

**COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT : A QUEST FOR SOCIAL
CHANGE OR
SOCIAL SUBMISSION
(TOWARDS A MODEL OF CHANGE FOR SOUTH AFRICA)**

by

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'We have arranged for ourselves a world in which we are able to live - with the postulation of bodies, lines, surfaces, causes and effects, motion and rest, form and content, without these articles of faith nobody could now endure to live! But that does not yet mean they are something proved and demonstrated. Life is no argument; among the conditions of life could be error.'

NIETSCHE

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ABSTRACT

The thesis attempts to address the dubious statement of conventional community development that the approach is neutral. The central question asked was 'Is community development a value neutral approach established to meet the needs of communities or does it have another function?' Arguing that no approach that deals with people and which was specifically formulated by persons in a definite ideological context can be neutral, the author then sets about proving that the community development approach is closely aligned to the conservative structural functionalist perspective.

An analysis was made of the central tenets of the structural functionalist position and central themes of community development examined as to the basis of their assumptions. It became obvious that a very close correlation exists between the community development approach and the structural functionalist position. Once this had been established the broader ramifications of working within this theoretical position were explored. A number of observations were made in this regard. It was argued that community development could never achieve its goals while working within this framework as it failed to address the real structural problems in society. In supporting the existing social order, the emphasis is shifted away from society as a cause of problems and emphasis, incorrectly, placed on individual communities. Persons are thus expected to find solutions to problems they had no part in causing. Thus, within a South African context, a status quo is supported which propagates inequality, injustice and social deprivation.

It was then argued that an alternate approach should be sought which addresses the fundamental social problems. A starting point for this approach could be an acceptance on the part of the community development approach of its inherent political nature and clarification as to how this effects the approach. It was suggested that in the South African context exponents should take their lead from the oppressed communities and

their expression of need. One such pointer was the Freedom Charter which was drawn up in 1955 by a democratic grouping of the population.

In order to give substance to the theoretical argument the arguments were focussed on a rural South African community where research was conducted.

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INTRODUCTION

The thesis arose out of a sense of disquiet experienced by the author while conducting a survey in a rural community in the Southern Cape as to the value of the community development approach for practice. The more the conventional community development material was consulted, the less appropriate it seemed for any constructive use in improving the lives of the people living in the impoverished village. On the contrary, the approach seemed tailored to meeting the needs of the sponsoring agencies with their (often hidden) agendas.

The thesis was based on one central question. 'Is community development a value neutral approach established to meet the needs of communities or does it have another function?' The hypothesis which extended from this question was that community development is not a value neutral approach; that it has a very specific function in serving the interests of the status quo, whether consciously or unconsciously.

There has been some critical work done on community development but nothing which offers a very thorough analysis of its inherent ideological bias. Based on the assumption that there is no such concept as a neutral approach when working with people, the author set about locating community development within the theoretical paradigm of structural functionalism, showing how this had a direct bearing on the practice of the approach. Once this had been established, the author then set about showing the limitations of this particular ideology in achieving the nebulously defined goal of improving people's lives. In order to give substance to what was otherwise a theoretical argument, the author used the data obtained in the community Friemersheim, to focus issues on a practical level. It was felt that this could also serve to highlight the problem areas in a theory which looks good on paper but has proved, more often than not, to be a failure on the ground.

There is substantial evidence that the conventional community development approach is closely aligned to the conservative structural

functionalist theoretical position. This is a direct bearing on the type of practice embarked on. What appears is a contradiction between the aims of the approach and the activities which it can logically achieve due to its self imposed constraints. It is argued in the thesis that to purport to be value neutral is impossible. To work under this illusion opens the approach up to misuse. What is proposed is that community development accept the inherent political nature of its activities and become a useful means for achieving change in South Africa by ensuring that people have control over their lives in an equal society. This requires a re-evaluation of all its tenets in order to ensure that this process can take place.

CHAPTER I

PROFILE OF FRIEMERSHEIM

*Appendix I for research methodology.

BACKGROUND

Friemersheim is a rural village, located approximately 20 km from the seaside town of Great Brak River in the Southern Cape. Situated at the base of the Outeniqua mountain range the village is bordered on its western side by a state owned pine forest and on the remaining three sides by white-owned farms.

In terms of the Rural Coloured Areas Act no 24 of 1963, Friemersheim is defined as a Coloured Area. In terms of the same act the land is placed in state trust. The total area of 191,088 hectares is subdivided into 83 half hectare plots of land which is rented out to the residents at a nominal fee.

Land is fertile in the region. Crops like potatoes, beans, peas and sweet-corn are grown on a large scale by the surrounding farmers on a large scale.

In 1898 the farm Friemersheim was bequeathed to the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sending Kerk by a German lay preacher, Erwaarde Kretzen to set up a Mission Station for farm labourers working and living in the surrounding areas. The land was subdivided into half acre plots which were rented out to residents by the church. "Sooihuisies" were built by the new residents using whatever material could be found in the surrounding areas. (Bricks were made from a mixture of soil, clay and grass ('sooi')) The structure was reinforced with wood from indigenous forests and roofs were thatched with "biesies" collected from the veld.)

Up until the early 1960's residents generally existed by working on the surrounding farms; growing crops and tending a few livestock on their plots of land (a pattern still followed by a number of "older generation" Friemersheimers). A few residents operated home industries - most notable amongst these was the Volkwyn Family who made yellowwood and stinkwood furniture.

From the community's early years there was an outflow of residents who went in search of work in the urban areas. (An estimated 3/4 of each generation leaves to live in urban areas.)

The Mission Station operated on patriarchal lines. For most of the community's existence as a Mission Station a white "Dominee" served the community. The Dominee, together with a "kerkraad" - an elected body of community members, performed a municipal function in the community. Persons wishing to live on the station applied to the Church Board. Applicants were assessed according to "moral standing". Land was hired from the Church. Water provision for irrigation purposes was organized by the church, Schooling up until 1929 was provided by the resident Dominee. The church board organized the cleaning of roads, the dipping of animals etc.

In 1961 Friemersheim was sold to the state for R20 000. Local government structures which were supervised by white state officials were established. In 1967 an Advisory Board made up of a white superintendent and elected community members was established. In 1979 a Management Board which basically fulfils the role of a municipality was established. Friemersheim is thus a 'Coloured' reserve area with limited local control over the running of its affairs.

POPULATION

Figure 1 gives a breakdown of the total population. Friemersheim had a total population contingent of 434 on the 31 May 1986. 218 of the population were male and 216 female.

The population breakdown of Friemersheim is closely correlated to that of the national 'coloured' population (see figure 2), in certain age groupings and substantially less or more in others. Each age grouping will be discussed and the trends explored.

INFANTS

There are 53 infants in Friemersheim representing 11,9% of the total population. This figure is closely correlated to the national average of 12,2% of the total population.

SCHOOL-GOING AGE

This grouping includes children between the ages of 5 and 19. There are 157 young people in this grouping representing 37,4% of the total population. There is not much difference between the youth in Friemersheim and the national average. There is a rounded off difference of 2% between all the age groups which can hardly be considered significant.

WORKING AGE

Persons eligible to work fell between the ages of 20 and 64 in Friemersheim. Conventionally employable age is considered to be from 15 years onwards. However, in Friemersheim the vast majority of children complete their schooling so it would be factually inaccurate to include them under those employed or employable. There are 195 persons in this grouping representing 42,8% of the total population. This compares favourably to the national average of 48,4%. In the 25-34; 35-44 and 55-64 age groups there is a close correlation between the population groupings. There is a (rounded off) 4 point difference between the national and Friemersheim average in the 20-24 year age group. This statistic does not differ greatly and could be purely coincidental. However, there is a tendency for persons in this age group to seek employment in the centres and this could represent this trend. A similar trend exists in the 45-54 age group where there is a 3 point difference in

averages. This does not, however, represent a significantly large difference between the averages to warrant an in depth analysis as to the reasons.

PENSIONABLE AGE

Pensionable age includes persons from the age of 60 and 65 onwards. There are 25 persons in this age group representing 10,5% of the total population. This figure is considerably higher than the national average of 3,3% of the total population. It is difficult to account for this discrepancy.

One of the factors may be that persons tend to retire to Friemersheim. Another could be that there is a tendency for longevity in the community.

From the above analysis it is obvious that Friemersheim's population is closely correlated to the national average. Barring the persons of pensionable age there are no major deviations in statistics. It could be said, therefore, that Friemersheim is similar to an average so called 'coloured' community. The population pyramid shows some interesting characteristics (which could be said for the whole 'coloured' population in South Africa). There is a decline in the number of infants born, with there being more children located in the 1--14 age bracket than in the 0-4. There is a bulge in the working population and a relative increase in the number of aged. These tendencies generally represent an increase in prosperity and a move away from the classic population pyramid with a very large infant and youth contingent decreasing to a nominal number of aged.

The population has remained stable over a sixteen year time span (see Figure 3). With a total population of 434 persons, there were 20 fewer residents in 1986 than there were in 1970-71 with a total population of 454. The community appears to be stagnating. Over the years there have been slight deviations but no real increases in the population. This

is attributable to economic factors. Friemersheim has not grown because there is no employment for a growing population in the surrounding towns. Friemersheim is really a migrant town. From a number of oral histories a pattern emerges. Children are born in the area, grow up, complete their schooling and then the majority of youth move off to the employment centres in the Cape province like Port Elizabeth, George and Cape Town, leaving one or two of their peers to inherit the family home. If employment opportunities were to increase in the surrounding towns, there would no doubt be a drastic change in the population pattern.

INFRASTRUCTURE

As can be expected of a small community located in the middle of a farming belt, Friemersheim has a limited infrastructure.

SCHOOLING

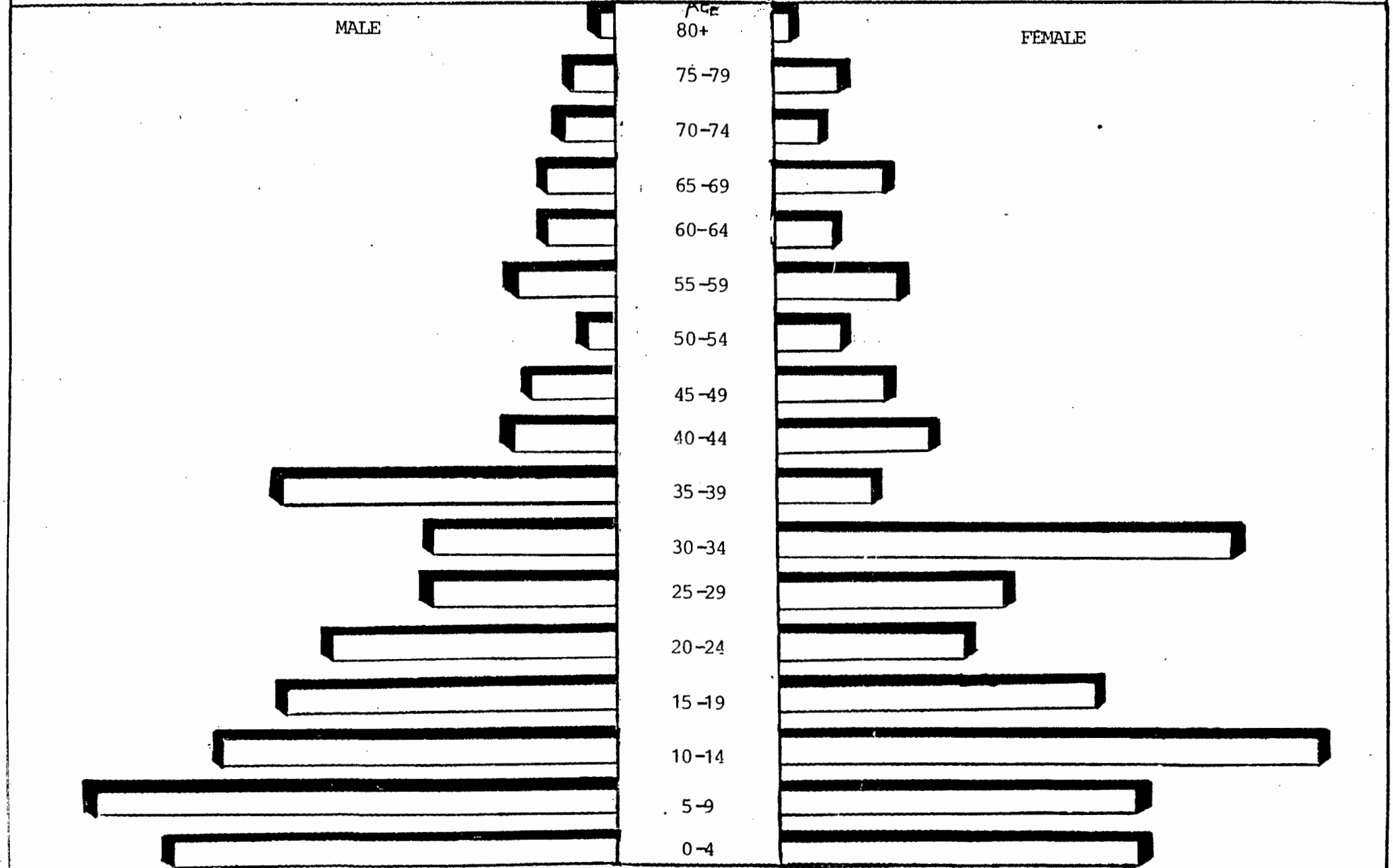
There is a creche with 39 pupils run by the NG Sending Kerk and sponsored by World Vision. This operates three days a week from 7.30 in the morning to 4.00 in the afternoon.

There is a primary school with 169 pupils and 7 teachers. A number of the children come from the surrounding farms.

According to the headmaster, the school population remained constant over a number of years. Two years ago a number of farm children were redirected to the primary school in Great Brak River, thus leading to a drop in the number of children.

There are 49 high school children who attend a school in Great Brak River. The remaining children either attend boarding school in Mossel Bay or George or, in the case of 5 pupils, have left school. A school bus leaves at 6.45 and returns at 3.45 in the afternoon. The majority of

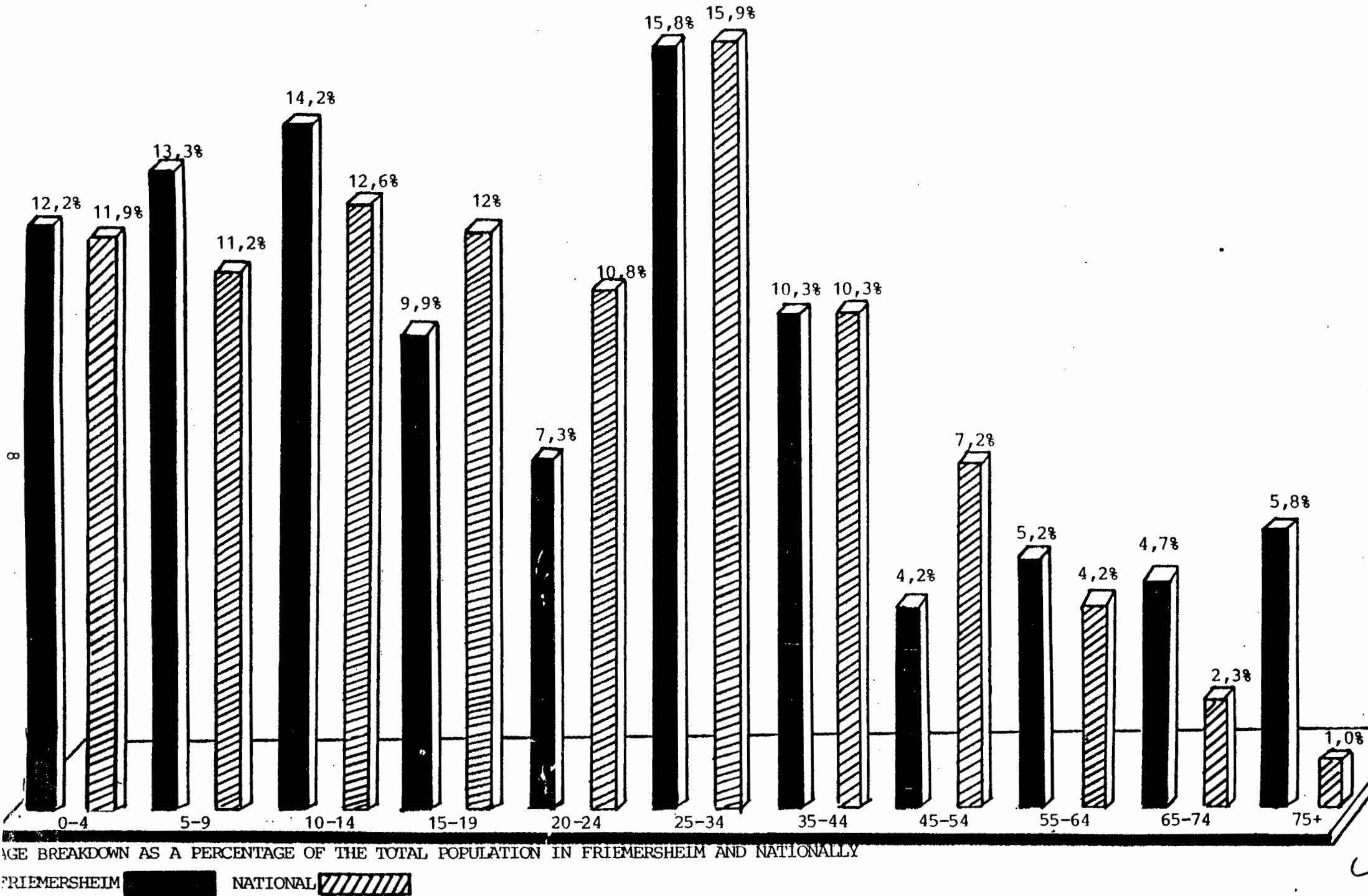
FIGURE 1. POPULATION PYRAMID FRIENSHHEIM, 1986



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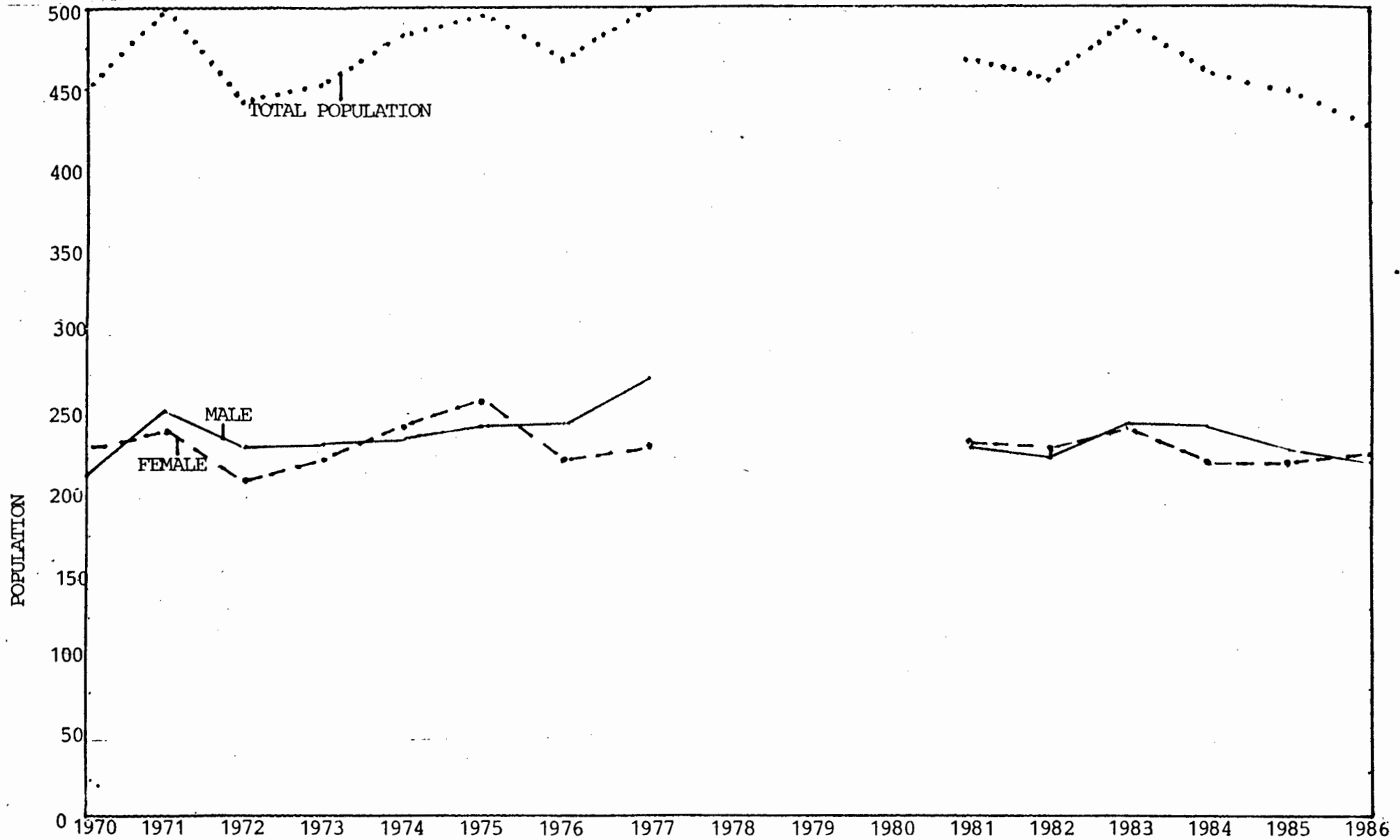
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FIGURE 2.



(National Statistics obtained S.A. Stats 1961)

FIGURE 3.



Data obtained from the Friemersheim Management Board. Year presentation : 1 July 1970 - 31 March 1978 & 1 July 1981 - 16 March 1986. Material for the years 1978 - 1980 was unobtainable.

pupils complete their matric. Very few, however, study further with most entering into trades.

CHURCHES

The NG Sending Kerk is very powerful in the community as the village was previously a mission station. The church is located in the centre of the village and is generally the pivotal point of all action that takes place in the community. The majority of Friemersheimers are religious and attend church regularly. The church offers all the usual clubs; a women's group; a male and a female choir; a youth group; a music and singing group and a chronic group. The church, through these groups, offers the major form of recreation to the community.

In 1985 the Anglican Church established a church in Friemersheim. This church is fairly small with a congregation of approximately 40-50. A few community members are also members of the Apostolic Church, but this church is located outside the Friemersheim border.

HEALTH FACILITIES

Two state bodies see to the health needs of the community, offering an alternate service every Tuesday morning. The Provincial Administration sends a medical team made up of two doctors and between 4-6 nursing sisters every alternate Tuesday to see to the health needs of the community.

A family planning sister employed by the Outeniqua Divisional Council takes up the alternate Tuesday slot. She conducts ante and post natal checkups on pregnant mothers and conducts family planning clinics in the community. If persons should fall ill inbetween the visit they have to make their own way to the district surgeon in Great Brak River.

BUSINESS SECTOR

There is one farm shop run by a white shopkeeper on the border of Friemersheim. The majority of residents have an account at the shop although the prices are exorbitant. Many of the residents buy their groceries from the surrounding towns over weekends. This, however, is not always possible as they do not have access to transport.

RECREATION FACILITIES

Over and above the facilities offered by the NG Sending Kerk there exists a rugby club which operates seasonally. There are no other facilities.

WATER SUPPLY

Taps were being built outside each residence in Friemersheim. Water was obtained from an open canal which feeds into a storage tank which was recently built in the village. This tank has a capacity of 10 000 kiloliters which, a number of community residents felt, did not meet the requirements of the village.

TRANSPORT

A bus leaves for Mossel Bay at 5.45 every morning and returns at 7.00 in the evening. A taxi runs at the same time. About 1/3 of the residents have their own transport. This is 'hired out' to persons in need at a fixed rate of R13 per person to the nearest town of Great Brak River.

REFUSE REMOVAL

Each household pays R5 a year for refuse removal. Refuse is removed once a week and disposed at a local dump.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

A Management Board made up of ten members and a state appointed superintendent exists. Members are elected on a staggered basis (ie half one year and half the next) for a two year term of office. The Management Board basically fulfils a municipal function in the community which includes the provision of water; road maintenance; housing; refuse removal; the collection of rents; infrastructural planning etc. The Management Board's decision making powers are limited, however, as the decision of fund allocation rests with the Department of Agriculture, Housing and Local Government which is connected to the House of Representatives. All major decisions concerning the provision of services are made by this body. The Management Board basically serves as an advisory board to this structure.

HOUSING

Residents pay R25 a year 'rent' for the homes and R45 for the use of their 1/2 acre of land to the management board. Housing is a major area of concern in the village. There are not enough houses to meet the needs of the community. The type of housing stock has changed over the years as access to building materials have changed.

The original houses were built by early residents from stones quarried locally or from turf bricks ('sooi') made by the residents. Most of this housing stock has been improved over the years as residents have had access to cash and improved building materials. There are, however, still 29 "sooi" or improved "sooi" houses and 4 stone houses existing in the village.

The timber industry grew in the surrounding towns and with it the advent of timber homes. Twenty wooden 'bungalows' have been built by the residents. These vary in quality. A few of the homes (about 5) would pass a building inspection as adequate dwellings. The majority of the

wooden homes are makeshift structures built with limited cash in order to alleviate the housing crisis experienced by residents.

There are 24 brick houses. These were built in recent years by persons who had the cash to improve their housing stock. Houses were built with cement bricks many of which were made by the residents.

In 1972 the state built 4 asbestos houses which are rented out at R75 a month. It is planned that more houses be built by the state from the rent collected.

A noticeable feature of housing in Friemersheim is that the majority of residents have built their own houses. In recent years the rising cost of building materials and the fact that most of the residents are employed outside of Friemersheim, has made this impossible to do. The state responded to their need by building four houses at a rent which most residents are unable to afford.

LAND TENURE

As Friemersheim belongs to the state and, until recently persons were not allowed to buy land in accordance with state policy, Friemersheimers have no security of tenure. Their housing stock belongs to them but the land on which it is built belongs to the state. The community understandably, is concerned about this. The state, however, has given the assurance that land tenure will be granted once the land has been "measured up" and the State President's department has given the go ahead.

EMPLOYMENT

In the village's early years, Friemersheim residents depended on the surrounding farms for employment. Up until the late 1940's it was common practice for children of residents to be hired out as labourers to farmers for a year.

A family of skilled furniture makers, the Volkwyns lived in the community, augmenting their subsistence from farming the vegetable patches by making furniture from an abundant supply of yellowwood and stinkwood growing locally.

A change in the work pattern took place with the growth of industries in the local towns. The pull of the attraction of a comparatively well paid job in the towns and the push of increasing mechanisation on the farms led to the majority of the youth seeking employment in the towns. In the space of a decade Friemersheim changed from being a subsistence farming community to a dormitory town in a rural setting. Labour has become specialized. Persons are employed from 7.30 in the morning till 5.00 in the evening five days a week. The majority of vegetable gardens lay fallow with only a few of the pensioners and the unemployed still working their land on any major scale.

There are 119 working adults in Friemersheim. Of this group 38 are female and 81 male. Table 1 gives a breakdown of workers according to employment sector for 1986. (Appendix 1 provides a more detailed breakdown of occupation type according to employment sector.)

EMPLOYMENT SECTOR	NUMBER OF EMPLOYED
FORESTRY	7
MANUFACTURING	22
CONSTRUCTION	37
COMMERCE AND REPAIR	6
INSURANCE AND FINANCE	1
SERVICES	14
GENERAL GOVERNMENT	3
GOVE. EMPLOYMENT PROG.	27
OTHER	2

TABLE 1 Number of persons per employment sector 1986

The construction sector is the largest employer of Friemersheim labour. All the workers in this sector are employed by the building industry in jobs ranging from unskilled to skilled sections. (Appendix II given a breakdown of employers according to employment sector).

1986 was a particularly bad year for the building industry. There was a massive slump in the demand for houses. As a result workers were laid off. In the 9 month period spent conducting the survey, 11 workers were laid off. All were employed in the building industry (see Table 2 for a breakdown of occupation type).

EMPLOYMENT TYPE	NUMBER LAID OFF
CARPENTER	6
PLUMBER	1
BUILDER	1
BRICKLAYER	2
FOREMAN (CARPENTER)	1
	11

TABLE 2 Workers laid off according to employment type in 1986

Watsons shoe factory is the major employer in the manufacturing sector. Twenty one out of the twenty two employees found in this section work for them. The majority of workers are employed as semiskilled operators on the factory floor. Two men are employed as skilled pattern cutters and a woman as a typist (see Appendixes II and III for a more detailed breakdown of employment type). During the time spent production picked up and new workers were taken on.

Given the vast expanse of forestry surrounding Freimersheim a surprisingly small number of inhabitants are employed in this sector (only 7).

Inhabitants stated that 1) work was not readily available to 'outsiders' and also 2) the work required hard, physical labour which they chose to avoid.

Six people are employed in the commerce and repairs section. Of this group two are mechanics, two mechanical assistants, one a shop assistant and one a T.V. Repairman. (See Appendix III for employers).

One person is employed as an insurance salesman for Metropolitan Life in Mossel Bay.

The other sectors employ relatively few workers in a variety of occupations. The service sector includes 14 working inhabitants. Nine of the persons included in this section work in Friemersheim providing infrastructural services. (ie 5 teachers, a minister, a church labourer and 2 playgroup teachers).

Domestic workers make up the remainder of this group. None of the 5 domestic workers are employed on a full time basis. The majority are employed one or two days a week.

The General Government sector is made up of persons working for the Friemersheim Management Board (a secretary and a handyman) and a person employed as a clerk by the Greak Brak River Municipality.

In April 1986 the state provided funds for the Management Board of Friemersheim to create jobs for the unemployed in the village. The programme was scheduled to run until the end of September 1986 but was in all probability to be extended. Twenty seven residents are employed on the programme 19 of whom are women. The programme has acted as a catch net for the youth who had not left the community in search of work elsewhere. Fifty four percent of persons earning some form of income between the ages of 18 and 25 are employed on the programme.

Local farmers hire Friemersheim labour at harvesttime. During picking and potato harvesting time farmers hire labour by the day. It is regarded as 'women's work'. Women go out to the fields at 6.00 am and often return after 7.00 in the evening. Potato pickers average between R3 and R4 a day. Bean pickers vary from R 4 to R17 on exceptional days (salary is measured by the weight pocked). Contrary to the researcher's expectations, the harvesting of produce is seen as a social occasion by the pickers - a break away from the tedium of their daily existence.

Twenty two Friemersheimers grow vegetables on their 1/2 acre plots of land. The majority of this group are pensioners. However, there are nine 'young' community members who are cultivating their lands. Produce is used by the households and surplus sold to neighbours, to hawkers or hawked by the 'farmers' in the surrounding towns. For most of the 'young' farmers vegetable farming is a sideline to their daily jobs. All, however, expressed the view that they wanted to make it a full time occupation if they could get enough money out of selling the produce.

INCOME

Included in the category of income recipients are 1) persons receiving salaries from employment, 2) pensioners and 3) recipients of maintenance/grants. The majority of Friemersheimers have low incomes. A rounded off 50% of the village income recipients earn less than R200 a month (see Table 3) with 6% receiving less than R100 a month. Included in this sector are 49 persons receiving state grants or pensions which averaged R141 a month.

A mere 8% of the working population (ie 14 income recipients) earn more than R500 per month with only three people earning more than R1000 a month.

Individual incomes do not accurately reflect the household income situation in the village. Most households have more than one source of income. Table 3 gives a breakdown of household incomes. When group

incomes are taken into account a rounded off 18% of the community earn less than R200 a month. The majority of households still earn less than R500 a month, rounded off 59% of all households earn less than R500 a month and a mere 5% earn over R1000 a month. The household subsistence level for Cape Town and Port Elizabeth (the nearest major centres) was R332, 79 (or, 41 cents for Port Elizabeth in 1985) (SAINR 1985 p 130). This means that an effective 38% of the Friemersheim population are living below the breadline.

SALARY LEVEL R/MTH	NUMBER OF PEOPLE PER GROUP	% OF TOTAL	NUMBER OF PEOPLE INCOME	% OF TOTAL
0 - 99	10	6.06	4	4.16
100 - 199	72	43.63	13	13.54
200 - 299	26	15.75	12	12.5
300 - 399	27	16.63	14	14.58
400 - 499	16	9.69	14	14.58
500 - 599	5	3.03	14	14.58
600 - 699	1	0.60	12	12.5
700 - 799	2	1.21	6	6.25
800 - 899	2	1.21	2	2.08
900 - 999	1	0.60	1	1.04
1000 - 1099				
1200 - 1299	1	0.60	1	1.04
1400 - 1499			2	2.08
1500 - 1599				

TABLE 3 Monthly Income per person plus per household in Friemersheim in 1986.

CONCLUSION

Friemersheim is a poor community. Most of the inhabitants work in the surrounding towns for local industry which pay low wages. The community can be called a working class community as most of the wage

earners are employed in unskilled or semi skilled positions. There is a shortage of money in the community which has prevented the community from embarking on projects to improve their living conditions. There is a dearth of facilities in the community which the local government structures are unable to meet. The community seems to be unable to meet their needs or find adequate solutions to their problems.

CHAPTER TWO

STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONALISM AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Community development professes to be an apolitical, non- ideological neutral approach to improving the living conditions of certain groups of persons within society. To this end a value neutral approach has been developed which can be applied to any context by any grouping. This assertion, it will be argued, is a fallacy. On the contrary, community development is part of a broader social context. The decision to initiate the process of community development did not take place in a vacuum. Likewise, the activities put forward to address problems were not the result of blind chance or technocratic fiat.

Filken and Naish (1982)⁽¹⁾ point out that the way in which the world is defined is crucial in guiding the type of practice in which the community developer gets involved. Underlying this thought and action is a belief about an ideological framework.⁽²⁾ This framework operates within set assumptions about societal norms and values, the way in which society is organised and functions, the manner in which power (both political and economic) is distributed, the perception of social groupings and the relationship of these groupings to each other and their position within the broader social structure. As stated or (as generally is the case with community development) unstated, these beliefs define what constitute a social problem and dictate how the problem is to be addressed. George & Wilding (1976) point out that "all social problems are the product of a process of definition".⁽³⁾ Definitions are predicated on a basic belief about what constitutes society. Thus, as Webster (1984) explains, the way in which disadvantage and poverty are perceived "... depends on the perceptions one has of social and material needs and thereby how society should 'develop' to make good the deficiencies."⁽⁴⁾ The permeations of

thought within a given ideological framework differ greatly but, as Packenham points out "... it is of the same genus if not the same species."⁽⁵⁾

It will be argued that community development arose as a solution to a definite set of problems experienced by a group which held (and hold) a definite position in society and who support the interests of that grouping. Inherent to the community development approach is an adherence to the dominant ideological and theoretical paradigm of the so called First World nations. This ideological and theoretical paradigm had a direct bearing on the type of problem perceived, the parameters in which the problem is to be addressed and the type of activity deemed necessary in order to solve the problem.⁽⁶⁾

In order to get a better idea as to what is meant, in practical terms by community development, in Friemersheim, the use of the approach in the community will be briefly explained after each point is discussed.

2.2 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT : AN EXPLANATION

Community Development means a number of things to a number of people. It is impossible to isolate one definition and one prescription for action and state emphatically that it represents the definitive statement about the concept.

Community development can be traced to two separate elements. Firstly, according to Sanders, (1958)⁽⁷⁾ it got the term "development" from the concept and practice of economic development. Secondly the term "communitiy" was derived from the concept of community organisation. Together it represented a process of community organisation for development.

Within the broad parameters of the outline there grew a veritable forest of different interpretations and definitions of the term. Biddle and Biddle (1965)⁽⁸⁾ notate no less than sixteen different meanings of community development. These vary from the acquisition of basic structures to a means of confronting the state. Tomasseti (1974)⁽⁹⁾ reduces this to three different approaches namely; 1) the provision of services to a community, 2) the strengthening of communal sentiments between people and 3) to include communities in order to increase the community's ability to cope with change. Jeppe (1985)⁽¹⁰⁾ on the other hand, suggests that community development is made up of a matrix of all of the above definitions. He categorizes community development as including 1) economic growth, 2) political development and 3) social development. The problem with community development is that it is applied to a number of different contexts where there are different circumstances and different needs. For example "community development" can be applied to rural or urban contexts or, as Milson (1974)⁽¹¹⁾ suggests, to developed and developing countries. In the context of a developed nation the needs of community members may be radically different to that of a rural community in an impoverished "developing" nation and these differences are reflected in the definition of the approach. Hodge (1976) notes, somewhat cynically, that "confusion has also been compounded by the tendency for authors of standard texts to recite the many definitions of community development and then to formulate another concoction of their own."⁽¹²⁾

The addition of the term "community work" has only served to heighten confusion. Faced with the growing push for structural change and the consequent need for political action in Britain a report, the Gulbenkian Report, suggested that a broader compromise term be used to include more areas of community studies. This included 1) assisting local individuals to meet their own needs through education etc, 2) assisting local services to be more efficient, 3) coordinating between different services in planning for individuals and 4) doing necessary changes needed to meet new needs.⁽¹³⁾ To this end "community work" included three

different strands of which community development was one. Other areas included social planning and community action.⁽¹⁴⁾ For the purpose of this thesis it is assumed that community development and community work entail the same principles and assumptions of values and will thus be used interchangeably.

This still does not solve the dilemma of what community development is. Community development is both a process and a method. It is a process in that it starts with a given state of affairs and works towards an improved set of conditions with its final goal being stated in abstract terms. It is a method because it specifies concrete activities which can in order to improve the situation.⁽¹⁵⁾

More specifically, community development provides a basis for definite improvements at a local level which aim to improve the economic, social and cultural aspects of a person's life.⁽¹⁶⁾ Khinduka (1975) gives an overall definition of community development which, it is felt, covers the most important aspects of the approach. Community development according to him

includes a composite of process and programme objectives. As a process it aims to educate and motivate people for self help; to develop responsible local leadership; to inculcate among members of rural communities a sense of citizenship and among residents of urban areas a spirit of civic consciousness; to introduce and strengthen democracy at the grass roots level through the creation and/or revitalization of institutions designed to serve as instruments of local participation; to initiate a self generative, self sustaining and enduring process of growth; to enable people to establish and maintain cooperative and harmonious relationships; and to bring about gradual and self-chosen changes in the community's life with a minimum of stress and disruption."⁽¹⁷⁾

This process thus includes all the major aspects of people's lives, that is, their social, economic, political and cultural aspirations. It is a means for persons at a local level to explore means of improving their lives

using their own initiative and resources through organized structures. As such it prescribes a direction to be explored towards an idealized situation of 'responsible' citizen control of their lives as well as a detailed explanation of how this is to be achieved. It is basically a multidisciplinary approach to alleviating local problems without a political input.

In order to get a more composite picture of community development it is necessary to explore its origins and its historical development.

2.3 THE HISTORY OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The history of community development clearly illustrates the development of an approach by firstly colonial governments then by countries with vested economic interests and later by Third World governments. On a smaller scale, multinational corporations also got involved through the establishment of funding sources to secure their interests and then to ensure that their interests were maintained in the developing nations.

An explanation of the historical development of community development is not a simple task. For clarity sake the development of the approach has been periodized according to different eras where dominant trends took precedence. In reality different approaches were applied side by side in different places. This section attempts to isolate the dominant trends in community development. A full exploration of these trends warrants a thesis on its own and thus this section can only offer a cursory glance at trends in order to highlight the point that community development's origins are closely tied to the ideological and theoretical position of the liberal western nations.

Community development's origins can be traced back to the British Colonial Office in the 1920's and 1930's. The British were concerned with the growing call for independence within their colonies, especially in India, and the obvious inability of the existing structures, especially in the field of education, to cope with and control the extent of the

change.⁽¹⁸⁾ During this period schooling was firmly entrenched in missionary hands and thus available to few. Britain, preserving their interests in the colonies with the growing tide of nationalism thus developed this approach as a solution to the problem. As Baldock (1979) points out;

"those that had the common sense to see that the old imperial power was on the wane hoped that community development would meet some of the aspirations of Africans and Asians while at the same time cultivating attitudes to social and political organisation that would provide an ideological bulwark against communism."⁽¹⁹⁾

The post war 1940's saw the emergence of a clearly defined strategy of engaging colonial communities in the process of development. The term 'community development' to describe these activities was first used in 1948 to denote a process of community betterment on a local level by governments or voluntary organisations in the colonies. Betterment was seen to include the enhancement of local living conditions through infrastructural improvement programmes and the incorporation of populations into new political entities.⁽²⁰⁾ Colonial governments were given the mandate to implement projects in their respective territories to this end. Manghezi (1976) related how schools were set up in the various colonies which emphasized the training of skills like house building and handicrafts in the hope that skills would be dispersed to the impoverished areas in the countries concerned.⁽²¹⁾

The 1950's saw the entry of other colonial powers, like France, into the community development arena. But the period was most marked by the appearance of the United States of America and its corollary funding agencies in the development field.

France, like Britain, was faced with the pending independence of its colonies. Like Britain, France also initiated Animation Rurale in the 1950's, a more centrally controlled form of community development, in its colonies.

The central thrust of their approach was the impoverished rural areas.⁽²²⁾

The involvement of the United States and funding agencies sponsored by major industries in Third World development programmes paralleled the growth of multinational industries abroad in the Third World nations.⁽²³⁾

Community development became a tool of the United States' foreign office to prevent the growth of communism in its spheres of interest.⁽²⁴⁾

Three major factors led to this international capitalist country involving itself in development. Firstly, it was concerned with the rapid demise of the colonial power base, secondly there was a growing call for development by the Third World nations and, finally, there was the ever present threat of the cold war with the USSR.⁽²⁵⁾ Thus as Pakenham (1973) sums up, the central aim of development programmes were to rechannel "... revolutionary aspirations into constructive rather than destructive or retrogressive channels." He continues that the underlying rationale for the approach by the Americans was

"... that the U.S. would fail to preserve peace and maintain security unless it continually enlists the active co-operation of free men, drawing on their latent desire for sacrifice and for effort beyond the ordinary in specific projects for building a better life for all and ... share in the effort and sacrifice of the building."⁽²⁶⁾

The first major project which took place in India was sponsored by the Ford Foundation in 1952. The major thrust of the approach was for the development of 'grassroots' communities through the concerted efforts of village based workers who fed governments with the felt needs of communities and then worked with local leadership structures to meet these needs.⁽²⁷⁾

By the early 1960's it became apparent that earlier methods were not working. Skill distribution had not taken place. If anything, poverty had increased and Third World governments were not taking part in projects. A number of criticisms were levered against the approach ranging from projects being uneconomic to the fact that they ignored the

status quo and did not include the people they were trying to help.⁽²⁸⁾ The approach, as a consequence, adapted "... into a more overt concentration on reaching the poorest of the poor and emphasis shifted to questions of poverty, equity and the nature of exploitation."⁽²⁹⁾ Stress was placed on technocratic development as it was felt that "... the injection of capital inputs ... would result in (an economic) take off".⁽³⁰⁾ This approach applied to both national and local development initiative and went under the broad heading of 'modernisation'.

As the most impoverished areas were located in the rural areas, agricultural development became the hallmark of this era. Projects like extensive agricultural development programmes rely on technical expertise. Possibly the most well known of which was the 'green revolution' in India, was initiated.⁽³¹⁾

Underlying the whole approach was a belief by the project initiators that poverty were caused by resistance to innovation coupled with a stubborn adherence to traditional organisational forms and methods by the populations of the impoverished nations, especially in the field of farming. Change, it was felt, was to be achieved through dedication on the part of the population to the development of the nation through harmonious community groups.⁽³²⁾

The approach was not only limited to industrial nations and non-government agencies initiating projects in the most impoverished areas of the world. Many of the underdeveloped and developing nations as well as the wealthy developed nations' governments like the United States and Britain incorporated the community development approach as a strategy to meet the needs of their own populations. In fact, as early as 1951 the newly formed government of India began a national community development project.⁽³³⁾ In South Africa in 1962 the then Minister of Community Development, P.W. Botha, claimed that South Africa was actually the vanguard of this world movement as it was actively creating the necessary machinery for its implementation.⁽³⁴⁾ He illustrated his point by referring to the Group Areas Act, claiming that it was essential to

resettle people in their own areas if development was to be achieved. He added that an adherence to group areas and the resultant protection afforded to all racial groups would lead to a situation in which: "... South Africa will eventually give the world an example of community development and good race relations."⁽³⁵⁾

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The United States, and Britain likewise initiated community development projects on their home front as a solution to their own problems. In the United States as Kraushaal & Schmidt de Torres (1982)⁽³⁶⁾ point out; the Great Depression, the Second World War, the civil rights movement and (especially) the 1960 race riots all culminated in the development of an intervention strategy in order to maintain social stability.

In Britain, although isolated projects had been initiated over the years, a full scale community development programme was initiated in 1969. Henderson (1978)⁽³⁷⁾ points out that the community development approach was not adopted in a vacuum. Frightened by the race riots in the United States, the state was concerned that the same thing should not happen in England. The community development project emerged as a result. Bridges (1975) and Henderson (1978) point out that the community development project also served as a larger strategy of domestic counter insurgency. Henderson (1978) states that the project initiator saw community development as a "modified Trojan Horse strategy, a way of getting information back to central government from areas of acute social and economic deprivation."⁽³⁹⁾

Bridges (1975) added that

"The function of the Urban Aid Programmes was to buy out community-based organisations by giving them relatively small sums of money for "safe" activities such as adventure playgrounds and legal advice centres." "The Community Development Projects had the same function on a larger and more concentrated scale."⁽⁴⁰⁾

Towards the late 1960's and early 1970's, like with its predecessor, the educational approach, it became apparent that the 'technocratic

approach' was not bringing about the desired results. Development programmes had limited success.⁽⁴¹⁾ During the period of the economic focus poverty had actually increased. It was argued that not enough attention was given to the real areas of need. This led to a complete change in programme outlook. Needs, as expressed by the impoverished and the relief of poverty became the cornerstone of the newly acclaimed basic needs approach. The emphasis shifted from methodology to "a stress on the end goals, that is, the satisfaction of the needs of the poor."⁽⁴²⁾ Terms such as self reliance, grassroots development and a re-emphasis on participation became the vogue. This process was, however, to be closely controlled by the agencies and state dependents involved in the programme.

An important point to note in the historical process of community development is that although methods and slogans of practice changed as one model failed to meet expectations, the underlying ideological assumptions and values have remained the same. In many instances community development has been used to ensure the continued stability of the status quo and the dominant interests in society and not merely as a means of enhancing the lives of the impoverished.

2.4 STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONALISM DEFINED

The theory of structural functionalism, which provides the underlying theory for the conventional community development models, had its roots in the 19th century liberal tradition. Pakenham (1973)⁽⁴³⁾ points out that "the liberal tradition casts light on the reasons why the theories and doctrines took the shape they did." It is thus important to explore this base. The liberal ideology arose out of a perceived need to restore and maintain order after the upheaval of the French Revolution with its ripple effect throughout the world. The two notable theorists of this approach were Emil Durkheim and Max Weber. Durkheim argued for the conservation of the status quo. Society was seen to be in the process of evolution from a traditional to a modern system. The moral code of the modern system was a lot more flexible than the traditional because of the

changes brought about. The flexibility of morals Durkheim argued, was potentially hazardous for the individual and society as social cohesion could be destroyed if desires and ambition transgressed the moral code. He therefore argued that conformity to the collective morals of society were to be encouraged.⁽⁴⁴⁾

Weber, on the other hand, attempted to explain the reasons behind the growth of the capitalist system. One of his central theses was that the rationalisation of business enterprise (based on what he called the protestant work ethic) encouraged development. "Diligence, discipline, moderation and success" were seen by Weber to be the central factors making up the protestant work ethic as such creating profits and the subsequent growth of the capitalist system.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Poverty, according to this ethic, was a state from which an individual or society was delivered by enterprise. "Enterprise was evaluated in terms of one's productivity."⁽⁴⁶⁾ Enterprise, it was felt, was to take place within the norms and parameters of society.

Thus the two major liberal premises which were absorbed into the functionalist theoretical position were 1) Durkheim's theory that it was necessary to maintain the status quo in order to maintain the fabric of society and

2) that the capitalist system was predicated on sacrifice and hard work by individuals and poverty was, by implication, the result of laziness or some defect inherent in the poor.

Fundamental to the structural functionalist position is the absolute legitimacy of the status quo.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Society is seen to represent the interests of the whole population through democratic processes.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Structural functionalism perceives society (or smaller units like a community) as holistic systems made up of relatively stable, mutually influential interrelated parts. Institutions like the economic structure, government, education, religion and the family represent the most important subsystems within the community system. Individuals conform to the role which accompanies the position which they hold in society. Individuals

relate to each other in terms of their role status within the various institutions.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Each part of the system is explained in terms of the contribution to the maintenance of the system as a viable functioning whole. Each part, therefore, takes on meaning in terms of how it maintains the overall social system.⁽⁵⁰⁾ This approach does not in anyway question the legitimacy of the status quo. As Blagg & Derricourt (1982) point out, the assumption is "... that whatever is, is good and (tries) to justify it."⁽⁵¹⁾

Communities are seen as holistic entities or systems. Communities, according to the structural functionalist perspective are localized subsystems of broader society. They function to serve the maintenance of the structure. Individuals are brought together into these systems. Here they interact with each other according to the position (or role) which they hold in society. Stability of the communities are of paramount importance. The social order within the community is believed to be based on consensus of values and norms and thus stability is maintained. Each community not only contributes to the maintenance of the system, but also is dependant on the broader system for its survival.

Order and stability are essential for the survival of the social system. Conformity of members based on common values and norms together with mutual interdependence amongst each part of the structure ensure that equilibrium is maintained.⁽⁵²⁾

The legitimation of the social system is based on the consensus of its members.⁽⁵³⁾ Members of a given system (be it society or a community) share the same conceptual framework. They therefore automatically sanction the values of the system. It is argued that by sharing common values and moral judgements, society's members are inclined to share a common sense of identity which ensures unity and cooperation within society.⁽⁵⁴⁾ A fully integrated member of the social system thus "finds in the life of his collectivity something deeply expressive of his own personality and aspirations."⁽⁵⁵⁾ Individuals learn the accepted value system through institutions like the family, schools and religion. Social

life is therefore predictable. This ensures a stable society as it is assumed that there should be no conflicting beliefs or interests within the social system which challenge the social order itself.⁽⁵⁶⁾

Stratification of society is seen as crucial for the maintenance of the social system, social systems are stratified in terms of a hierarchical ranking of status groupings.⁽⁵⁷⁾ The ranking of status groupings is based on the systems values which allocate different levels of esteem to different social positions (or roles) within the social system.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Individuals are evaluated and placed into different groupings according to the importance of the functional contribution which they make to society and the value which is allotted to their contribution. The higher one goes up the social ladder, the higher the rewards, both financially and in terms of status. Increased rewards are seen as being necessary in order to motivate people to fill different positions in society. Without inequality, it is believed, it would be impossible to ensure the sound cooperation between the groupings. Unequal stratification, it is argued, serves the best interests of society as it ensures that the collective goals of society are achieved. The common value system diminishes the possibility of conflict with premises.⁽⁵⁹⁾

Power and prestige are important for the coordination and integration of the different social hierarchies in order to achieve common social goals. Power is thus seen as a form of consensus.⁽⁶⁰⁾ Some individuals are placed in positions of power for the advantage of society as a whole. This is made possible by the belief that power should be in the hands of a few being incorporated into the social value system. Thus, as Haralambos (1980) explains, the power of a business executive is legitimate as it is used to further productivity - a common shared goal in society.⁽⁶¹⁾ Anyone who opposes the allocated power base opposes the accepted value base in society. This is considered to be an isolated incident of deviance and the deviant can legitimately be penalized for opposing socially agreed upon interests.⁽⁶²⁾ Moreover, government has the legal right (as the people's representative) to "intervene and curb the deviant".⁽⁶³⁾

One of the major aims of the structural functionalist perspective is thus to maintain the essential character of the system.⁽⁶⁴⁾ To this end the conformity of the different parts to the whole is stressed. Change is "... seen as an aberration, resulting from dysfunctions within society".⁽⁶⁵⁾ At most, change should be a temporary measure in order to restore stability in the system. Sudden and abrupt change is regarded as pathological as it unbalances the system. For equilibrium to be re-established the system has to return to its original state.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Change is ideally a slow process of adaptive upgrading of social systems from simple to more complex structures.⁽⁶⁷⁾ This process takes place through "growth, development and the differentiation of (structural) parts as well as functional specialization".⁽⁶⁸⁾ Revolutionary structural change can only come about when values at the highest levels of the social stratum change.⁽⁶⁹⁾ This is best achieved through adaptation which does not necessitate fundamental change taking place in the power or social structures.

Problems which may arise in society are seen as an interrelationship of "problems of deviance" (ie people not living up to the parameters of their social statuses) or problems of social disorganisation (ie the imperfect organisation of the different status groupings into systems of society). Communication breakdown is seen to be the major cause of problems. "Many social problems are seen as having little relationship with economic or political inequality and others as having none. Emphasis is placed on 'society' recognising conditions as problematic and hence acting through government for the solution or amelioration of social problems in a collective, gradual, piecemeal way without disturbing the existing structure of society." Any attempts to deal with social problems are seen in "non-political and non-ideological and non-partisan terms".⁽⁷⁰⁾

2.5 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT DEFINED

The extent to which conventional community development models adhere to the liberal ideology is not clearly stated by its proponents.

Rather, there is an unquestioning acceptance of the basic liberal values in the formulation of the principles of the approach. One of the fundamental functionalist tenets which forms a cornerstone in most of the conventional community development models is an acceptance of the legitimacy of the status quo. Acceptance (as has been pointed out) on the unquestioning belief that society represents the interests of the whole population through democratic processes, thus whatever exists is acceptable as it represents the interests of society.

The assumption of legitimacy of the status quo is based on two further fundamental principles of structural functionalism, namely, that society is a system made up of interconnected parts which function to maintain the system and, secondly, that the members of a given society conform because there is consensus on the basic values existent in the social order. For community development this can be the result at a general focus on process with no questions as to the legitimacy of what is and the underlying tenets of the existing system. For, as Blagg & Derricourt (1982) note "... insofar as the liberal tradition has been dominant in every Western industrialised state since the Second World War, so have the liberal tradition and 'common sense' tradition in community work been dominant and gone hand in hand ever since it became possible to speak of community work as a broadly recognisable activity."⁽⁷¹⁾

In fact a number of proponents of community development explicitly stress that projects be undertaken within the existing social parameters. For instance UNRISD (1980) stresses that

"... the existing society has the right and the ability, through general consensus or through agents ... to represent the best interests of society."⁽⁷²⁾

Likewise Wilkinson (1986) states that

"... development must take place within the system, not outside it."⁽⁷³⁾

The challenge of community development, according to Johnstone and Clark (1982) is

/// "... to discover and promote programmes of incremental improvements which are feasible, within the constraints of the social context that the poor actually face."⁽⁷⁴⁾

Milson (1974) lends support to community workers

"... who are prepared to accept society as they find it, more or less, and by programmes and projects of integration, cooperation and education make the existing agencies more efficient in promoting a better quality of life for the citizens. They will initiate change but they do not wish to overthrow:..."⁽⁷⁵⁾

Similarly Griffiths (1974) suggests that projects keep within the accepted limits of what is considered to be accepted by society when he cautions community workers to pursue

"... communal action which realistically takes into account the costs of action and weighs in the balance of its own interest the disadvantages of reaction against hoped for benefits."⁽⁷⁶⁾

Finally Jeppe (1985) explains that

"Through participation in C.D. or R.A. projects people learn to arrive at decisions that serve the common interest"⁽⁷⁷⁾

Anybody initiating projects in Friemersheim within this perceptual paradigm would accept the legitimacy and the constraints of the existing social order, namely South Africa in the present political climate, with apartheid as its anchor. The underlying attitude would probably be that they do not agree with all parts of the social system or even with the complete social order but they are in no position to change it. Whilst problems exist in the social structure they would argue, the Friemesheim community has very basic needs which have to be met for people to live

better lives. In meeting these needs, however, there will be a concerted effort not to shake the existing social order in any way.

Key proponents of the community development approach like Brager and Specht (1973), Ross and Warren (1977)⁽⁷⁸⁾ marshal themselves behind the structural functionalist concept of society being a system made up of interconnecting subsystems. For example Warren (1977) explains that "communities are ... open systems subject to changed inputs from the larger society that are introduced through their own residents ..."⁽⁷⁹⁾

The general community development view of community is similar to that of the structural functionalist perspective. Basic to the structural functionalist position is that:

1. Communities are holistic subsystems operating as individual entities whilst relating to the broader social system.
2. Individuals function within these systems according to their social status.
3. Consensus enters the continued existence of communities.
4. Communities function to assist in the maintenance of the status quo.
5. Communities are dependent on broader society for their survival.

On the part of community development, Chekki (1979) states that

"... community will refer to a relatively limited geographic, ... area of living, identified as such by the residents and interest and mutual interaction ... (This accentuates) ... such essential constituents as a common bond, membership in a group, the sharing of common interests and an identity, together with an acknowledgement of the rights and responsibilities of all other community members."⁽⁸⁰⁾

For example Warren (1977) community represents "... that combination of social units and systems that perform the major social functions having locality relevance."⁽⁸¹⁾

While for Wilkinson (1986) communities are "local ecology(s) (that is) organisation(s) of social life (which) contain sufficient structures such as groups, firms, agencies and facilities to meet all of the daily needs and to express all the major categories of the common interest of people."⁽⁸²⁾

Jeppe (1985) gives the most thorough breakdown of community, stating, inter alia that;

- * "community members occupy a specific geographic space
- * they share common facilities and services
- * the community is a social system containing differentiated interlinking subsystems
- * they are "semi-autonomous parts of larger societies with greater self-sufficiency and broader locality orientation than (experienced) in smaller units
- * communities have group structures integrated around common goals and collective identification with their special location."⁽⁸³⁾

Jeppe, Chekki and Warren closely relate their perspectives of community to the structural functionalist approach while Wilkenson sees the need for organisational subsystems within the community system to meet the needs of people - a perspective closely aligned to the structural functionalist position.

Friemersheim would thus be seen as a subsystem of the South African social context and thus subject to broader changes from the overall society. For instance, change in the political structure through the creation of and a three tiered system of government for select groupings would be considered to effect conditions if a Friemersheim member was elected. Within this subsystem there are different subsystems, which represent the interests of the local system, like local government structures and

churches. The community sees itself as an entity which has similar interests and identity and thus a common bond. Thus residents will believe that they share similar experiences with all members of the community of whatever social standing or position in the community.

A natural follow up of working within the dominant social structure and seeing society as a composite whole made up of interrelated parts is to see community development as contributing to the general improvement of the whole country.

Two quotes sum up the attitude of the approach to the relationship between community development and the furthering of national interests. Brandt and Lee (1981) in an analysis of community development in the Republic of Korea note that

"The spirit of the New Community Movement is frequently referred to as the 'driving force for nation building ... Thus the NMC has tried to expand national consciousness by involving farmers and fishermen ... in a nationwide effort. The rural population has been called on to work harder and produce more not just for their own welfare but to make the nation stronger and contribute to the process of development."⁽⁸⁴⁾

While Jeppe (1985) points out that

"The contribution of communities to national progress should rather be viewed as a consequence of C.D. which must be considered in the planning and implementation of C.D. programmes."

and thus

"... aim(s) at popular local participation to ensure that the needs at the grassroots levels are acted upon in the interest of local and national development."

and

"A number of aims of community development ... particularly planned voluntary participation, mutual help the community wide approach and the contribution to national progress, contribute to the promotion of national integration."⁽⁸⁵⁾

In accepting the legitimacy of the existing social order and professing to work within nationally acceptable parameters as well as actively claiming to assist in nation building, the community development approach firmly aligns itself to the existing political system. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the majority of writings in community development stress the importance of working either with or within the existing government structures. This is highlighted by Kuenstler (1962) who sees the relationship between community development and local government as being one in which community development assists in creating more structured forms of local government or acts as an alternative to local government structures. Alternatively, it can be a parallel structure working alongside local government structures as a partner or finally, as a supplement to local government structures.⁽⁸⁶⁾

As has been stated the close relationship between community development and government is borne out in most of the writings on community development. A few examples should suffice to stress the point. The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs noted in 1963 that community development

"connote(s) the process by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress."⁽⁸⁷⁾

Adedayo (1985) assumes a natural linkage with government structures when he proposes a system in which community leaders "pass on the wishes of the local people to high government officials".⁽⁸⁸⁾

Manghezi (1976) quotes the United Nations as clarifying community development's political contribution as being one in which a hopeful climate can be created where "government and people may co-operate and human capacity be developed".⁽⁸⁹⁾

Ekong and Soyoka (1982) in a discussion on community development in Nigeria suggest that

"Much as local initiative and self-help should be encouraged in rural communities, the pitiable level of poverty in most Nigerian rural communities suggests that government intervention in rural community development is imperative."⁽⁹⁰⁾

Jeppe (1985) expresses the view that

"C.D. programmes may contribute to the strengthening of local government bodies enabling them to be more dynamic in the process of development at the local level and governments will also be in a better position to draw up national plans with more insight into community needs."⁽⁹¹⁾

Finally, Wilkinsen (1986) explicitly states that "... the most likely route to rural community development lies within the system, not outside it and not in confrontation with it."⁽⁹²⁾

When working in Friemersheim, therefore, the community development practitioner would in all probability locate projects in terms of the contribution they make to nationally acceptable goals. These could include, for instance, the creation of an 'acceptable' standard of living or the creation of equity in opportunity or population control as suggested by the PDP in the community. Practitioners would also probably work to some extent with the local state structures. This would include the Management Board, local representatives of the Department of Agriculture, Housing and Local Government, the Divisional Council Health Department and the Department of Health and Welfare depending on the

type of project undertaken. It would, however, be assumed that the state has a legitimate role to play in the community.

It should be clear by now that the conventional community development approach deliberately or through professed neutralism aligns itself closely to the functionalist tenet that the status quo is legitimate and acceptable. This fundamentally affects the way in which practice is defined. It is thus assumed that community development should assist in the process of nation building and either work with or within the existing government structures. The approach thus tacitly sanctions the prevailing order and the direct social consequences of the state and economic apparatus in action.

Another principle in the structural functionalist position is that order and stability are essential for the continued existence and, coupled with it, that conflict is to be avoided and consensus strived for. Whilst professing ideological and theoretical neutralism, the vast majority of community development practitioners adhere to these basic tenets. Basing their position on the concept of the "common good" of society the majority of community development proponents would support Meister's (1972)⁽⁹³⁾ assertion that both community development and the French equivalent Animation Rurale "... tend towards reconciliation rather than divisions and they attempt to lead all men along the path of goodwill, to rally them around reasonable causes, and to draw them into constructive rather than critical activities using a moralizing and always very carefully weighted language." ⁽⁹⁴⁾

Inherent to this approach is the belief that conflict with the existing social order is to be avoided. Disagreement with existing practice is to be rechannelled.⁽⁹⁵⁾ Brager & Specht (1975) state, through accepted channels and negotiation towards a compromise encouraged through tactics like cooperation and pressure group activity promoted⁽⁹⁶⁾ in order to ensure that balanced development takes place. To this end, as Kraushaar and Schmidt de Torres (1982) point out in their analysis of the American model, heavy emphasis is placed on "... the pro-social quality

of people and the minimization of anti-social behaviour or impulses."⁽⁹⁷⁾ The basic goal of the community worker is thus to encourage local communities to take part in proposed action without creating a situation of conflict. Brager and Speght (1975) are illuminating with regard to practitioner response. Arguing that there are three likely responses to community development activities, viz consensus on issues proposed; difference of perception as to the issues proposed; and, finally dissent as to the issue. Three lines of action are suggested namely, consensus decision making with a consenting group or the group where bare consensus exists, persuasion for the group which differs in its viewpoint and, finally contest with the dissenting group. The authors are at pains, however, to note that this does not necessarily imply conflict. In defining the role of community development in this process they note that "... this is a campaign (ie persuasion) strategy out of which a consensus strategy for decision making is projected for the future." They thus closely align themselves to the goal of consensus based on the assumption that everybody accepts the social value base of society.⁽⁹⁸⁾

Friemersheim community workers could thus see that projects aim towards consensus of views on action between the community and other parties involved in the community development group. For instance, with regard to the granting of land tenure, where there is heated debate between the community and state groupings, the community development worker would encourage discussion between representatives of the community and the relevant state departments to work out a solution. The community may need convincing as to the necessity of this approach or even in confronting the problem. The community developer would therefore embark on a 'campaign' strategy to convince the community of the need for this type of action. Confrontation with the state authorities would be seen as a final option or avoided all together. If the women marched on the management board offices and held the local state representative hostage, as happened in another community, the community development worker would definitely not lend support to the activity. The community would rather be cajoled into acceptable practices.

e.g.

This brings us to the perception of social change within the structural functionalist position and the manner in which it is expressed by conventional proponents of community development. Uncontrolled change has been pointed out, is seen to be a form of deviancy resulting from societal dysfunctions. The process of change is accepted as inevitable but, according to the proponents, should rather be a slow, gradual adaptive process of social growth. Social problems are seen as resulting from this process of change and need to be dealt with in order to ensure the continued stability of the status quo. Community development addresses itself to precisely this issue of recreating stability after the disequilibrium of technological and consequential societal change. In order to do this it is often proposed that communities have to be educated and assisted in coping with the changes that have taken place. The extent of the acceptance of rejecting stability as a strategy can perhaps be best highlighted by quotes in this regard, by, community development theoreticians. In 1965 Biddle and Biddle stated in a definition of community development that "community development is a social process by which human beings can become more competent to live with and gain some control over local aspects of a frustrating and changing world."⁽⁹⁹⁾ In a similar vein, Heyden (1979) notes that "community development has to do with conditions of social instability and change and it is a process of adapting to, and as far as possible, exercising some control over such conditions."⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ While Milson (1974) expresses the view that "... there is a general understanding that the need for community work arises partly from the effects of social change created mainly by technological change ..." ⁽¹⁰¹⁾ and Kraashaar and Schmidt de Torres (1982) in examining the approach explain that organisations were to be created "... which allowed the individual to come to terms with the prevailing social order."⁽¹⁰²⁾ Chekki (1979) gives the most thorough explanation for the need to assist in the adaptation of people to change. According to him the principle aim of community development should be the creation of a caring society which allys the "remoteness and estrangement of man from man." The need for this has arisen, according to Chekki (1979) because

"Rapid technological advances have resulted in a series of inescapable social realities and community development can help adaptation to these new realities."

Basically he concludes

"Community development is being asked to bring about a set of conditions - roughly modernization and then being asked to cope with the conditions modernization has created."⁽¹⁰³⁾

Thus the approach proposes that people be taught to cope with and adapt to changes which have taken place in their communities due to technological advances, however the technological advances are not queried⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ One of the means of adaptation is perceived to be an improvement in the existing democratic processes. Thus Jeppe (1985) sees community development as incorporating

"the (creation) and strengthening of institutions and the provision of opportunities for the people to participate in the process of decision-making at the national, regional and local levels."⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

While Milson (1974) suggests that in a developed context, community development should

"... bring the democratic process up to date, refine it, carry it to a logical conclusion on the contemporary scene."⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

and Chekki (1979) states that

Community development provides the possibility of altering, by democratic means ... the human at times anti-human directions of technology towards more humane ends (by) ... giving all members of society (a chance to) express their voice of discontent."⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

Community development has traditionally focused on the individual community and their need to adapt. In this context it serves a dual pur-

pose, on the one hand, it has as its goal the re-establishment of stability in local communities after change. On the other hand, however, it also effectively ensures social control. All its activities are geared towards creating accommodating structures in which communities can learn to cope with and express any dissent about their living conditions. Baine (1974) quotes the first Gulbenkian Report in this regard as saying "that community work may be seen as one of the means by which society induces individuals and groups to modify their behaviour in the direction of certain cultural norms."⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ And thus the second purpose is achieved namely that of maintaining the stability of the status quo.

In more recent years, however, community development has shifted away from the purely 'social work' model with its emphasis on the psychological growth of the individual towards an administrative approach to the development process.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾

This approach acknowledges the fact that resources are not being used efficiently and puts this down to a lack of adequate communication between local residents and the state structures. Community work, it is proposed should fill the space between the two and act as a forum for communities to express their points of view and for national planners to better equip themselves with the real needs of communities as well as an arena for negotiation between the state and the persons experiencing problems towards an agreement for mutual action between the two parties.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

In Friemersheim the emphasis would be on creating coping mechanisms in order to adapt to changes which have taken place. The creation of community based organisation with participation from community members where community representatives would be encouraged to express the communities problems as would work with 'acceptable' locally based organisations and local government organisations to find solutions to the problems. The problem could, for instance, be seen as a loss of community due to the creation of industry in the neighbouring towns, or to the fact that local government officials have not been able to assess the

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needs of the community. Basic to the projects however, would be the assumption that the community needs to be taught to cope.

This approach has close parallels with the functionalist emphasis on communication breakdown as the cause of local problems. Its suggestion that problems be solved in a collective gradual way through government assistance likewise closely resembles the community development approach.

Assisting communities in adapting to change is not a static one way process. In adopting what Blagg and Derricourt (1982) call a "common sense"⁽¹¹¹⁾ approach it states that problems and needs exist within a community and need to be addressed in some way or another. Choice of action is not however, a haphazard affair. Running through all the community development approaches is a call for self-help on the part of communities. Before this concept is explored it may be useful to summarize what has been said about community development to this point:

1. Projects should (or must) be undertaken within the constraints of the existing social order as the status quo exists legitimately.
2. Community development should contribute to national progress.
3. The existing political system is just - therefore it is acceptable and even advisable that projects be initiated either with or by existing government structures.
4. Accepting the need for order and stability, conflict is not only to be avoided but also to be actively coerced into more acceptable constructive causes.
5. Change should be a gradual adaptive process in which people come to terms and learn to cope with the prevailing social order.

6. Community development thus actively takes part in the process of social control.

Consistent throughout the approach is an acceptance and indeed a commitment to assisting the existing social order. (This includes the political, economic and social aspects of the existing society). In accepting the system, emphasis is shifted away from the role of society in the creation of problems. The social structure is very rarely, if at all, questioned. Instead there is a tendency to locate problem causes with the persons or communities experiencing the problem. In some way or another communities are either seen to be deficient and in need of assistance generally to overcome apathy or lacking in information about how existing structures can solve the problem.⁽¹¹²⁾ This tendency, one could argue, is to be expected given the fact that the approach alligns itself to the status quo and actively supports its best interests. Someone or group has to be causing the problems and if it is not the status quo then it can only be the people themselves who are in some way deficient. This approach, as Baine (1974) explains, is closely linked to the social work perspective which emphasized psychological disorders as central causes of personal problems.⁽¹¹³⁾ It is argued that for improvement to take place individuals have to adapt their behaviour. Batten (1974), for instance, explains that for change to take place "people (have to) become more open minded to change; more self-reliant, more willing in organising and planning how best to achieve what they've decided on etc."⁽¹¹⁴⁾

Biddle & Biddle (1965) think that community development's central aim is to act "... as a group method for expediting personality growth (where) personality growth through group responsibility for the local common good is the focus."⁽¹¹⁵⁾

Ross (1970) on the other hand, states that through action communities can "... gain the confidence and will to work at (their) needs and objectives and ... in so doing (extend and develop) co-operative and collaborative attitudes in the community."⁽¹¹⁶⁾ Manghezi (1974) also quotes a UN Report as stating, somewhat crudely, that "Community development has

to do with getting backward people in the right frame of mind for doing things" (and) should aim at creating a "social climate or mental atmosphere favourable to the growth of free institutions and mature personalities."⁽¹¹⁷⁾ Jeppe (1985) similarly expresses the opinion that "the central concern of community development is the human abilities and potentialities needed to enable people to better control their environment".⁽¹¹⁸⁾ De Schlippe (quoted in Manglezi) in attempting to develop a theory of community development suggests that the central aim of community development is to uncover and eradicate psychological hinderances which inhibit social growth (1976 p 49).⁽¹¹⁹⁾

The 1963 United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs definition points to the need "... to integrate communities into the life of the nation, and enable them to contribute to national progress" through the encouragement of persons though "the provision of technical and other services".⁽¹²⁰⁾ Khinduka (1975) relates how conventional community development strives to inculcate "... a sense of citizenship" in rural residents and "a spirit of civic consciousness" in residents of urban locales in order to stimulate growth and "to establish and maintain cooperative and harmonious relationships".⁽¹²¹⁾ Brokensha and Hodge (1969) (quoted in Jeppe) focus specifically on the motivational aspect of community development stating that the central endeavour is to facilitate "... a change in an attitude of mind ... that results in a change of behaviour and the pursuit of a course of action hitherto rejected or not understood".⁽¹²²⁾

Clearly, therefore, there is a tendency to focus on the shortcomings of the collectivities in need. What is basically being said is that:

1. Change has taken place where the poor are unable to cope.
2. The system is legitimate and correct so therefore the problem must rest with the persons concerned. They are deficient in some forms of coping.

3. The central role of community development is thus to equip persons with the means to take control of their local situations.

The insistence on self help is fundamental to all the theorists of community development. A 1963 definition of community development by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs defines the notion of self help as "... the participation by the people themselves in efforts to improve their level of living".⁽¹²³⁾ Milson (1974) suggests that self help on a family and neighbourhood level is a necessary component in alleviating problems experienced by communities.⁽¹²⁴⁾ Self help according to Tomasetti ((1974) makes the process of development become "more significant and permanent (as) "... people work best at tasks they themselves have decided on".⁽¹²⁵⁾ Okafor (1984) notes that people must be encouraged to improve their standards through their own efforts.⁽¹²⁶⁾ The development of community confidence to overcome their own problems is the central credo of Chekki's (1979) definition of community development⁽¹²⁷⁾ as with Adedayo (1985) who asserts that community development should stimulate "... people to do what they can for the betterment of themselves and their communities".⁽¹²⁸⁾ A 1958 International Conference on Social Work saw the need for "own local efforts" in community development in order to ensure that communities became "increasingly self reliant".⁽¹²⁹⁾ Khinduka (1975), before criticising the approach notes that the community development approach aims to "... initiate a self generative, self sustaining and enduring process of growth".⁽¹³⁰⁾ Durham (1968) states that self help is the primary process through which conditions can be improved in communities.⁽¹³¹⁾ Finally, Biddle and Biddle (1965) note that community development takes place when "Geographic neighbours work together to serve their growing concepts of the good of all".⁽¹³²⁾

Common to all these definitions of self help is the belief that problems can be solved at a local level through the concerted united efforts of locality dwellers. Underlying this assumption is, as Manghezi (1976) points out, the belief that socio-economic problems can be reduced to technical questions which the community are quite capable of solving on

their own.⁽¹³³⁾ Assumed, as in the other facets of the definition, is the belief that the community has itself to blame for the problems it faces.

Thus in Friemersheim where housing is a major problem, the proponents of conventional community development would suggest that one of the major problems mitigating against the solution of the housing crisis is the fact that community members have not taken the initiative to work together to solve the problem. This, they would in all probability argue, is because they are set in traditional patterns of behaviour. They would probably point to the fact that there is a traditional dependency on the church for assistance in all aspects of their life and have no confidence in their own abilities. The role of the community worker would thus be to organise the community around their area of need and teach them the necessary skills to solve the problem. This could include means of raising funds to supplement the building of houses or the organisation of community members to make bricks and build their own houses and thus alleviate the problem.

Projects are seen in localized terms and are often broken down into specific issues which specific interest groups address with stress being placed on the use of local resources to meet the need wherever possible. This stress on localized issues can be broken down into four facets namely; 1. that projects are initiated at local levels, 2. that there is a general tendency for projects to be met by specialized groupings, 3. that the use of local resources is generally advocated and 4. that specific localized projects are introduced. Each of these facets need examination before the complete tendency is explored.

There is universal acceptance of community development as a strategy aimed at individual local communities where the specific problems of communities are explored and solutions sought.

Biddle and Biddle (1965) for instance, note that community development should assist communities in gaining "... some control over local aspects of a frustrating and changing world." This takes place "... when

geographic neighbours work together ..."⁽¹³⁴⁾ While Kotze and Swanepoel (1983) state that "... projects can only be achieved through the development of local understanding, local initiative and local self help, with as much local participation as possible."⁽¹³⁵⁾

Schoeman (1986) in specifying the components of community development projects notes that one facet includes "The development of communities by encouraging, supporting and providing people at local levels ... with opportunities to identify problems, determine local priorities, plan and implement self help programmes according to their norms." thus the need exists (he continues) "... to coordinate organisations and programmes at local and regional level."⁽¹³⁶⁾

Finally, The International Conference on Social Work (1958)⁽¹³⁷⁾ expects that improved standards of living be achieved through "(communities) own local efforts and through local community participation at all stages of goal selection, mobilization of resources, and execution of projects."⁽¹³⁸⁾

What it means in practice is that problems are viewed as specific and peculiar to that particular community. Causes for projects being necessary in the first place are not evaluated far beyond the parameters of the community structure.

Thus in Friemersheim one would expect that problem analysis would be kept to the parameters of the geographical community and its community members. For instance lack of land tenure is a major problem. This problem would be confronted at the local level by representative community organisations and, most probably, the local government representatives. There will not be any attempt to directly link projects to other community strategies or even to explore the possible underlying causes of the problem. (In this case the Group Areas Act and the apartheid philosophy.)

Another quirk of the community development approach is that different specialist organisations tend to focus on different areas of need. Kramer & Speght (1975) note that "since the poor and the clients of public assistance agencies, as well as other public agencies tend to overlap, a specific approach to organising the poor is through organising specific client groups."⁽¹³⁹⁾

In recent years there have been calls for and attempts to form integrated approaches. Milson (1974) bemoans the fact that agencies dealing with specialized human needs have led to fragmentation and wastage in the provision of services and thus the need exists for integrated services.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ The P.D.P. proposes to end this state of affairs where "... organisations operate in isolation and in an uncoordinated fashion..." through the creation of an umbrella coordinating body at a local level (Department of National Health and Population Development (1986)).⁽¹⁴¹⁾

But this still tends to be the norm rather than the exception. For instance in Friemersheim, World Vision sponsored the building of a creche. The Provincial Administration undertook to build a library, the Department of Agriculture Housing and local government handled the building of houses, funds coming from the so called Orange Fund and Build a Better Society (BABS) had offered their services to community members to train them in leadership skills. There was no coordination between these organisations.

One of the cornerstones of the community development approach is the call for communities to use local resources to meet their needs. One reason for this, (which one suspects is a major reason) is that there are not enough resources in the form of money and manpower to provide each community to satisfy their needs.⁽¹⁴²⁾

Jeppe (1985) starts off by suggesting that the community should adopt a "do-it-yourself" attitude and not look to the government for hand-outs.⁽¹⁴³⁾

Milson (1974), commenting on community development in impoverished nations, observes that "a proper understanding of their plight realizes that it could be alleviated, if not removed, by an integrated and organised use of limited community resources ..."(144)

Snyman (1984) says that "community development is usually very localized and relies on the resources of the particular community."(145)

Kotze and Swanepoel (1983) likewise point to the need for "... the balanced development of all the resources, physical and human, in the community."(146)

Finally the Department of National Health and Population Development (1986) commenting on the PDP notes one of the specific goals of the project as being "the development of human potential and the mobilisation of resources in and around communities to the advantage of those communities."(147)

This is closely linked to the earlier mentioned concept of persons taking responsibility for their own lives and the underlying assumption that persons are partly responsible for their circumstances because they have not done so earlier. The community is thus expected to raise funds and utilize manpower from within their ranks to meet their needs.

This approach has been discussed in Friemersheim by local state officials as a possible remedy to the housing shortage. It was suggested by a state official that a brick making machine be provided by the local government and community members volunteer their services and raise the funds to make bricks and build their own houses.

Because of the local emphasis on problems and needs and the way in which projects are organised there are limitations on the types of projects which can be undertaken. Projects operate at the level of the physical manifestation of the problem at a local level. This means that

they are, as a rule, issue specific and can be categorized into standard groupings.

Holdcroft (1976) states that community development includes physical improvements like roads, housing etc, functional activities like the provision of health, education services etc and community mobilisation to create organisations which can meet needs.⁽¹⁴⁸⁾

Projects need not be long lasting either. Cobbett (1986) for example suggests that "a project may entice individuals to come together as a community to realize common objectives and then, once these project objectives have been attained, the community will dissolve."⁽¹⁴⁹⁾

Projects thus operate within the confined parameters of the approach. They cannot extend beyond the locality and, very often, beyond one specific issue.

In Friemersheim communities would be organised around local issues. These could include improvement of housing, the provision of recreation facilities like a community centre or a library (three specified needs) or the creation of education facilities. There would be no attempt to link the community projects locally (ie in the same village) or with other communities with similar problems. Neither would there be any attempts to question why the problems exist beyond the broad assumption that people themselves are in some way to blame. For instance the community would not be encouraged to ask why they do not possess certain facilities when the town of Great Brak River with a white population does. Nor would they query why resources are not available to meet their needs.

The conception of the community as a self sufficient localized entity is close to the structural functionalist assumption that communities represent holistic systems consisting of interrelated parts. Problems within the system are thus to be addressed as if the system was the only unit and not as an entity within the broader social system.

It is of importance to examine how community development proposes that deprived persons get involved in the process of solving their own problems as methodology often explains more about the underlying rationale for the approach than the sentiments of proposed good deeds on which approaches are based.

Most community development proponents suggest that the initiative to bring about change should ideally come from the community members.

Tacit in all these definitions is an assumption that problems exist because people have not taken the initiative in the first place.

Sautoy notes that improved lifestyle for the community can be achieved "... with the active participation and, if possible, on the initiative of the community ..."⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ Milson (1974) states that community projects will be judged as to whether they were successful or not "... by the practical demonstration in all feasible areas ... that the community should define its own needs and organise resources to satisfy them."⁽¹⁵¹⁾ People, according to Tomasetti (1974) work best at tasks they themselves have decided on."⁽¹⁵²⁾ Okafar (1984) stresses the importance of peoples initiatives improving their standard of living.⁽¹⁵³⁾ Likewise, the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs emphasizes that projects must rely, as much as possible, on the initiative of the people participating.⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ Khinduka (1975) states, that persons have to be enabled to create social harmony and bring about changes.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ Finally, the United Nations stressed "the importance of the fullest possible reliance upon the community's initiative."⁽¹⁵⁶⁾

From these statements it appears that the whole community should actively participate in and control the proposed projects. This, however, as Chekki (1979)⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ and Kramer & Speght (1975)⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ is a goal towards which community development works rather than a practical reality. Kramer & Speght (1975) 4) point out that this is as a result of particular quirk of the community development ideology in which "guides for action are formulated from a theory of what the world ought

to be and proceed as if the world is what it ought to be." Thus, though full community participation is advocated, it is impossible to achieve in reality. Why is this the case? Jeppe (1985) suggests that not all community members are interested in improving their lot. The restrictions or go ahead from local leadership, the types of projects put forward and dissention in the community all act as deterrents for full community participation. Thus, in reality, "... it is the natural or traditional leaders and minority groups who offer themselves or are amenable, who actually participate in institutions and projects promoted through community development."⁽¹⁵⁹⁾

This, it could be argued, is because the community development approach encourages this sort of response in the way in which problems are confronted. The generally accepted mode of the model is to create organisations or structures and invite the accepted community leaders as well as existing welfare organisations to participate on behalf of the communities.⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ This is done because of the generally accepted view that communities as a whole cannot act but organisations can.⁽¹⁶¹⁾ Community leadership is likewise seen to reflect the best interests of the community as a whole. Thus, for example, Ekong and Soyoka (1982) state that "Whenever possible, community projects should be initiated through accepted community leaders and carried out within the framework of existing community organisations."⁽¹⁶²⁾ (Politics should be avoided as much as possible.

Adedayo (1985) similarly prescribes that "participation is made possible through community organisations in which ... leaders emerge or are chosen from within the community." He continues that, "... the success of any organisation depends on the operation of such leaders (as) ... the leader known to and having influence with those whose life he wishes to improve can indicate the direction of a proposed change."⁽¹⁶³⁾ Structured organisation and local leadership thus become the forum through which communities' opinions are voiced, and, very often, the means by which the community is organised and opinions filtered up to national decision making structures.⁽¹⁶⁴⁾

munity organisation.⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ Various techniques, like the nominal group technique and random surveys have been developed to facilitate this process.

For instance a random sample of 80 of the Rietbron community were used to do a needs assessment by the Population Development Programme in the Southern Cape. The thirty most mentioned needs were then recorded and prioritized.⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ The community is not however free to pursue whatever activities it may wish. There are a number of reasons for this. Need has to slot in with the particular parameters of action of the agency involved. Carter (1986), for instance, clearly shows how this was the case in Steinkhopf in Namaqualand where the community clearly saw housing and repair of roads as their major need and the donor organisation, Anglo American, insisted on the building of a community centre, as this fell within the ambit of what they could supply.⁽¹⁶⁹⁾

Brandt & Lee (1981) in describing the Saemaul Undong (New community movement) in the Republic of Korea note that in the inception year of the project "... 335 sacks of cement were supplied to each of the 33,267 villages so that residents could improve their environments. They were urged by officials to use the cement "... to widen and improve local roads and bridges, or construct small irrigation and flood control projects, meeting halls, public laundry facilities, storage tanks for compost etc. The choice of process they note, were left to the community but the parameters of action were already defined."⁽¹⁷⁰⁾

Once needs have been collected there is generally a consultation between the community worker and the elected community organisation. On this basis projects can be planned.⁽¹⁷¹⁾

Where community opinion as to what their needs are differs from what the donor agency perceives to be the "real" need or where needs do not fit in with national or regional state programmes, the community worker is expected to change the community's mind and help them perceive the error of their perception. Batten (1974) introduced the concept of "in-

duced felt needs" where, "... community workers unhurriedly and tactfully educate the community in discovering "real" needs (and thus) ... people are stimulated to create desires and to conceptualize a situation in such a way that it becomes a felt need."⁽¹⁷²⁾ This slots in with Brager and Speght's (1975) campaign strategy where others are persuaded to take the change agents point of view.⁽¹⁷³⁾ The author argues that this is the principle tactic employed by proponents of community development.

This tactic was adapted in Rietbron by the Population Development Programme. The principle objective of the programme is to reduce the high birth rate in the country. To this end an attempt has been made to increase the speed of social and economic development through localized community development.⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ The initial tactic was to allow the community to undertake whatever small projects they wished, like a games day and dances. Whilst this took place community members were taught organisational skills and self initiative was promoted. The next step, which the social workers were involved in were to channel people's interests into more productive means of confronting the problems they were confronting.⁽¹⁷⁵⁾

What is implied therefore, is that communities must be encouraged to think for themselves through their leaders who take part in established organisations. If their perceptions do not, however, correlate with those of the status quo, they should be tactfully manipulated to change their minds and accept the responsibility for the introduction of the 'induced felt need' and the solution of the problem. They should also actively participate in projects in order to ensure their success. In most cases the actual community, that is the residents of the given locality, have very little say in this process. It is conducted through their elected or co-opted (or both) leadership. There are few mechanisms which ensure that the opinion of all and the process of consultation and change are discussed with the majority of community members. Ekong and Sayoka (1982) spell out the differentiation between the leaders and the community in a possibly extreme example of the introduction of a highly technical project :... Community leaders can, (they suggest) at least, be

involved in some levels of decision making while the local people can assist in site-clearing."⁽¹⁷⁶⁾

Thus, in Friemersheim, the locally formed community organisation would probably conduct a needs survey using a random sample of 10-20 households (as a 10% sample is considered adequate). Leaders would be consulted on the best alternatives in terms of projects and the decision for action taken back to the community, in the form of a proposed plan of action for their ratification or even as a clearly defined project where an opinion is not asked for.

It is necessary to examine the extent to which structural functionalism is reflected in these aspects of community development. Emphasizing communal participation but then purposively working with traditional socially accepted leadership and organisational structures is very similar to the structural functionalist concept of ranking of the social order, especially the belief that some persons are placed in positions of power for the benefit of the whole society. In accepting this premise it is quite logical that representatives of the status quo should make decisions on the community's behalf.

Likewise, working with organisations rather than directly with the masses fits in with the structural functionalist systems approach. Warren (1977) arguably considered to be one of the greatest proponents of the community development approach bluntly states that organisations act because they are systematically organised groups and communities do not.⁽¹⁷⁷⁾

Persuading the community to change their minds as to perceptions of need to fit in with the national or even organisational goals makes sense if one accepts that the society is just and correct and the community has deviated, be it due to technological advances or due to some deficiency with the people themselves. It is a way of getting people to conform to the accepted norms within the broader societal structure, that is, the

sumption that the existing society exists and it is not within the power of the approach to alter it (nor is it desired). On this basis the approach attempts to improve peoples lives within the existing status quo. In assuming this it is a small step to accept that community development should work towards national interest and with the existing state structures. Where growth is seen as a slow adaptive process, by structural functionalist community development agrees and proposes steps to bring this about. Where conflict is to be avoided, the structural functionalist approach, community development stresses consensus and avoids conflict as a solution to problems.

Where structural functionalism proposes that communities are holistic subsystems of the broader social order, community development assumes that this is the case and locates its activities in the narrow confines of the geographic social grouping and activities to specific programmes within the locality.

Community development is thus obviously closely aligned to the structural functional perspective, thus exploding the myth that the approach is neutral and apolitical.

This alignment to the structural functionalist approach has a direct bearing on the practical exposition of community development. For instance it is generally proposed that one works with the existing leadership structures, develops organisations, consults with the existing power base, and creates a forum for discussion between community representatives and the existing power structure. More than this though are the assumptions that the approach makes because of accepting basic functionalist perspectives. The most notable is the assumption that persons are in some way to blame for their poverty and need to be taught to adapt. This is directly related to the acceptance of the status quo as legitimate and the values on which the system is predicated. This position can be traced right back to Weber's protestant work ethic which formed the basis of the structural functionalist approach which stated that men's position would be improved through enterprise. This leads to

the creation of a perspective that people must be taught to keep themselves as well as make better use of their local resources to solve problems.

It is all very well to prove that community development is closely aligned to the structural functionalist position, some might argue, but there is nothing wrong with this approach. It is accepted as the dominant theory in all the Western nations. The next chapter will argue that it is precisely because of the acceptance of this approach that community development can never actually take place, and thus, that the approach in its existing form is of limited use.

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CHAPTER THREE

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT : A CRITIQUE

In the last chapter it was shown how closely the community development model (in all its nuances) follows the structural functionalist theoretical position. This has a profound effect on the activities undertaken. Dahrendorf (1967) noted that

"the models with which we work, apart from being useful tools, determine to no small extent our general perspectives, our selection of problems and the emphasis in our explanations."⁽¹⁾

This is basically the case with community development. The underlying assumptions mould attitudes, deny options and limit activities to the accepted parameters of the existing social order for it is accepted that the social order is the only legitimate basis for action. What does this mean in practical terms? What is the context in which community development needs to operate within South Africa?

Firstly, South Africa is a capitalist nation. This means that individual enterprise is encouraged. A system of production is encouraged in which the means of production are owned and controlled by persons with capital or groupings which have access to capital. The vast majority of the population is then employed by the capitalists at a set rate to produce goods. These goods are then sold on a market in competition with other goods. This system is based on a number of beliefs a few of which are;

1. equity : is that everyone should be given an equal chance to make their individual fortunes.
2. the protestant work ethic which assumes that hard work will bring riches and reward.

3. Individualism : that personal hard work will bring rewards to the individual and

4. economic success is a matter of individual merit.⁽²⁾

In most Western democratic countries, it is believed that the country's populations interest and wishes are solved through a democratic voting system. This is not the case in South Africa. The vast majority of the population have no voting rights (or are expected to vote for white state supported leaders in white state created homelands). The other population groupings have been granted token rights in a graduated separated voting system which in no way threatens the hegemony of the white minority.

White voters vote for 178 members for the House of Assembly

Asian voters vote for 45 members for the House of Delegates.

and

Coloured voters vote for 85 members for the House of Representatives

Thus effective voting power rests with the white population. This is only a part of a composite picture of power distribution in this country. The economy dictates the growth of the country. The system of production has ensured that industry and wealth are located in the hands of a few. These include large multinationals and local capitalists. Spiegel (1979)⁽⁴⁾ calls capital owners the ruling classes. He argues that the power of the ruling class is based on its control of the forces of production. Because the basis of society, that is, the predominant institutions, values and belief systems (collectively called the superstructure), are shaped to a significant extent by the economic infrastructure, the predominant economic system will be recreated in the superstructure. Thus it will be reflected in the values, the beliefs and the state structures. In this way the power base of the dominant classes extends to control over the superstructure as it permeates all aspects of people's lives. The political and legal systems especially reproduce the ruling class interest because "the existing relations of production between individuals must necessarily express themselves as political and legal

relationships."⁽⁵⁾ Spiegel thus argues that political control essentially reflects the interests of those who possess economic control. To a large extent this is true in South Africa. However, the scene is complicated by a cultural dimension. Historically, since 1948, economic control has been located in the hands of the one sector of the population and political control in the hands of the Afrikaner nation. Fundamental to the Afrikaner nation has been the concept of separate development of the different racial groupings and the maintenance of white hegemony. This has been reproduced at immense cost to the nation ⁽⁶⁾ It has also meant extreme hardship for the population who are not white and disproportionate benefits and opportunities for the white population.

Inequalities and social deprivation are therefore woven into the very fabric of society. Not only does the Black population have to bear the consequences of capitalism, they also have to support a disproportionate distribution of income to the White sector of the population who have voting rights. This is clearly reflected in a statistical breakdown service and income distribution in South Africa (see Appendix iv). Deprivation and access to resources occurs on a continuum. The African population represents the largest contingent of the South African population. They are also the most deprived grouping in the country with the least access to resources and voting rights.

Most of the African population are employed in unskilled or semi-skilled occupations, they have the lowest monthly income with a large number living below the breadline. This proportion of the population experiences the largest housing shortage and proportionately received the least number of houses to meet the shortage. African children are allocated the least proportionate per capita amount to provide education and have the highest pupil teacher ratio. Because of the poverty of the education system, African students have teachers with inadequate training. Although the African population are the most deprived, they are allocated the least amount of the welfare budget - almost half that of the White population. Allocation for child welfare is ludicrously small and

can only hope to scratch the surface of services needed to improve the lot of people in any meaningful way.

Even in old age the African nation are discriminated against. Pension payments of Africans is much less than that of counterparts.

The so called 'coloured' population group is located a little further up the scale but are nonetheless discriminated against. Household income is less than half that of the white population. The housing shortage is chronic with little attempts being made to meet their needs. The capital per student provided for schooling is less than a third of that provided to White students. Health facilities are disproportionate as are welfare budgets, child care facilities, and services for old age pensioners.

Persons who have the ill fortune of not being White can thus expect to be discriminated against in every aspect of their lives. They can expect an inferior education, limited access to work and clearly defined areas of labour which, but for a few, means unskilled or semi-skilled occupations. They can expect poor wages which do not keep up with the rate of inflation and not to be able to obtain a house or dwelling of their own, nor will they have the funds to their own home. They are expected to accept as given the fact that health services will be inferior to that of White counterparts and will not adequately meet their needs. They will not have access to adequate recreation facilities and can be assured that there will not be the funds to assist them from the state in the creation of services if they wished to take the initiative. They can also be assured of limited assistance from the state in their old age which will barely assure their subsistence. More that all of these limitations, they will not have a representative political system which serves their interests on whom they can call to account.

This is the arena into which the community development enters. The first assumption of the approach is that the status quo is legitimate and should not be tampered with. This means that exponents of the approach will turn a blind eye to the fact that the system openly and

blatantly discriminates against people who are most in need of assistance - and, further, who are in need precisely because of the status quo. The approach follows through its belief by placing the responsibility for improving the situation on the shoulders of the poor thus actively attempting to assist the status quo in improving conditions. To this end community development offers an alternative of cosmetic change at a local level which can include physical improvements, functional activities or nebulously defined 'projects'.⁽⁷⁾ Once these improvements have been implemented it is assumed that community development has taken place and, what is more, that nothing more needs to be done. One needs to create the scenario in Friemersheim in order to understand the implications of this type of action.

A community worker would go into the community, where people earn an average monthly income of R350 working in the surrounding towns or on the white farms and where household subsistence level is R332 which means that 38% of the Friermesheim population live below the breadline. The community has a number of needs. There are almost no recreational facilities although the local government has made tentative arrangements for building a community centre sometime in the future when funds become available. The community expresses the need for a library as their previous library was closed, due to mismanagement. The primary school is in a terrible state with half the children being taught in two delapidated halls belonging to the shop keeper where there is a perpetual problem of dampness which is affecting the children's health. The water supply is inadequate to meet the needs of the community and the roads are perpetually in disrepair.

The local shop charges exorbitant prices and the community feels that they can not keep up. The pensioners also felt that they can not keep up with the cost of living and their pensions are hopelessly inadequate. There is a problem of unemployment, especially in recent years with a slump in the economy and women particularly feel that something needs to be done to create employment in or closer to the community. The most pressing problems which the community face are related to their

housing needs. The first problem is a lack of land tenure. Residents are reluctant to add to or improve on their housing stock as they have no assurance that the state will not eject them at any point. They likewise have no assurance that their homes will be passed on to their families in the event of their death. The second issue is a shortage of housing stock. In some homes this has led to overcrowding, in other temporary 'bungalows' have been built on family ground in an attempt to temporarily allay the problem. A few families have been able to save money to buy cement to make their own bricks. This is extremely difficult to do as firstly, money is scarce and saving entails extreme hardship on families, for many families it is simply impossible to save. Secondly, time is a scarce commodity as most of the men and women work outside the community and have to leave for work before sunrise and return after dark. Thus bricks can only be made over weekends after shopping etc has been done. The State built four asbestos houses at the cost of R6 000 each. These are rented at R75 a month to four families. The idea was that rent would be accumulated and used to build more homes. However this has not been done and, in any event, very few families could afford such exorbitant rents. All these needs have been articulated by the community in a survey. The surveyor interviewed local government agencies who are supposed to be providing the services to get their side of the story. They pointed out that they had planned to meet the needs but 1) the funds were not available, 2) Friermersheim was not a high-need area and would have to wait their turn. They, however, had no objections to projects being initiated as long as they were informed what was going on.

Local leadership would be the local dominee, and the Management Board - more specifically, the Management Board Chairman as all projects and interactions have to have his seal of approval before being forwarded to the Management Board. Once this has been done the community worker would probably initiate the formation of a committee made up of 1) community leaders, 2) articulate community members, 3) interested state officials, 4) local organisations involved in community development or welfare work. All of the above needs would be reviewed and discussed

and the feasibility of projects under each assessed. It would be assumed that there would be feedback between the village residents not involved in the project directly and their appointed representatives and in this way the community's opinion would be expressed. It may be useful to list the areas of need and the points of view which were expressed about projects whilst research was conducted as this could give an indication as to how such a group would operate in practice. The areas of concern were:

(1) Recreation facilities⁽⁸⁾

- 1.1 The Dominee pointed out that the church had attempted on numerous occasions, to set up entertainment for the youth but they were not interested. He cited the example of a table tennis set which they loaned out to be used in the church hall but which was just standing gathering dust in a corner because no one was interested.
- 1.2 The school principle^a noted that it was not as if there were no facilities. There is a rugby field and netball courts but they are of substandard quality. What was needed was good sports facilities.
- 1.3 The local government official stated that a grassroots plan of Friermersheim was being drawn up and included in the plan was a sports field. This could only be built, however, once funds were available and he had no idea when that would be.
- 1.4 Speaking on behalf of the youth a representative stated that they needed some form of entertainment, especially over weekends as there was nothing which they could do. The sort of activities suggested included
 - 1.4.1 films
 - 1.4.2 a tennis court
 - 1.4.3 a games room
 - 1.4.4 dancing/discos.
- 1.5 The Dominee stated emphatically that there was no way in which he would allow dancing in "his" community as this went against the ruling of the church and constituted a sin. (This was incorrect as the church had passed a ruling leaving the decision up to the Dominee.) He went on that if the church could get a donation of a film projector they would be able to show films over weekends.

- 1.6 The surveyor suggested that an old vacant farm school which was in good condition could possibly be used as a community centre if funds could be found to buy it.
- 1.7 The Dominee immediately wanted to know who would run the centre and under whose jurisdiction it would operate. He strongly suggested that this responsibility be placed on either the church or the local management board otherwise the centre would run the risk of becoming a "miniature Lesotho".
- 1.8 The local government official pointed out that a community centre was planned for the area but this would not be built in the foreseeable future. He, however, had no objection to the community providing its own facility as it would take the burden off them.
- 1.9 The suggestion was raised that a library be built as a starting project.
- 1.10 The Management Board Chairperson immediately objected as he had run the library previously. He stated that the community lacked discipline and failed to return their books.
- 1.11 The Provincial Administration were contacted about providing a service and they stated that they would be prepared to build a library if 1) It was closely linked to the Local Management Board and 2) If the community could raise 20% of the building costs.
- 1.12 The community representative suggested that the youth be trained to provide a resource service to the community and funds be raised to procure books.
- 1.13 This was turned down as it was felt that the youth were too irresponsible and, given the above criteria this was impossible.

(2) Primary School

- 2.1 The Principle pointed out that the major problem was that he had to run a school which was located in two different parts of the community. The present structure of the one school was not bad but the other rented buildings left a lot to be desired.
- 2.2 One of the community representatives stated that she was concerned about her child's health as the classrooms were damp and dark.

- 2.3 The Principle noted that windows had been put into the halls which improved conditions substantially.
- 2.4 The local government representative said that Friemersheim was on the list for a new school. This would be built within the next five years if there were no emergencies in other areas which would mean that funds would have to be rechannelled.
- 2.5 The school principle felt that they should wait for the new school to be built by the state.

(3) Water Supply

- 3.1 A community representative stated that they were highly irate about the water situation. Most of the community were without taps and were forced to obtain their daily supply of water from a local stream or a river. It was also stated that the farmers who lived further up the stream dammed the water for their livestock on certain days and, at times, this led to a situation where the village had no water for its own use. Another area of concern was that the water tank that had been erected was not adequate to meet the needs of the community.
- 3.2 The State official said that the community had to be patient. They were erecting taps as fast as they could. He also noted that the water tank was the most that they could afford and the community would have to make do with it. The problem of the water supply being cut off had to be sorted out between the farmer and the local Management Board.
- 3.3 The Management Board Chairman promised to get in contact with the farmer and sort the matter out with him.

(4) Disrepaired Roads

- 4.1 The matter rested with the Management Board, according to the local Government Representative. They had to hire tractors to scrape the roads.
- 4.2 The Management Board Chairperson stated that they had not had the funds to do this.

(5) Shop Prices

- 5.1 The community representatives were angry about the prices charged at the local shop. The pensioners were especially effected as they did not have access to transport to buy goods elsewhere and most of them bought on account from the shop. This meant that most of their pensions went to paying for food.
- 5.2 The Dominee said that three community members were in the process of erecting premises to set up their own shops. This would break the monopoly of the showowner and lower costs. He felt that these three persons should be assisted and supported in their endeavour.
- 5.3 The surveyor raised the suggestion of setting up a buyers co-operative where community members could buy in bulk from wholesalers.
- 5.4 The Dominee immediately rejected the idea stating that it would undermine the three people attempting to set up their own businesses. The major problem, he felt, was that they did not have enough money to do this quickly enough.

(6) Pensions

- 6.1 The pensioners felt that they could not cope with their monthly stipend given the fact that food prices were very high and increasing. One pensioner stated that pension increases just enabled them to cope with the rise in the cost of food and that they never had enough to improve their homes or even to buy clothes. Many felt that if it was not for the fact that they cultivated their vegetable gardens they would starve.
- 6.2 It was felt that this problem was beyond the scope of the local authorities and, therefore, out of their jurisdiction.

(7) Unemployment

- 7.1 A slump in the building industry had meant that people had been laid off work. Work was also scarce in the whole Southern Cape region.
- 7.2 The State had set up an unemployment programme which paid unemployed persons R5 a day, the Local State Superintendant ex-

plained that this was not a permanent thing though and would probably end in 1987.

- 7.3 The Dominee suggested that land be bought for the church to set up a farm. Community members could be employed on the farm. He felt that money should be obtained to start the project.
- 7.4 Another suggestion from the community was that finance be provided to local residents to set up their own factories which could employ local residents. An example was the establishment of a clothing factory.
- 7.5 An adjunct to this came from a local lay preacher of the Anglican church who suggested that Watsons Shoes, a shoe factory which operated in Greak Brak River and at which a number of Friemersheimers were employed, set up a branch in Friemersheim. This matter was being explored by the company when research was concluded.

(8) Lack of Land Tenure

- 8.1 As has already been noted the community felt that they could not extend or improve on their housing stock as they had no assurance that they would be allowed to live on the land or that it was theirs.
- 8.2 Local, regional and national government representatives were consulted on the matter. It was stated that the land first had to be surveyed before any steps could be taken. Apparently it had been approved in principle that the community be granted land tenure and that land could be procured at a nominal cost. This had to be approved by the President's Office before any definite decision could be taken. There was no clarity as to how long this could take.

(9) The Housing Shortage

- 9.1 Community representatives stated that they were unable to solve the housing shortage as they lacked the funds and the time to build their own houses.
- 9.2 The Management Board was prepared to loan out a brickmaking machine to persons who wanted to build their own homes according to the Management Board Chairman.

- 9.3 The Dominee felt that the community could not afford to build their own homes and neither were the majority of residents able to afford R75 rent a month which the local government officials requested for the houses that had been built.
- 9.4 The Local Government Officials interviewed stated that they did not have the funds at their disposal to build houses and that other alternatives would have to be found. They stated that they could not build houses any cheaper than R6 000 a unit nor would they be able to reduce rents.

Once these problems had been explored they would be analysed in terms of their feasibility as projects. This would be based on factors like the resources available and the probable success of initiating a project. Problems like the access to land tenure and low pensions would probably be considered to be out of the ambit of a localized grouping. Queries would be made to state departments and maybe even petitions drawn up requesting that the matter be looked into. But the matter would in all probability end there.

The remaining needs would be prioritized. If the community worker, the agencies involved or the state representatives felt that none of these issues represented the community's true need - say for arguments sake the creation of a state farm on the community's land - it would be acceptable to "re-educate" the community as to their real need (or induced felt need as Jeppe calls it).⁽⁹⁾ This could be done by pointing out the advantages of the proposed project stressing that funds and resources are readily available for this endeavour whilst not so for other projects. There could also be an extensive publicity campaign in the village expounding the value of this type of project. Once the community or even just the representatives have acquiesced, the project can be initiated calling on community support for this self-help effort.

Once a project is initiated and the problem solved or the need met, it is considered that community development has taken place. Thus, as Carter (1985)⁽¹⁰⁾ shows Anglo American built a community centre in

Steinkopf which eventually meant that the community had to pay off a huge debt, then considered that they had contributed to community development. This would be considered acceptable practice in community development parlance.

What, one could ask, is wrong with this approach? It attempts to make life more tolerable and generally does a lot of good work. The problem does not altogether lie with the actions, (though they are problematic as will be explained further on in the text) as much as it does with the context in which they take place. A somewhat obvious question is why do the problems exist in the first place?

Community development assumes the absolute correctness of the status quo. It suggests options which are securely based within the socio-economic mechanisms of the existing social order. The starting point of this approach is also its weakest link and, as it forms the cornerstone of community development, it weakens the whole approach. Why is it a weak link? In order to explain one needs to look at the country's power base as well as its economic base. One needs to locate the poor within this context in order to understand why they are poor in the first place (11)

All the problems which are experienced in Friermersheim, the lack of adequate recreation facilities, an inadequate primary school, a poor supply of water, poor roads, high shop prices, inadequate pensions, unemployment, lack of land tenure and the housing shortage are attributable to broader political and economic injustices. This includes lack of political power which brings about deprivation and allows for injustices to take place. In order to explain the point more clearly it may be useful to give an example from Friermersheim. Housing is a major problem in the community. Why is it a problem? There are two reasons.

1. Because residents cannot afford to build their own houses
and

2. Because the state does not have the funds at its disposal to build adequate housing stock.

Let's take the first point and explore its origins. Residents cannot afford to build their own houses. Why can't they afford to build their own homes?

Because they are earning too little to save or to put aside in order to solve the problem.

Why are they earning too little?

Because they are employed in low paying jobs.

Why are they employed in low paying jobs?

Because they do not have access to educational facilities to improve their lot. The State discriminates on the type of education provided to the students.

Because there is discrimination in employment where persons who are not White are paid lower wages.

Because people do not have the power to ensure that their voice is heard and their needs are met.

Because the status quo operates on the assumption that it is inevitable that there are the wealthy and there are the poor and that the wealthy get rich at the expense of the poor.

The second point likewise reveals the inequalities in the system. When asking why the state does not have adequate funds to build housing stock, a number of reasons come to the fore.

* Because there is an inadequate allocation of funds to meet the need.

* Because there is discrimination on how resources are distributed. Different racial groupings are discriminated against at the expense of others.

Why is there an inadequate allocation of funds to build houses?

* Because a large portion of the budget is spent on the military in order to protect the interests of the status quo.

* Because housing is not seen to be as important an area of need as other areas.

- * Because the community do not have a political voice to place pressure on the state to meet their need.
- * Because there is a vast number of poor in the country due to an economic system which encourages the gathering of wealth by a few at the expense of the masses.

Why there is discrimination in how resources are distributed?

- * Because of a political system which denies persons who are not white access to the political machinery in any meaningful form.
- * Because the political system is geared towards meeting the needs of the powerful economic sector and the white population (in descending order of preference!).
- * Because people lack political power to change the system and are met with reprisals by the state when attempting to establish a system of equality in the country.

Community development never asks these questions. It stops at the point where the problem is acknowledged and then attempts to alleviate the problem at a local level - assuming that the community is in some way deficient or disorganized. As such it misses out on the fundamental causes of the problem - namely the very system which it unquestioningly accepts as legitimate. In order to effectively solve the problem one has to attack the root causes - the economic and political system ⁽¹²⁾

One has to acknowledge that there are conflicting interests in society - namely those of the persons who have access to wealth and power and those who do not. The persons who have power access have obtained it at the expense of the people who have not and have built in structures to ensure that their power is not questioned. This has major ramifications for the type of practice which community development must pursue ⁽¹³⁾

Avoiding the question of system legitimacy is inherent to the approach. Kramer (1975)⁽¹⁴⁾ states that in practice ... C.D. characteristically avoids the systemic and structural forces that perpetuate the major problematic conditions affecting the population (and as such) ... becomes a way of avoiding necessary changes in social policy⁽¹⁵⁾

It is an incorrect premise to see a community as a unified grouping with common interests. Within village groupings there are distinct different groups with varied interests. One of the major ways in which communities are divided is according to status and financial wealth. It is usually the people who have access to wealth who also hold positions of power in communities. For instance, in Friemersheim, the Chairman of the Management Board, the School Principal and all the wealthiest members of the community hold senior positions in the village local government and church boards. Because, one suspects, of the power relations in the communities, it is usually the more well-to-do sectors of the community who get involved in projects. Manghezi (1976) shows how 50-70% of the more wealthy farmers made use of community development officials while over 70% of the poor peasants failed to collaborate ⁽¹⁶⁾

As has been pointed out in the synopsis of probable community development in Friemersheim, the village leadership have very definite perspectives and ideas as to how problems should be dealt with. These may not be the interests of the village. To see the village as a unified entity is to deny the divisions of interest that exist. To deny divisions is to seriously jeopardise the success of projects. For instance, in Friemersheim there are two major factions centered around two personalities. Both personalities hold positions of power and there is basically a battle for total power by both parties. Both parties attempt to undermine each other by slandering each others names, starting projects which they control and which they take credit for. A community worker who sees the village as a unified entity would probably be co-opted by one or other group or establish structures for development which would turn into a forum for a battle for control serving the interests of the more wealthy sector of the community.

Individual community workers cannot hope to solve problems of wealthy or status interests being portrayed without creating a conflict situation with persons who hold power and wish to consolidate their power base. For instance, in Friemersheim if a community worker were to establish a truly community based forum where all persons had an equal say and op-

portunity to elect their own leaders there would definitely be violent objections from the two power groupings (or rather, the individuals with their supporters) who would complain that their interests were being undermined. This can be seen from the opinions expressed by the persons as to areas of need in the community.

Community workers cannot hope to solve these problems if they operate in an apolitical vacuum of service provision. In order to be effective the root causes of problems should be addressed at the community - the grassroots community that is organised to confront the problem of unequal access to control in the country and the reflection of the control in the individual communities together with other politicized groups. Within this perspective it would be acknowledged that conflict of interest is inherent to the society, this can either be due to class position, caste or status. These conflicts have to be worked through and overcome by a collective community grouping working towards a changed society (17)

Another one of community development's fundamental weaknesses is the belief that the approach is merely a means of providing a service to the poor⁽¹⁸⁾ without needing to adopt any of the value premises of the system, the sponsor or the socio-political context.⁽¹⁹⁾ To do this the approach not only denies its origins but it also fundamentally negates the possibility of achieving what it set out to do, namely to effectively improve the lives of the poor as ideology lies behind all actions of the superstructure. This ideology moulds and dictates the parameters of action and the perception of problems⁽²⁰⁾ In failing to take account of these factors "a programme may inadvertently operate within the framework of an exploitative system and even help to augment the forces of oppression."⁽²¹⁾

As has been pointed out in the previous chapter community development is essentially a political process. What is more it is a conservative political process.

The majority of community development proponents claim one of their major goals as being to include people in taking a more active role in social affairs ⁽²²⁾ This is essentially a political act as people are not contained in a value neutral situation, involvement is essentially a political process. When this process is coupled with the beliefs:

1. That conflict is to be avoided and consensus encouraged.
2. That the system is legitimate.
3. That the approach should work closely with the existing power structures.
4. That projects should assist in "nation building" together with the existing power structure.

It is hard to accept the label of political neutralism.

How can an approach which professes to be anti-ideological as well as anti-conflict staunchly pro the status quo (re Jeppe etc) claim to be neutral?

Tasker (1975) states that the approach "... may not be politically motivated in the partisan ideological sense, but its political character is fundamental and its potential significance in everyday politics cannot be ignored ... the community worker is playing a contributory role, and his professionalism requires him to acknowledge and accommodate to this."⁽²³⁾

In the same way that community development is a political process, it is conservative as it strives to maintain the status quo without any fundamental changes.

Darendorf's (1967) comment about the structural functionalist approach can be seen to be equally applicable to community development. He states that "... their conservatism is not of the militant kind ... it is, rather, a conservatism by implication, the conservatism of complacency"⁽²⁴⁾

By leaving the job of worrying to the powers that be (they have) implicitly recognized the legitimacy of these powers; their disengagement has turned out to be - however, involuntarily - engagement on the side of the status quo.

What does all this mean in terms of Friermersheim and the broader South African context? It means that the approach has to limit its activities to the parameters of the accepted system of norms and values. What this essentially implies is that all actions undertaken have to operate according to the parameters which the existing power structure deems to be acceptable. This has major ramifications in terms of the projects undertaken. In its most ridiculous form it means that a state subsidiary is expected to challenge the state to adapt. It is not in the state's best interests to relinquish its power. Thus, for change to take place, other mechanisms need to be found which will fundamentally challenge the status quo.

Community development does not exist for form sake. It must have a reason for the activity. Mill (1910) points out that action does not take place in a void. "All action (he states) is for the sake of some end and the rules of action, it seems natural to suppose, must take their whole character and colour from the end to which they are subserviant."⁽²⁵⁾

Community development approaches tend to stress the processes of the approach rather than goals. This appears to take place because the approach is unable to bring about meaningful change in people's lives because of the limitations of the approach through accepting the value perspectives of the dominant power structure. By accepting the intrinsic values, Khinduka (1975) points out, the approach neglects "... such equally humanizing principles as equality, justice and material well being ..." as these values tend to be underplayed in the system. In so doing the approach creates a difference between its intent and its effect. ^{..(26)}

The approach rather uses terms like initiative, felt needs and self help to propose the dominant power group's values of "individual freedom and competitive economic individualism" in the promotion of projects.⁽²⁷⁾

In order to redress this imbalance the community development approach focuses on the process as an end goal.

Thus community development states that educating people to take control of their lives and cope with future problems is a more important process than the end result of a project.

There is an acceptance that economic growth and political stability must be retained for the general good of all. In this approach it is not expected that all will benefit from the system however. The approach thus attempts to assist the status quo through community development. But, one needs to ask, to what end? If wages remain low and the State continues to discriminate on service provision on the basis of race. If an economic system is maintained which assures built-in inequalities, is it a useless process. The poor may be able to cope with future problems but they will not be able to solve them. For this to take place the people have to challenge and bring about effective changes to the system which has created the problems in the first place and community development fundamentally objects to the creation of a conflict situation between the existing powers and the status quo.

It was argued in the previous chapter that the emphasis on deficiencies in communities as a cause of problems is a natural corollary of an approach which closely aligns itself to perpetuating the status quo. Because the approach works within the system and for it, it cannot question the basis of what is fundamentally accepted as given.

Individuals and communities are thus seen to be deficient. The poor are seen to be poor because they lack "human abilities"⁽²⁸⁾ possess unexplored potential, have inadequate mental capacities, lack skill, are apathetic, lack initiative, lack confidence, are backward and unable to cope, lack perception to solutions, lack democratic skills, lack dignity

and self-worth are dependent and lack knowledge and lack any form of collaboration or organisation. There is an acceptance that people may not have been able to keep up with the pace of change but the fundamental cause of problems are seen to lay with the individual.

The perception of lack of initiative etc, according to Manghezi (1976) creates the perception of a circle of poverty. "... (the) lack of initiative (in its original state) leads to successive situations in which social problems are not tackled or solved; no improvements in the living conditions occur and with the latter leading to extreme poverty and misery and finally the circle closes."⁽²⁹⁾

The community development approach responds to these perceived deficiencies with programmes which inculcate individuals and communities with a renewed sense of initiative and responsibility to solve their problems and thus become fully functioning integrated members of society. This process is not seen to be a given right to people rather as Dearlove (1974) points out, that

"The self-help ideology with the related view that the poor are morally or personally defective carries with it the explicit assumption that, although the poor may be given assistance, they should in no sense demand it, or regard it as a right... . The poor and the deprived are forced to see their situation as THEIR fault. Poverty is a humiliating condition which most people are ashamed to acknowledge."⁽³⁰⁾

The poor are thus expected to see themselves as being deficient and to address the problem through participation in projects. This is projected as an ethical position. "People, (according to Khinduka (1975) are intrinsically good, given an opportunity they will do the "right" thing."⁽³¹⁾ In essence, the approach attempts to socialize the community into performing activities in a way acceptable to the project initiators.

If these organisations fail it is the community who is blamed "their attitudes, their poverty, their cultures, illiteracy etc."⁽³²⁾

Communities are thus seen in localized terms where individuals are magnetized to such an extent that the rest of society in which they live are excluded from the picture. Herein lies one of the fundamental problems of the community development approach. Communities do not function in isolation from the rest of society. The exact opposite is true. Community problems are the direct result of the position they hold in the broader social context. They do not function in a vacuum. They are products of a broader social system. This system does not function as a neutral, value free organism. On the contrary it has very clearly defined attitudes about the creation of wealth and poverty. Communities thus function in a broader social context which has a direct bearing on their day to day existence. These include the state of employment, wages, decision on resource distribution and social policy. The population living in communities is also not tied to one locality people work in towns and return to the village at night, or even work as migrant labourers. They may have access to transport and thus access to other areas for recreation, socializing, etc. Local autonomy is thus non-existent ⁽³³⁾ To plan projects on the premise that all problems are localized will probably lead to projects running into structural problems when reality forces its way in. The type of projects initiated will also be limited to what the community can achieve on its own. Because of the increasing loss of power of communities over their own lives, issues will probably be limited to small, material increments to the communities well being which will not address the fundamental needs. In the synopsis of possible community development options it was shown how major problem areas like poor pensions and lack of land tenure would probably be seen as beyond the scope of community groups keeping development to a local level thus;

- 1) contains dissent in manageable pockets.
- 2) limits the changes that can be brought about.
- 3) negates the possibility of getting to the root causes of problems as they lay in broader society.

Attitudes of communities are likewise not part of a nebulous overarching stature but, instead are inculcated into each individual.

"The social self, however, is not a random combination of persons, it is structured and its movements are organised. The social entity is not an oppressive reality, hovering above the individual constraining the acts. It is far more penetrating than this, for it is part of what he views as his irreducible self, encompassing his streaks of dissatisfaction and rebellion as well as his period of compliance." (34)

This structure effects how people perceive their function in the social order. The dominant ideology stresses equity - that everyone should be given an equal chance to make their individual fortunes. It professes the protestant work ethic which assumes that hard work will bring riches and rewards. It notes that economic success comes through individual merit (35) This, according to Dearlove (1974), is the self-help doctrine; "people know that if you can climb out of poverty and reach the top - well, perhaps not THE top but certainly a comfortable level of living ... "(36)

If one is not successful then one is incapable. This often leads to a sense of hopelessness in people. They attempt to overcome problems individually, but they are unable to do so successfully. This helps create a sense of apathy and hopelessness.

According to Thorpe and Petruchenia (1985) "Inherent (to this) analysis of entrenched inequalities is an understanding of how dominant ideology so mystifies the disadvantaged that they are submissive and accepting of the status quo, even if it entails their continuing disadvantages." Excerpts from the oral history of an old Friermersheimer should highlight that this is the case.

Oom Jan Volkwyn, aged 77 tried his hand at every conceivable form of self initiative. When this failed he became a migrant labourer working in Cape Town, and living in Friermersheim.

* (Translated from Afrikaans).

"If you are a man who has travelled as much as I have travelled then you can do anything! I grew up on the farms - there I began to work. I was a little man of fourteen. I worked in Great Brak River by Seales

with the now deceased Mister Dugmore in their shop. That was in about 1930. Do you know I worked in that shop for twenty three years? I was a packer - on the back of a lorry. Then I was inside the shop - a storeman. Well, then from there I was a driver and then I was placed behind the table as a checker. At that time I earned 19 pennies a month.

I worked like this. I work in Great Brak River. Then I (also had) a (vegetable) garden and animals. I had horses and mules, cattle and things. I also drove. I worked like this. I drove people to Great Brak River in the lorry. After twenty three years I drove for myself (charging people for the trip). I had five lorries, one after the other. I hauled cartage. At that time I was the only man who could ride along the railway line with jam for Langeberg. But I didn't have any luck with the lorries. I lost my lorries.

If you experience such bad luck Then I went to look for work. Because I thought this doesn't help. I tried farming and it didn't work - it was a failure. Then I said no. In the next eighteen years I travelled. Then I worked in the Cape - there with Trimek. I drove a cement lorry. I was eighteen years in the Cape. In 1975 I was pensioned off and I came home to farm.

Individual enterprise failed to he gave up. In the same way there are residents who wish to establish their own businesses but are unable to do so due to a lack of capital. There was even an attempt at establishing a form of credit union - cum fish monger by a co-operative grouping in the community. This likewise failed. To state that the community lacks initiative is thus completely false. Likewise, on the basis of the above oral history and the attempts by the community to improve their circumstances one cannot say that communities are unproductive.

Likewise, community development exponents tend to stress that all that is needed in communities is a co-operative and collaborative attitude ⁽³⁸⁾ for change to take place. In Friemersheim on an informal level there is a lot of "collaboration" neighbours help each other to build houses or to make bricks. The community assists persons in financial need. There is a sharing of equipment for their vegetable gardens but poverty still per-

sists. The root causes of the problems must, therefore, be located elsewhere.

Thus on the basis of a historical account in the community, to say that communities can become self reliant through the initiation of projects begs the question of why people have not done so already. People do have a desire to improve themselves. What stops people from doing so? Is it merely a lack of knowledge of the process as is suggested by a number of community development exponents, or are there broader constraints built into the fabric of the capitalist economic system? Does not this very system build in reliance and dependency? Does it not actively work to destroy any opposition which threatens the wealth base of those in power, and allow a select few into positions of control and wealth?

The context of unequal distribution of resources and power has already been explored. Friemersheim is obviously party to the inequalities which exist in the country. What hope have people of taking control of their own lives and improving their lot if

- 1) They have no political rights.
- 2) No say in the planning and allocation of resources
and
- 3) No control over economic factors ruling their lives.

Lacking these three, people are under the control of others. To change this situation one has to challenge the very basis of the control system. Often what phrases like "people must influence their future" and "do things to reduce poverty", and "increase capacity to choose and respond to changes" mean is that the responsibility for their impoverished circumstances are placed on the shoulders of the people without them having the power, resources or opportunity to alter them.

Dearlove (1974) points out that

- X "The essence of poverty and deprivation is the absence of slack resources and the absence of power. The only substantial resources available to the poor

is the solidarity of their numbers and this is pretty effectively broken up by the prevalence of the self-help ideology."⁽³⁹⁾

Explaining the history of community development, it became clear that the approach served the interests of the colonial and capitalist powers and the individual governments concerned. This fact was highlighted further on in the text where the reasons for the close links with the state were explored. Community development is a useful tool of the state. What does this mean in the content of a development African nation? Marsden and Oakley (1982) support the view that "... while community development programmes publicly espouse decentralization the actual results are the disenfranchisement and proletarianisation of the disadvantaged peasant whose contribution to the developing cash economy is either ignored or marginalised ..."⁽⁴⁰⁾

People were blamed for the problems existing in their communities. In the colonial form, while people's land was being appropriated and people were often forced into the whole new world of machine production, the community development approach stressed the unadaptability of people. This conception was carried over to the so called developed nations and stressed that the poor were unable to adapt to modern industrial society.

There is no accompanying explanation, however, as to the social order which denies that people ever had the opportunity to realize these goals in the first place. Khinduka (1975) accurately sums up that

"It is an oversimplification to attribute all or most of the difficulties in development to people's mental outlook. It will not do to invoke values to explain economic underdevelopment without referring back to the social structure and economic processes which permit some values to persist and others to change ... The strategy of concentrating on a group's outmoded attitudes which are assumed to constitute the principle obstacle to its growth does not recognize that there may be legitimate reasons for people not to take the initiative or the necessary risks in the adaption of practices."⁽⁴¹⁾

Given people's negative experiences of trying to improve their lives within the system's norms and failing it as well as the fact that a number of community based projects have been initiated which have failed ⁽⁴²⁾ It is hardly surprising that people are apathetic when a new project to dramatically improve their lives is proposed. People, one suspects, realize their limitations within the system and see the worthlessness of attempting anything as the basic causes for their poverty do not lie in their hands but in an all encompassing system from which they cannot escape.

The way in which economic and material resources is wielded by those who are in power in the country ensures that poverty is endemic to the capitalist system. Only if this is changed will the poor's situation improve. Yunus (1983) states that

"The poor are not unproductive. In truth they are relatively the more productive segment of the population, but, unfortunately, the fruits of their labour are usurped by the better-off segment of the population through economic, social and political manipulations. All these manipulations find their strength in the control over financial resources. If the control over financial resources can be loosened the poor can, at very least, begin to enjoy some fruits of their labour, expand their economic base, live their lives with dignity and look forward to building better lives for themselves."⁽⁴³⁾

To do this, however, would threaten the status quo. It would demand changes from the persons in control. This the groupings in control would not be amenable to. This is one of the major, contradictions of the community development approach. Moles (1979) sums up the position by stating that

✓ "Too frequently people who have power criticize the general public for not being more responsible for their lives and fail to see the irony in the situation when they refuse to make any effort to release the resources that would make such responsibility possible."⁽⁴⁴⁾

It is not only extremely arrogant to assume that an outside agent can promote personality growth as people are suffering because they are denied access to resources which give one the power to 'improve', but to concentrate on 'personality growth' is also (to distort an old idiom) to bark up the wrong forest never mind the wrong tree. It is factually accurate.

// "Community development programmes", according to Khinduka (1975)^{P180} aim at revolutionary change in the people's psychology without bringing about an actual revolution in their social economic relations." (Community development) ... will create a sense of self respect and confidence, of civic pride, and identification with the locality - which may be an uninhabitable slum ...⁽⁴⁵⁾

All this approach offers for an impoverished community is the freedom to operate within predetermined parameters and a predetermined mode of action and to then take full responsibility for the consequences of an activity which has a very good chance of failing.

The community is placed in a no win situation where people are not given the freedom to explore real change options, are directed to start projects on the inaccurate assumption that they are to blame for their circumstances and are expected to find solutions at a local level when the fundamental causes of the problem are to be found at a macro level in the very status quo which is unquestioned. This approach can only exacerbate the circumstances of poverty as people are forced or cajoled into the responsibility for their failure.

Korten (1982) sums up that :

"Our experience and observations in development efforts we have worked with have led us to conclude that the poor cannot be expected to change their behaviour and attitudes in response to government programmes unless and until government staff change their activities and attitudes to the poor."⁽⁴⁶⁾

This has relevance for both state and non-government development programmes. What is needed is a change in the system which has caused and is causing deprivation. Until then one cannot seriously hope to bring about any meaningful change in communities. There is a good chance, rather that the situation will be exacerbated instead of improved.⁽⁴⁷⁾

There is a tendency for the state and sponsoring organisations to benefit more from the community development approach than the people experiencing the need.

Community development, as a consensus model, at best, operates to establish a compromise between the state for funding agencies and communities through negotiation. It is based on the assumption that suggests "... that if only groups were moderate and reasonable and prepared to raise demands through the 'proper channels' then success would greet their claim." ⁽⁴⁸⁾

Community development professes the principle of community control over the problems confronting them, yet, in reality caution against too much control and see community participation as an ideal to work towards. On Arnstein's ladder of participation, the exponents generally avoid the 'extreme' of citizen or community control and opt for a middle-of-the-road consensus model of consultation, placation and partnership. Bailey (1979) notes that community development operates on a continuum starting with co-operation, following on to a truce, then bargaining and, at the absolute extreme, stand off in negotiation between parties. At no time do the exponents propose that the communities enter into conflict situations with those in power.⁽⁴⁹⁾ The approach thus effectively contains opposition. If the approach

- 1) sanctions the status quo
- 2) proposes limited improvements which do not demand changes
- 3) and operate to ensure consensus

In a situation which is so biased in favour of those in power it is very hard to see how the approach can fully represent the best interests of the communities concerned and not those of the state and those with power interests.

Consensus approaches, according to Dearlove (1974) cannot work, "... for the authorities themselves and the established interest groups are mainly responsible for frustrating and disrupting the success of this approach. Those who argue that groups should use the proper channels perpetuate the myth that the only obstacle to policy change and a favourable governmental approach lies in a communication blockage between governors and governed ... but the suggestion that communication is the problem ignores the reasonableness and a possibility for give-and-take which is quote often lacking The consensual approach will get no more than the authorities want to give Governments ... have a siege mentality ... if only they can hold out long enough, they hope that the pressuring groups will disappear or change."⁽⁵⁰⁾

Downplaying or even negating the existence of conflict and 'inspiring' people in their own ability together with government assistance is basically a government strategy to appease the poor and maintain political stability.

All too often community development uses rhetoric for basically conservative practices. Oxfam (1985) points out that terms like "inspiring community initiative, 'initiative', 'co-operation', 'self reliance', 'solidarity' and 'participation' ... are used as a means of extending government control to remote areas and even into cities."⁽⁵¹⁾ Governments thus try to manipulate poor groups to suit their own political and national development goals, distributing benefits on a discretionary basis through systems of patronage. Under such programmes 'participation', some critics argue, becomes a euphemism for conformity to officially defined objectives, leaving poor people little say in decision making at any level or opportunity of questioning the development priorities established by the government."

Dearlove (1974) goes as far as to suggest that participation is used to appease communities that something is being done when, in fact, there is no intention to bring about any fundamental changes at all (the gesture reduces dissent and criticism and control political disturbances." It also he suggests, creates a controlled forum for dissent.⁽⁵²⁾

"Participation" is yet another rhetorical term which lacks substance in the community development approach. Together with terms like 'self help' and 'own initiative' it is proposed that democracy get re-established at a local level. Exponents even go as far as to suggest that participation offers the solution to all the existing problems⁽⁵⁴⁾ It has been suggested that through participation communities can introduce major changes.⁽⁵⁴⁾ It has also been portrayed as a forum for greater political say through "... an orderly procedure through which competing social forces and interest groups can be educated to present more rational and manageable demands and persuaded to internalize the demands the development process will make on them."⁽⁵⁵⁾

Firstly, as has been pointed out, total community participation is a goal to which community development strives. It is not considered to be a feasible reality. Community participation is thus confined to a marginal input by elected representatives from a given community within predefined constraints set down by the community developers constituency. Community participation, translated thus means bringing a few acceptable community leaders into a preconceived forum and regulating their activities to the desired ends of the community worker. It is created from a level above communities and imposed on them as a solution. As such, it cannot be termed participation. Dearlove (1974) suggests that these channels can be used by the state to their own ends as a means of controlling dissent through formalizing the relationships between communities and authority structures.⁽⁵⁷⁾

It could be argued that total community participation, like total community control, is avoided as it poses a potential hazard to control by the status quo. A classic example of this took place in Alexandra ✓

township in Johannesburg. The community had organized street committees and initiated projects to confront the state who was holding the community in a state of siege. The community had a representative say on these structures and there was a representative structure of interests. There was participation in the real sense of the word. These structures were destroyed by the state, and state controlled community structures established. Participation is thus a term which can be used to the defined ends of the power grouping and controlled in such a way as to ensure that their interests are not jeopardized.⁽⁵⁷⁾

It was pointed out in the previous chapter how community development was used as a Trojan Horse strategy in order to gather information for authorities and sponsors about community opinions, for planning and control purposes. In these ways community development definitely represents the interests of those in control. Thus it can be said that just as management creates "in house" trade unions for the purpose of

- 1) appointing its own representatives
- 2) preventing any militant workers struggle
- 3) channelling workers grievances via acceptable (to management) structures in short, acting as a buffer in order to control the way in which workers develop their demands so that they do not alter the fundamental relationships between workers and management, so too does the state and capitalist donors encourage the development of local community development and local community organisations to create a channel through which grievances can be channelled. In so doing the development of alternate peoples community efforts can effectively be prevented as well as the so called exploitation of people's needs, aspirations, problems and goals by radical political groups.

What is created is basically "... a form of community socio- therapy which transforms activism into compliance, reduces community disorganisation and integrates marginal groups into the established order."⁽⁵⁸⁾ In this way community development effectively avoids making changes to the status quo and basically contains the efforts of collective groupings⁽⁵⁹⁾ by fitting individuals in slightly better cir-

cumstances but ignoring the fundamental needs of most of the impoverished⁽⁶⁰⁾ Most of the community development exponents (eg Griffiths 1975 p 88; Jeppe 1985 p 31; Chekki 1979 p 7) caution against action which goes against the dominant interests and suggest that proposed action be weighted against negative reaction against projects. This point highlights the rhetoric behind meeting people's needs as this is tempered by what outside sources think about proposed action. In the case of a capitalist based economy, anything that threatens their hegemony will be conceived of as unsatisfactory action. As their power is based on unequal social relations, anything which threatens their power base, predicated as it is on unequal social and economic relations, will not be supported.

What is often meant by opening communication channels is the provision of networks to transmit the states or funding agencies political perspective as well as supplying the state with data to plan nationally. If the state was representative of people's interests and functioned for the good of all and was accountable to the masses then this would be an acceptable if not sensible practice. In South Africa, however, the converse is true, the state operates to maintain the interests of a minority and though this practice it ensures the effective control of the majority and the maintenance of selective privilege for a few.

The promotion of gradualism ensures that the stability of the status quo is maintained. Part of the belief that gradualism is necessary stems from the focus on changing individual values and beliefs in order for development to take place. This, however, is an impossible task if the causes of the problems are not altered. The causes as has been shown, lie within the very ideological system which the approach attempts to mould people into accepting. The state and capital would not be prepared to capitulate on their ideological stand as this forms the basis of their control. Thus, all gradual community development can hope to achieve is a shift in attitude to an acceptance of people's lot. The approach fails to recognize that the root causes of problems do not lie in the community but in the

system and promote a wrong cure for the illness, thus ensuring that no improvement can take place.

"Attitudinal and value modifications", according to Khinduka (1975), "do not necessarily precede behavioural or structural changes; they may often follow them."⁽⁶¹⁾ They should, therefore, address the real causes of the problem, the very system which causes deprivation and poverty."

What do statements like "in the interests of local and national development" and contributing "more meaningfully" on a national level mean in a country like South Africa where a white minority's interests are perceived as national interests and the maintenance of the status quo equals the maintenance of White privilege? In this context it cannot mean that the majority of citizens should have a say in how the country is run or how their lives are affected as this runs contrary to the accepted norm.

Stability can be ensured by bolstering existing or traditional hierarchical institutions and positions. In Friemersheim this would include the Dominee and the Chairman of the Management Board. Clear lines of authority would be encouraged between these leaders in the community. What if, however, the leaders concerned hold back development or represent sectarian interests?

The creation of local leadership to interact with the state or organisational bodies thus does not necessarily mean that society is going to benefit from the process. What is ensured, however, is that the state can establish a means of preventing the growth of opposition in the individual communities.

Community development is not primarily accountable to communities. Community accountability takes second place to accountability to the interests of the funding agents. This may not be altogether clear to the person working on the ground but the direction taken at a local level is usually premeditated at a higher organisational level to suit the funders' needs.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Halsey (1976) notes that "the young and impecunious family

caseworker will not easily see herself or himself as the agent of an exploiting class. Nevertheless we cannot ignore the power of the interests of those who run the bureaucracies of welfare power which expresses itself ideologically if not materially in the shaping of policy and practice."⁽⁶²⁾

Manghezi (1976) states that community development deliberately caters for the political and ideological advantage of the sponsors rather than for those of the villagers.⁽⁶³⁾

It is important to ask why governments and funding agencies get involved in community development in the first place, especially in South Africa where the state can just as easily use military might to ensure that stability is maintained. From the state's point of view it could be cheaper and less traumatic to have a stable, supportive nation which accepts and adheres to its power base. It also provides a means of keeping a finger on the pulse of communities. If community development did not offer these opportunities to create this environment there would be no logical reason for it to lend its support to the approach. The same applies to non-government participation. Industry supported non-government agencies either working with outside governments or on their own, see that stability is maintained and that their values and interests remain dominant. In assisting communities to cope with technological growth and development, capitalists can be assured that dissatisfaction with changes can be placated or rechannelled into less threatening activities like recreation halls or community centres. ✓

To this end Kramer (1975) points out, "the sponsor determines which community conditions will be defined as problematic and controls in great measure how they will be defined. In most instances the definition of the problem is in interpersonal terms, with attention directed to the necessity of changes in attitudes and personal motivation rather than modifications in social structure or institutional policy Because of linkages to government, the issues tend to be non-controversial and of

low salience, involving small scale incremental changes whose content and direction is in the interests of the sponsor."

"... the goals and issues of C.D. are usually those of special interest, or at least acceptable to the sponsor, and not those freely chosen by the population or even regarded by them as having a high priority ..."⁽⁶⁴⁾

Money is thus only available to projects which do not seriously question the status quo. The whole concept of operating according to communities felt needs is farcical. The tone, ambit and limits of practice are defined before anything is done in the community. The ideology underlying capitalism and state interests dictate the attitude to practice. In defining the problem they place the blame on the shoulders of the community because they are at the receiving end of exploitation.

A situation can conceivably arise in which a community worker goes in with a preconceived notion of what needs should be met. The community is then cajoled or led through positive reinforcements for 'right' responses to feel that the community worker's perception of need is their need. (The term induced felt need accurately described this process). This activity is then called a community response to their felt needs.

Community development is thus not non-directive. It can be placed on a continuum of a top-down approach. It is presented merely as a tool to obtain the support of the local people.

Indeed Hayter (1971)⁽⁶⁵⁾ shows how international funding agencies adhere to policies which turn attention away from, and often oppose, activities which improve the quality of life of the majority of persons living in South America. To this end, alternatives have been proposed which do not threaten the status quo nor do they mean that ties get cut from industrial nations. This has often meant that a select few have benefited and gained wealth while the majority of poor may even be in a materially worse off conditions than when change was proposed.

Not only do community development agencies generally function to meet the needs of sponsors, but the very way in which community development organisations are structured and manned mitigates against the approach ever meeting the needs of the general populace.

Commenting on development and welfare agencies in America, Brager and Speght (1975) note that "agencies that serve the disadvantaged are governed by a system of prestige and privilege that best serves the interests of those who manage these systems and their constituents in white middle class America. Leadership in this system has tended towards elitism where authority increasingly is centralized in the hands of a few who serve, in the vocabulary of dissent, 'the power structure', 'the military industrial complex' and 'the welfare colonialists'."⁽⁶⁶⁾

Where does this leave community development as an approach? To sum up community development, through the use of consensus, works to the states advantage as they can manipulate the goodwill of communities whose willing to negotiate. It is an effective mechanism to appease the poor while ensuring that limited changes take place. Rhetoric is used for basically conservative practices like ensuring conformity to state defined objectives, appeasing communities while doing very little to implement changes to fundamental problems and gathering intelligence data in areas of need for the donor parties. Community development is thus used as a buffer between the state and people which effectively rechannels grievances into acceptable forms. As such, a number of proponents of the approach encourage that care be taken to ensure that proposed projects do not offend the broader society. It was shown how the creation of communication channels actually provide the state and outside funding agencies with information which can be used in order to maintain the status quo like South Africa, which is fundamentally unjust. In the same way, the unquestioning use of traditional leadership structures could effectively ensure that a corrupt status quo is maintained which serves the interests of a small sector of the society while not allowing the community as a collective whole to gain power. Finally, it was stated that community development does not only cater to the needs

of communities, but, rather, puts more emphasis on meeting the needs of their funding agency. As such the funding agency defines the problems to be addressed as well as the way in which they are to be perceived. Meeting community's needs is thus often a farcical exercise which cannot be implemented. The values of the sponsoring agents are not only ensured through the dictates of the organisations but also through the structure of organisations which serve the interests of an elite sector of the community. All this heavily emphasizes the fact that community development is not only not a neutral process, it is also a mechanism which actively supports and ensures that the interests of the status quo are maintained.

CONCLUSION

- ✓ Community development is incapable of meeting its goals. Fundamental to the approach is that problems are misconstrued. It presupposes that people are to blame for issues occurring in their localities when problems are located at a much broader level, in fact, at the core of society. Thus an exploitative conservative, oppressive system of government is supported. A status quo is supported which propogates inequality, injustice and social deprivation and solutions sought which do not threaten the status quo. Communities are seen as unified, neglecting the fact that class differences and divisions of interest are endemic to the fabric of communities. The lack of perceptual paradigm opens the approach to misuse by the system and an unquestioning support of fundamental wrongs. The process of community development is stressed above its end goals because of the inherent impossibility of meeting needs. Rhetoric is likewise used to support the value system of capital.
- * Localized projects are propagated which do not take broader social political and economic factors into account. Projects are constrained to the limits of communities and thus tend to be superficial. Essentially the status quo, in for the form of the state and sponsoring organisations benefit more from the community development approach than the people whom the approach is supposed to exist for. Through supposed participation community grievances can be channelled into controlled

forums and dissent quelled. Community projects can act as a buffer zone between grievances and the existing order and communities placated. Projects can act as information routes to and from communities for the state to use in order to maintain stability. Finally, project parameters are defined and controlled by the state or sponsoring agencies thus giving them control in the whole development process.

Not having theoretical clarity opens community development up to misuse or manipulation by the power structure. Within this context it basically becomes a tool of the superstructure to maintain its hegemony apparently often without the exponents being aware of what is taking place. A far more politically aware approach is called for which takes the impoverished communities as the starting point, analyses the causes of micro level suffering and problems within the context of the broader social order, including the dominant ideological paradigm, and attempts to meet the real needs of the poor by confronting the major causes of problems through local organisations which are linked to broader national structures working towards a changed society.

FOOTNOTES

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CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 SUMMARY

Community development is assessed on its assertion that it is a value neutral apolitical approach. In order to give the analysis substance a rural community in which the researcher worked is used in order to give concrete examples of practice.

It is argued in the thesis that community development cannot be value neutral because its exponents were not unbiased in the formulation of the approach. Community development arose as a solution to specific needs perceived by the First World power bloc as a means of maintaining their vested interests. The approach was formulated in a context which had clearly defined parameters as to how social problems were perceived and how they were to be solved. These were incorporated into the fabric of the approach.

There is no definitive statement as to what community development is. The term originated with a combination of economic development and community organisation. Out of this grew a large number of definitions, each adapted to suit the needs of the definer and the context in which it was to be introduced. This situation was further complicated with the introduction of 'community work' as an umbrella term, Community development can however, be broken down into a process and a method. As such, it generally includes the following facets:

1. self help
2. leadership development
3. democratic community participation
4. democratic organisations
5. the establishment of a harmonious community
6. controlled local social change
7. local resource utilization.

The approach thus attempts to encompass all aspects of people's lives, channelling people's action into productive activities for the benefit of the locality.

The history of community development shows that its origins are closely tied to the ideological and theoretical position of the liberal western nations. It grew out of a perceived need by the British to establish an economic bulwark against communism in the colonies demanding independence. This was picked up by the United States and then later, by Multinational Companies with vested interests in retaining their positions in the third world.

This approach was also adopted by developing nation governments, including South Africa, to bolster their political ideology. South Africa, for instance used the approach to argue in favour of Nationalist Party's ideology of separate development of different racial groupings.

First World nations, likewise, used community development on the homefront as an intervention strategy to maintain social stability in impoverished areas of dissent.

Community development has a history of failure. It was initially propagated as a means of educating the poor, then, when this failed towards an emphasis in the technocratic development of the so called poorest of the poor. When this too failed at achieving the elusive goal of development, the emphasis shifted to the meeting of the needs of communities. Throughout this process, however, the ideological position of the donors did not change. The emphasis remained on maintaining their interests and the stability of the status quo.

Community development is closely aligned to the structural functionalist theory of society. This theory propagates;

- 1) the unquestioning legitimacy of the status quo.
- 2) the perception of society being a system made up of interrelated parts.
- 3) the need for maintenance of order and stability in society.

- 4) the belief that society rests on the consensus of its members.
- 5) the need for social stratification for the effective functioning of the system and, related to this, the need for recognized power to maintain order.
- 6) the perception of rapid change as deviant and the focus on a slow process of adaptation as an acceptable alternative.
- 7) and as a result of the above, the perception of inadequate communication as causing social problems rather than inadequacies in the system.

Community development has incorporated all these premises into the framework of the approach. Thus where structural functionalism assumes the legitimacy of the status quo, community development accepts the social order as given and considers it outside the parameters of action to bring about any major changes. The approach then attempts to form a bridge between the existing power structure and the poor.

Key proponents of community development likewise support the holistic view of society being made up of a system of interconnecting parts. The term community is especially significant in this respect as it is perceived by a number of exponents to be a subsystem of the broader social system, while operating internally as a system.

It is argued that a natural extension of this perspective is to see the approach as contributing to the benefit of the whole society together with the existing power structures or to be used by the power structure. Thus, it is assumed that project parameters should be curtailed to the limits of national policy and goals. In capitalist-orientated societies these could include concepts like the creation of conditions of equity.

Order and stability, in keeping with functionalist tenets, are seen to be necessary and conflict to be avoided. Reconciliation between groups with conflicting interests is a central credo of the approach. Conflict is at all times to be avoided or rechannelled into negotiation.

Change is seen by community development exponents as a controlled, gradual, adaptive process in which communities come to terms with the changes which have taken place at a broader societal level, as is suggested by the functionalists. In so doing, community development ensures stability in communities while assisting in the maintenance of social control through the channelling of dissent into acceptable structures.

Lack of communication in keeping with functionalist premises, is seen by community development exponents, to be attributable to a lack of communication between those in power and the community or within the community itself.

In supporting the existing social order the emphasis in community development is shifted away from society as possibly causing problems on to the individual communities. The communities are seen to be in some way lacking or psychologically immature to cope with their problems. Community development thus perceives its role as equipping persons with the means to take control of their local situations.

Self help is fundamental to all community development exponents. Common to all the definitions of self help is a belief that problems experienced in communities can be solved at a local level using local resources. Problems are thus viewed as specific to the given community.

Because of the emphasis on local problems and needs and the emphasis of controlled self help using local resources, there are limitations as to the types of projects which can be initiated. There is a general tendency for projects to meet a material need with a specific project. For instance, the building of a dam using local and donor resources to solve a water shortage. Once this has been achieved community development is considered to have taken place.

Community development professes an approach in which the whole community takes part. This, however, does not take place. Instead it is generally a select grouping of the community, usually the conventionally

recognised leaders, who take part in externally formulated organisations to meet the communities needs.

Need is usually established through a survey and where need differs from that of the community developer, or their backing agency, it is considered acceptable practice to persuade a community as to the error of their perceptions and to introduce what is considered to be the real need.

Self help, limited participation organisational participation and induced needs all fit in with the structural functionalist perception of ranking and social order, especially with regard to the acceptance of some persons holding legitimate positions of power.

In the same way, persuading a community to rethink their perception of need is acceptable if one considers that the social order is correct and the community has deviated or has not been able to cope which are basic structural functionalist tenets.

After having shown that community development is closely aligned to the structural functionalist approach the question of relevance is asked. The following chapter sets about arguing the limitations of this linkage.

The first point made is that a status quo is supported which propagates inequality, injustice and social deprivation. In assuming the legitimacy of the status quo community development fails to take cognisance of the fact that the very system causes the problems. Community development stops at the point where the problem is acknowledged and then attempts to alleviate the problem at a local level.

Another criticism is that community development fails to acknowledge differences of interest in broader society and at a local level. Sectarian groupings invariably control the processes, locally and nationally, in the name of the whole community. Groupings are thus supported which do not reflect the interests of the people community development professes to assist.

Rhetoric, it is argued, is used which suggests communal control, but, in fact, supports the value system of capitalism and the prevailing state.

Communities are seen in localized terms and individuals are magnetized to the point where the broader society is excluded. Problems, however, generally have a broader origin. Not to take this into account means that projects limit their chances for success as proposed action is misdirected.

People, it is argued, have not become self reliant because there are broader constraints built into society. In the same way, people and their mental outlook are not so much to blame as the context in which they live in.

The state and the sponsoring organisations, it is argued, benefit more from the community development approach than the people experiencing need. Consensus functions to establish compromise with the existing social order, when the social order creates the problem. Participation can just as effectively be used as a means of co-opting communities into acceptable activities. Community development projects can likewise act as a buffer between communal grievances and the accepted social order and act to rechannel grievances into a form of community socio therapy. It was also shown how funders interests invariably shape the form of community development by allocating resources which do not question the status quo.

The approach is not neutral as it expresses the values of the social order. However, by professing to provide a neutral service community development inadvertently opens itself to misuse by an exploitative oppressive system such as the South African state. Activities are promoted which do not question the social order and thus do not get to the root of the problem. Communities are thus expected to take part in activities which can only lead to very limited success. All this can hope to achieve is to further worsen an impoverished situation and people's perceptions of themselves in their context.

4.2 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH

It has been pointed out that it is essential to have theoretical position. What are the facets of an analysis which could lay the foundations of an alternate society? In point form these can be summarized as:⁽¹⁾

1. There are two major class configurations in society namely those that own the means of producing goods and those who sell their labour power to these persons.
2. One class or dominant segment of that class ensures that it achieves wealth and power at the expense of the less dominant class. It thus depends on the class of which it exploits.
3. The superstructure (ie the social political and cultural aspects of society) reflect the interests of those in power. They reflect the dominant ideas in society, thus ensuring the power groupings continued existence.
4. Poverty is a direct consequence of these relationships as the poor suffer the most from the given system of exploitation.
5. Persons are alienated from themselves in the process of production as they do not control the most important aspects of their lives, namely their power to work.
6. Conflict is a natural condition in society. Society is constantly changing due to this process of conflict. Conflict occurs because of the way in which society is structured. This is termed dialectical materialism.

Blagg and Derricourt (1982) provide the best analysis of the social system which can provide a theoretical starting point for social analysis in community work. Acknowledging the existence of different classes in society they propose that a dual Marxist approach be used firstly using Althusser's concept of overdetermination' to highlight how the power groupings in society do not only exist on a number of levels and how contradictions existing in society are "... part of a complex multi-determinary, a series of contradictions not reducible to simple class determinancy." Thus racism is not a product of class struggle but of other factors.

The second principle they propose is that of Gramsci's concept of hegemony, that is that the state is not a monolithic oppressive form but rather a flexible "system of social relations" which adapts using mechanisms like intervention or resistance to ensure that their position of control is maintained. The state does not, therefore, function as an isolated entity, it functions in all aspects of the social system in an attempt to establish its control over the processes. This Gramsci calls 'war of position'. This perception of politics extending throughout all levels of society, a "multiplicity of dimensions of struggle will open up. Power, and consequently forms of resistance, will not have a necessary or specific location but will be present on a number of levels It is necessary therefore (to) ... perceive struggles and antagonisms within the community as possessing characteristics often different from class struggles and class antagonisms." This means not reducing struggle to an industrial level but accepting the forms of oppression in all aspects of society orchestrated by the state.⁽²⁾

In terms of the South African situation the values, principles and guidelines governing the process of community development, or the general aims, objectives and goals of community development may be derived or adopted from efforts on the part of the oppressed peoples to come together nationally at certain points in South African history for the purposes of articulating their aspirations for a changed society in terms of broad values and principles governing an alternate changed social order. One such point in history of the struggle of the oppressed in South Africa was the drawing up and adoption of the Freedom Charter at Kliptown in 1955. Although there are a number of principles they nonetheless form the starting point for direction. Embodied in this document were the principles of,

1. democratic participation of the masses in the governing body.
2. equality and non racism.
3. equitable control and distribution of the factors of production.
4. equal land distribution.
5. equality before the law with the courts representing the interests of the people.

6. human rights.
7. the provision of housing.
8. equal education.
9. the provision of work.
10. cultural dissemination.

All these principles have a direct bearing on the direction and development of people's participation in the process of community development both at a local level as well as a national level.

Community development, it has been shown, is not a value neutral approach. It is closely aligned to the present status quo representing its interests in all facets of practice. As such this approach can never hope to meet the needs of the communities it professes to serve. Its functions, instead, to conserve the basic inequalities which exist in society. As a conservative process it can at best, help people to cope with the problems of poverty but never to confront and find solutions to it as these form part of the broader fabric of the social system.⁽³⁾

The community development worker has to acknowledge that the approach is not value neutral and can only be of limited value if it is apolitical. If the community worker is committed to assisting a community to overcome conditions of poverty he or she has to be prepared to accept the responsibility of confronting the problem at its source, namely the system which causes the problem. This is not a value neutral or an political exercise, it requires a commitment to an end goal of a changed social order.

✓ This is an inherently political process and must be acknowledged as such by the community worker. In order to avoid the trap of "neutralism" ✓ which the conventional community development approach professed, the approach must clearly specify its political aims and its theoretical base. What does this mean in South Africa and, more specifically, in Friemersheim? It was pointed out in the text that there are basic inequalities ✓ in the country. These can not be addressed by working within the system. What are the alternate options? The first step is to locate the approach

within a broader political paradigm which confronts the existing social order. Locally, at the individual community level, this means that all efforts at changing the existing social order should be seen in relation to efforts that are being made on a national scale to change the existing political order. This should take place on two levels. Firstly on the theoretical level the community worker should develop an understanding and analysis of the local conditions in relationship to the broader socio political context. Inherent to this analysis is a perspective which sees deprivation and poverty as it exists, for instance, in Friemersheim as a direct consequence of the socio-political ideologies which govern South African society at this point in time. Community work therefore, in this context should be able to raise the level of consciousness of the community as to a deeper understanding of their plight in relation to the broader causes of their situation. This should form the starting point for any practical community effort. Secondly, on a practical level, community action and community organising for community development should have some relationship to, as well as bearing on any national efforts to change the existing social order on a macro level. However, this does not mean that all programmes for community development on a micro level (ie local community level) are exactly the same as those conducted on a national socio political level. Each local effort aimed at changing its immediate local conditions may vary in its nature, scope, content, quality and character to other local initiatives as well as broader national initiatives. Because of this it does not mean that what happens at a local level is in direct contradiction to practical efforts made on a national level. The relationship is of a dialectical nature. Local initiatives to change immediate existing conditions in a particular locality should complement, supplement, strengthen or reinforce initiatives taken on a national scale to change the existing order and vice versa.

It does not mean that if people engage in community action or development projects that the social order is automatically going to undergo a transformation. The process of transforming the existing social order must be recognized as a protracted one. Thus, in this context community development should be seen as an effort on the part of a particular local

population to set or bring about the necessary conditions which may give rise to a sustained national thrust to change the existing social order. Moreover, community development in its efforts to bring about the aforementioned should also begin to reflect in its nature, scope, content and quality elements of an alternate social order which would eradicate the very causes of deprivation, poverty etc.

This process of societal and local change is an organic as opposed to mechanistic process. It is subject to the prevailing nuances at any given time both locally and nationally.

Community development, while it seeks to change immediate local conditions and consequently bringing about a situation which would bring to change the existing social order nationally should not lose sight of the fact that it should see the development of the individual as a whole as being of paramount importance. Thus the end goal should aim to get rid of the conditions of poverty, deprivation and injustice and create a social order which would work towards providing the best quality of life possible for each individual in the nation.

The process of community development and its relationship to the concept of collectivity needs to be expanded on. Conventional community development expounds the concept of collectivity but limits it to an individual or nuclear sense of selective participation in controlled settings. In contrast an alternate community development approach should acknowledge that certain existing local conditions a particular community might seek to change also exist as a local condition confronting communities in other areas. (For example the Group Areas Act). Therefore, because of the commonality of the problem confronting different localities, local community initiative has to act in an appropriate, collective manner in order to effectively confront the problem. This results in national collective action. The question of land tenure in Friemersheim is a good case in point. People are denied access to land because of state legislation. They cannot effectively change these conditions on their own. If, however, their efforts were linked to a national progressive

thrust to place pressure on the state their chances of success would be substantially increased.

The relationship between the state and a community and the role of community development in a changed social order needs to be clearly defined. Where as previously examined community development was seen by the state as a mechanism for gathering information, co-option and control in order to maintain social stability thereby maintaining and reproducing the prevailing status quo, an alternate approach should influence, through the efforts of grassroots development, national planning strategies and programmes. The structures arising out of community development at a local level should form a basis upon which the nation state is built. The community in each particular locality should be able to use the structures created through the process of community development to establish a two way process of accountability, decision making, planning etc. While it may seem that the status quo is being maintained, one has to understand that there is a qualitative difference in the fabric of the new nation state. The new nation state would guarantee, foster and encourage in this case, without hindrance the alternate approach to community development proposed.

What is the role of the community development worker? In conventional community development models the community worker was seen as an initiator of projects, a catalyst or a facilitator for bringing people together and a coordinator of different perspectives. This role was expected to have a built in redundancy as the community was expected to take over the reigns. Throughout the process, however, the community worker held a leading position. How should this differ in an alternate approach? Firstly, the community worker, in accepting a political role should reflect the principles of the political position he or she holds. Fundamental to this is the right of the individual to take control of his or her own life together with the community for the interests of the locality and broader society and not for individual enhancement. In order to do this the community activist should see his or her role as working as an equal with the community - accepting that he or she has skills which will

be of benefit to the community, while also admitting and fostering the belief that the community members have the best understanding of their local conditions. People must be assisted in coming to the realization of their full collective potential to transform their existing social conditions. To do this the community must be allowed the freedom to make their own decisions and assess their own needs and initiate their own projects together with the community activist. The ultimate goal of the activist is to build a politically aware democratically organised community which can lay the basis for the new social order.

A basic starting point is that it is only through people's own struggles and efforts that change can take place. A natural conclusion is, therefore, that community members must actively be involved in all aspects of the process. The activity must reflect the ultimate goal in the way it goes about doing things.

If one works on the assumption that the community must own, control and run its own activities then it follows that the community must be actively involved in all aspects of the process especially in the initial stages as it should form part of the conscientization process of the community.

Part of the process of coming to grips with the existing contradictions is to assess the environment. For a proposal to work, it must ensure that the community 1) understand their own needs, 2) understand how these needs can be met and 3) have the freedom to make their own decisions (Nyerere 1973).⁽⁴⁾

This has to be placed within the broader social context. Hope and Timmel (1984) succinctly sum up the aims of this process; "Structural analysis becomes a crucial tool for awareness building among the poor and oppressed people it articulated and added upon in the context of their own active programmes. This enables these people to take their history into their own hands and to move forward. It is this progression which enables a programme to become a peoples movement."⁽⁵⁾

The community worker should not only be able to encourage people to man, develop, organise and maintain their own community structures but also ensure that people be encouraged to use whatever space available to explore creatively structural configurations and relations which span the level of localism. This means, in terms of practice people being able to forge, develop, encourage and organise only alliances that they might deem fit (at any point in time) which enhances or takes their level of struggle over a particular issue or issues to a higher level; such alliances being able, therefore, to be forged on the one hand on a regional and national level and on the other with a particular interest group, sector or grouping which might exist in the socio-political milieu. Such alliances should, however, reflect similar aims, goals and principles which people defined as those governing their efforts to change their situation in the process of development. However, the most important factor governing this relationship is a progressive political consciousness which is critical as to the extent to which this relationship can attain the specific aims objectives and goals of the organised community.

To sum up community development, to be meaningful, should interact with the political forces working for change in the country. From this it can be said that community development must, on the one hand, serve as a zone of influence which contributes to the development of people's perceptions of an alternate political milieu both theoretically and practically and, on the other hand, act as a zone of confrontation of the values and principles of the prevailing hegemonic, oppressive political milieu.

4.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

A lot of work has to be done on developing an alternate approach given the paucity of the existing community development perspective. This can be divided into areas of study. Firstly on a theoretical level, there is a need to establish theoretical accountability for community development practice. In the South African context it is suggested that emphasis be placed on a radical model of change which fits in with the perspectives of the progressive forces struggling for change in the country.

Community development should become an extension of the political process for change. Work needs to be done on the way in which this particular interaction can be brought about. Another area of study is the theoretical implications of the practice of community development in high density population areas like cities as compared to rural communities. To take this further, if there is a difference in analysis or understanding or conceptualisation what is the nature and character of this difference and, consequently, the theoretical implications it has for bringing about change in the social order. Another theoretical consideration is an exploration of the role of working class structures in the process of community development, special note should be taken of the increasing industrialisation of South African Society and concomitantly, the emergence of large scale trade unionisation of the working class. How can community development embrace this development?

On a practical level, careful study should be done of the nature of the relationship between local community struggles and regional and national political structures. Of importance would be the modus operandi of this relationship. Then there is the question of how the community activist, together with grassroots leadership can harness and wield together the resources in a community, structures existent in a community as well as initiatives, programmes and areas of conflict into a viable political power base.

FOOTNOTES

1. The summary represents a conglomeration of a number of writers on classic Marxist theory. These include
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2. Blagg H. and Derricourt N. 'Why we need to reconstruct theory of the state for community' IN Craig et al Community Work and the State. Routledge and Kegan Paul 1982.
3. The recommendations took shape out of extensive discussion with a spectrum of people as well as extensive reaching on radical community development practice. In terms of people Viniene Taylor; Wilfred Wentzel and especially Myron Peter provided valuable discussion. Core readings included;

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4. Nyerere ibid pp 60 and 61.
5. Hope and Timmel (ibid) p 18.

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APPENDIX I

Methodology

A survey sheet was drawn up to establish;

- 1) The number of persons in a house.
- 2) The age of each inhabitant.
- 3) The sex of each inhabitant.
- 4) The number of persons working in each household.
- 5) The type of employment.
- 6) The employer.
- 7) Monthly income per individual.
- 8) Whether or not a household member received a welfare grant from the state.
- 9) Amount received.
- 10) The type of house lived in.
- 11) The number of rooms per house.

As the community only had 81 households it was a relatively easy task to complete a 100% survey of the community. Each household was visited for data (and to establish links).

To further highlight areas of interest, oral interviews were conducted with a number of community residents on a number of issues ranging from school life to the exorbitant price of goods in the local shop.

	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
<u>COMMERCE AND REPAIRS</u>			
MECHANIC	2		2
MECHANIC'S ASSISTANT	2		2
SHOP ASSISTANT		1	1
T.V. REPAIRMAN	1		1
TOTAL	5	1	6
<u>INSURANCE</u>			
INSURANCE SALESPERSON	1		1
TOTAL	1		1
TEACHERS	2	5	7
DOMINEE	1		1
DOMESTIC SERVANTS		4	4
FRIEMERSHEIM SPEELGROEP		2	2
TOTAL	3	11	14
<u>GENERAL GOVERNMENT</u>			
GREAT BRAK RIVER MUNICIPALITY	1		1
FRIEMERSHEIM MANAGEMENT BOARD		1	1
FRIEMERSHEIM LAERSKOOL	1		1
TOTAL	2	1	3

	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
STATE EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMME			27
ODD JOBS			
LOCAL FARMERS			2

APPENDIX III

Breakdown of employees according to employment sector

<u>EMPLOYERS</u>	TOTAL
FRIEMERSHEIM	6
WATSONS SHOE FACTORY	21
DEON VISAGIE	12
VAN DER WALT BUILDING CONTRACTORS	2
MIDLANDIA	5
BOLTONS TIMBER HOUSE	7
SUIDKAAP HOUDHUISE	2
SERFONTEIN BUILDERS	5
BYJOINERY	1
DE BAKKE GARAGE	2
TOYOTA GARAGE	1
SEARLES GARAGE	2
STATE FORESTRY	3
HICKSON TIMBER	1
SEARLES FORESTRY	3
NATIONWIDE T.V.	1
METROPOLITAN LIFE	1
FRIEMERSHEIM GROCERY STORE	1
FRIEMERSHEIM MANAGEMENT BOARD	1
NG SENDING KERK FRIEMERSHEIM	1
SPEELGROEP	2
DEEP FREEZE	1
WORK CREATION PROGRAMME	26

	TOTAL
GREAT BRAK RIVER MUNICIPALITY	1
MOSSEL BAY MUNICIPALITY	1

APPENDIX IV

(1.1) POPULATION GROUP	PROPORTION 1986	PERCENTAGE	(1.2) HOUSING SHORTAGE	(1.3) HOUSES BUILT 1986
AFRICAN	* 1.19051500 2.24901139	68.7% 74.1%	221 572	9 213
ASIAN	1.861 300 2.881 300	3,1% 2.6%	44 000	2743
COLOURED	1.2862200 2.2881362	10.3% 8.6%	80 000	11 539
WHITE	1.4947100 2.4961062	17.9% 14.7%	16 000	3 887
TOTAL	1.27722100 2.33621863	100%		

(1.1) POPULATION GROUP	(1.4) AVE. MONTHLY INCOME 1984	(1.5) HOUSEHOLD INCOME 1984	(1.6) ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE 1985
AFRICAN	R 323	R 352	6 308 000
ASIAN	R 693	R 1109	298 000
COLOURED	R 494	R 680	1 042 000
WHITE	R 1 403	R 1 958	2 110 000

(1.1) POPULATION GROUP	(1.7) UNEMPLOYED 31.8.1985	(1.8) TOTAL EDUCATION EXP.1985 /1986	PER CAPITA EXP 1985 / 1986
AFRICAN	52 984	1.917 486 000 2.14 15761 133	R 227 . 29
ASIAN	9 744	323 986 000	R 1 112 . 00
COLOURED	29 315	724 065 000	R 639 . 00
WHITE	28 068	2 973 697 000	R 1 702 . 00

PTO.

(1.1) POPULATION GROUP	(1.2) HOSPITAL BEDS	(1.10) WELFARE BUDGETS 1983 / 1984	(1.11) CHILD WELFARE BUDGETS 1984
AFRICAN	337.4-1	R 241 227 000	R 7 031 000
ASIAN	504.8-1	R 81 460 000	R 28 817 000
COLOURED	346 -1	R 303 427 000	R 96 082 000
WHITE	61.3-1	R 529 244 000	R 78 984 000

(1.1) POPULATION GROUP	(1.12) FOSTER CARE GRANTS 1984	(1.13) BUDGET FOR THE AGED 1984	(1.14) PENSION PAYMENTS PER MONTH
AFRICAN	R 40 / mth	R 155 842 000	R 65
ASIAN	R 77 / mth	R 25 325 000	R 103
COLOURED	R 77 / mth	R 118 935 000	R 103
WHITE	R 114 / mth	R 362 914 000	R 166

TABLE 1.1 DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES IN SOUTH AFRICA

FOOTNOTES

- * 1 exc. so called indep homelands
- * 2 inc so called indep homelands
- 1. Race relations survey 1986 pt 1 Research Staff SAIRR 1987.
 - 1.1 pp 1+2
 - 1.2 pp358 + 360
 - 1.3 p363
 - 1.4 Race Relations Survey 1986 pt 1 ibid p131
 - 1.5 ibid
 - 1.6 ibid p133
 - 1.7 ibid p134
 - 1.8 ibid p367 1.education in white designated areas
2.education in white designated areas + homelands
 - 1.9 Race Relations Survey 1985 ibid p716
 - 1.10 ibid p728
 - 1.11 ibid p729
 - 1.12 ibid p730
 - 1.13 ibid p730
 - 1.14 ibid p732