

programmes, as well as my own report, namely, *An evaluation of the impact of a REFLECT workshop on its participants* (2006).

Thirdly, this dissertation draws on the broader literature of adult learning and development programmes, specifically Alan Rogers' *Adults Learning for Development* (1992) and Catherine Campbell's *Letting them die: why HIV/AIDS intervention programmes fail* (2003).

The rest of this chapter is divided into three sections. In the first section I give a brief overview of facets of Freire and Chambers' conceptualisation of education. In the second section I discuss the idea of 'development' by examining the terms 'development', 'empowerment' and 'participation', and briefly listing the contradictions inherent to development. As facilitators are the grassroots implementers of most participatory development programmes, the third section looks at some issues with regard to facilitators, specifically key debates regarding the selection of facilitators and ongoing training and support processes.

### **3.2 Freire and Chambers**

Freire radicalised a whole generation of literacy workers in Brazil in the 1960s and 1970s, linking literacy to social change. He criticised existing literacy teaching which was based on the use of primers, and condemned the 'banking' concept of education (Archer and Cottingham, 1996b:11).

There is an implicit concept of man in the primer's method and content, whether it is recognized by the authors or not... it is the teacher who chooses the words and proposes them to the learners... the students are to be "filled" with the words that teachers have chosen (Freire, 1985: 45). As understood in this concept, man is a passive being, the object of the process of learning to read and write, and not its subject (Freire, 1972: 23-24).

According to Freire, most non-literate people were unable to assert themselves; as a result of oppression they were immersed in a 'culture of silence' (Freire, 1971).

Illiteracy is one of the concrete expressions of an unjust social reality. It is political... it is a process of search and creation... [which must] develop students consciousness of their rights (Freire, 1985:10).

Freire coined the term 'conscientisation': the process of learning to perceive social, political and economic contradictions and of taking action against the oppressive elements of reality (Mayo, 1999: 64). Key in this process of conscientisation, is 'dialogue', described by Freire as a coming together of the teacher and learners:

We are advocating a synthesis between the educator's maximally systemised knowing and the learner's minimally systematised knowing – a synthesis achieved in dialogue (Freire, 1985:54).

Robert Chambers is the key theorist in Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), and he has often referred to Freire's work on dialogue and conscientisation as one of the central influences on PRA. PRA practitioners start from the recognition that poor communities have a wealth of local technical and social knowledge. They have survived often through centuries in difficult environments with limited resources. What is needed are techniques to enable non-literate people to articulate their knowledge (Archer and Cottingham, 1996b:13).

Archer and Cottingham ascribe the REFLECT approach's fundamental faith in starting with people's existing knowledge and belief, as much to Chambers as to Freire. Chambers (cited in Archer and Cottingham, 1996b:14) believes in, "the capacity of the underclasses to initiate valid social actions on the basis of their existing knowledge and beliefs". However, for Freire 'consciousness' concerns more than people's knowledge. Freire provides a social, political and economic analysis of the processes which affect people's knowledge and beliefs which goes beyond Chambers "who sometimes has a rather rosy, a-political view of culture and development" (Archer and Cottingham, 1996b:14-15).

### 3.3 Discussing development

The terms 'development', 'empowerment' and 'participation' have become such commonly used terms in such a large variety of contexts that they have become almost meaningless. However, they are key concepts in terms of participatory development programmes, so it is necessary to discuss them.

#### 3.3.1 Development

Rogers (1992: 84) defines 'development' as an "intervention", "a deliberate act, designed to influence society and the local community and so arranged as to lead to certain desired results"<sup>30</sup>.

He then divides development programmes into those which are based on the concept of *need*, and those which are based on a concept of *exclusion* (Rogers, 1992: 92). This means that one can either see the target groups as being deprived, needy and lacking in resources or, alternatively, as kept out, denied access to resources. The first says that there are *not enough* resources, the second says that there are enough resources but that some people are *excluded* from such resources by those who hold control over them (Rogers, 1992: 92).

There are many 'need-based' views of development. However, as will become clear in this chapter, REFLECT as a development approach is situated within the second set of views. Rogers (1992: 101) identifies three main kinds of 'exclusion' views; the differences between them are revealed in the language that they use. One speaks in terms of dependency and self-reliance, the second speaks of oppression and liberation, while the third speaks of marginalisation and participation (Rogers, 1992: 101).

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<sup>30</sup> This thesis primarily uses Rogers' view of development. There are however other views of development, most notably Youngman (2000) *The political economy of adult education and development*.

Rogers (1992: 104) describes the third view, which he calls “empowerment for participation”, as the real revolution in development thinking. For instead of thinking of the people in negative terms - as oppressed and exploited, or blind and powerless - one can now view them in positive terms, as marginalised potential participants.

Thus, Rogers (1992: 104) defines development according to this view as:

the process of empowerment, of helping peoples of regions or communities or sectors to identify and maximise their own potential to contribute to society by participating more fully in all its activities.

### **3.3.2 Empowerment**

Rogers (1992: 104) qualifies ‘empowerment’ by saying that it does not mean to imply that the people do not possess power already, but that development-as-empowerment seeks to help all peoples, individually or in groups, to see themselves for what they are and the contribution they are already making.

This idea that empowerment is helping people to see themselves for what they already are, is reminiscent of Freire. He saw non-literate people as immersed in a “culture of silence”; needing to learn to challenge dominant views of themselves by naming their world and thereby breaking the silence (Freire, 1971).

Campbell (2003: 49, 50) rightfully notes that many debates about empowerment focus on the emotional or motivational dimensions of empowerment, as such conceptualising it in terms of a *subjective* sense of confidence, whereas Freire’s conceptualisation of empowerment adds a more cognitive and collective dimension to understandings of empowerment. The latter focusing more on people’s intellectual analysis of their circumstances and *collective* sense of confidence.

Freire believed that if you could train people to become critically aware of their surroundings (Newman, 1993: 225) they would then take action. He calls this

conscientisation, “the process of learning to perceive social, political and economic contradictions and taking action against the oppressive elements of reality” (Archer and Cottingham, 1996a: 15). Praxis is when people are able to undertake collective social action as a logical consequence of enhanced critical insight in order to bring about social change (Ismail, 2006: 27).

### 3.3.3 Participation

Key to this gradual process of deepening critical insight, is the process of participation (Campbell, 2003: 50). Conceptualisations of participation are linked to debates on democracy as participation and participatory processes are significant to the practice of democracy as they give voice to all (Ismail, 2006: 42). However, while giving ‘voice to all’ is certainly an ideal to strive for, participation in the sense of having equal amount of ‘say’ is mythical. Even if every person has equal amount of ‘talk time’, the opinions of the comparatively more powerful are likely to be more influential.

Participation is often strongly equated with learning and these terms are often used almost interchangeably: to participate is to educate and equally, to educate is to participate and learn (Van Genugten and Perez-Bustillo cited in Ismail, 2006: 42), so the assumption is that participatory methods are good in themselves.

Campbell (2003: 48) argues that the potential success of participation is influenced by the degrees of freedom that people have to control and shape their realities. An example from her book, *Letting them die: why HIV/AIDS intervention programmes fail* (2003), illustrates this well<sup>31</sup>.

One of the goals of the participatory development programme discussed in this book, was to promote condom use among commercial sex workers. The study found that the sex workers who were participating in the development programme and were fully

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<sup>31</sup> *Letting them die: why HIV/AIDS intervention programmes fail* (2003) is a detailed study of the Summertown Project, a project that worked to limit the spread of HIV among migrant mineworkers, commercial sex workers and young people, in the small South African community of Summertown.

conscientised (with regard to the transmission and effects of HIV/AIDS and the use of condoms), still did not necessarily start to use condoms. This was because selling sex was the way they generated an income, and if they insisted that their clients use condoms, the clients would take their 'business' elsewhere.

Subsequently, as Campbell (2003: 49) asserts, there is still much to be learned about the possibilities and limitations of participation in contexts where poverty and gender inequalities limit people's ability to assert themselves. It is therefore important that we avoid "oppressive simplifications", as Ellsworth (cited in Durie, 1996: 146) points out, by insisting that oppression be understood and struggled against contextually.

### **3.3.4 Inherent contradictions within development**

Van Nieuwenhuijze (cited in Rogers, 1992: 84) says that development is social change with an "inherent and identified thrust or direction", but that it is not the same as social change *because of the existence of this thrust and the change-agent*<sup>32</sup> or facilitator. It is because of the existence of this thrust and the facilitator - the fact that development is in and of itself an *intervention* - that there are some inherent contradictions in development. Notably the following, as listed by Rogers (1992: 105).

Firstly, the tension between respect for the autonomy of the participant group and commitment to change through intervention. Secondly, the tension between respect for indigenous knowledge and practice and commitment to change through new knowledge and new practice. Thirdly, the tension between development seen as intervention and development seen as a self-controlled voluntary process.

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<sup>32</sup> Rogers uses the term "change-agent" to refer to those who implement development programmes at the community level, on the other hand, the grassroots implementers of REFLECT are called *facilitators*. While I acknowledge that there might be a number of subtle differences between these two terms, I use the term "facilitator" throughout this thesis for reasons of uniformity and clarity.

### 3.3.5 Situating REFLECT within a view of development

All of the above-mentioned tensions inherent in development, in particular the tension between respect for indigenous knowledge and practice, and commitment to change through new knowledge and new practice, are also inherent in Freire's theories. As Walters (1989: 92) notes, the tension between not wanting to impose ideas on learners and teaching them the 'correct' theory runs through his work.

It is at the location of these tensions that Archer and Cottingham (1996a: 19) note that the REFLECT approach distanced itself from Freire in favour of Richard Chambers, a key figure behind Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA). Freire speaks of the "naïve or magical consciousness" of the "oppressed", and so one interpretation of Freire's work is that he sees the existing knowledge and beliefs of the poor and uneducated as needing to be transcended (Archer and Cottingham, 1996a: 19). On the other hand, Chambers believes in the capacity of the underclasses to initiate valid social actions on the basis of their existing knowledge and beliefs (Archer and Cottingham, 1996a: 19).

Consequently, REFLECT facilitators are trained to use participatory tools derived from PRA techniques, which are based on the idea that visualisation can help participation (Archer and Cottingham, 1996a: 18). As explained in chapter 1, this means that the starting point of any critical discussion, or the analysis of an issue in a REFLECT circle, is the collective construction of maps, matrices, calendars and diagrams on the ground, using whatever materials are locally available<sup>33</sup>. These participatory tools not only encourage participation, but also ensure that analyses begin with the existing knowledge and beliefs of circle members.

Therefore, REFLECT's methodology situates this approach within the view of development that Rogers (1992: 104) refers to as "empowerment for participation".

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<sup>33</sup> See appendix A for an example of a REFLECT map.

### **3.4 Issues with regard to the selection and support processes of facilitators**

Rogers (1992: 159) notes that development programmes which take as their starting point the expressed aspirations of the participant group (rather than needs which agencies have put into their mouths or assumed they possess) and use these to work towards the development goals, call for special aptitudes on the part of the facilitators.

In every country, it is possible to find innovative [facilitators]; but the problem remains, how to recruit enough persons to make for a mass movement, and how to develop in these [facilitators] attitudes of open-mindedness and entrepreneurial energy which will enable them on the one hand to identify and harness those factors and incidents which will help on the programme, and on the other hand identify an attempt to nullify those factors which serve as barriers to learning and to development (Rogers, 1992: 159-160).

Rogers (1992: 160) states that a study of literacy instructors in south India, as well as other surveys of facilitators, have suggested three main factors as being relevant. These are, the process of selecting the facilitators, the training offered to facilitators, and the support systems provided for them during the development programmes.

These factors more or less corroborate the conclusion of the research done in Khayelitsha, that is, that there were four factors that had influenced the Khayelitsha facilitators with regard to implementing the REFLECT approach, namely, the facilitators' prior experience in doing development work, personal motivations or reasons for becoming a facilitator, the extent and nature of organisational support for facilitators, and the extent and nature of facilitator peer support.

Accordingly, drawing on the findings of the Khayelitsha report and other literature, this section discusses issues with regard to selecting facilitators (including facilitators' prior experience in doing development work and personal motivation), and ongoing training and support processes (including both organisational and peer support). While

acknowledging its importance, this research does not look at literature discussing issues with regard to the training of facilitators.

### **3.4.1 Selecting facilitators**

Archer and Newman (2003: 8) prioritise recruitment by saying that finding good facilitators must be given the highest priority, “as facilitators are the single most important factor in making the REFLECT process effective”. Rahman and Khan (1998: 76) reiterate this: “facilitators are acknowledged to be at the heart of all REFLECT programmes”.

Maria Nandago (1998:66), a REFLECT practitioner in Uganda, goes a step further by stating that whilst there is a strong belief in the possibility of changing people's outlook and behaviour, a two week training period would almost certainly be insufficient for such a task. Consequently,

It is clear that the duration and nature of the training process cannot be separated from the selection of [REFLECT] facilitators. It is worth spending time in identifying the right individuals at the start, rather than being left with a nearly impossible task of training unsuitable facilitators (Nandago, 1998: 66).

The importance of selecting facilitators is prioritised by most participatory development programmes. The following section will look at the rationale for using local facilitators, the ideal educational level of facilitators and the role of facilitators' prior experience in doing development work, recruiting facilitators through a process of so-called ‘community’ discussion, and, lastly, the relevance of commitment and motivation.

#### **3.4.1.1 Using local facilitators**

With regard to the use of local facilitators, there does not seem to be much of a debate. One of the guidelines for selecting facilitators for REFLECT, as set out in the *Mother*

*Manual*<sup>34</sup>, is that facilitators should be local to the community as this would “promote an internal and sustainable community process” (Archer and Cottingham, 1996b: 66).

Rogers (1992: 160) gives a rationale for this by giving three reasons for the usefulness of local facilitators in participatory development programmes. Firstly, as they speak the same language, they will communicate better than outsiders. Secondly, it is cheaper to train local facilitators and send them back to work in their own locality. Thirdly, training local people will, in the long term, strengthen the resources of the local community. Moreover, Rogers (1992: 161) concludes that the selection of *local* facilitators is seen to be a pre-requisite of success in development programmes.

### **3.4.1.2 The ideal educational level**

There is quite a debate with regard to the ideal educational level of facilitators. Nandago (1998:66) relates that in selecting facilitators, people (whether from inside or outside the communities), often prioritise criteria such as “teaching experience” or “educational level”, but that in her experience this is a serious error.

High educational levels can be an obstacle to being a good facilitator, as it may be associated with ‘social distance’ from participants. Furthermore, educated people are likely to have a basic belief in a formal education system, as they have been through it themselves. ‘Experience of teaching’ is also often counter-productive, as this usually signifies someone who is accustomed to assuming (and enjoying) a ‘professional’ role. Such people are often manifestly unwilling to give up their old status and its associated methodologies (Nandago, 1998: 66).

Rogers (1992: 161-2) supports this argument by stating that too much attention is paid to formal education in the choice of facilitators, and he specifically notes the difficulty of unlearning didactic methods of teaching.

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<sup>34</sup> The REFLECT *Mother Manual* provides the following guidelines for selecting facilitators: the facilitators should be local to the community, of a similar socio-economic level to that of the participants, should respect participants, should be chosen after a process of community discussion, with the final decision lying with the participants, must show commitment, and must have communication as well as basic literacy skills (Archer and Cottingham, 1996b: 66).

However, Rogers (1992: 162) agrees with Archer and Cottingham (1996b: 66) that going to the other extreme, that is, of training facilitators with virtually no educational achievements, creates its own set of difficulties. This is because development work is a difficult task that calls for considerable skills (Rogers, 1992: 162).

Additionally, Rogers (1992: 162) points out that development work requires the attention of a facilitator who is “already regularly engaged in the desired activity”. The Khayelitsha report found that nine out of the twelve Khayelitsha facilitators had had no prior experience in working for a development organisation and the remaining three facilitators' experience in working for a development organisation had been very limited<sup>35</sup> (Diedericks, 2006: 9). This meant that none of them had “regularly engaged in the desired activity”. Hence the conclusion that the lack of prior experience working for a development organisation may have been one of the factors that had prevented the facilitators from implementing REFLECT (Diedericks, 2006: 15).

So, while agreeing that high educational levels and formal teaching experience can be obstacles to being a good facilitator, it is possible that prior experience in working for a development organisation might provide a potential facilitator with a given set of experiences that could be useful in the implementation of a participatory development programme.

### **3.4.1.3 Recruiting facilitators through a process of community discussion**

REFLECT literature holds that, ideally, facilitators should be chosen after a process of community discussion, with the final decision lying with the participants (Archer and Cottingham, 1996b: 66). Campbell (2003: 42) also says that the community should ideally play a key role in the selection of facilitators. This is to ensure that facilitators are seen to be representative of the groups that they serve, and have the respect that will assist them in playing the leadership roles.

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<sup>35</sup> I concluded that their experience had been ‘limited’, based on the amount of time they had each actually spent working for the organisation – on average three days (Diedericks, 2006: 9).

While this makes theoretical and intuitive sense, the problem with such a process of recruitment in *urban* areas, lies in the concept 'community'.

In Jellema and Fiedrich's study, *Beyond the bounded community – REFLECT in urban settings* (1998), they compare REFLECT programmes in urban communities in Kampala, Uganda and Dhaka, Bangladesh. They note that in many rural areas, people's imagined notion of community incorporates geographical boundaries with strong moral imperatives of reciprocity, trust and solidarity; whereas in urban areas this idea of 'belonging' to a place may be weak, contested or altogether absent (Jellema and Fiedrich, 1998: 82).

The truth is, selecting facilitators through a process of community discussion in an urban area is impossible, unless you have a well-defined community. An example of a well-defined 'community' within an urban context could be an existing group, such as a cooperative, women's savings group, or income-generating group.

Archer and Cottingham (1996b: 41) state that an existing group has "the advantage of having an on-going group dynamic and shared interest which may make the group more sustainable". This means that existing groups may be better positioned to provide a space for a community discussion, with regard to selecting facilitators, especially in urban communities where there is often no homogeneous sense of community (Jellema and Fiedrich, 1998: 82).

However, one disadvantage of working with existing groups can be that the group dynamics may be already fixed and thus difficult to break. For instance the leader of the group might be so used to her/his position of power that s/he would find it difficult to share their skills with others (Archer and Cottingham, 1996b: 41).

Another disadvantage is that participatory development programmes with very specific development goals might have difficulties in finding a suitable existing group. However, even very specific development goals, such as increasing the use of condoms, could

benefit from an already existing group dynamic in which people may already know each other well enough to feel comfortable to talk about sensitive subjects.

All in all, this discussion reiterates that if there is an already existing group dynamic and structure to which the facilitators belong pre-training, the implementation of a development programme is likely to be more sustainable.

#### **3.4.1.4 Commitment and personal motivation**

Of all the qualities seen as important for selecting suitable facilitators, the fact remains that the main criticism, levelled at facilitators at conferences and seminars on the evaluation of development programmes, is that they are not committed (Rogers, 1992: 174). This is because, as Rogers (1992: 161) notes, “every mass programme has experienced the uncommitted [facilitator] who undertakes the work more out of self-interest (usually money) and leaves during the programme if another door opens”.

However, Rogers (1992: 174) argues, assuming a lack of commitment by those who plan or implement development programmes when things go wrong is not taking into account the complexities of planning and implementing a participatory development programme. He says that problems are more likely to arise through a lack of experience of planning or implementing development programmes, or due to insufficient understanding of the complexity of the specific development contexts (Rogers, 1992: 174).

One of these complexities relates to the concept of motivation – the reasons why people get involved and stay involved in development programmes. One of Freire's main arguments is that through facilitating participation and participative behaviour one could train people to become critically aware of their surroundings (Newman, 1993: 225), and this would then lead them to take action. However, Freire focuses on the development of *collective* consciousness and subsequent action – he does not take account of the role of continually changing *individual* aspirations, motivations and commitment.

Consequently, it is necessary to acknowledge that every individual facilitator will have his/her own set of complex reasons for becoming a facilitator and that these will, in turn, affect the implementation of the development programme.

One of the findings of the Khayelitsha report illustrates this point well. Nine out of twelve of the Khayelitsha facilitators did the REFLECT Facilitator Training because they were, up until the training started, under the impression that the training would result in them getting jobs. The report concluded that one of the possible reasons why the facilitators did not implement REFLECT was because "these were mainly unemployed people that had gone into the training thinking that they were going to get jobs. As that did not happen... they are [left] extremely de-motivated" (Diedericks, 2006: 14). Consequently, one of the recommendations of the Khayelitsha report points to the need for transparent recruitment processes as this would ensure that no false expectations are created during recruitment.

However, having illustrated that it is necessary to acknowledge individuals' personal motivations, it becomes furthermore essential to point out the following. It would be nearly impossible to determine people's exact personal motivations for becoming involved in a participatory development programme during the facilitator recruitment and selection processes.

On the other hand, people's motivations are not stagnant but are continually changing. Rogers (1992: 123) points out that it is essential that every development programme contains within it provision for the promotion of positive attitudes, especially the development of confidence and focusing of motivation. In other words, it is important that participatory development programmes have built in support processes specifically aiming to foster positive attitudes, providing facilitators with strong positive motivations or reasons to be fully committed to the programme.

### **3.4.2 Ongoing training and support processes**

Nandago (1998: 67) holds that, whatever the scenario, it is important not to hold too high an expectation of the outcome from an initial training workshop.

We should see initial training as little more than the means for sparking off an initial interest, but we should accept that it is something that will need careful monitoring, if it is not to die prematurely or be stunted. There is a desperate need to provide follow up support to strengthen the skills acquired (Nandago, 1998: 67).

Ongoing training and support processes seem to most commonly take on the form of ongoing 'refresher' training for the facilitators, and facilitator-to-facilitator peer support structures, whereas there seems to be a debate around paying facilitators as a means to provide support. These themes are all discussed in the following section.

#### **3.4.2.1 Ongoing training**

Archer and Cottingham (1996b: 69) state that ongoing training is vital to the facilitators' success, as they do not know the problems they will face. David Archer reiterated this in saying that even if REFLECT facilitators were trained for a year, unless they received ongoing training and support they would become disheartened and would be likely to give up (personal communication).

The findings of the Khayelitsha report also illustrate the importance of ongoing training and support. Eleven out of the twelve Khayelitsha facilitators reported that since the facilitator training they had not received any kind of support from Sena (Diedericks, 2006: 11). Furthermore, facilitators said that the training had been "too short" and that they would "like to start circles but do not know how" (Diedericks, 2006: 11). Hence, the Khayelitsha report concluded that a lack of organisational support was one of the main factors that had prevented the Khayelitsha facilitators from implementing REFLECT.

Rogers (1992: 163) generalises these conclusions by saying that there is an “increasing awareness” of the need for continuing training for facilitators as they “cannot learn all that they require for their demanding task during their [initial] training”.

#### **3.4.2.2 Peer support structures**

On-going training can most easily take on the form of exchange and support meetings for facilitators who live in the same area (Archer and Cottingham, 1996b: 69), as the “best support for facilitators will be each other” because “they will have a shared experience and will understand each other” (Archer and Newman, 2003: 9).

The ActionAid Buwekula Project, Uganda, has found that facilitator-to-facilitator exchange meetings are also a more effective mechanism for maintaining and boosting facilitator morale, than, for example, on-site visits, which can be useful for monitoring progress and identifying ongoing training needs, but can easily turn into purely ‘supervisory’ or ‘checking’ visits (Nandago, 1998: 68).

Rogers (1992: 164) notes that his research in south India also suggests that having a network of facilitators is a good strategy for on-going support. He adds that the development of self-training groups, and the involvement of experienced facilitators in the running of training programmes and in the planning and implementation of new programmes, are further strategies of ongoing support. More importantly, these strategies ensure that facilitators are viewed as long-term partners in a joint enterprise between development agencies and people in the community, rather than just used for a short time to achieve set goals (Rogers, 1992: 164).

#### **3.4.2.3 Volunteer or paid**

A well known debate, amongst popular education and development agencies that implement their programmes with the help of local facilitators, is the issue of whether facilitators should volunteer or be paid. The general criticism is that professionals are

always paid, while poor people are usually asked to volunteer (Cartwright, Jenneker and Shearing, 2004: 5). Many REFLECT practitioners at an organisational level seem to be in agreement that it is unfair that the poorest people in the REFLECT implementation process, that is, the facilitators, are not paid while professionals working for development organisations usually draw a salary<sup>36</sup>.

Archer and Cottingham (1996b: 41) note that it would, however, be a disaster if you had facilitators who are only in it for the money and are not in it for the community,

In all cases [that is, all three of the initial REFLECT pilot programmes] the fact that facilitators were from the same community as the participants was felt to be a more important factor in ensuring that they were well motivated – their prime concern was the development of their own community and not money (Archer and Cottingham, 1996b: 42).

The Coordinator of SHARE, an NGO in the Western Cape that has adopted REFLECT to address issues relating to entrepreneurship/ poverty alleviation and strengthening community structures, commented that after three years the REFLECT facilitators had become “very dependent on the stipends they receive, yet do not always produce the efforts needed to keep the circles vibrant and productive” (personal communication).

Thus, the central issue is again one of facilitator commitment and motivation and it presents two questions. Firstly, is asking people to volunteer one way of acquiring facilitators with positive motivations, people who are so committed to the goals of development that they are willing to volunteer their time? Alternatively, does being paid help to foster positive attitudes, and provide facilitators with strong positive motivations or reasons to be fully committed to the programme? While I would argue that it is unfair to ask poor people to volunteer, I suspect that remuneration by itself cannot develop in

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<sup>36</sup> I drew this conclusion after having attended a REFLECT workshop, in November 2007 in Cape Town, that brought together REFLECT practitioners, mainly from NGOs all over Africa, to discuss an evaluation framework for REFLECT. Most notable people who strongly held this opinion are David Archer from ActionAid and Sue Upton, who works for an NGO in Mali, Jeunesse et Développement, which uses the REFLECT approach.

people positive attitudes and deep commitment to development. However, these questions present a dissertation in itself and so I will leave the discussion at that.

### **3.5 Conclusion**

In this chapter, the REFLECT approach is situated within the view of development as a process of empowerment, and participation is seen as a key element in helping people to identify and maximise their own potential to shape their circumstance and contribute to society. As facilitators are the grassroots implementers of most participatory development programmes, this chapter discusses key debates around facilitator selection and ongoing training and support processes.

In summary, within the context of a participatory development approach, the use of *local* facilitators is seen as a way to ensure sustainability. In terms of qualifying facilitators' *ideal* educational level, it is necessary to find the balance between those whose formal education and teaching experience make it difficult to unlearn didactic methods of teaching, and those whom lack of education and experience have left ill equipped to meet the challenges of development work.

Recruiting facilitators through a process of community discussion might seem ideal, except that people living in urban communities usually do not have a homogeneous 'community'. Existing groups, for example, a women's savings group, might provide an urban setting for community discussion, and furthermore, existing peer support mechanisms would enhance sustainability. The final debate, around facilitators' commitment and motivation, concluded that though it would be impossible to determine people's exact motivations for becoming involved in a development programme, it would be possible to have built in processes in the development programme that could foster positive attitudes and motivation.

This brought attention to the need for ongoing support processes, including the importance of ongoing training and the development of peer support mechanisms, and the debate around paid or volunteer facilitators.

This concludes the conceptual framework. In the following chapter I will present the findings and analysis of this dissertation.

University of Cape Town

## CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

### 4.1 Introduction

The object of this thesis is to investigate how four specific factors affected the implementation of a particular participatory development programme. In the following chapter I will present and analyse the findings of a case study of five people in Orange Farm who implemented REFLECT.

The first chapter qualified the 'implementation' of REFLECT for the purpose of this thesis: that is, whether REFLECT facilitators have circles which they regularly facilitate by using the REFLECT learning cycle of critical analysis, reflection and action. The first section of this chapter reviews the Vukani group's implementation of REFLECT by presenting data on circles and circle actions. This evidence is presented to show the active implementation of REFLECT by the Vukani facilitators in more detail. The detail illuminates the everyday work of these facilitators, which, in turn, contextualises the findings more directly related to the four factors that are the focus of the research question.

The second section presents a chronological history of findings which are directly and indirectly relevant to these four factors. However, the exact nature of the relationship between the findings and the four factors will only be expanded upon in the third and final section. Hence the third section is a thematic analysis according to the factors, namely, facilitators' prior experience in doing development work, personal motivations for becoming facilitators, the extent and nature of organisational support for facilitators, and the extent and nature of facilitator peer support.

## **4.2 Evidence relating to Vukani facilitators' implementation of REFLECT: circles and circle actions.**

### **4.2.1 A brief overview of Vukani's circles**

As mentioned in previous chapters, four out of the five members of the case study group became REFLECT facilitators in October 2003. Almost a year later, in September 2004, they and their colleagues had formed a formally accredited Section 21 (not for profit) Company, Vukani.

By the time that Vukani's 3-Year Plan was compiled, the end of January 2005, Vukani and its facilitators were running four circles. Two of the circles focused on developing business enterprise skills (these were a baking circle and a sewing circle), one was focused on developing an agricultural project (Phaphama Agricultural Circle), and the other addressed health and environmental issues (Siyaphambili Health Circle). At this time these circles had an active total membership of 52 adult community members, and the facilitators mostly facilitated the circles in pairs (Knight, 2005: 3).

By November 2006, Vukani had eight circles running - two of these had been running continually since the inception of Vukani and the other six had commenced over time - with a total of approximately 106 registered members (Vukani, 2006c: 1,4).

The following are instances of circle actions, that is, where the learning cycle has gone through critical analysis, reflection and action. The first are three developments in the history of the Masibambane Sewing Circle which demonstrate a certain level of analysis, reflection and action. The second example is of Siyaphambili Health Circle, whose members had clearly gone through a process of analysing, reflecting and acting on a particular issue which, in the end, benefited all the people in the area.

#### 4.2.2 Assessing and adapting: Masibambane Sewing Circle

There are three small instances in the history of this circle that point to a degree of conscious reflection and subsequent action. Firstly, the Masibambane Circle was formed when the baking and the sewing circle merged. According to the facilitator of the Masibambane Circle, these two circles merged because the facilitators and the circle members realised that what both these circles essentially needed was to develop their business enterprise skills<sup>37</sup>.

Secondly, this women's only circle identified that they would like to develop their activities into a co-operative. By December 2005 it was reported that the Vukani facilitators had made links with possible tailoring skills trainers (Vukani, 2005d: 5). During my fieldwork in November 2006, the 3-day per week/3-month sewing course was in its second month.

Thirdly, in mid 2006 the circle's membership numbers dropped because "some of them they found a job, and then some of them were having home problems"<sup>38</sup>. The remaining members and the facilitators decided that, in order to increase in membership again, they should advertise the sewing course on the local radio. The circle increased in membership from eight members to 23 (Vukani, 2006c: 2).

Each of these instances shows how the circle members and facilitators identified a problem, and subsequently responded to it by conceptualising and implementing a suitable plan of action. This suggests that the REFLECT learning cycle of analysing, reflecting and acting had continually been used by the Vukani facilitators and the Masibambane Circle members.

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<sup>37</sup> Interview with John, facilitator of Masibambane Sewing Circle. 14 November 2006.

<sup>38</sup> Interview with John, facilitator of Masibambane Sewing Circle. 14 November 2006.

### 4.2.3 Advocacy for improved refuse services: Siyaphambili Health Circle

In 2005, members of Siyaphambili Health Circle partook in an advocacy action to get a better refuse service from the local authority to keep the environment clean. At this time Siziwe, the replacement facilitator of Siyaphambili, was a circle member, and she played a leading role in this action, which is why I let her speak for herself.

The first extract is taken from my own interview with Siziwe, and the second from a focus group discussion, done by Prue Coakley, where Siziwe speaks about the same topic.

Extract 1: Interview with Siziwe, 21 November 2006.

Interviewer: tell me about your experience of this circle?

Facilitator: experience mmm

Interviewer: or what do think this circle has taught you?

Facilitator: has taught me? You know this circle has, I had met many people

Interviewer: through this circle?

Facilitator: through this circle, you know, communication, I think I didn't have much communication with other community members but through this circle I can even understand more about our needs as a community and that is what this circle has taught me. Because we have took many actions with our circles.

Interviewer: Like what?

Facilitator: because we have an environment circle né, at first our community was dirty, there was a lot a lot of dumping areas

Interviewer: this is now [this area in Orange Farm]?

Facilitator: [this area in Orange Farm] mm so we decided to go to the municipality offices to ask for the big dust bins because we didn't have, they were only giving us plastic bags for us to put rubbish so dogs were tearing them up so we thought that was polluting our land, then I myself and the other colleague went to the municipality offices in Braamfontein and we went to ask for the dustbins.

Interviewer: Those big green things?

Facilitator: No the black ones with the wheels we didn't have, then we went there to confront, asking them if they can give us the big dustbin and even our truck for collecting the rubbish was too small, so we made a petition to the community then the community sent us there and then we went there and then we made a formal presentation because we also took photos of the land where it is polluted and then we took the photos there to show them how dirty is our area and how small is the truck.

Interviewer: You are talking about the yellow municipality truck?

Facilitator: Ja... so when we went there they saw that our land is very dirty and then they came to clean up the land with our help also, we helped them to clean up the area and then they had already given us the bins and they had already changed the truck and now our area is clean, much cleaner.

Extract 2: Taken from Prue Coakley's study, a verbatim quote of Siziwe - in 2005 while she was still a circle member - during a focus group discussion.

That first time we went to the Department of Health, oh my god, we were nervous...but we told ourselves that whatever we want, we must come out here and say it...we went there and told them how dirty it is here... and that only a small truck comes to pick it up...but now this week a proper big rubbish truck came here for the rubbish...and that's our work, you see. That's what we've done! (Coakley, 2005:15).

As can be seen from both of the above extracts, it is an example of how the REFLECT learning cycle was implemented in the Siyaphambili Health Circle. The members and facilitators identified the problem, namely that their area was full of rubbish; they analysed the problem and realised that it was because council did neither provide them with sufficient containers to put their rubbish in, nor with sufficient rubbish removal systems; they decided on a plan of action, that is, to mobilise the community, go to the municipal offices and explain their problem; and acted on their plan by going to the municipal offices, explaining the problem and asking for proper containers and sufficient rubbish removal systems.

This is an example of the kind of development that Rogers (1992: 104) says is a *process of empowerment*: REFLECT as a participatory development programme using *participation* to help people to identify and maximise their own potential to shape their circumstance and contribute to society. It is clear that Siziwe was surprised to learn, firstly, that she was able to go and speak directly to people in the municipal offices of Johannesburg, and secondly, that as a direct result of this assertive action their community was cleaned up and their problem taken care of.

## **4.3 A chronological history of Vukani and its facilitators**

### **4.3.1 Before Vukani: facilitators' prior experience in doing development work, their personal motivations for becoming facilitators, and the beginning of supportive relationships (January to October 2003).**

All five of the case study group used to be involved in a community based organisation (CBO), which for the purpose of this study I will refer to as Size. Size was mainly engaged in HIV / AIDS work and these five people worked for this organisation in Orange Farm for between six months and one year during 2003.

Additionally, Laura, the person who later became the Programme Manager for Vukani, joined Size in 2003 as a member of Size's Management Committee. Janet and Clinton (who later became the Company Secretary and Chair of Vukani) also joined Size in 2003 as volunteers on its Board of Directors.

Laura noted that it was not long after she had joined Size's Management Committee that she discovered that there were some "mismanagement of funds issues amongst other issues... particularly in expectations raised and promises made"<sup>39</sup>. Vukani's Circle Coordinator, Ayabonga, confirmed this by saying that he was told that he would get "an allowance" but that never happened even though he continued to work for this organisation<sup>40</sup>.

Laura furthermore stated that she did six months of capacity building work within the structures of Size in Orange Farm, but finally resigned since she "did not want [her] integrity to be at question"<sup>41</sup>. However, in those six months, she worked together with all five of the current Vukani facilitators.

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<sup>39</sup> E-mail interview with Laura, the former Programme Manager, 12 December 2006.

<sup>40</sup> Interview with Ayabonga, the Circle Coordinator, 17 November 2006.

<sup>41</sup> E-mail interview with Laura, the former Programme Manager, 12 December 2006.

During this time she introduced REFLECT to the members of Size, including the case study group, to “provide a structured approach to the way in which they engaged with the community”<sup>42</sup>. All the Vukani facilitators agreed that Laura had told them about REFLECT and suggested that they did the REFLECT Facilitator Training as a way to learn about how to do community work.

In October 2003 a group of people from Size, including the case study group<sup>43</sup>, were trained as REFLECT facilitators, but by December 2003, Size had “ceased to operate”<sup>44</sup>.

#### **4.3.2 The beginning of Vukani: further evidence of personal motivations, and the development of support structures (November 2003 to September 2004).**

The facilitator of Vumani Circle, Maria, commented that in the months following the training Size “fell apart...and then we just still continued without attending any organisation but we were willing to use this REFLECT method, till we decided to phone [Laura]”<sup>45</sup>.

The following extract from the interview with Ayabonga, the Circle Coordinator, 17 November, supported what Maria had said and expanded on it.

Facilitator: ... so before [Size] collapsed after the REFLECT training we introduced REFLECT into our community and members were quite interested in that approach, this was in November and then in December [Size] collapsed and we said wow, we have already introduced the approach and people accepted it, and we have said things to the community and now all of a sudden the organisation fell apart, what should we do. That is where we started to speak with [Laura]...

Interviewer: how did you introduce REFLECT into the community?

Facilitator: we called a general community meeting that all of the community attended, not everyone but there so many, maybe 40% of [this area] so they came, in fact there was a general meeting that was scheduled so we just asked the organiser of the meeting to put us on the agenda

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<sup>42</sup> E-mail interview with Laura, the former Programme Manager, 12 December 2006.

<sup>43</sup> Excluding Siziwe - see profile of sample group in Methodology.

<sup>44</sup> E-mail interview with Janet, the company secretary, 10 December 2006.

<sup>45</sup> Interview with Maria, facilitator of Vumani HIV / AIDS Circle, 17 November 2006.

Interviewer: like a council meeting?

Facilitator: yes so this is where we spoke of the REFLECT approach and how it is going to work within the community... and that is how they got interested

Every interview confirmed that the facilitators had already introduced REFLECT to the people in the area by the time Size collapsed, and that they contacted Laura and asked her for advice shortly after the collapse.

When [Size] fell apart we were six members from Orange Farm all youth then we decided that because [Size] is no longer there we can have our own project using the REFLECT methodology. ...after the [REFLECT] training there is a section asking us what are you going to do after the training, how are you going to use this skills that you have gained there from the training so then we decided that we have to decide what to do and so we asked [Laura] to help us<sup>46</sup>

According to Laura she suggested that these facilitators start their own organisation, “we spent time using the REFLECT process to look at all the advantages and disadvantages... the implications, commitments, responsibilities, etc of setting up a CBO”<sup>47</sup>. After a process of discussion amongst themselves, the facilitators responded by saying that they would like to start their own organisation. “I was so impressed and enthused by their commitment to community development and aims to see reduced HIV rates and improved HIV-related services etc that I agreed to support them through the process of setting up the CBO”<sup>48</sup>.

Between January and September 2004 the case study group, their colleagues and Laura met at Ayabonga's house in Orange Farm five days a week. In these months, with the help of Laura, Janet and Clinton<sup>49</sup>, they chose a name for the organisation, drew up a constitution, got a private United Kingdom donor who provided start-up funds, and applied to be registered as a Section 21 (not for profit) Company<sup>50</sup> (Knight, 2005).

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<sup>46</sup> Interview with Nomvula, facilitator of Photo REFLECT Circle. 18 November 2006.

<sup>47</sup> E-mail interview with Laura, the former Programme Manager. 12 December 2006.

<sup>48</sup> E-mail interview with Laura, the former Programme Manager. 12 December 2006.

<sup>49</sup> See section 4.4.3 for a more detailed account of the supporting roles played by these three people, both in the setting up of Vukani and subsequently.

<sup>50</sup> Interviews with case study group and Laura, Janet and Clinton.

During the same months, the facilitators had several more meetings with the community. These meetings were to find out exactly what the community thought they needed – as it was according to these needs that the various kinds of circles were eventually decided upon. John explained,

that is why we started [Vukani] because we called a meeting and then talked to the community about their needs and they told us what they need, we just followed the community needs, we didn't just say that you need a sewing ladies or you need home based care<sup>51</sup>.

These meetings culminated in a big Recruitment Day during which people from the community could register to become part of a REFLECT circle. The first circle was a baking circle and all the facilitators facilitated this circle together, that is, they took turns in facilitating this circle, helping each other prepare and plan, using the REFLECT learning cycle as a guide. Then, as interest grew in the community, as well as the facilitators' confidence, other circles were started.

In September 2004 Vukani was officially registered as a Section 21 (not for profit) Company, obtained free services from lawyers and auditors, and established a Board of Directors.

#### **4.3.3 Vukani growing as an organisation – evidence of the extent and nature of both organisational support for facilitators and facilitator peer support (October 2004 to October 2006).**

The start-up funds mentioned previously were used to support the facilitators in their initial work to establish the organisation, ongoing REFLECT training to strengthen their facilitation skills, and to begin the first phase of a multi-purpose building. In June 2004 an application was made to the local government office to acquire land in the area. By January 2005 the first phase, that is, a building to serve as a base for the organisation and where circle members could meet, was almost completed (Knight, 2005: 3-4).

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<sup>51</sup> Interview with John, facilitator of Masibambane Sewing Circle, 14 November 2006.

Furthermore, as can be seen in section 4.2.1, by the end of January 2005, when Vukani's 3-Year Plan (for January 2005 to December 2007) was compiled, the Vukani facilitators were running four circles with an active total membership of 52 adult community members (Knight, 2005: 3).

In the *Bi-Yearly Report to IIZ/DVV* (June 2005) the need for ongoing training was noted.

Some facilitator issues developed early in the year relating to the ability to deal with conflict (between facilitators and within circles) and to meet expectations of circle participants. This indicated that some facilitators were struggling with their role and capacity to plan sessions, which had a knock-on effect in maintaining circle membership. It was agreed between the facilitators and Project Manager that one day a week would be allocated for focused training relating to the issues and one day a week would be allocated for joint peer sessions and co-counselling. In addition it was agreed that facilitator appraisals would be held. Regular mentorship was provided to some facilitators until confidence levels increased (Vukani, 2005c: 2).

Subsequently, in the *Annual report to IIZ/DVV* (December 2005) the following was reported in terms of the provision of ongoing training:

A training programme has been established and weekly facilitator training sessions held. The first round of facilitator appraisals has been held and training needs assessed. This has informed the training programme. Three new learning units have been written, one of them in conjunction with the facilitators. Training has also been provided to the facilitators on Unit writing and some facilitators have felt confident enough to write their own learning units (Vukani, 2005d: 7).

Careful monitoring of session planning has been undertaken and feedback sessions with circle participants (without the facilitator) were carried out in July 2005. The results of these meetings revealed that circle members were satisfied with their facilitator's inputs (Vukani, 2005d: 3).

According to the same report, and confirmed by Prue Coakley's study *The REFLECT Participatory Approach – developing positive change* (2005), the Vukani facilitators were running six circles by December 2005. Moreover, there were 73 people permanently registered with an average regular participant attendance rate of 55% of the bi-weekly circle meetings (Vukani, 2005d: 3).

In 2006 Vukani's facilitators started to meet once a week in what is called the Facilitators' Circle. The facilitators used this meeting to discuss issues with regard to their individual circles. The two occasions that I observed this circle in November 2006, they discussed issues with regard to regular circle attendance by circle members, conflicts arising between members of the same circles, and difficulties with regard to certain planned circle actions. Ayabonga, as Circle Coordinator, facilitated the Facilitators' Circle, and received computer training in order to help him write bi-monthly reports about the progress of all of the circles<sup>52</sup>.

By November 2006, in the *Circle Coordinator's Report to the Board regarding Circle Matters* (November 2006), it was reported that the Vukani facilitators had eight circles running. There were 106 permanently registered participants, with an average regular attendance rate of 80% (Vukani, 2006c: 4).

## **4.4 Thematic analysis**

### **4.4.1 Facilitators' prior experience in doing development work**

All the Vukani facilitators had joined at least one community-based organisation, Size, before they became REFLECT facilitators, and the evidence does suggest that the condition of facilitators' prior experience in doing development work had indeed affected the Vukani facilitators' implementation of REFLECT.

There is a clear progression that starts from their involvement in Size, to the decision to be trained as REFLECT facilitators, to the starting and facilitating of the first circles, culminating in the eventual registration of Vukani as an organisation. As mentioned in chapter 3, Rogers (1992: 162) points out that development work requires the attention of a facilitator who is "already regularly engaged in the desired activity". Each one of the

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<sup>52</sup> Interview with Ayabonga, the Circle Coordinator, 17 November 2006.

Vukani facilitators was indeed an example of a facilitator “already regularly engaged in the desired activity” by the time the first circles were started.

In terms of the debate on ideal educational level of facilitators, these facilitators had had very little formal education: two completed Grade 9, two completed Grade 11 and one completed high school and had a Matric (school leavers') certificate. Additionally, none of them had any formal teacher training or experience. This meant that, on the one hand, these facilitators had all received basic school education and were all literate (in the sense that they could all read and write English), but on the other hand, they did not have to unlearn didactic methods of teaching (Rogers, 1992: 161-2). Thus, they were not hampered by factors, such as, high educational levels, experience of formal teaching or a lack of basic education, that Nandago (1998: 66), Rogers (1992: 162) and Archer and Cottingham (1996b: 66) noted as possibly problematic.

It is, furthermore, noticeable that the Vukani facilitators were all involved in the *same* community-based organisation. Consequently, it could be at least as much a function of the condition of having had ample opportunity to develop a strong *peer support structure*, than purely the factor of facilitators' prior experience in doing development work, that indeed *aided* the Vukani facilitators in their implementation of REFLECT. Even though Size effectively fell apart soon after the Vukani facilitators had received their facilitators training, it had by this time already provided these facilitators with “the advantage of having an on-going group dynamic and shared interest” which, according to Archer and Cottingham (1996b: 41) “may make the group more sustainable”.

This “advantage” could be all the more important because these facilitators are not living in a rural area where people's imagined notion of community incorporates geographical boundaries with strong moral imperatives of reciprocity, trust and solidarity (Jellema and Fiedrich, 1998: 82). The Vukani facilitators live in a large, over-crowded peri-urban area in which, according to Jellema and Fiedrich (1998: 82), the idea of ‘belonging’ to a place could be weak, contested or altogether absent.

#### 4.4.2 Personal motivation

As pointed out in chapter 3, it would be nearly impossible to determine people's exact personal motivations for becoming involved in a participatory development programme during the facilitator recruitment and selection processes. However, once a programme had been implemented one could investigate the actions of the facilitators to see whether their personal motivations had been more or less in line with the goals of the development programme.

Moreover, it stands to reason that there is a direct relationship between the concepts personal motivation and commitment, as a person's reasons or motivations for doing something would surely impact on the degree to which such a person commits her/himself. Furthermore, the degree to which a person commits her/himself would be manifest in this person's actions. Hence, analysing evidence relating to people's commitment, in terms of looking at what people had actually done towards implementing a development programme, might provide a contextual framework for analysing the degree to which personal motivation affects the implementation of a participatory development programme.

There are several instances where the evidence suggests quite a high level of commitment, that is, the commitment of the case study group to implement REFLECT.

- They were all working for Size for between six months and a year.
- They all continued working without payment in spite of the fact that an allowance had been promised to them from the start.
- Even once Size had collapsed, the facilitators continued to try to implement the REFLECT programme, "we just still continued without attending any organisation but we were willing to use this REFLECT method"<sup>53</sup>.

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<sup>53</sup> Interview with Maria, facilitator of Vumani HIV / AIDS Circle, 17 November 2006.

- After a process of looking at the advantages and disadvantages, commitments and responsibilities of setting up a CBO, the facilitators made the decision that they wanted to start their own organisation.
- In the months leading up to the registration of Vukani, January to September 2004, Ayabonga, Nomvula, John and Maria worked with their colleagues and Laura, the former Programme Manager, five days a week to set up the organisation and introduce REFLECT to the people in the area.
- They did this *without remuneration*.
- Between September 2004 and November 2006 Ayabonga, Nomvula, John and Maria had continually been facilitating a circle once or twice a week, and Siziwe had been attending a circle meeting until voted replacement facilitator.
- During the interviews the commitment of the facilitators was noted as one of the biggest strengths of Vukani by four people: the facilitator of Masibambane Circle, John; the former Programme Manager, Laura; and the two independent directors, Clinton and Janet.

If one takes into account all of the above evidence of commitment, and assesses the personal motivation of the case study group according to and within the context of this evidence, it would be reasonable to argue that each of the members of the case study group had developed high levels of motivation to implement the participatory development programme REFLECT.

Moreover, if one were to take this evidence of commitment and compare it with the findings of the Khayelitsha report, that is, that only three out of twelve facilitators were actually facilitating circles six months after the training, it would be easy to draw the straightforward conclusion that the Khayelitsha facilitators lacked commitment.

However, as Rogers (1992: 174) argues, assuming a lack of commitment by those who plan or implement development programmes when things go wrong is not taking into account the complexities of planning and implementing a participatory development programme.

The Vukani facilitators had started off neither with an intrinsic commitment to the implementation of REFLECT, nor with strong personal motivation to implement REFLECT. The facilitators all stated they were becoming aware of the importance of HIV / AIDS and they joined Size in order to learn more about the pandemic, and also because they were unemployed, had 'nothing to do' and Size promised to pay stipends<sup>54</sup>.

It was while they were working for Size that they were introduced to REFLECT and received REFLECT Facilitator Training. Maria, facilitator of Vumani HIV / AIDS Circle, said they did the REFLECT training because "we were wanting to build the community and maybe we thought that it was the only way to help the community"<sup>55</sup>. Subsequently, the facilitators introduced the concept of REFLECT circles to people in the area. Once Size collapsed they showed interest in implementing REFLECT by starting their own organisation, and since then have had access to continuous support from REFLECT trainer Laura, and seasoned development workers Janet and Clinton.

The reasons given in terms of *why the Khayelitsha facilitators did the REFLECT Facilitator Training* are not dissimilar to those given by the Vukani facilitators as to *why they joined Size*. Firstly, the Khayelitsha facilitators were mainly unemployed and paid employment was promised, and secondly, they wanted to do various forms of community development work (Diedericks, 2007:4, 5). As pointed out earlier, after the training they received neither paid employment, nor any form of ongoing training or support.

Proof of the Vukani facilitators' commitment to REFLECT can be seen in the detailed data - only evident in retrospect - narrating the long (more or less four years) but consistent process of the development and growth of the Vukani facilitators as REFLECT facilitators. Importantly, however, there was evidence of this process of development and growth, and ongoing training and support, *throughout* these four years. On the other hand, although admittedly the data gathered concerning the Khayelitsha facilitators scarcely spans a period of eight months, there was no evidence in the six months

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<sup>54</sup> Interviews with the case study group.

<sup>55</sup> Interview with Maria, facilitator of Vumani HIV / AIDS Circle. 17 November 2006.

following their facilitator training that the Khayelitsha facilitators were developing and growing (or being supported by the organisation Sena, through which they were recruited, to develop and grow) as a group of REFLECT facilitators implementing REFLECT.

Rogers (1992: 123) points out that it is essential for every development programme to have built in support processes specifically aiming to foster positive attitudes, providing facilitators with strong positive motivations or reasons to be fully committed to the programme.

Before I did the [REFLECT] training... I was like a shy person I couldn't talk, like if you talked to me I was like I would just look down and not really talk to you, and I was afraid if I saw someone is doing something wrong I would just sit down and watch,... and now ...since from when I did the training I am like open, I can talk to other youth...I am really more confident like standing in a group of people... and even now when I talk to the police I know my rights now, so I can tell them no you are doing this wrong, so now I know what to do and I think it is because of the REFLECT training because if it wasn't for the REFLECT I wouldn't have known how it works but now of course I know so I am getting more and more confident, it is like it showed me many things that I didn't do before<sup>56</sup>.

The evidence suggests that the Vukani facilitators developed support processes and confidence over time, whereas the Khayelitsha facilitators did not. This suggests that the following two factors, namely organisational support of facilitators and facilitator' peer support, could be crucial to the maintaining and focusing of motivation and nurturing of commitment, the absence of which could hinder facilitators' implementation of REFLECT or participatory development programmes in general.

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<sup>56</sup> Interview with Nomvula, facilitator of Photo REFLECT Circle, 18 November 2006.

### 4.4.3 Organisational support

#### 4.4.3.1 Support to start an organisation

There seems to be the assumption amongst development practitioners that people are recruited and trained as facilitators from within the structures of an organisation, to work within these same structures (Archer and Cottingham, 1996a; Rogers, 1992; Campbell, 2003). With regard to the Vukani facilitators, this was indeed the case in the beginning, as they were trained to be facilitators during the time that they were working for Size. However, later on when Size collapsed, they were in the position of being trained facilitators *without* the support of an organisation.

Documented evidence, supported by every interview, shows that Laura, Clinton, and Janet played key roles in providing the Vukani facilitators with the support that they needed to start their own organisation and develop their own organisational support structures.

Laura initiated and organised the REFLECT Facilitator Training, and she worked closely with the facilitators for two years (January 2004 to December 2005). As Adult Education Advisor and Programme Manager, Laura facilitated the process of the community members setting up Vukani from the conception to the implementation, including advising on legal entity registration procedures. She was also key to creating linkages to other CBOs, national NGOs, donors and other relevant forms of information, and “did some fundraising for us and so we got a private donor, and she managed to get R80 000 for the start”<sup>57</sup>.

Janet and Clinton also became involved with the setting up of Vukani, supporting the facilitators to produce a constitution and establish their organisation as a legal entity,

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<sup>57</sup> Interview with Ayabonga, the Circle Coordinator, 17 November 2006.

Section 21 (not for profit) Company, and subsequently being voted into their present positions as Company Secretary and Chair of the Board of Directors<sup>58</sup> (Knight, 2005).

The Company Secretary described her role as having been “facilitating the process of developing strategies, procedures and policies and an organisational structure that is relevant and enabling for the facilitators to operate in”<sup>59</sup>. The Chair described his role on the board as “ensuring that the board takes decisions, keeps to their decisions and keeps to their constitution with the articles of the association”<sup>60</sup>.

The following extract from the interview with Siziwe, replacement facilitator of Siyaphambili, 21 November 2006, illustrates how the facilitators experienced the support they received.

SM: the best thing mmm about [Vukani] mmm what can I say... the support we get, the support we get like from the board members

DD: the independent board members like [Janet]?

SM: ja like [Laura] and [Janet], we normally get their support and the strong support which helps us keep going on and on and on

DD: do you think that [Vukani] would have been possible without people like [Laura] and [Janet] and [Clinton]?

SM: no ... no

DD: why not?

SM: as I say we as the facilitators, né, we don't see things the same né, and sometimes we fight and shout... but whenever [Laura] or [Janet] are here things are not like that, thing are going straight, without them we couldn't have even made this far the way I see it is happening. They are the one who are making our organisation to be stronger stronger stronger.

#### **4.4.3.2 The function of arbitration**

Janet, the Company Secretary, also alluded to the function of arbitration, noted in the previous extract, when she mentioned that the Independent Directors, as they were not local to this particular community, could provide the objective overview that is

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<sup>58</sup> Interviews with case study group and Laura, Janet and Clinton.

<sup>59</sup> Interview with Janet, the Company Secretary, 10 December 2006.

<sup>60</sup> Interview with Clinton, the Chair, 21 November 2006.

“sometimes necessary to rationalise what otherwise might be perceived as an overwhelming obstacle”<sup>61</sup>.

The need for arbitration has been noted during the implementation processes of other participatory development programmes as well. Campbell (2003: 71) specifically noted that even where there was evidence of strong networks of social support, these were tempered by the jealousies and competitiveness of negotiating survival in a hostile environment.

One observation during my fieldwork illustrates this arbitration function. The Vukani offices consist of a 2-room building<sup>62</sup>, and another much bigger structure next to it that had not been completed<sup>63</sup>. Vukani had apparently used a local contractor and this man had disappeared - along with the paint that had already been bought and as soon as he had all the money - without paying the builders or finishing the structure.

This problem was discussed in the Board meeting that I observed and it is a good example of arbitration because there was a lot of unhappiness amongst the facilitators about it. Firstly, the facilitators were blaming each other for having given the contractor all the money too quickly. John, the Masibambane Sewing Circle's facilitator, then stated that as the official caretaker of the grounds he should be the only one who deals with any building contractors or maintenance people and that only he should be authorised to pay them. Clinton, the Chair, immediately supported this statement, and everyone seemed to agree that henceforth, John should control situations like these by being in control of when payments were made.

Secondly, Vukani had allocated specific funds to this building project and these were now depleted. Janet, the Company Secretary, introduced the fact that they had received

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<sup>61</sup> Interview with Janet, the Company Secretary, 10 December 2006.

<sup>62</sup> The building was used as an office and for meetings.

<sup>63</sup> The building had a big kitchen for the baking circle, a room in which the agricultural circle could keep their tools, seed and produce, and two more rooms. The walls were finished and the roof was on, but it was still just bare bricks, the doors and window frames had not been put in, and the plumbing pipes had not all been laid yet.

more funding from Europe by immediately prioritising that they use part of it to complete the building. There was some discussion about this because Vukani had been growing in terms of circle members which meant that there was a need to train more facilitators, including Siziwe, who had been facilitating Siyaphambili Health Circle without actually having been properly trained. Whether facilitator training or finishing the building should receive the priority was discussed quite seriously until John said that they could probably finish the building themselves which meant they only needed to buy materials. This idea was supported since hiring another contractor would not only mean more money, but also the logistical issue of finding a contractor who could be trusted. It also meant that they could use the funds to both finish the building and have facilitator training.

Thirdly, the facilitators were quite unhappy because, even though the contractor lived in the area and they actually knew where his house was, he was refusing to meet with them to discuss the issue. Moreover, because he had not paid his builders, people in the area were beginning to think that Vukani had not paid the contractor, which created a bad image. As Nomvula, facilitator of Photo REFLECT Circle, said, “[The builder] did not pay his workers and they [the workers] don’t know that [Vukani] had paid [the builder]”<sup>64</sup>. The facilitators were unsure as to what to do next, and my sense was that this was one of those situations, mentioned earlier, that the Company Secretary was referring to when she said that sometimes the facilitators needed the Independent Directors as people who are not part of this community “to rationalise what otherwise might be perceived as an overwhelming obstacle”. So Janet as the Company Secretary, and Clinton as the Chair, took control by committing to personally arrange that the case was brought to the police and an official case be opened against the contractor.

#### **4.4.3.3 Ongoing training and remuneration**

Nandago (1998: 67), Archer and Cottingham (1996b: 69) and Rogers (1992: 163) all agree that ongoing support is necessary specifically in the form of ongoing training. Vukani's documents support this argument.

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<sup>64</sup> Interview with Nomvula, facilitator of Photo REFLECT Circle. 18 November 2006.

In the extract from the *Bi-Yearly Report to IIZ/DVV* (June 2005) noted in section 4.3.3, it is mentioned that “[s]ome facilitator issues developed... relating to the ability to deal with conflict... and to meet expectations of circle participants... some facilitators were struggling with their role and capacity to plan sessions” (Vukani, 2005c: 2).

It is in the response, also noted in these documents, that the organisational support in the form of ongoing training, can be seen. In the *Bi-Yearly Report to IIZ/DVV* (June 2005) it says that it was “agreed...that one day a week would be allocated for focused training relating to the issues and one day a week would be allocated for joint peer sessions and co-counselling” (Vukani, 2005c: 2). Subsequently, in the *Annual report to IIZ/DVV* (December 2005) it was reported that a “training programme has been established and weekly facilitator training sessions held” and that “feedback sessions with circle participants... revealed that circle members were satisfied with their facilitator's inputs” (Vukani, 2005d: 3, 7).

Furthermore, in line with the sentiment shared by many international REFLECT practitioners, namely, that it is unfair that the poorest people in the REFLECT implementation process, the facilitators, are not paid, a part of the international funding that Vukani received had been used to pay the facilitators a monthly stipend since the organisation was formally registered.

In answer to the question of how the extent and nature of organisational support for facilitators affected the implementation of this particular participatory development programme: the support that these facilitators had received in starting their own organisation, the function of arbitration that the independent board members and Laura fulfilled, and the ongoing training and remuneration provided, are all evidence of extensive organisational support.

If one were to compare this evidence with the findings of the Khayelitsha report discussed in chapter 3, that is, that since the facilitator training they had not received any kind of support from Sena, the organisation that recruited them, or any other individual

(Diedericks, 2006: 11), one could draw the following general, albeit not new, conclusion: regardless of how extensive the training provided, if there is no ongoing support and ongoing training provided to the facilitators they are unlikely to implement the development programme.

#### **4.4.4 Peer support**

The facts that the same people joined Size, became facilitators and started an organisation together<sup>65</sup>, as well as experienced facilitating the first circle and the growth of Vukani as an organisation together, show that the Vukani facilitators had ample time and space to develop peer support structures. The development of this peer support structure was furthermore guided and encouraged by the weekly Facilitators Circle, where, as described in section 4.3.3, the facilitators met to discuss issues with regard to their circles.

The following extract from the *Annual report to IIZ/DVV* (December 2005) provides some evidence with regard to the peer support structures of the Vukani facilitators.

A number of facilitators have undertaken peer observations in an 'ad-hoc' manner, choosing to support each other as needs arose. These particularly reflected times when facilitators were faced with issues of poor attendance and/or specific learning needs of participants and facilitators requested a peer to give guidance on how to move forward (Vukani, 2005d: 4).

The following observations, recorded during two of the Facilitators' Circles, one of the circle meetings that was co-facilitated, and the Board Meeting, and verified by interviews, are further practical evidence of the existence of functional peer support structures amongst the facilitators of Vukani.

Firstly, a practical example of how the facilitators seem to deal with problems happened during a meeting that the facilitators had with some of the members of the Siyaphambili Health Circle. Quite a few of the members of Siyaphambili Health Circle received

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<sup>65</sup> Excluding Siziwe - see profile of sample group in Methodology.

training as home-based carers and their initial idea was to take care of AIDS patients who were sick and at home. They were experiencing problems, however, because it seems that since the roll out of ARVs a lot of people were feeling better and so were no longer home bound. Some members therefore felt as though they had nothing to do anymore, making it pointless even to attend the REFLECT circles. This attitude, however, made the members who were still attending the circle meetings angry because they felt that their time was being disrespected.

Some of Siyaphambili's circle members were upset and discouraged, and so these members were invited to come and talk about their grievances. The facilitators arranged for the circle members to come after their weekly Facilitators' Circle, and, as a group of facilitators, they listened respectfully to these grievances, all the time asking questions and clarifying what the problems were. (The facilitators even gave up their chairs so that all the circle members had chairs to sit on.) Ayabonga, the Circle Coordinator, chaired the meeting and he repeatedly made sure that everyone who had something to say, both circle members and facilitators, had the space to say it.

Furthermore, the facilitators did not try to provide 'answers' to the circle's problems but they allowed people the space to share their issues, and hear each others' arguments and then the facilitators made some suggestions. In the Board meeting the facilitators then brought up these issues, and some more suggestions were made. When Siyaphambili met as a circle again, their facilitator, Siziwe, mentioned these suggestions, and the circle drew up an action plan<sup>66</sup>. This example suggests to me that the facilitators deal with problems as a group, and this is a sign of a functional peer support structure.

Secondly, in contrasting the Facilitators' Circle, the Board meeting, and the meeting of the facilitators with some of the members of the Siyaphambili Health Circle as discussed above, I noticed that when the facilitators were alone or in the Board meeting they quite directly showed when they disagreed with one another. As a matter of fact they argued a lot about various things, at times becoming rather angry with one another and clearly

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<sup>66</sup> See appendix H for an example of the REFLECT tool called an Action Plan.

showing it, although no one person dominated the discussion and everyone voiced his/her opinion and was listened to.

However, when Siyaphambili's circle members joined them, all the facilitators focused on listening to what these circle members had to say and, in this scenario, they showed clear cohesion as a group of people working together to solve a problem. Whereas they had been quite rude to one another when they were alone, they showed utmost respect both to one another as well as to the circle members in this particular meeting.

The last example of an incident that suggests the existence of a peer support structure, occurred during the observation of the Vumani Circle. Ayabonga accompanied us and he and Maria, Vumani's facilitator, then co-facilitated the circle. As this is her circle, I asked her in the interview afterwards why Ayabonga was there and why they co-facilitated the circle. She explained that, since they (the facilitators) had been in a meeting the whole day before<sup>67</sup> she had asked Ayabonga to help her facilitate her circle since she had not had enough time to properly prepare for it. The fact that Maria had had the confidence to ask Ayabonga as the Circle Coordinator to help her, and the fact that he had agreed to help her, showed that there is an undercurrent of strong trust and mutual dependence and respect, which suggests peer supportiveness and teamwork.

In answer to the question of how the extent and nature of facilitator peer support affected the implementation of this particular participatory development programme: the evidence suggests that the case study group had not only had ample time and opportunity to develop facilitator peer support, but that they had indeed developed interpersonal relationships based on strong reciprocal trust. Moreover, the development of firm peer support was supported by organisational mechanisms, such as the weekly Facilitators' Circle. The evidence furthermore suggests that the development of such a strong peer support structure had played a significant role in the implementation of this particular participatory development programme.

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<sup>67</sup> They had to plan a 4-day workshop in and with the community in order to meet the requirements for accessing particular funding.

Rogers (1992: 164) says that if facilitators are to be innovative and responsive, they need constant support systems, advice and encouragement networks. The evidence suggests that the Vukani facilitators did indeed have constant organisational and peer support systems, advice and encouragement networks.

This brings the findings and analysis chapter to a close, the following chapter concludes this dissertation and provides some recommendations.

University of Cape Town

## **CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

In the first two paragraphs of the first chapter, I noted that this dissertation is an attempt to answer a small, but important, fraction of a larger question - namely, what is stopping development from being effective - by investigating how four specific factors relating to facilitators affected the implementation of a particular participatory development programme.

The four specific factors were prior community involvement of facilitators, personal motivations of facilitators, the extent and nature of organisational support for facilitators, and the extent and nature of facilitator peer support. The particular participatory development programme was REFLECT, as implemented by a group of trained REFLECT facilitators in Orange Farm, namely, the Vukani group.

In terms of the wider discussion with regard to selection and recruitment processes of facilitators, it is important to note that all of these facilitators were 'local', living either in the specific area or in adjoining extensions. This meant that they had all the corresponding advantages mentioned by Rogers (1992: 160) and Archer and Cottingham (1996b: 66). That is, firstly, they spoke the same languages as their circle members and others in the area, and so had no problem communicating; secondly, since these facilitators live and work in a particular area the skills and experience they gained not only added to the collective strength of resources of the area, but also, thirdly, promoted an internal and sustainable community process.

Furthermore, in terms of the ideal educational level of facilitators, the fact that these facilitators, on the one hand, had all received basic school education and were all literate (in the sense that they could all read and write English), but on the other hand, had no formal teaching experience or qualifications and so did not have to unlearn didactic methods of teaching (Rogers, 1992: 161-2; Nandago, 1998: 66), meant that they were not hampered by being at either end of the extreme in terms of educational levels and teaching experience.

In terms of the specific four factors, the preceding chapter detailed that firstly, the condition of facilitators' prior experience in doing development work had positively affected the Vukani facilitators implementation of REFLECT, as there was a clear progression that started from their involvement in Size and culminated in the eventual registration of Vukani. I pointed out that each of the Vukani facilitators was indeed an example of a facilitator "already regularly engaged in the desired activity" (Rogers, 1992: 162) by the time the first circles were started, and that this experience is likely to have aided them in their implementation of REFLECT.

Secondly, the support that these facilitators had received in starting their own organisation, the function of arbitration that the independent board members and Laura fulfilled, and the ongoing training and remuneration provided, are all evidence of extensive organisational support that undoubtedly aided the Vukani facilitators in their implementation of REFLECT.

Thirdly, the evidence suggested that the Vukani facilitators had a strongly developed peer support structure, with interpersonal relationships based on strong reciprocal trust, and that this had played a significant role in their implementation of REFLECT. Moreover, the peer support mechanisms, which had already started to develop during the facilitators' simultaneous prior involvements in Size, were continually strengthened by the organisational support provided, as described in the previous paragraph.

As previously discussed, Rogers (1992: 123) states that it is essential that every development programme contains within it provision for the promotion of positive attitudes, especially the development of confidence and focusing of motivation. "Without these, no programme will succeed" (Rogers, 1992: 123).

It is my belief that the combination of the organisational support of facilitators, the facilitator peer support and the facilitators' prior experience in doing development work, provided the facilitators with support processes that consistently fostered positive

attitudes, allowing in turn for the development and growth of strong positive motivations or reasons to be fully committed to the programme.

This conclusion is furthermore supported by the evidence relating to the remaining factor, namely, personal motivation. The evidence provides no conclusive proof that the Vukani facilitators had started off with an inherent commitment to the implementation of REFLECT, or with strong personal motivation to implement REFLECT. As stated in 4.4.2, the Vukani facilitators' commitment to REFLECT can only be substantiated in retrospect – it is evident in the history of the consistent development and growth of the Vukani facilitators as REFLECT facilitators.

However, even though the evidence suggests that the Vukani facilitators have only *gradually developed* strong personal motivation and commitment to implement REFLECT, there is no doubt that these high levels of motivation and commitment indeed aided the facilitators in their implementation of REFLECT.

Hence, I maintain that while people's personal motivations are crucially important when it comes to being the facilitators implementing a participatory development programme, as well as difficult to determine, it would also be true to say that people's personal motivations are not constants. People's personal motivations can shift and change during their recruitment processes and subsequent involvement in participatory development programmes. Therefore, it is essential for development programmes to make provision for the promotion of positive personal motivations and nurturing of commitment.

While recognising that there are potentially many ways in which a development programme can promote positive personal motivation and nurture commitment amongst its facilitators, I recommend that the following factors deserve specific attention: the provision of organisational support and the promotion of peer support mechanisms.

This could include:

- ongoing training, preferably tailor-made, responding to the specific needs and questions of the facilitators;
- ongoing support, which would vary from context to context and could range from the provision of an arbitration function to helping facilitators with the bureaucracy of managing people and organisations; and
- the promotion of peer support mechanisms, encouraging facilitators to help, and ask for help and advice from, each other.

In conclusion, if development is a “process of empowerment, of helping peoples of regions or communities or sectors to identify and maximise their own potential to contribute to society by participating more fully in all its activities” (Rogers, 1992: 104) then the following quote proves that development was, albeit to an indefinable degree, achieved amongst and through the Vukani facilitators:

I myself and the other colleague went to the municipality offices in [Johannesburg] and we went to ask for the dustbins... we went there to confront, asking them if they can give us the big dustbin and even our truck for collecting the rubbish was too small, so we made a petition to the community then the community sent us there and then we went there and then we made a formal presentation because we also took photos of the land where it is polluted and then we took the photos there to show them how dirty is our area and how small is the truck... when we went there they saw that our land is very dirty and then they came to clean up the land with our help also, we helped them to clean up the area and then they had already given us the bins and they had already changed the truck and now our area is clean, much cleaner... I didn't know that I have powers to go to the offices to confront those big people about this situation [the lack of rubbish bins and insufficient rubbish removal trucks] but through [Vukani] I managed to do that.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Interview with Siziwe, the replacement facilitator of Siyaphambili Health Circle. 21 November 2006.

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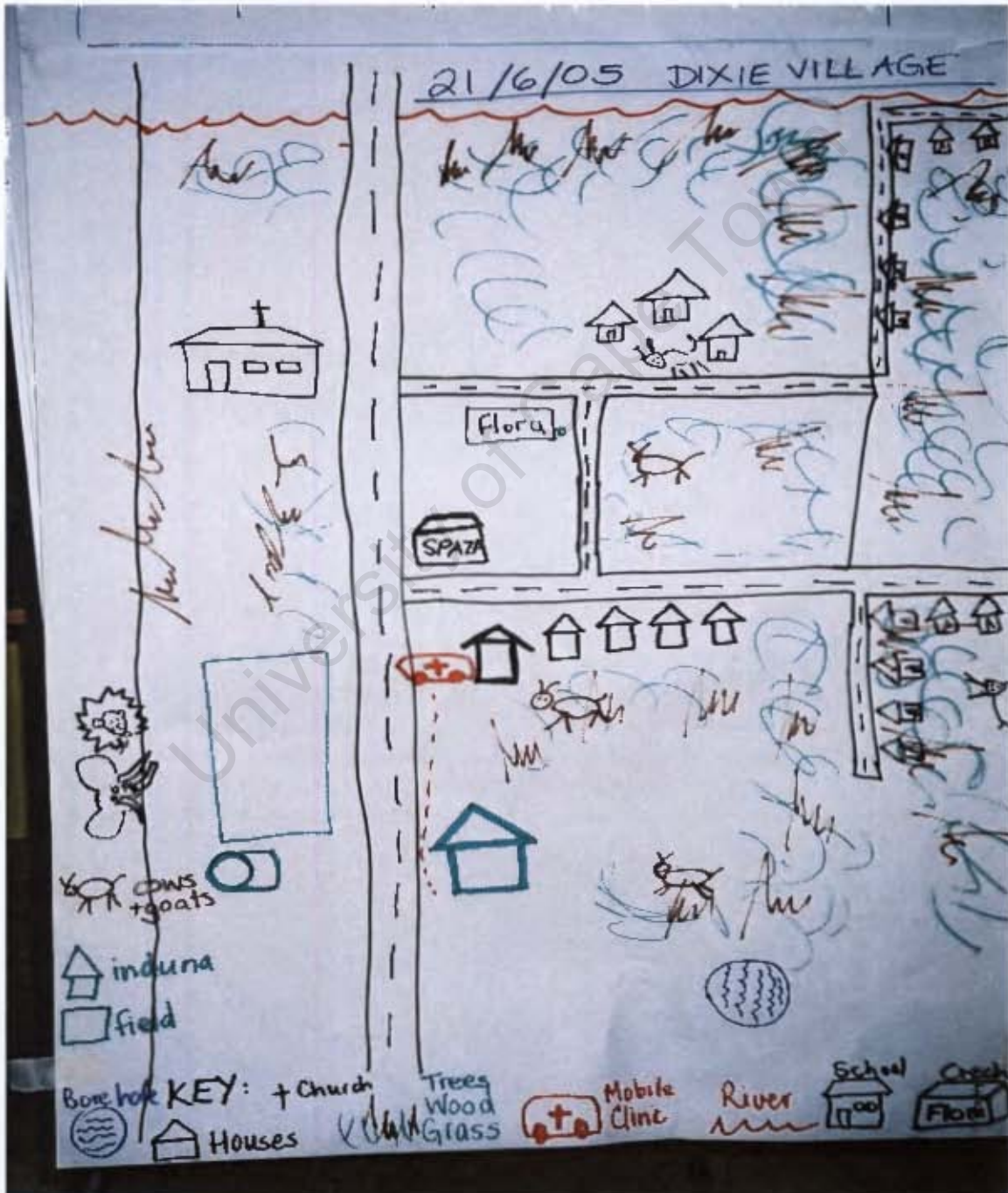
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## **APPENDICES**

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## APPENDIX A: Map of Dixie Village, Mpumalanga

Constructed by participants during a SARN Reflect Facilitator Training course, Eikenhof, Johannesburg, June 2005.



## APPENDIX B: Profiles of the Vukani participants

Participant*	Age	Home language	Education /	Training	Prior organisational involvement*	Role within the structures of Vukani
Ayabonga	24	Sotho	Grade 12	REFLECT** Computer course (3-months)	Worked for Size.	Founding member of Vukani, facilitator of Phaphama Agricultural Circle and Circle Coordinator.
Maria	32	Sotho	Grade 9	REFLECT	Worked for Size.	Founding member of Vukani and facilitator of Vumani HIV / AIDS Circle.
John	48	Sotho	Grade 9	REFLECT Car mechanic	Worked for Size.	Founding member of Vukani and facilitator of Masibambane Sewing Circle.
Nomvula	26	Zulu	Grade 11	REFLECT	Worked for Size.	Founding member of Vukani, and facilitator of Youth Development Circle and Photo REFLECT Circle.
Siziwe	22	Tswana /Swazi	Grade 11	Home-based care course (6-month)	Worked for Size.	Founding member of Vukani. Previous circle member, and now replacement facilitator, of Siyaphambili Health Circle.

\*The names of all the people and the organisation are pseudonyms.

\*\*REFLECT Facilitator Training.

## **APPENDIX C: Record of observations**

I observed the following:

- Two sessions of the weekly sewing circle, Masibambane, and their facilitator John (on the 14<sup>th</sup> and the 21<sup>st</sup> November from 9-11am).
- One session each of the following three circles: Vumani with facilitator Maria (on the 17<sup>th</sup> November from 11am-1pm), Siyaphambili with facilitator Siziwe (on the 21<sup>st</sup> November from 12-2pm) and Photo REFLECT with facilitator Nomvula (on the 18<sup>th</sup> November from 10-12am). The first two are concerned with health promotion and HIV /Aids prevention and cure, and the last engages with the youth.
- Two sessions of the weekly Facilitators' Circle where all the facilitators come together; this circle is facilitated by the Circle Coordinator, Ayabonga (on the 16<sup>th</sup> and the 23<sup>rd</sup> November from 10-12am).
- One session of the bi-monthly Board Meeting (on the 15<sup>th</sup> November from 10-12am).

## **APPENDIX D: Record of interviews**

Interview details are as follows:

- The Circle Coordinator, Ayabonga (17<sup>th</sup> November, 9-10am).
- Vumani's facilitator, Maria (17<sup>th</sup> November, 1-2:30pm).
- Masibambane's facilitator, John (14<sup>th</sup> November, 9-11am).
- PhotoVoice's facilitator, Nomvula (18<sup>th</sup> November, 12-1pm).
- Siyaphambili's replacement facilitator, Siziwe (21<sup>st</sup> November, 2-3pm).
- The Chair of the Board, Clinton (21<sup>st</sup> November from 11-12am).
- The Company Secretary, Janet (e-mail interview: 10 December 2006).
- The former Programme Manager, Laura (e-mail interview: 12 December 2006).

## **APPENDIX E: General questions to the Vukani facilitators**

The following is a sample of the questions that I asked all the facilitators (I lifted these questions off my tapescript and the others generally conform):

### **1) Questions about community involvement**

How did you become a REFLECT facilitator?

Tell me more about [Size]?

How did [Size] start?

And is [Size] still working in [this area]?

Why is it finished?

So all of you belonged to [Size]?

You were in [Size], and then [Size] ended and then what did you do?

Where did you meet [Laura]? Through [Size]?

So you actually did REFLECT facilitator training for [Size]?

Why did you get involved with [Size]?

Did you have a job at the time?

What community things were you involved with?

Are you involved in any other community organisation?

### **2) Questions about how the current REFLECT facilitators had been recruited into the facilitator training, and what their personal motivations were for doing the training and then starting Vukani.**

How did it happen that you did the REFLECT facilitator training, how and why did you do the facilitator training?

Who told you about the REFLECT facilitator training?

What did you think the training was going to be about before the training, what was your expectations?

You did the training in 2003 right?

How long after the training did [Size] start having problems?

And then you guys decided to do something for yourselves?

What was your main idea? Or what was your reason to start [Vukani]?

So you had one day in which you said to the community you want to help them – what do they want you to do?

So you had meetings with the community and they ended with the recruitment day?

So the first meeting was before and then you registered and then you had the big recruitment day?

### **3) Questions about the pre-Vukani and present extent/nature of organisational and peer support.**

[Vukani] was started by these six of you?

Who helped you to put together [Vukani]'s papers, and get it registered...?

You also have a board of directors?

And all six of you are on that Board of Directors?

You have board members who are not from the community? Tell me about these board members. [Who are they? /How did they get involved? /What are their duties/roles? How important are they to the functioning of Vukani?]

Who was the chairperson before [Clinton]?

Why is [this person] not the chair person anymore?

How often do you have your board meetings?

And you have an AGM as well?

Do you think that [Vukani] is a successful NPO?

Why?

Do you think that [Vukani] would have been possible without people like [Janet, Laura and Clinton]?

Why?

[Vukani] is 3 years old now what do you think are the strong things, the good things of [Vukani], what do you think makes it work?

What do you think are the weaknesses, the bad things?

Where do you see [Vukani] in five years time?

**APPENDIX F: Explanatory questions to the Vukani facilitators  
(after having observed their respective circle meetings).**

**Section A:**

**The following are sample questions checking documented evidence regarding the circle.**

Can you tell me how long has the circle been running?

When did it start?

Today there were [13 women], of these [13 women] had some been here for 3 years?

And the rest of them how long have they been here?

How many people started this circle in 2004?

So where are they now?

How long did the original circle members regularly meet?

What languages do you speak [personally]?

What language did you use in this session?

And the women, what language do they speak at home?

Where are these women from?

[Ayabonga] showed me the pictures when you started you were all six facilitators facilitating one circle, was this the sewing circle?

Is that circle still running?

So they combined them and this is actually the original first circle? [Samantha and Mary] were there and all six facilitators were facilitating?

So in the beginning you were six [facilitators] facilitating one circle, and then you were 3-3 facilitating two circles, and then 2-2-2 facilitating three circles, and now each of you facilitate one circle?

How long have you been the only facilitator of this circle, just you alone?

How many people are officially in the circle as members?

How many people usually come every week?

How many times a week does the circle usually meet?

**Section B:**

**The following are sample questions asked after a particular circle session, checking my own general understanding and perceptions, regarding the absence or presence of the core elements.**

What is [Lizzy's] role? Is she like the admin person?

What was today's session about?

And now with this event, you just told them they will need to feed 100 people for three days, and now you are leaving them to organise it themselves?

So you are not going to go and check again if they have organised it you are just going to trust that they have done it? Will you help them with the planning?

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**APPENDIX G: Questions to the independent board members  
namely the Chair (Clinton), the Secretary of the Board (Janet), and the  
former Adult Education Advisor and Programme Manager (Laura).**

1. Please tell me about your involvement with [Vukani]
  - i) starting with how, when and why you got involved
  - ii) tracking your role and the evolution of your role within this organisation, i.e., what role did you play in the starting up of [Vukani] and thereafter in its growth process
  - iii) what are the kinds of resources that you brought/bring to the starting up and current functioning of [Vukani]?
  
2.
  - i) Do you think that the facilitators' would have been able to start and run [Vukani] without your and the other independent board members' help? Why / Why not?
  - ii) How great a part do the independent board members play in the functioning of [Vukani]?
  - iii) Do you foresee that one of the facilitators will be the chair of [Vukani] one day? Why /Why not?
  
3. I cannot compare it to three years ago so I am not necessarily as aware of the dimensions of the growth spurt as the facilitators and [Clinton] and your rise in numbers suggest is happening, could you please tell me about this growth.
  - i) Why do you think [Vukani] is growing? To what do you ascribe the growth?
  - ii) In what way is it growing?
  - iii) Do you think the facilitators can handle the growth? Why / Why not?
  - iv) Do you think the infrastructure of the organisation can handle the growth? Why / Why not?
  
4. It seems to me that [Vukani] facilitators succeeded in taking the REFLECT Facilitator Training and actually implement REFLECT in their community. Would you agree with that statement? If you do, to which factors would you ascribe this success? If you don't please motivate.

5. What would you say is the biggest strength of [Vukani]?

6. What do you think is its biggest challenge?

7. Where do you see [Vukani] in 5 years time?

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## APPENDIX H: An example of an Action Plan

Drawn up by the members of PhotoVoice REFLECT Circle on the 18 November 2006.

What to do	Who	Where	By when	How	Resources needed
<u>Action 1:</u> Confirm the venue	Ayi + Lydia	Y Centre	By 23 <sup>rd</sup> Nov	By visiting	Transport
<u>Action 2:</u> Exhibition preparation	(4 names) + Thoko	Y Centre	By 30 <sup>th</sup> Nov	Setting up exhibition pics	Transport
<u>Action 3:</u> Screening	(2 names) + Thoko	Y Centre	2 <sup>nd</sup> – 7 <sup>th</sup> Dec	Showing people our pics	Transport
<u>Action 4:</u> Music/DJ	Y centre DJ	Y Centre	2 <sup>nd</sup> Dec	Playing music	Sound system +DJ
<u>Action 5:</u> Publicity	TheTha Fm Thatho ( <i>local paper</i> )	Y Centre /VRCO	27 <sup>th</sup> Nov – 2 <sup>nd</sup> Dec	Prepare and paste pamphlets	Bostik Printed pamphlets (5 per member)