Towards the development of an appropriate Organisational Development approach for optimising the Capacity Building of CommunityBased Organisations (CBOs): A case study of 3 CBOs in the Western Cape.

By

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Declaration

By submitting this dissertation electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the owner of the copyright thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

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Abstract

The aim of the study is to develop an appropriate Organisational Development (OD) approach to optimise the capacity of Community-Based Organisations (CBOs) and promote Community and Civil Society Development. The following research question is examined:
In what ways can OD be a suitable approach to build the capacity of CBOs and thus have an impact on Community and Civil Society Development?

The study is motivated by current development challenges in South Africa[1] and the role civil society can play to represent citizens' interests in relation to state and market[2]. As part of civil society, CBOs are generally recognised as pivotal stakeholders in the South African development context[3], but are in reality marginalised and unable to assert themselves in the development sector.
Furthermore Development Theory shows that theorists have in the recent past increasingly advocated for 'democratisation of development', enabling previously marginalised people to participate in development processes and therefore gain power over these. Although not widely practised reality yet, 'People centred' and 'Participatory development' as bottom-up and endogenous versions of development are being promoted as sustainable development paradigms. They emphasise the importance of building capacity of civil-society organisations[4].

OD as an approach to development and capacity building collaborates with the goals of a people centred development and the strengthening of civil society organisations, and is "in line with several participative approaches to development"[5]. It is, however, relevant to cultivate a "new development practitioner", who is competent to facilitate capacity-building processes, which will meaningfully impact at the grassroots level[6].

The study is guided by a postmodern philosophy and stems from a phenomenological as well as transformative approach by applying a Goethean phenomenology, Action Research, Grounded Theory, Complexity Theory and various qualitative research methodologies, such as case study work with three CBOs; and semi-structured interviews with CBOs, community leaders, OD practitioners and academics. Furthermore the research includes a sociological examination of the current development context and paradigms, and their impact in post Apartheid South Africa. During the research, findings were engaged with by a discussion forum.
The research findings included the discussion of themes, which emerged through the Grounded Theory approach:

* CBO capacity, by examining how capacity is interpreted at a CBO level in relation to inherent capacities;
* Leadership, and the role of pioneer leaders in CBOs; and
* Relationships, within CBOs as well as with their broader environment.

These themes were understood as relevant when aiming to develop CBO capacity as well as engaging with the broader capacity development sector. Further, principles and approaches for OD at a CBO level are proposed, which are ultimately related through their view of organisations as complex social systems, their emphasis on learning, and the critical examination of power asymmetries.
It is intended that this study contributes to development practice concerning CBO development within and beyond South Africa. Ultimately the study aims to influence current development paradigms and contribute to an enabling development context and the building of a strong and proactive civil society.

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[1] Donk & Pieterse 2004: 38-51
[2] Clark 2003: 95
[3] African National Congress 2000: 131; Ministry for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development 1998: 22
[4] Brews 1994:7; Rahnema 1990: 201 in Babbie & Mouton 2001: 65; Kaplan, 1996: 61; CDRA 1998/9: 3; Schuurman 1992, cited in Eade 1997: 13
[5] James 1998: 16
[6] Kaplan, 1996: 63-64

Opsomming

Die doel met die studie is om 'n geskikte benadering tot Organisatoriese Ontwikkeling (OO) te ontwikkel ten einde die kapasiteit van Gemeenskapsgebaseerde Organisasies (GBO's) te optimaliseer en die ontwikkeling van die gemeenskap en die burgerlike samelewing te bevorder. Die volgende navorsingsvraag word ondersoek:
Op watter maniere kan OO 'n geskikte benadering bied om die kapasiteit van GBO's te bou en sodoende 'n impak op die gemeenskap en die burgerlike samelewing uit te oefen?

Die studie word gemotiveer deur huidige ontwikkelingsuitdagings in Suid-Afrika[7] en die rol wat die burgerlike samelewing kan speel om die belange van die burgers met betrekking tot die staat en die mark[8]. te verteenwoordig. As deel van die burgerlike samelewing word GBO's algemeen as van die vernaamste belanghebbers in die Suid-Afrikaanse ontwikkelingskonteks[9] beskou, maar in werklikheid word hulle gemarginaliseer en is hulle nie in staat om hulle in die ontwikkelingsektor te laat geld nie.

Voorts toon Ontwikkelingsteorie dat teoretici in die verlede toenemend gepleit het vir 'n "demokratisering van ontwikkeling" waardeur voorheen benadeelde mense in staat gestel sou word om aan die ontwikkelingsprosesse deel te neem, en daardeur mag oor hierdie prosesse te bekom. Alhoewel dit nog nie in die werklikheid wyd toegepas word nie, word "mens-gesentreerde" en "deelnemende" ontwikkeling as onder-na-bo en endogene weergawes van ontwikkeling as volhoubare ontwikkelingsparadigmas bevorder. Hulle beklemtoon hoe belangrik dit is om die kapasiteit van organisasies in die burgerlike samelewing te bou[10].

OO as 'n benadering tot ontwikkeling en kapasiteitbou werk saam met die doelwitte van 'n mensgesentreerde ontwikkeling en die verstewiging van organisasies in die burgerlike samelewing, en is "in lyn met etlike deelnemende benaderings tot ontwikkeling"[11]. Dit is egter relevant om 'n "nuwe ontwikkelingspraktisyn" te kweek wat bekwaam is om kapasiteitbouprosesse te fasiliteer wat 'n beduidende uitwerking op die voetsoolvlak sal hê[12].

Die studie word deur 'n postmoderne filosofie gerig en spruit voort uit 'n fenomenologiese sowel as 'n transformatiewe benadering, deur 'n Goetheaanse fenomenologie, Aksienavorsing, Gegrondheidsteorie, Kompleksiteitsteorie en verskeie kwalitatiewe navorsingsmetodologieë toe te pas soos gevallestudiewerk met drie GGO's, en semi-gestruktureerde onderhoude met GGO's, gemeenskapsleiers en akademici. Voorts sluit die navorsing 'n sosiologiese ondersoek in van die huidige ontwikkelingskonteks en paradigmas, en die impak daarvan op post-apartheid Suid-Afrika. Tydens die navorsing is daar by wyse van 'n besprekingsforum met die bevindinge omgegaan.

Die navorsingsbevindinge het die bespreking van temas ingesluit wat deur die Gegrondheidsteoriebenadering na vore gekom het:
GGO-kapasiteit, deur na te gaan hoedat kapasiteit op die GGO-vlak geïnterpreteer word in verhouding met inherente kapasiteite;
Leierskap en die rol van baanbrekerleiers in GGO's; en
Verhoudinge, binne GGO's sowel as met hul breër omgewing.

Hierdie temas is as relevant beskou waar gepoog was om GGO-kapasiteit te bou, sowel as wanneer daar met die breër kapasiteitontwikkelingsektor omgegaan is. Verder word daar vir OO op die GGO-vlak beginsels en benaderings voorgestel wat in die laaste instansie met

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[7] Donk & Pieterse 2004: 38-51
[8] Clark 2003: 95
[9] African National Congress 2000: 131; Ministry for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development 1998: 22
[10] Brews 1994:7; Rahnema 1990: 201 in Babbie & Mouton 2001: 65; Kaplan, 1996: 61; CDRA 1998/9: 3; Schuurman 1992, cited in Eade 1997: 13
[11] James 1998: 16
[12] Kaplan, 1996: 63-64

mekaar verband hou deurdat hulle almal organisasies as komplekse sosiale stelsels beskou, klem lê op leer, en magsongelykhede krities ondersoek.

Die bedoeling is dat hierdie studie 'n bydrae sal maak tot die ontwikkelingspraktyk met betrekking tot die GGO-ontwikkeling binne sowel as buite Suid-Afrika. In die laaste instansie beoog die studie om huidige ontwikkelingsparadigmas te beïnvloed en by te dra tot 'n ontwikkelingskonteks waardeur mense bekwaam gemaak sal word, en tot die bou van 'n sterk en pro-aktiewe burgerlike samelewing.

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Table of contents

Illustrations

List of Acronyms

AEC	Anti Eviction Campaign
AGM	Annual General Meeting
AI	Appreciative Inquiry
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
AR	Action Research
AsgiSA	Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa
BLA	Breadline Africa
CBOs	Community-based organisations
CDRA	Community Development Resource Association
CoP	Communities of Practice
CWD	Catholic Welfare and Development
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution Programme
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INTRAC	International NGO Training and Research Centre (based in Oxford)
LCLA	Leadership for Collective Learning and Action (training course)
NDA	National Development Agency
NGOs	Non-governmental organisations
NPOs	Non-profit organisations
OD	Organisational Development
Olive OD&T	Olive Organisational Development and Training
PNP	Pypke Nehrke Partner (German based consulting company)
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
TAC	Treatment Action Campaign
UCT	University of Cape Town
UK	United Kingdom
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
US	United States
WC NACOSA	Western Cape Networking AIDS Community of South Africa

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"My eyes already touch the sunny hill,
Going far ahead of the road I have begun.
So we are grasped by what we cannot grasp;
It has inner light, even from a distance…
And changes us, even if we do not reach it,
Into something else, which, hardly sensing it,
We already are;
A gesture waves us on, answering our own wave…
But what we feel is the wind in our faces."

Rainer Maria Rilke, A Walk (cited in Nicoll 1999: 9-10)

1 Introduction

1.1 Background

Community-based Organisations (CBOs), community development, participatory development and similar terms have been in use since at least the early 1980s, and are gaining relevance in today's development sector – globally as well as at a South African level (Brews 1994: 7; Rahnema 1990: 201 in Babbie & Mouton 2001: 65; Kolybashkina, 2005: 5; Monaheng 2000: 129; Wright-Revolledo 2007: 6).

An understanding that development cannot be implemented by outsiders, and that the social capital of people at ground level needs to be tapped and enhanced is increasingly informing development theory, even if the principles do not always translate into applied practice (Fowler 2000a: 1; Schuurman cited in Eade 1997: 13; Escobar cited in Eade, 1997: 13). Critics see this approach as a way of depoliticising development by co-opting grassroots development organisations into a national or global agenda (Kolybashkina 2005: 1; Harriss 2002: 12).

The general assumptions that guide this research are as follows: First of all, social development cannot be done for others or direct them as passive subjects (CDRA 1998/9: 3). This means questioning the usefulness of conventional development projects planned and implemented by outside 'experts'. Secondly, in a context such as South Africa, where a history of colonisation and racial oppression has left the majority of the population disenfranchised, a patronising approach that assumes to know what people need, or attempts at 'bringing' development to the people, would rather worsen the situation than remedy it.

The role of a people-centred approach therefore remains crucial to any developmental initiative (ibid; Kaplan, 1996, 61). However, for this to be authentic CBOs have a key role to play. They are agencies already active in development or rights-based work and articulate voices of the people who are targeted by development interventions (Swilling & Russell 2002: 21; 85).

In reality, while CBOs are central to community development initiatives, they are still at the margins of the development sector and seldom receive the recognition or support they may need in order to more effectively contribute to their communities (Galvin 2005: 7-8). Being at the periphery of society in townships or rural areas, and often made up of people with little formal education, they have not been accepted as equal partners in the development sector, and remain marginalised or at best become the cheap implementation agencies of donors or NGO 'partners'. Power asymmetries - particularly through the power of financial resources - keep CBOs at the bottom of the aid chain, where a genuine people-centred development becomes a farce (Taylor 2000:1; Swilling 2006: 9; Fukuda-Parr 2002: 10-11; Yachkaschi 2006: 1-2).

This PhD research has engaged with the question of how CBOs, who should be (and in theory are) at the centre of development efforts, could be strengthened in order to fill their rightful place in the development process. It is built on the assumption that the development of organisational capacity may be crucial in order to reach that aim (Kaplan, 1996, 61). While there are many capacity development initiatives available for CBOs, a process oriented approach at organisational level has not been widely practised. Instead capacity development for CBOs tends to be about largely short-term training for individuals offered in various fields by different NGOs and donors. This study draws from the experience of a different approach, namely the implementation of an Organisational Development (OD) methodology within three case CBOs, and numerous others as part of the researcher's work at Community Connections in Philippi, Cape Town.

The aim of the research was to analyse the current context and situation CBOs find themselves in, in order to evaluate whether and in which way OD can provide a suitable approach to building the capacity of CBOs towards becoming independent and sustainable organisations, and thus be a vehicle for (re-)creating strong civil society organisations who can actively participate in the development of their communities and be seen as valuable partners in the development sector.

The research set out to develop an OD approach through Action Research (see section 3.4), which would facilitate the development of CBOs for the above mentioned aims. In the course of the study, the researcher developed a different understanding of CBO capacity. She subsequently understood that one cannot simply develop an OD approach towards an assumed common definition of organisational capacity, but needs to understand the organisations and their context at a deeper level. The 'seeing' of CBOs in a Goethean sense (see section 3.3) enabled the researcher to appreciate existing CBO-capacities; as well as understand that many capacity development goals formulated in the development sector may in fact undermine local capacities. Such goals were influenced by the nature of power relationships in the development sector, as well as assumptions about what a capacitated organisation should look like, which was derived from more formal organisations.

The OD approach as it emerged therefore became a critique of instrumentalism, and conscientised about the inherent capacities of CBOs in their context. The 'seeing' and understanding of CBOs became more important than the 'doing', i.e. the application of the OD approach. In this way, the researcher was herself changed through the process, where the approach as described in chapter 10 became an emergent property in the complex system she had become part of (Cilliers 2000: 24). Knowledge developed "in the process of living, in the voices of ordinary people in conversation" through "sensitivity and attunement in the moment of relationship" (Reason & Bradbury 2001: 9).

1.2 Research question

The research is based on the following propositions, which lead to the research questions to follow:

1. CBOs are embedded in networks and patterns of localised social relations, and therefore can promote the development of their local communities. This can also enhance the levels of self-determination of such communities towards external decision-makers, such as local government and development agencies.

2. OD as a particular development approach proposes to be a dynamic process, influenced and shaped by the needs and the context, and can be flexible in its methodology.

3. With increased organisational capacity, CBOs are more likely to become proactive civil society organisations that enhance the development of their communities and the implementation of democratic principles.

Research Questions:

1. Since CBOs know the needs of their own communities, are they the most appropriate institutions to work developmentally in those communities (in equal partnership with government, NGOs and other institutions)?

2. Can OD be adapted to become a suitable 'grassroots'-development practice, and respond to the development needs of CBOs in an emancipatory way?

3. Will CBOs see the need to build internal capacity, and thus be interested in and open for capacity-building support from an outside facilitator/organisation?

4. Due to their financial constraints, most CBOs require the OD provider or donors to fund the intervention. In what ways can this impact on the nature of the power relationship? Therefore, what kind of sensibility and type of OD approach is required of the OD facilitator and/or external donor, so that the OD process can still be directed by the CBO itself?

Main research question:

In what ways can OD be a suitable approach to build the capacity of CBOs and thus have an impact on Community and Civil Society Development?

The questions listed above guided the structure of the research and thesis, as they lead to various strands of theories and literature as summarised below. Nonetheless, the questions are understood in a pragmatic sense, by helping the researcher to enter the dynamics of CBOs in their development context. The research itself shifted over time through the deeper engagement with CBOs, where the answering of the questions became secondary to the 'seeing' of CBOs as complex systems in relationship to larger systems, such as their communities and the development sector.

The study was conducted between 2004 and 2007, applying a grounded theory approach. It is guided by a postmodern philosophy, applying Complexity Theory as the framing theory. Complexity Theory was chosen as the frame of the study, as it enables a more systemic understanding of CBOs within their context. Further, Complexity Theory relates to various approaches of OD, which over time became part of the applied Action Research approach. Similarly, a complexity understanding guided the analysis of the resulting themes from the grounded theory approach, such as leadership and relationships. In this way, complexity theory in a postmodern sense filtered through and helped interconnect the various strands of theories and approaches applied in this research.

In addition, an understanding of complexity became part of the researcher's lived experience as she engaged with CBOs through the Action Research approach, which included a deeper reflection on CBOs, the OD approach applied, and her own role and responsibility as part of the organisational system she was intervening into (see chapters 5-8).

The study further stems from a phenomenological as well as transformative approach by applying a Goethean phenomenology, Action Research and Grounded Theory. Foucault's power theory was chosen to describe power asymmetries in the development sector, advocating for the need of a people-centred, developmental approach to organisational capacity development. The research also applied various qualitative research methodologies, such as case study work with 3 CBOs; and semi-structured interviews with CBOs, community leaders, OD practitioners and academics. Furthermore the research includes a sociological examination of the current development context and paradigms, and their impact in post-apartheid South Africa. During the research, a discussion forum was constituted to engage with the interpretations of the findings.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

Chapter 2 will provide a literature review, including complexity theory, development paradigms, community-, capacity- and organisational development, leadership and Foucault's power theory. It aims to provide a theoretical framework for the chapters to come, and informs the discussion and conclusion in chapters 9 and 10.

Chapter 3 introduces the research methodology, by describing different strands of theory that have informed a reflexive approach. Those include postmodernism, Goethe's delicate empiricism, grounded theory and action research. Finally, the chapter outlines the OD procedure implemented with the case study CBOs, as well as delimitations and ethical considerations.

Chapter 4 provides a contextual background, by introducing the South African development context and the different actors, such as the state, market, civil society and in particular CBOs; and relationships between those. Interviewees' views are included in the chapter. Furthermore, an overview is given of 13 CBOs the researcher has worked with from 2004-2006, as well as interviews conducted, providing some trends and patterns observed.

Chapter 5 describes the three case study CBOs, their coming into being, as well as the background of their leaders. The chapter also includes a description of Community Connections, where the researcher was employed during the time of the research.

Chapters 6-8 provide a detailed account of the OD processes applied with each CBO over 1½ to 2½ years respectively, leading to reflections on each process. It includes process descriptions, evaluations and feedback from the CBOs, and the researcher's journal entries reflecting on each intervention.

The observations and reflections from chapters 5-8 lead to the discussion and conclusion chapters, where findings are discussed against current literature as well as comments from interviewees.

Chapter 9 discusses three themes identified through the grounded theory approach: CBO-capacity, leadership and relationships.

Chapter 10 goes back to the research questions, and provides useful principles and approaches when applying OD with CBOs.

Ultimately, it is hoped that the study will contribute to good development practice in the South African context by making the findings available in the development sector, mainly to organisations and institutions working in the fields of civil society, (community) development and organisational development.

Due to the emancipatory approach the study also aimed at enabling organisational capacity building of those CBOs who participated in the research as case studies.

The language in this research alternates both the male and female form in the third person in case of general descriptions.

Photographs at the opening of each chapter were kindly provided by Community Connections. They are randomly selected from Connections' CBO work in order to give an impression of the people and CBOs Connections engaged with during the research period. They do not aim to present specific CBOs, and therefore are not titled.

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"There may be a difference between seeing and seeing … for one otherwise risks seeing and yet seeing past a thing."

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (cited in Kaplan 2002: 1)

2 Theoretical framework of the research

This study is guided by a grounded theory approach, where the main themes of discussion are derived from the empirical material and not pre-determined through an overarching theory (see chapter 3.2). The following theories and background information presented in this chapter therefore serve as guiding frameworks and literature review of various themes relevant to this research.

Chapter 2.1 opens with complexity theory as the guiding theory of the research, which connects various levels of inquiry. Chapter 2.2 will explore development paradigms over time; and lead into 2.3 examining community development. Chapter 2.4 will then engage with capacity development as a developmental goal, particularly in relation to organisational capacity. This will in turn lead into chapter 2.5 which provides a more in-depth background and definition of organisational development (OD) – the central theme of this research. In line with the grounded theory methodology, further themes for discussion emerged during the course of the study. In order to contextualise those themes at a theory level, a literature review was also included. Hence, chapter 2.6 engages with the theme of leadership, and chapter 2.7 with power. Chapter 9 will draw on above mentioned theories to discuss a) CBO capacity; b) leadership; and c) relationships. Chapter 10 will relate back to OD theory, and explore its application as an approach with CBOs.

2.1 Complexity theory

The course of this research strongly led towards including complexity theory as a conceptual framework for making sense of CBOs as complex systems, interconnected with their community as well as with the broader development context. As complexity is applied in the understanding of CBOs within their context, as well as in the analysis of OD and leadership, an exploration of complexity will also be included in further chapters (2.5 and 2.6). In the following section, complexity theory will be elaborated to contextualise it as a guiding paradigm in this research. The section is however short, as the theory is also integrated in further chapters.

2.1.1 Characteristics of complex systems

Complexity theory can be applied in the understanding of any complex system, such as society or the development sector. Rihani (2002: 5-7) suggests that a paradigm shift to complexity in development theory and practice would be useful, because this would make it possible to see development as a complex adaptive system with properties such as emergence, non-linearity and uncertainty. He points out that the modernist paradigm influenced by Hobbes, Descartes and Newton, and taken into development theory by Rostow (1960; see 2.2.1), promotes a linear logic and determinism which has led to disappointing development outcomes all over the world (ibid: 1-4).

Linked to a perspective of evolution and sustainable development, Swilling (2002: 17) suggests that people should "experiment with the language of complexity theory", looking for "patterns rather than parts, probabilities rather than predictions, processes rather than structures, and non-linear dynamics instead of deterministic causalities" in order to reach an "epistemology that treasures uncertainty and therefore reinforces a sense of humility."

The development of complexity theory is linked to chaos theory and systems theory (and in a broader sense to new sciences like quantum physics), but its definitions vary. For the purposes of this study, the description provided by Paul Cilliers will be used, which links complexity to postmodernism (Cilliers 1998: 112-113; see also chapter 3.1).

Cilliers (2000: 24) describes the following characteristics of complex systems, which he explains as a "general, low-level description", rather than a universal definition:

1. "Complex systems consist of a large number of elements that in themselves can be simple.
2. The elements interact dynamically by exchanging energy or information. These interactions are rich. Even if specific elements only interact with a few others, the effects of these interactions are propagated throughout the system. The interactions are non-linear.
3. There are many direct and indirect feedback loops.
4. Complex systems are open systems – they exchange energy or information with their environment – and operate at conditions far from equilibrium.
5. Complex systems have memory, not located at a specific place, but distributed throughout the system. Any complex system thus has a history, and the history is of cardinal importance to the behaviour of the system.
6. The behaviour of the system is determined by the nature of the interactions, not by what is contained within the components. Since the interactions are rich, dynamic, fed back, and above all, non-linear, the behaviour of the system as a whole cannot be predicted from an inspection of its components. The notion of 'emergence' is used to describe this aspect. The presence of emergent properties does not provide an argument against causality, only against deterministic forms of prediction.
7. Complex systems are adaptive. They can (re)organise their internal structure without the intervention of an external agent."

These characteristics were applied in this research to understand CBOs as complex systems; as well as their interconnectedness within larger systems, such as the community, development sector or country. However, it needs to be understood that complexity theory was used in order to explain a particular view of organisations as complex systems within their context, and in order to justify OD approaches and methods chosen. The theory is however not used in a way that it would steer the analysis in a particular direction in line with the theory. Instead, a grounded theory approach was applied, where themes were derived from the empirical findings (see chapter 3). To analyse those findings, other theories were drawn upon next to complexity.

The following chapters will vary in their engagement with complexity theory, although they are fundamentally guided by a complexity understanding. Chapters 2.5 and 2.6 will provide further depth to the theory, by examining complexity in relation to organisations and leadership. The analysis in chapters 9 and 10 is mainly guided by a postmodern understanding to complexity, including the examination of power asymmetries using Foucault's power theory (see 2.7). The following chapter will provide the historical background to the study, by exploring various development paradigms over time.

2.2 Development paradigms

2.2.1 Historical background

Over time, development paradigms have evolved and carried different meanings, depending on the historical context and goals that were meant to be achieved. Models of industrial progress in the 19th century, Victorian anthropology, imperialist evolutionism and race science formed the basis of colonial economics and modern development economics (Nederveen Pieterse 2001: 5; 19). "In the discourses of history produced by Western hegemony, knowledge and power are intricately interwoven" (ibid: 18). Nineteenth century social science was fundamentally based on Enlightenment theories of social evolution through stages from primitivism to civilisation, describing "Europe's Great Transition" and hence providing a Eurocentric perspective of development towards modernity, and justification for imperial management (ibid: 19).

In the 1950s at the time of decolonisation, development thinking in the West was practically oriented and aimed at immediate action in the ex-colonies, who were at stake in the cold war (Leys 1996: 5). Modernisation theory, which was influenced by American development

economists in institutions such as the US Agency for International Development (USAID) and the World Bank, aimed at the transition from traditional to modern or 'western' forms of social organisation (Leys 1996:9). It emphasised macro-economic and bureaucratic strategies, where development was defined as a linear, straightforward progression of social adaptation. The theory drew mainly on the explanations of industrialisation of Durkheim and Weber (Webster, 1990: 55-65). "What Victorian anthropology was to the British Empire, modernisation is to United States hegemony – its justification, rationale and agenda" (Nederveen Pieterse 2001: 20). Similarly to the Eurocentric approach of the colonialists, modernisation was based on Western, mainly American knowledge, ideologies and interests. "This entire approach to economic development and cultural change attributes a history to the developed countries but denies all history to the underdeveloped ones" (Frank 1969: 40, cited in Nederveen Pieterse 2001: 21).

The economic historian W.W. Rostow is named as one of the best-known modernisation theorists. In 1960 he developed "The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist manifesto", which defined economic development as the passing of a society through five evolutionary stages (Haines 2000: 33-34):
1. Traditional stage (simple technology, agrarian form of production, hierarchical social structures, clans/extended family relationships),
2. Preconditions for take-off (findings of modern science are applied to agricultural production; intervention by more advanced societies),
3. Take-off (rise and expansion of new industries; reinvestment, sustained growth),
4. Drive to maturity (after approx. six decades, broaden the base, use more advanced technology),
5. Age of mass consumption (consumer goods and services well beyond basic needs).

The Washington-based Bretton Woods Institutions, namely the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, were set up by 43 countries after the Second World War to rebuild the post-war economies and promote international economic cooperation. They began playing a role in regulating trade and monetary policies and lending money to impoverished countries emerging out of colonisation. The loan conditionalities of the IMF were based on what is termed the 'Washington Consensus', with a focus on trade and financial liberalisation, deregulation and privatisation, disregarding the state's authority over its own economy, and often worsening the situation for the majority of the poor population. Many infrastructural development projects by the World Bank were criticised for their negative social and environmental impacts. The Bretton Woods Institutions have strongly shaped the development discourse over time from a Western perspective, and their views and prescriptions have undermined alternative approaches on development (Bretton Woods Project 2007).

The "ahistorical, unself-critical and politically partisan nature" of modernisation theory was questioned by critics from the left in the 1960s and 1970s, mainly due to disappointments with the results in Latin America and India (Leys 1996:7). Frank (1967) played a leading part in formulating the 'Dependency Theory' in the 1960s, based on concepts of dependency and underdevelopment (Leys 1996: 11-13) and the nineteenth-century theories of Marx, who regarded inequalities of power and class conflict as important factors influencing social change and development (Webster 1990: 65). In dependency theory, development was also understood as economic growth, but in the sense of national, autocentric development (Nederveen Pieterse 2001: 6).

Nkrumah[13] examined the concept of neo-colonialism as a tool for socio-economic domination from the outside: "The essence of neo-colonialism is that the state which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its internal policy is directed from the outside" (1965, cited in Webster 1990:79).

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[13] Nkrumah was Ghanaian President in the early 1960s. His socialist policies were attacked by capitalist opposition in the country supported by foreign agencies, which led a military coup in 1966.

Modernisation theory lost its appeal in the 1960s and 70s due to the waning of United States hegemony, criticism of functionalism, the Vietnam War and upheavals in 1968. The term shifted towards 'development', which mainly entailed an economic and ethnocentric concept, but had lost the social change formulations of modernisation theory (Nederveen Pieterse 2001: 23-24).

Nonetheless, developmentalism has been heavily criticised since the late 1980s by scholars and activists such as Samir Amin (1997), Paolo Freire (1972), Mahmood Mamdani (1996) and Amartya Sen (1999), who argued that the Western model of development was "intrinsically unsustainable and undesirable" (Eade 1997: 12). The modernist development paradigm and belief in progress were in crisis, linked to a failure of development efforts, and an understanding of ecological limits to growth. In the South, increasing resistance rose against Western global politics and ethnocentrism, such as the conditionalities of the IMF and resulting Third World debt. Based on Western experiences, development theorists had constructed a universalist "ahistorical model of change which created a 'Third World'" (Nederveen Pieterse 2001: 27). Amin (1989: 152, cited in Nederveen Pieterse 2001: 31) called the "fin-de-siècle dilemma" the choice of "socialist universalism or Eurocentric capitalist barbarism."

The epistemology of Enlightenment, modernism and positivism were questioned, and a postmodern discourse emerged, emphasising "ambiguity, indeterminacy, irreverence and deconstruction" (Nederveen Pieterse 2001: 31-32; see also chapter 3.1). Nederveen Pieterse (2001: 32) points out that postmodernism is mainly based on a Western framework, and that in order to deconstruct "Western developmentalism", which reflects the ethos of Western history and culture, a "deconstruction of the West" is necessary. He however emphasises that "the deconstruction of development is the prerequisite for its reconstruction", which needs to entail polycentric reconstructions, taking into account the contexts and circumstances of the different countries (ibid: 33).

2.2.2 Alternative development concepts

In the 1980s alternative approaches emerged, such as environmentalism, influenced by Meadows (et al 1972), raising questions about whether growth could happen indefinitely. The term "sustainable development" became popular through the 1987 "Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development" and became the overarching notion of the 1992 Earth Summit and the Agenda 21 treaty. Economic growth was to be balanced with social justice and ecological health on a global level, while meeting the development needs of the present should not compromise the needs of future generations (Haines 2000: 50-51).

Alternative development aimed at redefining the goals and practises of development. The principles generally include development "from below", which both refers to community development and to civil society organisations, as well as to "citizen politics". Over time, alternative development has been associated with any criticism of mainstream developmentalism, such as "anti-capitalism, Green thinking, feminism, ecofeminism, democratization, new social movements, Buddhist economics, cultural critiques, and poststructuralist analysis of development discourse" (Nederveen Pieterse 2001: 75). The democratisation of development became a key term in alternative development, which aimed at enabling previously marginalised people to participate in development processes and therefore gain power over these (Brews 1994: 7). "Participatory development promised a new, popular, bottom-up, and endogenous version of development, free from its 'colonial and techno-economist shackles'" (Rahnema 1990: 201 in Babbie & Mouton 2001: 65).

Instead of growth, the aim of alternative development is concerned with social transformation, and more specifically institutional transformation (ibid: 82) towards justice, inclusiveness and sustainability (Korten 1990, cited in ibid). However, Nederveen Pieterse (2001: 74) points out that "alternative development has failed to develop a clear perspective on micro-macro relations, an alternative macro approach, and a coherent theoretical

position." Alternative development has, according to Nederveen Pieterse (2001: 92-93), not resulted in a clearly defined paradigm. This, he concludes, may also not be desirable since it emphasises endogenous, local knowledge and practises, which cannot be generalised for the whole developing world. "If conventional developmentalism (growth, modernization, neoclassical economics) is no longer acceptable because of its linear logic and universalist pretension, why should an alternative paradigm hold?" (ibid: 93).

Much of the alternative approach has been widely accepted and absorbed in the mainstream development discourse, such as the "human development paradigm". Human development in the mid 1980s shifted the focus of development away from economic growth towards human needs and capacitation (Nederveen Pieterse 2001: 6). The human development paradigm was based on two schools of thought, namely a "basic needs" approach promoted by Mahbub ul Haq and Paul Streeten in the 1970s, and a "quality of life" approach by Amartya Sen, with the notions of capabilities, functionings, endowments and entitlements. The resulting human development approach was adopted by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), which has published annual Human Development Reports since 1990, with a focus on "poverty, inequality, and the outcomes of social and economic development" (Wise 2001: 48-49). Based on Sen's approach, the UNDP defined human development as a "process of enlarging people's choices", with three essential levels of development as the ability to lead a long and healthy life, acquire knowledge and have access to resources for a decent standard of living. The Human Development Index (HDI) was constructed to reflect these capabilities. The human notion of the HDI stood as a contrast to growth theories that equated development to the size of the economy, by measuring the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita (ibid: 49).

Social integration or exclusion was another concept to refine the human development paradigm in 1995, by recognising the exclusionary impacts of globalisation and economic change on many people (Wise 2001: 53).

In 1997, the Human Poverty Index (HPI) was added to gauge degrees of deprivation through measuring the percentages of survival beyond the age of 40, adult illiteracy, malnourished children under five as well as access to health services and safe water (ibid: 51). The Gender Development Index and Freedom Development Index were also added in 1997 (UNDP 1997, in Nederveen Pieterse 2001: 153).

Gender awareness was mainstreamed in development in the 1990s, although Razavi (2001: 68) pointed out that studies on women and poverty were often inadequate and fraught with misconceptions, with household surveys being "narrow, unreliable and noncomparable". She points out that "generalisations have tended to replace contextualised social analyses of how poverty is created and reproduced" (ibid: 68), and calls for a "much more complex analysis (ibid: 70). She further criticised the World Bank's approach of "reducing women's work burdens to enable them to work more", therefore aiming to "extract work from the poor" (ibid: 71).

Other alternative approaches include Robert Chambers' concept of "sustainable livelihoods", which emphasises that poor people are the starting point and critical actors of their own short-term needs and long-term security, who need adequate, secure and sustainable livelihoods; biologically, economically and in terms of social organisation. Central to achieving this is poor people's access to and ownership over resources, rights and livelihoods (Chambers 2001: 61-64).

Friedmann (1992: 33) equals poverty to disempowerment and marginalisation, and hence proposes an empowerment approach at a household level, including social, political and psychological power. "Broadly speaking, the objective of an alternative development is to humanize a system that has shut them out, and to accomplish this through forms of everyday resistance and political struggle that insists on the rights of the excluded population as human beings, as citizens, and as persons intent on realizing their loving and creative powers within" (ibid: 13).

The concept of "social capital" was popularised by Robert Putnam (2000), describing the interactions and organisations of economic and social actors, also including civic associations. Social capital "refers to the collective value of all 'social networks' and the inclinations that arise from these networks to do things for each other", hence forming a key component to building and maintaining democracy (ibid). The World Bank has promoted the concept as the "missing link" in development. Critics of the social capital theory have pointed to the lack of political content and ignorance of the importance of state interventions. Evans has further developed the critique from within a social capital discourse, by proposing synergies between government and civil society, which can enhance social capital (Wise 2001: 55-56; see also below). Harriss (2002: 12) points out that the emphasis on social capital and civil society from agencies like the World Bank have in fact been used as a "weapon in the 'anti-politics machine'" and that support for civil society organisations and their capacity may ultimately "have the effect of depoliticising and disarming popular struggles for a more just distribution of resources and opportunities" (ibid: 13).

Sen (1999: 33) proposes understanding development as substantive freedoms people can have, instead of measuring it in purely economic or materialistic terms (i.e. measuring development through income levels). The freedoms he defines are political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, and protective security (ibid: 10). Sen promotes enhancing people's capabilities to lead lives they value (ibid: 18). This in turn entails democratic processes and the involvement of the citizenry, in which development goals are discerned through public discussion.

Evans (2005: 102) promotes an "institutional turn", by pointing out that the capability approach requires "authentic deliberative institutions that will allow choices about allocations and growth strategies to be 'democratic' in the thick sense of messy and continuous deliberative involvement of the citizenry in the setting of economic priorities." He further proposes two directions to take: (1) "levelling the cultural playing field" by enabling individuals and communities to make consumption choices in line with their local values; and (2) "creating collective capacity for capability expansion" (ibid: 102-103). The latter point is particularly relevant, as "gaining the freedom to do the things that we have reason to value is rarely something we can accomplish as individuals" (ibid: 103). Achieving such freedoms involves the ability and legitimacy of contestation and collective struggles; as well as "organised collectivities"; which can harness the social capital in families and communities without turning "parochial and exclusionary" (ibid). The development of collective capacities therefore is understood as central to development; and Evans (2005: 104) emphasises the need for interdisciplinary work between economics and the social sciences in order to reach that goal.

While alternative development thinking varies and cannot be combined into one paradigm, Nederveen Pieterse (2001: 83) points towards its aims of "development and emancipation" and stronger concern with agency and civil society, instead of macro-economic development. There is much emphasis on local knowledge and endogenous development, such as local cultural, social and symbolic spaces, and a rejection of Westernisation. Goals and values are to be determined from below, and from within. This in turn poses problems, as the boundaries between inside and outside are not clear cut, and the approach may also justify separate development, such as in apartheid Bantustan politics, and "ethnochauvinism" (ibid: 86-87).

The epistemology of alternative development is based on local knowledge, and the key resources therefore become people's creativity. The concept of material poverty can be questioned within this thinking. "But if development is not about growth but about institutional transformation, then the concern is not merely with economic capital but as much with social, cultural, symbolic and moral capital and in these respects people can be rich" (Nederveen Pieterse 2001: 88).

Escobar (cited in Eade, 1997: 13) argues that Southern scholars abandoned the search for "development alternatives" and discuss "alternatives to development", rejecting the current

paradigm entirely. Such "post development" thinking was essentially anti-development, rejecting the role of the state and of development institutions, as well as the goals and the results, which have negatively impacted on the majority of the population (Nederveen Pieterse 2001: 27). Post development, like dependency theory, seeks autonomy from external dependency, but has further described development as a "power/knowledge regime" in a Foucauldian sense (ibid: 104; see also 2.7 on Foucault's power theory). Nederveen Pieterse (2001: 111) describes post development or alternatives to development as flawed, as the concept provides no alternatives, and because its definition of development is too narrow and therefore misconceived. Furthermore, its call for "people's culture" may lead to "reification of both culture and locality or people". Increasingly, concepts of anti-development and anti-globalisation are merging. Hence, the only future perspective that post development is offering is localism (ibid: 154).

2.2.3 **Neoliberalism and the developmental state**

Parallel to the emergence of alternative and human development, neoliberalist theories, based on neoclassical economics, argued for development to be regulated by market forces. Changes in the structure of the world economy and the fall of the Soviet Union brought a strong influence of neoliberalism into "mainstream development thinking", reflecting the interests of transnational capital. "But, although the 'development community' was loath to acknowledge it, the new global economic regime thoroughly undermined the foundations of development theory as it had hitherto been conceived" (Leys 1996:19). Government intervention was seen as distorting the market, and hence economic growth was to be achieved by reducing the role of the state, through structural reform, deregulation, liberalisation and privatisation; leaving development to the market (Nederveen Pieterse 2001: 6; see also 4.1.1). This position was also strongly promoted by loan conditionalities of the IMF (see 2.2.1 above).

Thompson (2002: 221) describes two models of economic development: on the one hand the classical neoliberalist model and on the other hand the concept of the developmental state. The classical neoliberal model opts for "international openness", referring to economic relationships, coupled with a set of criteria around transparency, governance, market access, etc. Particularly developing countries have been forced to accept such criteria in connection with international aid or aid dept. In contrast, the already developed countries have not applied those criteria while they were developing into what they are now, as they implemented rather protectionist policies.
The developmental state concept has gained increasing support over the post-war period. It defines the role of the state as fostering economic development such as "steady growth, structural change and industrialisation" and mobilising social forces for that aim. It secondly includes the state's capacity to implement developmentalist policies autonomous from capture through social forces (ibid: 222; see also chapter 4.1).

Due to the failure of the structural adjustment programmes to promote development in Africa, the Bretton-Woods Institutions recognised the positive role that the state can play in development. Hence, in a 1989 publication, the World Bank promoted the concept of the developmental state, which can actively foster social and economic development, however coupled with requirements regarding "good governance" (Mkandawire 2001: 292). This goes in line with a developmentalist ideology, where the mission of the state is focussed on fostering economic development through high rates of accumulation and industrialisation (ibid: 290). Here, the developmental role is still coupled with macro-economic growth strategies in line with neoliberal thinking. However, later publications of the World Bank (1994/1995, in ibid: 292) questioned the necessity of state interventions again.

An aspect of neoliberal thought is expressed in the "New Growth Theory." While "Capital Fundamentalism" assumed that "increasing poor countries' stock of capital" would lead to economic development, the New Growth Theory promotes economic returns without the need for capital investment for machineries or materials, by marketing "ideas" that can enhance technological change (Evans 2005: 91). Evans (2005: 92-93), however, points out

that – while at first glance looking promising for countries in the global South who lack capital for investment – it in fact increases the North-South inequality and "makes the failure of poor countries to catch up more theoretically comprehensible". Economic empires are growing larger through increasing returns from ideas, and have simultaneously driven a global homogenisation of consumption patterns, and a spreading market for commodities from the North. As a result citizens in the global South became poor in relation to a global community of consumers (ibid: 98-100).

Evans (1995: 248-249) rejects the neoliberal concept of development driven by market forces, and promotes a different notion of a developmental state that maintains strong relationships not only with industrial elites, but with civil society, by emphasising the interdependence of the "institutional integrity of state bureaucracies" and "projects of social transformation." The concept of "embedded autonomy" of the state describes this notion, promoting state-connectedness to social groupings, while remaining autonomous from "piecemeal capture." He suggests that the collaboration between state and civil society can have synergistic effects: "Creative action by government organisations can foster social capital; linking mobilized citizens to public agencies can enhance the efficacy of government" (Evans 1997: 204). "Public policy that explicitly acknowledges the importance of collective action, public mores that are open to contestation and collective struggles, and focused efforts to stimulate and sustain organizations that transcend primordial and parochial interests are all necessary components in the quest for development as freedom" (Evans 2002: 57).
Evans promotes the idea that developmental states can be beneficial, if they do not prioritise neoliberal market interests, but hold those in balance through the engagement of civil society organisations. Here, Sen's notion of freedom is discussed further, as he suggests that marked-based power inequalities need to be prevented from undermining development as freedom. This can be supported through "facilitating collective capabilities" within civil society (ibid: 59), as "dense, diverse, organized collective action is necessary to exploit the opportunities created by elections and civil rights…" which can also positively influence cultural and social choices and preferences as depicted by Sen (ibid: 57).

Amin (1990c, cited in Nederveen Pieterse 2001: 51) points out that poor countries are faced with the choice of "adjustment or delinking". He emphasises that structural adjustment programmes are part of the "liberal doctrine", which ignores the fact that capitalism produces unequal development. He calls this reality "recolonisation, sweetened by charity" (Amin 1990c, cited in ibid).

"But I think it is important to insist – at the risk of sounding (and feeling) like an unreconstructed Marxist, or a dyed-in-the-wool materialist (or even a dinosaur refusing to give way in the face of the seemingly unstoppable sweep of the 'back to the market' movement) – to insist that the political and the economic are not background variables to 'development.' Development is uneven, because capitalism creates inequality" (Lund 1998: 22).

Nederveen Pieterse (2001: 74) argues that mainstream development is "increasingly caught on the horns of a dilemma between the aims of human and social development and the constraints of structural adjustment and global monetarism represented by the financial institutions. Presently, unlike the 1970s, the big hiatus no longer runs between mainstream and alternative development, but between human and alternative development on the one hand, and the Washington consensus of structural reform on the other." He further points out that structuralist approaches emphasise structural, macroeconomic change, while alternative development puts agency and the capacity of people to effect social change at the centre (ibid: 75).

However, not all alternative development activities may be alternative, but rather share the same goals as conventional development while working in a more participatory, people-centred way. Hence, the rise of Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) is not only a reflection of grassroots politics, but also of the neoliberalist rollback of the state and the increase of development funds channelled to NGOs.

The following figure provides an overview of development thinking and their meanings over time.

Period	Perspectives	Meanings of development
1870>	Latecomers	Industrialization, catching up
1850>	Colonial economics	Resource management, trusteeship
1940>	Development economics	Economic growth, industrialisation
1950>	Modernization theory	Growth, political & social modernization
1960>	Dependency theory	Accumulation - national, autocentric
1970>	Alternative development	Human flourishing
1980>	Human development	Capacitation, enlargement of people's choices
1980>	Neoliberalism	Economic growth – structural reform, deregulation, liberalization, privatization
	Developmental State	State intervention to foster economic growth
1990>	Post-development	Authoritarian engineering, disaster

Figure 1: Meanings of development (adapted from Nederveen Pieterse 2001: 7)

2.2.4 Towards a strong civil society

Chapter 2.2.2 has described some of the alternative development concepts, many of which have been included in mainstream development thinking, and are centred on human development rather than economic growth. However, while the jargon may have changed in many descriptions of development, a real shift in approach has not yet become a widely practised reality. Schuurman (1992, cited in Eade 1997: 13) points out that "fashionable notions such as 'sustainable development', 'grassroots development', 'women and development'" are mere "attempts to salvage development" by changing the terminology while the concept remains the same.

The CDRA[14] (1998/9: 3) explains that "the mainstream of development practice" concentrates on "doing things to and (ideally) for people, rather than with people" and that practitioners act "on behalf of 'the marginalised and dispossessed'." Taylor (2000:1) furthermore points out that "empowerment" is still being "provided by the more powerful", who at the same time do not give up their control. Thus "power is used to the advantage of those who have the advantage", and not aiming at real empowerment of the disadvantaged.

To shift the power imbalance, Kaplan (1996: 59) motivates for a "society capable of self reflection, capable of questioning its own paradigms and assumptions … which has not fallen asleep into cliques and power blocks…" He points out that we can strive for such a situation by promoting and strengthening civil society: "The image of a strongly developed civil society is one in which the power of the state, of capital and of transnational capital and transnational 'aid' organisations, is held in balance by a plethora of competent, independent and self-reflective community-based and non-governmental organisations."

Several authors cited above, such as Sen, Evans and Putnam, propose that civil and political rights in a country can lead to a strong civil society and hence to empowerment. They however do not propose how this can happen, and there seems to be an assumption that by

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[14] The Community Development Resource Association (CDRA) is a non-governmental organisation based in Cape Town, that aims to advance "conscious and continuous learning about development processes … through organisational interventions, training, accompanied learning and collaborative explorations" (from CDRA Mission statement, CDRA 1998/9).

providing civil rights, civil society organisations will flourish as a result. This may, however, not be the case per se, and the question remains which development approach will enable the strengthening of civil society and its organisations.

The CDRA (1998/9: 3) motivates for "people centred development" which entails "working facilitatively alongside people so that they may enlarge themselves and thus gain their own capacity to exert authority over their own lives and futures". Their interpretation of development is the "facilitation of the growing capacity of people; the movement towards consciousness."

Fowler (2000b: 18) furthermore points out that building organisational capacity should not only focus on the ability to perform certain tasks, but should "foster organisational resilience founded on a link between sustainable insight and resulting action."

"If we are serious about 'people centred development', a development approach which genuinely works from the bottom up, which ensures that people themselves are not only at the centre of development efforts, but are also to be encouraged to take responsibility for their own development, then the facilitation of the building of the institutions of civil society becomes the true realm of the development practitioner" (Kaplan, 1996, 61).

Nederveen Pieterse (2001: 155) points to the complexity of development, which "unfolds in diverse contexts of relations of power, cultural values, social practices, ecological conditions and historical itineraries." Hence, development is contextual, although the boundaries are porous and not clearly defined. The definition of meanings and implementation of development therefore involve an "intercultural transaction." It is too simplistic to divide development between Western/modernisation views and endogenous/indigenous development, and a "continuous traffic back and forth across the spectrum" may be more useful (ibid).

The unit of development has become increasingly multi-scalar, shifting from "infrastructure, capital and technology" to "institutions, processes, management … education and knowledge" (World Bank 1997 & 1998, cited in Nederveen Pieterse 2001: 156). In the same way, the actors of development have become polycentric, and involve "international and regional institutions and regimes, urban and local government, civic associations (operating at multiple scales) and households" (ibid: 156-157). Development has become "polycentric in its meaning, objectives, agency and methods of implementation, and therefore what constitutes development is intrinsically contested" (ibid: 158).

Based on the multiplicity of interpretations, Nederveen Pieterse (2001: 159) proposes that development actors should stop proceeding as if there was consensus, and rather make "contingency part of the understanding of development" … and redefine "development as a collective learning experience." He further points out: "Collective learning as the point of development places development policy discussions on a different footing: the focus shifts to the role of complexity in development" (ibid; see also chapter 2.1 for complexity theory).

Beyond that, Nederveen Pieterse (2001: 161) argues that reflexivity forms part of development, and should be more strongly thematised (see chapter 3 on reflexivity). Collective learning should be understood as a non-linear process, and can lead to collective action. Reflexivity therefore needs a "political edge" and challenge existing power relations (ibid: 163).

Section 2.2 has provided an overview of the meanings of development over time, and highlighted two main strands, namely economic and human perspectives. This research is concerned with human and particularly organisational development. The study is further guided by complexity theory and applies a reflexive approach, while staying closely connected to values of an alternative development concept, such as people-centred development, participation and empowerment. Since this terminology has been used and abused in the past, it is particularly important to remain conscious of its meaning during the

implementation of the research. The organisations of civil society are central in this research, and their interconnectedness and asymmetrical power relationships with other actors in development will be examined (see section 2.7 on power). Strong organisations may enable communities to take control over their own development processes and promote locally-led development. In the next section, community development will be looked at as an approach to development; followed by capacity development.

2.3 Community Development

2.3.1 Definition of Community

Human psychologists describe the term community as a "fundamental human necessity, derived from the need for relatedness, transcendence and rootedness" (Kolybashkina, 2005: 2). While people can belong to different forms of communities and shared identities, the territorial community can also serve as a "source of meaning … security, well-being and pride" and represent basic forms of cooperative behaviour, where people depend on their "neighbours in their struggle for daily survival and economic prosperity" (ibid). Warren (1963 cited in Cox et al. 1987: 190) defines a community as "that combination of social units and systems which perform the major social functions having locality relevance". Poplin (1972, cited in Cox et al. 1987: 243) uses the term in a "moral or spiritual sense epitomized in such terms as the quest of yearning for a sense of community or sharing." He characterised communities into "Moral Communities" with a strong sense of identification, moral unity, involvement and wholeness; and "Mass Societies", where alienation, moral fragmentation, disengagement and segmentation prevail (Poplin 1972, cited in Cox et al. 1987: 243).

In public policy, the term community is mainly used for locality or neighbourhood, which, however, does not necessarily imply that the groups of households share the same interests: "In one ghetto different people have different issues, which they want to be resolved. These people become a community only when they can agree on common objectives in the form of a program of reform for their area" (Kolybashkina, 2005: 4).

A different interpretation is given by Wilkinson-Maposa et al (2005: 115), where community is understood as a "need-satisfaction network" of horizontal help transactions, which can go beyond neighbourhood boundaries.

Feminists furthermore criticise that heterogeneous compositions and concerns in communities – such as gender, social and age differences – are often ignored, while participatory projects can be dominated by one group (Gujid 1998, in Kolybashkina, 2005: 4).

In the context of this research, community is either understood as locality or neighbourhood in which CBOs are situated; or can refer to an interest community forming the constituency of a particular CBO. It is understood that such communities are not homogenous, and particular sensibility is needed towards power and domination within communities.

2.3.2 Historical Context of Community Development

Monaheng (2000: 125) states that community development promotes human development by "empowering communities and strengthening their capacity for self-sustaining development". The basic principle is "collaboration in life-sustaining activities", which have historically been practised by local communities since the existence of human societies (Monaheng 2000: 126). Community development became a popular development approach during decolonisation in the 1950s-60s, influenced by experiences in the United States and Britain on social welfare programmes, as well as colonial and post-colonial India (ibid). Its principles were based on self-reliance and cooperative action through popular bodies; however, governments were seen as the "delivery machine" of development with hierarchical relationships (functionary vs. beneficiary) and political elites as results (Tandon

2005). The concept of community development was abandoned by the international development community in the late 1960s (Monaheng 2000: 126).

During its international popularity in the 1950-60s, community development was mistrusted by the government of apartheid South Africa due to its potential for political activism. It was supported through the Black Consciousness Movement and missionary circles, and most often carried out fragmented and small-scale by NGOs (De Beer & Swanepoel 1988: 10).

In the 1980s, the South African government conducted an international study of community development and decided to give it attention. In 1987, when administration boards were abolished, many functions were given to the then four provinces, including community development. From 1993 the Department of National Health and Population Development provided advise on the national organisation of community development, which was transferred to the National Department of Welfare and Population Development in 1994 (ibid: 11).

In the former homelands, local self-help groups were either used or set up by local officials to run projects that were in line with the goals defined by the official (there was no centralised policy). Most were around agriculture or primary health care (ibid).
In this way, community development was used by the state in order to promote some basic benefits towards the people, while at the same time instrumentalising them through officials setting the agenda. Community development was disempowering and furthering the notion of 'separate development' as part of the apartheid agenda (see also chapter 4.1).

At the time, large numbers of CBOs were found in the former homelands, which were often comprised of women due to their predominance in rural areas, the biggest of those being the Zenzele Women's Association, providing knowledge of home economics. Types of CBOs included "burial societies, sports clubs, choirs, savings clubs, women's groups and independent churches" (ibid: 13). Similarly, non-profit organisations were established in the absence of proper government services, and were geared at providing basic support to community members, such as "the provision of social welfare, protection of human rights, monitoring of violence, police-community relations, and assisting with relocation" (Camay & Gordon 2000: 34).

While the above mentioned CBOs mainly supported community members in dealing with poverty, the Black Consciousness Movement supported radical community development towards empowerment and the struggle against apartheid. Philosophical principles of the movement fostered "group pride and the determination of the black to rise and attain the envisaged self" (Biko, cited in De Beer & Swanepoel 1988: 14) and "shifting the balance of power towards the poor" through empowerment, not co-option (Wilson & Ramphele 1989, cited in ibid).

Narsoo (1991, cited in Camay & Gordon 2000: 40) distinguishes between "organisations of survival" and "organisations of resistance" that were formed at the time. While organisations of survival aimed at helping community members survive the hardships of apartheid oppression, organisations of resistance were constituted due to state repression of political organisations. They formed as civics or trade unions, but were overtly political, with the result that most often the national liberation struggle took precedence over the interests of their members.

In this sense, both the apartheid government and organisations of resistance, including the Black Consciousness Movement, engaged in community development activities for opposing reasons. The underlying principles of community development as it was practiced are therefore questionable, as both sides engaged in activities to further their own interests. In the case of the Black Consciousness Movement, those interests were meant to liberate the people; in the government's case, to keep them under control while providing a minimal service.

In 1993, at the time of transition, the Local Government Negotiating Forum (LGNF) was established to transform the apartheid local government into a democratic system. Members of the forum included NPOs which had provided services in sectors such as health, welfare, education, housing, etc. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), was created as a policy to guide the provision of infrastructure and services to disadvantaged communities, which also proposed a participatory engagement with civil society (Camay & Gordon 2000: 37). The White Paper on Local Government (Ministry for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development 1998: 17) proposes a "developmental local government", "committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs and improve the quality of their lives." The new government's understanding of community development was in this sense a participatory one, including institutionalised spaces for participation, such as the Integrated Development Planning processes, where citizens can get involved at Municipal planning level (ibid: 27). Nonetheless, over time a rather ambivalent role has developed within government regarding the involvement of civil society, and participation opportunities have been questionable (Camay & Gordon 2000: 38). Much of government's role in community development today is understood as delivery of services and welfare (see also chapter 4.1).

Internationally, as well as in South Africa, the notion of community development has gained new attention in the development sector (including neoliberal institutions, such as the World Bank), being seen as a solution to persisting social and economic issues in disadvantaged areas. Community development is supposed to:
"(1) stimulate local initiative by involving people in the process of social and economic change;
(2) build channels of communication that promote solidarity; and
(3) improve the social, economic and cultural well-being of community residents" (Kolybashkina, 2005: 5).

It is seen as both learning and political process (ibid). In this way, community development serves as a vehicle for the strengthening of civil society and promoting people-centred development.

Monaheng (2000: 129) points out that "CBOs are the primary actors in community development". Thus, building organisational capacity of CBOs could have a direct impact on their involvement in the communities as development agents as well as active citizens.
Critics worry, however, that the adoption of the approach by international organisations such as the World Bank and UNDP might mean "the new rhetoric is simply used to describe old policies". The lack of focus on underlying causes, while aiming at producing short-term results to achieve the Millennium Development Goals[15], might rather worsen the issues than remedy them (Kolybashkina 2005: 1).

Ndlovu (2004: 9) points out that "community development in a country like South Africa is not a value-free concept" as it covers "issues of participatory democracy, representation of women in leadership and decision-making, accountability of decision-makers, and transparency in resource allocation." Pieterse (1998: 6, cited in ibid) further adds that community development can lead to control through an elite group capable of interacting with mainstream development discourses. This highlights the importance of understanding socio-political and cultural contexts; while aiming to address issues of "power, class, ethnicity and xenophobia" (Ndlovu 2004: 10).

This research is particularly concerned with community development as a form of participatory, people-centred development, and examines whether the strengthening of CBOs can support the development and empowerment of communities, while remaining conscious of power asymmetries.

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[15] "The eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) – which range from halving extreme poverty to halting the spread of HIV/AIDS and providing universal primary education, all by the target date of 2015 – form a blueprint agreed to by all the world's countries and all the world's leading development institutions" (UN Millennium Development Goals 2007).

The following section will look at capacity development, which can be located in a bottom-up approach to development, as well as community development.

2.4 Capacity development

Capacity building/development[16] has its roots in participation, empowerment, civil society and social movements (Eade 1997: 10). Capacity building has become central in development theory since the 1990s; and organisations across the development sector from the World Bank, governments and international donors to local civil society organisations have adopted approaches to it (Pieterse & Donk 2002: 13).

There is a growing specialisation of capacity building within the development field, which emphasises the importance of holistic and people-centred approaches (Eade 1997: 35) in line with empowerment principles of social change. The notion of empowerment relates to the educative role of community development, where "the poor are empowered by strengthening their capacity to engage in development…" (Monaheng 2000: 134). Other aspects of capacity building involve making "productive resources available to the underprivileged" and the "establishment of effective and efficient administrative and institutional structures" (Bryant and White 1982 in Monaheng 2000: 134). These include CBOs and "structures of local development administration" (Monaheng 2000: 134).

Morgan (2006: 2) points out that there is no broadly accepted definition of capacity. The author proposes "five central characteristics of the concept of capacity", namely:
1. Empowerment and identity to enable an organisation or system to survive, grow and become more complex; and taking control over one's life;
2. Collective ability in order to perform, value, establish relationships, etc;
3. Emergent system's property, and therefore an interaction effect (see also 2.1);
4. Potential state, a latent quality dependent on intangibles and therefore hard to manage or measure;
5. Creation of public value, in order to make a positive contribution to public life (ibid: 6-7).

Definitions and approaches of the development of capacity also vary with the spectrum of organisations engaging in it. Different donor definitions of capacity building include:

Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA): "Activities, approaches, strategies and methodologies which help organisations, groups and individuals to improve their performance, generate development benefits, and achieve their objectives over time."
European Commission: "To develop and strengthen structures, institutions and procedures that help to ensure: transparent and accountable governance in all public institutions; improve capacity to analyse, plan, formulate and implement policies."
German Technical Cooperation (GTZ): Strengthening the abilities of "individuals, organisations and societies to make effective use of resources, in order to achieve their own goals on a sustainable basis."
United Nations Development Programme (UNDP): "The process by which individuals, organisations, and societies develop abilities to perform functions, solve problems, and set and achieve goals premised on ownership, choice and self-esteem" and is the "sustainable creation, retention, and utilisation of capacity in order to reduce poverty, enhance self-reliance, and improve people's lives" (cited in World Bank 2005: 6).
The National Development Agency (NDA 2006: 2) lists capacity development as one of its primary mandates, as "strengthening the institutional capacity of Civil Society Organisations,

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[16] The literature refers to both capacity building and –development; hence both terms are used here depending on the literature source. Lopes & Theisson (2003: 3) argue the term "capacity development" is more comprehensive, as it includes the initial stages of creating and building, as well as the use and retention of it. Furthermore, in line with developmental thinking, the term capacity development is preferably used in this thesis; following the notion that the development of capacity can be supported in others, but one cannot build another person's or organisation's capacity.

which provide services to the poor communities. This implies building the capacity of Civil Society Organisations to enable them to carry out development work effectively."

The donor definitions are largely influenced by an instrumentalist view; i.e. improving the capacity to enhance development results. From a civil society perspective, Eade (1997: 24) describes capacity building as an "approach to development", which "involves identifying the constraints that women and men experience in realising their basic rights, and finding appropriate vehicles through which to strengthen their ability to overcome the causes of their exclusion and suffering."

The CDRA (1994/5: 2) states that the "building of organisational and institutional capacity is an essential development intervention towards the strengthening of civil society... it is the heart of development practice." Brews (1994: 7) sees capacity development in line with democratisation of development, making "real participation and power over development processes possible for marginalised people".

Pieterse & Donk (2002: 27) emphasise that "capacity building cannot be de-linked from the question of 'purpose'", i.e. the ability of an organisation "to effectively position itself in relation to the external environment, with the intention to influence its environment to the benefit of its constituencies and/or target communities."

These definitions involve a stronger rights-based perspective, and the strengthening of civil society organisations to analyse and act upon the context they operate in.

It becomes apparent that there can be no single way of developing capacity, and the "appropriate intervention" will depend on accurate observation of the situation and the context as well as on the competence of the intervening agency or person (CDRA 1994/5: 14). Neither can it be a "pre-packaged technical intervention" to bring about a "pre-defined outcome" (Eade 1997: 24). Interventions mainly focus on capacity building within civil society at large or within civil society organisations (Eade 1997: 34). According to a study conducted by Bebbington and Mitlin (1995, cited in Eade 1997: 34) capacity building can be seen as a means (e.g. strengthening to perform activities), a process (e.g. search for coherence, improving communication) or as an end (e.g. strengthening to fulfil mission or objectives).

Although definitions and the purpose behind capacity development vary, as a concept it is increasingly placed at the centre of efforts to address global poverty and often emphasised as the "missing link" in development (Bussuyt 1995, cited in James 1998: 1).

Since the mid 1990s the concept of capacity building has shifted in the international development arena from the training of individuals to the development of institutional and organisational capacity. In the same sense, it has been understood that organisational capacity is influenced by internal as well as external factors, such as the broader political, economic, social and cultural context (Wright-Revolledo 2007: 4).

This research accepts this trend as a point of departure. However, it attempts to question as to how this capacity is built in practice. It is proposed that an Organisational Development (OD) approach is key. The following section will therefore describe and define OD in more detail.

2.5 Organisational Development

2.5.1 Organisation and Management Theory

Organisational development (OD) practice has been shaped in behavioural sciences and the emergence of organisation and management theory. Advances in social psychology linked human resource development to performance and motivation. Theories of adult learning (Freire 1972) and functional sociology (Lewin, in French & Bell 1984a: 25) further defined a new role for learners empirically advocating that people were likely to modify their behaviour towards the achievement of goals when actively engaged in problem analysis and the identification and implementation of solutions. People were thus active agents in their own development and experience was recognised as an important ontological foundation.

Theories about organisation and management that have influenced the evolution of OD can be drawn back to the beginning of the 20th century. They were largely influenced by reductionist modernist perspectives.   Robbins (1987: 473) suggests four theoretical classifications over time (although many theorists differed from this generalisation):

Approximate time frame	1900-1930	1930-1960	1960-1975	1975-?
Systems perspective	Closed	Closed	Open	Open
Ends perspective	Rational	Social	Rational	Social
Central theme	Mechanical efficiency	People and human relations	Contingency designs	Power and politics
Theoretical classification	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4

Figure 2: Evolution of Contemporary Organisation Theory (Schott in ibid: 473)

The table shows that early in the century, organisations were mainly perceived as closed systems. This changed around 1960, where an open systems perspective became prevalent, in which the organisation was seen as continuously interacting with its environment. The second dimension shows that the perception of the ends of organisation structure shifted between two opposing forces: the rational, which sees structure as a vehicle to achieving tasks; and the social, which sees structure as the result of conflicting power and control forces.

Type 1 theorists saw organisation mainly in mechanistic terms, operating as closed systems which were created to function under universally applicable principles. Frederick Taylor's "Principles of Scientific Management" (1911) was one of the major contributions to efficient management; as well as Henri Fayol's "Principles of Organisation", which, in comparison to Taylor, included the whole organisational system. Max Weber's concept of bureaucratic structure added another aspect to this line of thinking. All three models are still prevalent in many organisations today.

Type 2 theorists introduced a social perspective to organisation theory, seeing organisations made up of tasks and people. Chester Barnard introduced the concept of organisations as "cooperative systems", and shifted the role of the manager to "facilitate communication and stimulate subordinates". Douglas McGregor's Theory X –Theory Y analysed basic assumptions of managers about human beings and their subordinates. Warren Bennis argued for the passing of bureaucracy into flexible adhocracies.

In the 1960s, type 3 theorists were trying to find a synthesis between mechanistic and humanistic theories, and argued for a contingency approach (Robbins 1987: 473-483). Since the 1950s the Tavistock Institute in the UK has worked on open-systems theories of organisation (James 1998:10).

Type 4 theorists focussed on the political nature of organisations, where power coalitions, conflict and self-interest of those in power became central, rather than a rational cooperative model of decision-making. James March and Herbert Simon were early theorists of this position, which was further refined by Jeffrey Pfeffer (Robbins 1987: 484).

Although the focus of the theories had shifted from a mechanistic to a more humanistic, open-systems perspective of organisation, they were still largely seen through a reductionist, modernist perspective. However, in the 1990s organisational theorists began referring to the "New Sciences", such as quantum physics, chaos theory and complexity theory. Margaret Wheatley (1992) engages with quantum physics and chaos theory in relation to understanding organisation. Magruder Watkins & Mohr (2001: 2) write about a paradigm shift from Newtonian towards a new worldview, and new ways in which problems are solved and understood. New notions such as "emergence" and "self-organising systems" bring the dimension of unpredictability and uncertainty into management science. Stacey et al (2000: 123) claim that complexity theory can pose new challenges to the dominant management discourse, if it is seen from a transformative teleology[17] perspective, which impacts on the understanding of causality, predictability, choice and stability. Cilliers (1998: 112) states that complexity theory needs to be understood from a postmodern perspective, with the absence of a meta-narrative or transcendental truth (see also 2.1).

This shift in the sciences has entered organisation and management theories and promises a different 21st century worldview. However, mainstream understanding of organisation still remains in the conventional, reductionist paradigm, and change in perception may only slowly enter operational levels. Therefore, organisations are often not perceived as complex systems, but still in mechanistic terms, with an assumption that they can be developed in a planned, straightforward progression. This study engages with organisation from a complexity perspective (see 2.1).

2.5.2 Roots, definition and characteristics of OD

French & Bell (1984a: 24) refer to three major roots of OD theory in the US, which have contributed to the development of OD: T-Groups; Survey Feedback; and Action Research.

Laboratory training or T-groups were developed from 1946, mainly influenced by Kurt Lewin. Teams from different organisations were supposed to learn from their own interactions and evolving group dynamics (ibid: 25). At a later stage, the T-group approach proved to have limited impact at organisational level, as participants had difficulties transferring their learning from the laboratory to their own organisations. In relation to this, Douglas McGregor played an important role in 1957 by applying T-group skills to complex organisations (French & Bell 1984a: 27). McGregor's Theory X-Y furthermore advocated for focussing on potentials in people's behaviour through "team work and joint problem solving" (James 1998: 10).

Lewin developed a 3-phase theory of change that refers to "unfreezing – moving – refreezing." His theory was based on the notion that organisations can be stable entities, where "development" is activated through an intervention, which will lead to another stable state. However, later theories of complex systems contradict the notion of stability, or a state which can be maintained (frozen) (James 1998: 9).

Action Research, and Survey Feedback as a specialised form of Action Research, were based on the premises of "collaborative client-consultant inquiry", which formed one of the core principles of OD (French & Bell 1984a: 35 / more on Action Research in section 3.4). It

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[17] A teleological cause answers the "why" question, e.g.: Why do certain phenomena develop in a certain way and for what purpose? (Stacey et al 2000: 13)

was during the 1950s that the term Organisation Development was used for the first time to describe a "developmental, system-wide, dynamic" change effort (French & Bell 1984a: 32).

Definitions of OD vary in their understanding of the effort and activities as well as desired goals. Lippitt (1969, cited in French et al. 1989: 6) states that: "Organisation Development is the strengthening of those human processes in organisations which improve the functioning of the organic system so as to achieve its objectives." A more elaborate definition from French & Bell (1978, cited in ibid: 7) defines the following: "In the behavioural science, and perhaps ideal sense of the term, organisation development is a long-range effort to improve an organisation's problem-solving and renewal processes, particularly through a more effective and collaborative management of organisation culture – with special emphasis on the culture of formal work teams – with the assistance of a change agent, or catalyst, and the use of the theory and technology of applied behavioural science, including action research." Kaplan (1996:89) defines OD as "the facilitation of an organisation's capacity to self-reflect, self-regulate, and take control of its own processes of improvement and learning." French et al (1989: 7) define OD as a discipline that "prescribes how planned change in organisations should be approached and carried out."

Contrasting this notion, Schein (1988: 7) criticises the "doctor-patient" model of prescriptive OD, and suggests through his model of "process consultation" a "joint diagnosis and the passing on to the client of the consultant's diagnostic skills" as "the client must learn to see the problem for himself" and "make the ultimate decision on what remedy to apply." Thus Schein's approach is more empowering for the client organisation and tries to avoid a dependency-relationship. Dependency can also be observed in community development approaches, which is why for the purposes of this research an OD approach is needed that understands empowerment in a non-prescriptive way.

Becker and Langosch (2002: 14) further problematise the notion of the goals of OD as working towards both higher humanity and productivity in organisations, through the assumption that satisfied and engaged staff will prove to be more productive. This assumption can contain conflicting interests, as the satisfaction of staff does not always benefit the organisational goals (e.g. higher salaries vs. organisational profit). However, in the non-profit context of CBOs, this particular contradiction may not be valid.

According to Becker and Langosch (2002: 22) the following are core characteristics of OD processes:
1. Collective awareness of problem(s) and the need for change within the organisation,
2. An OD consultant acts as a 'change agent' through process consultation and/or action research,
3. Participation of all affected members of the organisation, who actively seek and implement the solutions,
4. Clarification of issues regarding content and relationships/communication,
5. Experiential learning through direct confrontation with colleagues and working through issues,
6. Process orientated actions towards the intended change – the goal and the path towards it become equally important,
7. Systems thinking – individuals, organisation, environment and time and their interdependence have to be viewed holistically.

The core definitions and characteristics of OD appear useful for developmental work at a CBO level, and attention will be paid to whether its application will lead to the strengthening of CBOs (see chapter 10). The following section will describe goals and values of OD approaches.

2.5.3 Goals and Values

The motivation for an organisation requesting OD support generally comes from an undesirable condition experienced by the organisation. Becker and Langosch (2002: 7) list three main reasons for an organisation to be seeking change:

1. Changes in the environment (e.g. technical advancements, new laws and regulations, changes in human needs),
2. Bureaucratic organisations (e.g. distribution of power and workload, hierarchies, lack of flexibility),
3. Motivation and cooperation (lack of interest, lack of initiative, conflict, competition and insecurities).

Although drawn from the corporate context, these conditions can also be translated into the realities of CBOs, such as lack of funding and challenging donor requirements, internal power dynamics and hierarchical structures, unequal workload, or the lack of motivation due to the absence of incentives. Chapter 9.1.1 will further describe which particular needs were expressed by CBOs seeking OD support.

In response to the needs, OD is based on values such as "helping the client system to help itself … participation and process" (James 1998: 13). Golembiewski (1995 cited in James 1998: 13) further lists the following values:

- "It is valuable to give opportunities to people to develop towards their full potential;
- People are human beings with complex sets of needs not just resources to be used;
- It emphasises values of openness, trust and collaborative effort;
- It seeks simultaneously to meet the needs of individuals and several systems/groups;
- It is grounded in immediate experience ('here and now' data);
- It emphasises feelings and emotions as well as ideas and concepts;
- Individual participants are involved as subject and object in action research;
- It puts reliance on group control for choice and change;
- It emphasises interaction."

The examples implicate goals and values that are rooted in enablement, collectivity, democracy and ultimately freedom of choice. According to Intrac[18] OD is understood to be a "participatory and process oriented approach which is in line with general participative approaches to development itself…" (James, 1998: 16). Thus, OD as an approach can collaborate with the goals of a people-centred development and the strengthening of civil society organisations (see 2.2.4). Since OD approaches vary, the following section will present some approaches over time and emphasise on the approaches applied in this research.

2.5.4 Various approaches

There are numerous approaches in OD which have developed in relation to each other over time. In the following, the approaches applied in this research will be presented. They depict some of the evolving thinking about organisations as complex social systems in line with the guiding theory of the study. They were further selected for their applicability in a people-centred approach, as they do not presume that the facilitator has to come in as expert or prescribe solutions. Chapters 6-8 are describing the Action Research experiences with methods used in line with these approaches, and chapter 10 refers back to each of the approaches, reflecting their applicability in a CBO context.

Organisational culture
Schein (1988: 9) defined "process consultation" as "a set of activities on the part of the consultant, which help the client to perceive, understand, and act upon process events, which occur in the client's environment." He stresses the importance of going beyond the formal structure by examining "processes which occur between people", such as relationships, traditions and the organisational culture (Schein 1988: 11).

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[18] International NGO Training and Research Centre based in Oxford, UK

Schein (1991: 4) defines culture as: "a pattern of basic assumptions – invented, discovered, or developed by a given group as it learns to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration – that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems" (ibid: 9). Culture is therefore understood as "the deeper level of basic assumptions and beliefs that are shared by members of an organisation, that operate unconsciously, and that define in a basic 'taken-for-granted' fashion an organisation's view of itself and its environment. These assumptions and beliefs are learned responses to a group's problems of survival in its external environment and its problems of internal integration" (ibid: 6).

Schein (1991: 2) emphasises that culture is created by the organisational leaders; reflecting the founder's personality (ibid: 275). He argues that, in the same way in which pioneering leaders are key in creating the organisational culture through articulating their assumptions and creating a shared meaning in a group; the next generation of leaders is in return created by the then embedded culture (ibid: 313). Organisational change can therefore only occur if leaders can grow and change with their organisations (ibid: 319); or if the organisation faces serious survival issues and is forced to change (ibid: 312). Schein hereby articulates a hierarchical view of culture creation and change through pioneers and top structures.

Schein (1991: 278-282) describes culture change in a pioneering organisation according to various change mechanisms:
(1) Natural evolution (if the organisation does not experience much stress; the culture evolves by assimilating to what works best over the years);
(2) Self-guided evolution through organisational therapy (if the organisation is in a crisis and motivated to change; outsider change agents can enable the organisation to assess its culture; provide psychological safety; and help the process of cognitive redefinition);
(3) Managed evolution through hybrids (in case of the need for a more profound culture change; by bringing insiders into key positions in order to shift the culture, while also being part of it); and
(4) Managed revolution through outsiders (by bringing outsiders into key positions to more professionally manage the organisation; this leader will only be accepted in the long term if his new assumptions informing the culture are successful for the organisation).
While the first mechanism describes a soft and 'natural' evolution; each of the following steps suggests a more drastic intervention which, in Schein's definition, is achieved through management and top structures; by helping the leadership surface unconscious assumptions which negatively impact the organisation, and supporting a cognitive shift.

Similarly, Schein's (1991: 303-309) theoretical assumptions about change include:
(1) Change as general evolutionary process ("the forces for change come from within the group and are natural and inevitable"; following the organisation's life cycle or phases of development);
(2) Change as adaptation, learning or specific evolutionary process (environmental influences trigger internal change dynamics; facilitation is minimised towards taking advantage of those existing mechanisms);
(3) Change as therapeutic process (change comes from the inside; but the interaction of insiders and outside change agents enhances the organisation's "adaptive ability or level of integration");
(4) Change as revolutionary process (power struggles leading to "new people with new sets of assumptions gaining control of key power positions");
(5) Change as managed process (change attempts build on forces that can be controlled by managers and change agents).

Organisational culture was reflected upon in this study, as it enabled a better understanding of dynamics within CBOs, particularly within their phases of development (see chapter 9.1.3).

Schein (1991: 271) describes organisational growth stages through which organisations may develop over time in their life cycle, as well as their characteristics and change mechanisms

Lievegoed contributed to this theory, describing "phases of organisational development", where organisations evolve through a pioneering, differentiation and integration phase (1991: 47). This notion was further discussed by Glasl (1997:6), who added a fourth phase, the associative phase. In those growth phases, the culture of an organisation reaches a crisis, forcing the organisation to evolve.

The applicability of these phases was explored at CBO level (chapter 9.1.3), and organisational culture change discussed (chapter 10.5.3).

While initially focussing on team building and group dynamics, since the late 1980s OD was influenced by neoliberalism and an increasingly competitive environment for organisations. Thus OD started dealing with organisational matters such as "task, strategy and performance", including the whole organisational system in the change process. Yet the focus on organisational culture as a main leverage in the change process remained as well as the relevance of Schein's theories (James 1998: 10).

Complex system's thinking and learning organisations

The attention to reflection, flexibility and adaptability to turbulent external forces became prevalent in contemporary organisational development paradigms (Stacey et al 2000). Organisational Development thus became an explorative empowerment strategy allowing open-ended rather than predicted organisational outcomes to unfold (James 1998: 11). The term 'learning organisation' (Senge 1990; Argyris & Schön 1996) captured this new consciousness. In "*The Fifth Discipline*", Peter Senge (1990: 139) elaborated core disciplines of organisational learning:

* Personal mastery (working with the creative tension between vision and current reality; subconscious levels);
* Mental models[19] (testing one's inferences and seeing theories in use vs. espoused theories);
* Building shared vision (enabling personal visions as well as listening to others, in order for shared visions, purpose and true commitment to emerge); and
* Team learning (integrating dialogue and discussion; suspending and surfacing assumptions and defensiveness) (ibid: 141-267, 376).

The 'softer' and more 'covert' elements remain central to organisational success, within a system's perspective. In this line of thinking, skilful conversation such as "dialogue" as a means to uncover and shift mental models and perceptions becomes a crucial approach (Schein 1994: 1).

Senge (1990: 378-385) introduces the "laws of the fifth discipline", i.e. dynamic systems thinking in organisations. He describes several archetypes (underlying patterns) potentially manifesting in organisations, which can be better understood from a systems' perspective; some of which are listed below:

* Balancing process with delay (organisations adjust their behaviour due to delayed feedback from their actions, since they may not understand the non-linear nature of the system);
* Limits to growth (every system grows at its own pace and forceful fast developments can be harmful);
* Shifting the burden (applying short-term symptomatic solutions to problems, which create a dependency on such quick fixes and increasingly disable the capacity of the system for the fundamental solution; in some cases the burden is shifted to the intervener);
* Eroding goals (due to a shifting the burden type of behaviour the long-term goal declines as people fail to hold their vision);

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[19] In cognitive science, Mental Models determine how we make sense of the world and how we take action (Gardner, in Senge 1990: 175).

∗ Escalation (focus on competition between people or organisations, which increases aggressive behaviour).

He further points out that – since small changes can produce big results – learning to see underlying structures and system archetypes proves helpful for finding the best leverage to shift problematic conditions (ibid: 65). In this way, understanding organisations from a systems perspective makes it possible to address root causes of problems instead of quick fixes and shifting the burden behaviour. Pushing a system by force, harder work or aggressive behaviour can cause the system to push back, increasing stress while not really overcoming obstacles (ibid: 58-59). It therefore remains important to discover and use the right leverage points.

Cilliers (1998: 122) argues that complex systems cannot easily be understood and that no individual in the system has access to all the information within it. In this way no-one would be able to predict the 'right' cure for a systemic problem. However, a systems' perspective can enable a different analysis than, for example, one that is based on linear thinking. It nonetheless includes choice and an ethical dimension in the decision-making process (Cilliers 2000: 28-29).

Senge (1990: 73) suggests the "essence of systems thinking lies in a shift of mind:
∗ Seeing interrelationships rather than linear cause-effect chains, and
∗ Seeing processes of change rather than snapshots."

He adds that the practice of systems thinking begins with understanding "feedback", a concept of how actions can reinforce or counteract each other; and recognising recurring structures and patterns.
Language is understood as key in shaping our cognitive perception, and a Western language structure reinforces linear, anthropocentric views of situations (ibid: 74-78). Senge argues that "we need a language of interrelationships, a language made up of circles."

Bohm (1980: 29) points out that (Western) language itself, with its subject-verb-object structure, reinforces a worldview of "separate entities … fixed and static in their nature." He proposes a language use that emphasises the verb instead of the noun, suggesting movement and flow (ibid: 30). Bohm further propagates dialogue in order to overcome social fragmentation caused by inferences (i.e. assumptions) about each other and move beyond one's individual understanding of the world (Senge 1990: 241).

Zohar (1997: 142-143) emphasises that "dialogue is essentially … a radically different attitude toward oneself, toward others, towards knowledge and problems and relationships. It is a new paradigm, quantum thinking in practice. If, deep inside ourselves and in our approach to others, we replaced knowledge with finding out, answers with questions, winning or losing with sharing, inequality with equality, power with respect and reverence, and proving points with exploring possibilities and listening, then I think we really could change ourselves and our world."

Bohm (1980: 11) advocates for an understanding of "wholeness". Instead of taking organisations apart into their elements, one should learn to see them as entities that are alive in their wholeness, and understand their coming into being in the flow of movement. When learning to see organisations in their wholeness and as intricately connected to everything else, one cannot approach them with a Newtonian worldview of wanting to 'fix' their various parts like a machine.

A view of CBOs as complex systems was explored in this research, and methods applied which enabled organisational learning (see chapters 6-8 and chapter 10.5.2). Appreciating the complexity of CBOs within the context they operate enabled a different perspective on and analysis of the organisations, which are reflected in chapter 9.

Appreciative Inquiry

Magruder Watkins & Mohr (2001: 14) define Appreciative Inquiry (AI) as "a collaborative and highly participative, system-wide approach to seeking, identifying, and enhancing the 'life-giving forces' that are present when a system is performing optimally in human, economic and organizational terms. It is a journey during which profound knowledge of a human system at its moments of wonder is uncovered and used to co-construct the best and highest future of that system."

Instead of following a needs-driven, problem-solving logic, the approach focuses entirely on "valuing the best of what is", understanding organising as "a mystery to be embraced" (ibid: 42). AI is based on theoretical foundations of social constructionism; the new sciences (quantum physics, chaos theory, complexity theory and self-organising systems); and research on the power of image (ibid: 36). Derived from those theories are the core principles of AI, namely

* Constructionism (understanding organisations as living, human constructions);
* Simultaneity (inquiry and change are simultaneous);
* Anticipatory (collective imagination and future discourse as most important resources for organisation change);
* Poetic (an organisation's story is continually co-authored by the people involved with it);
* Positive (the more positive the questions in a group process, the more long-lasting the change effort) (ibid: 37-39).

Magruder Watkins & Mohr (2001: 39) further describe five generic processes of AI, including (1) choosing the positive as focus of inquiry; (2) inquiring into stories of life-giving forces; (3) locating themes and topics for further inquiry; (4) creating shared images for a preferred future; and (5) finding innovative ways to creating that future.

AI was applied in this research as it was understood that a focus on problems within CBOs re-emphasises the notion of them being deficient and underdeveloped. Instead, it was attempted to focus on strengths, which also enabled the better understanding of existing CBO capacities (see chapters 6-8, 9 and 10.5.1).

Presencing

Within a complexity perspective, Otto Scharmer developed the "Presencing"-approach, where groups and organisations become conscious to the emerging property, by sensing into a future that wants to materialise instead of only learning from the past through Action-Learning (Senge et al 2004: 89). It emphasises an understanding of three types of complexity:

* Dynamic (where cause and effect are distant in time; requiring a whole systems approach);
* Social (where actors have different views and interests; and the approach needs to include various stakeholders); and
* Generative (with disruptive patterns of innovation and change; leading to the sensing and Presencing approach) (Scharmer & Jandernoa 2006: 12).
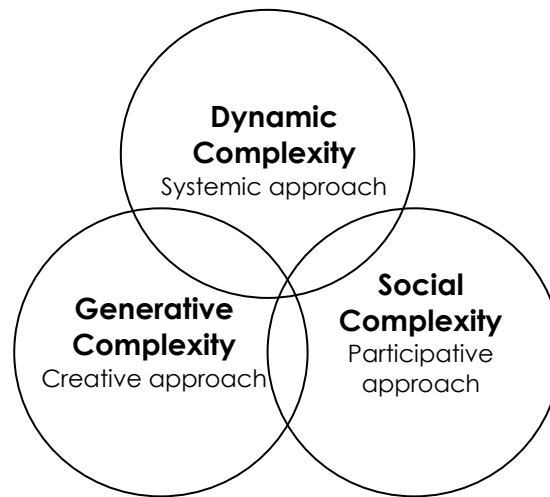
Figure 3: Three types of complexity (from Boyer et al 2007: 7)

While an understanding of dynamic complexity can lead to an analysis of process and structure; and a social complexity perspective reveals different views and thinking levels; generative complexity aims to connect with the will and deeper sources of commitment and creativity (ibid: 13). Hence, while the approach also emphasises dialogue and learning similar to the approaches listed above; it includes intuition and deeper levels of reflection, which aim to access future possibilities.

In contrast to Action Learning, where past experiences are reflected on and learnt from, the Presencing approach describes "learning by presencing emerging futures" (ibid: 17). Deeper levels of learning are understood as "increasing awareness of the larger whole – both as it is and as it is evolving – that leads to actions that increasingly serve the emerging whole" (Senge et al 2004: 9). An awareness of dynamic wholes, coupled with being fully present in the moment and listening deeply, can lead to "a state of 'letting come', of consciously participating in a larger field for change" (ibid: 10-11). Goethe's science is referred to as a way of seeing from the whole, reflected in the presencing approach (ibid: 47; see chapter 3.3). Seeing from the whole within organisations is also relates to Edgar Schein's theories on organisational culture (ibid: 48).

The Presencing approach, called Theory U, is divided into three core movements: Sensing, Presencing and Realising (including several smaller elements and practices); which are illustrated in Figure 4.

The Sensing phase represents the phase of observation and becoming "one with the world"; which requires suspending judgements and redirecting our seeing from within the system (whole). The Presencing phase entails retreat and reflection, allowing "inner knowledge to emerge." This phase requires deeper learning and transforming; which goes beyond usual action learning models. The Presencing phase leads into the Realising phase, where emerging activities are crystallised and tested (Senge et al 2004: 88-91).

The Presencing approach was not fully applied within this research, but its core principles guided some of the interventions, allowing for a deeper connection with the case CBOs and following intuition in the processes. This approach also corresponded with Goethe's way of seeing as explored in chapter 3.3, which guided the 'seeing' of CBOs and led to the analysis of their capacities (chapter 9). The Presencing approach is further discussed in chapter 10.5.5.

The U Process: Three Spaces, Seven Capacities

I: Co-Sensing: transforming perception

1. Suspending

2. Redirecting

II: Co-Presencing: transforming self and will

3. Letting go   4. Letting come

III: Co-Realizing: transforming action

7. Institution-alizing

6. Prototyping

5. Crystallizing

Source: Jaworski and Scharmer
©1999-2004. Generon Consulting. All Rights Reserved.
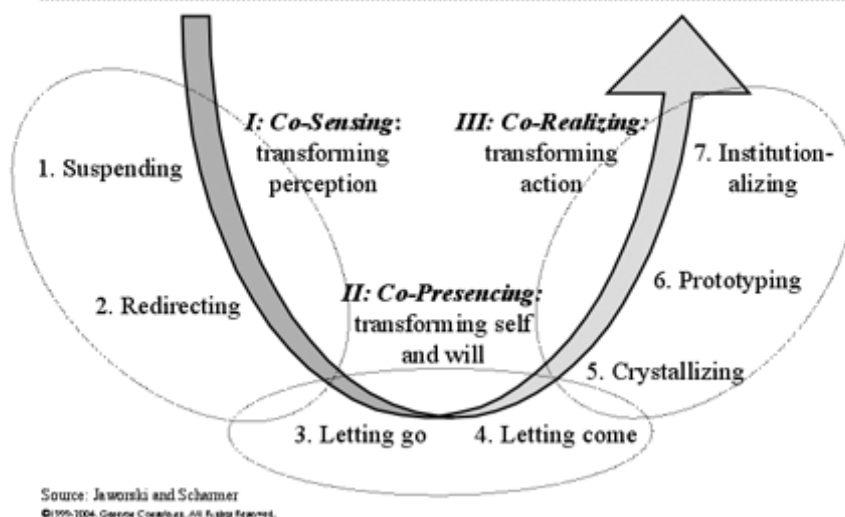
Figure 4: U-Process (Jaworsky & Scharmer, in Hassan & Bojer: 2005: 2)

Communities of Practice

Communities of Practice refer to a learning approach through social networks. Capra (2002: 100) suggests: "Understanding human organisations in terms of living systems, i.e. in terms of complex nonlinear networks, is likely to lead to new insights into the nature of complexity …" Similarly, Senge points to the integrity of living systems, which need to be understood as wholes: "Dividing an elephant in half does not produce two small elephants" (Senge 1990: 66).

Contrary to Taylor's metaphor of the organisation as machine (see also chapter 2.5.1), Capra describes "living social systems" as "self generating networks of communications" (ibid: 102-106). The self-generating notion is explained: "Each communication creates thoughts and meaning, which give rise to further communications. In this way, the entire network generates itself, producing a common context of meaning, shared knowledge, rules of conduct, a boundary, and a collective identity for its members" (ibid: 108). Wenger (1998) described a similar phenomenon which he termed "communities of practice" (CoP) (ibid), describing a social theory of learning (Wenger 1998: 5). Capra summarises the characteristics of CoP as "dynamics of culture", including "the creation of a boundary of meaning and hence an identity among the members of the social network, based on a sense of belonging, which is the defining characteristic of community" (ibid: 108-109). In organisations, communities of practice are understood as informal networks, which can enable the organisation to learn, develop and respond to changes in the environment. They are the key to an organisation's aliveness, meaning "its flexibility, creative potential and learning capability" (ibid: 109-111).

Shaw provides a similar approach based on complexity and chaos theory, where "organising" is understood through "conversation", i.e. relationship; thus making *conversing"* the actual transformative activity within organisations (Shaw 2002).

In this study, the informality and flexibility of CBOs was acknowledged, leading to a comparison of CBOs with CoP in their core characteristics. They are further elaborated in chapters 9.3 and 10.5.4, and were only briefly described here.

Since the late 1990s OD has entered the non-profit sector due to the growing need for stronger non-governmental organisations able to effectively work in development and welfare (James 1998: 8). This provided the point of entry for this research.

This study has mainly applied OD approaches that are in line with an understanding of organisations as complex systems. From a developmental perspective, approaches were used which reinforce and build the organisation's strengths in an emancipatory way, through focussing on positive aspects and collective learning. Hence, methodologies were based on cognitive theories of organisational culture, systems thinking, complexity theory and social constructionism.

The research investigates the application of OD at the level of grassroots non-profit organisations, by tapping into the depth of knowledge available in the field of OD, while adapting its application to suit local requirements. It is accepted as a point of departure that particularly those OD approaches which promote dialogue, learning and organic, process oriented development of organisations are relevant in the context of people-centred development. Within this field, Appreciative Inquiry techniques are aligned with an Asset-based community development[20] approach, where the focus is on appreciating and building on strengths rather than gaps and weaknesses (see 10.5.1). In this way, OD is applied in an empowering way that corresponds with the values of alternative development and the strengthening of civil society organisations (see 2.2.4).

Chapters 6-8 will describe the Action Research experiences of OD with CBOs; and chapter 10 will discuss in what ways OD could be applied in a CBO context.

The following section will describe leadership as an aspect of organisational development, as it stood out strongly as a theme in the research process.

2.6 Leadership

Leadership development has become increasingly understood as a priority capacity to be developed for civil society strengthening in Africa (James 2003: iv; Malunga 2006: 1). Research conducted in Malawi around capacity building of Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs) highlighted the importance of leadership development in organisational change processes. Leaders needed to both drive such processes as well as change personally: "If leadership can't shift, then no organisational process can succeed" (Kaplan, cited in James 2003: 2).

Similarly in Southern Africa, leadership is understood as vital by many NGOs and donors, and various training courses have been offered for civil society actors. While many courses focus on skills development for management (i.e. strategy, systems, structures and staff) (James 2005: 3), alternative concepts have emerged emphasising personal development and purpose, as well as organisational development, i.e. CDRA (2004); Olive OD&T (Collingwood & Foulis 2005); Vision Quest (James 2005).

Below, broad concepts of leadership shall be examined and a framework given for the following discussion of leadership in the context of this study.

2.6.1 Definitions

The literature offers a broad range of leadership definitions, which vary not only in typologies, but also more fundamentally in the theoretical frameworks used. Leadership definitions include personality traits (charismatic, individual leaders); relational models (group processes, followership, power and influence, emergent leadership, roles, structure); behavioural models; and goal achievement (Bass 1990: 11-18). A broad definition offered by Bass & Stogdill's Handbook of Leadership (ibid: 19-20) states that "Leadership is an interaction between two or more members of a group that often involves a structuring or restructuring of the situation and the perceptions and expectations of the members. Leaders are agents of

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[20] "Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD) … seeks to uncover and highlight strengths within communities as a means for sustainable development. The basic tenet is that a capacities-focused approach is more likely to empower the community and therefore mobilize citizens to create positive and meaningful change from within. Instead of focusing on a community's needs, deficiencies and problems, the ABCD approach helps them become stronger and more self-reliant by discovering, mapping and mobilizing all their local assets" (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Asset-Based_Community_Development).

change – persons whose acts affect other people more than other people's acts affect them."

Theories that inform leadership models vary, including personal and situational theories; interaction and social learning theories; interactive process theories; perceptual and cognitive[21] theories and hybrid forms (ibid: 37-54). Gill (2006: 50-57) includes "New Leadership" models, representing "vision, charisma and transformation"; and differentiating between transactional and transforming leadership, as first described by Burns (1978).

Burns (1978: 11) examines leadership as a form of power. Power is essentially understood as interplay between relationship, motives and resources; with purpose or intent being central (ibid: 12-13). "Leadership over human beings is exercised when persons with certain motives and purposes mobilise, in competition or conflict with others, institutional, political, psychological, and other resources so as to arouse, engage, and satisfy the motives of followers" (ibid: 18). Burns (1978: 19-20) distinguishes between transactional leadership, where power is given to leaders for a certain "bargain"; and transforming leadership, where higher motivation and morality play a role and power and purpose become linked between leaders and followers. While leaders and followers become inseparable in function, the leader is still perceived to be the one taking initiative and playing the core role in carrying out the combined purpose. On the "power continuum", leaders can at the one extreme take absolute power; or at the other become "so sensitive to the motives of potential followers that the roles of leader and follower become virtually interdependent" (ibid: 21). While Burns acknowledges relationship as central in leadership, he strongly distinguishes between leaders and followers, with the latter carrying little responsibility, while leaders are described as being "more skilful in evaluating followers' motives, anticipating their responses to an initiative, and estimating their power bases" (ibid: 20). Therefore, followers are reduced to a mass of people, which can be led as long as leaders address "followers' wants, needs, and other motivations, as well as their own", thus "changing the makeup of the followers' motive base…" (ibid).

2.6.2 Leadership and organisation theory

In organisation theory, McGregor (1966: 3-15) was one of the key thinkers who introduced a humanistic perspective, moving away from Taylor's mechanistic view (see also 2.5.1). In Theory X he presented the then conventional idea of employees as generally disinterested, and lacking ambition, and introduced Theory Y, in which employees are viewed differently, and can be motivated and inspired by management to achieve organisational goals. While this revolutionised management thinking, he still proposed a strong division between leadership and followership; seeing managers as leaders through their position in necessarily hierarchical structures, in which the "boss must boss" (ibid: 67).

Schein (1991: 317) defines leadership as influencing the organisational culture (i.e. the underlying assumptions about the organisation and the world in which it operates) in order for organisations to adapt to changing environmental conditions. Schein emphasises the unconscious, less tangible effects of leadership on organisations, but also focuses mainly on a hierarchical view of change through top structures – as is still dominant in corporate organisations. However, the concept of leadership is increasingly shifting away from a hierarchical, top-down understanding; and the relevance of facilitative or shared leadership concepts have developed.

Bennis (1989: 12-13) warns of leaders' sometimes fatal errors of trying to centralise leadership by aiming to single-handedly manage ever more complex organisations, but end up being side-tracked into fixing problems instead of allowing others to take responsibility and develop care for the organisation. He suggests leaders should be "conceptualists" instead of managers: "Leaders are people who do the right thing; managers are people who do things

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[21] Gardner (1985: 6) defines "cognitive science as a contemporary, empirically based effort concerned with the nature of knowledge, its components, its sources, its development, and its deployment." A central aspect of cognitive science describes "mental representation: a set of constructs that can be invoked for the explanation of cognitive phenomena, ranging from visual perception to story comprehension" (ibid: 383).

right" (ibid: 17-18). He further describes leadership competencies as (1) the management of attention through a guiding vision; (2) the management of meaning through communicating the vision; (3) the management of trust through reliability and integrity; and (4) the management of self through knowing one's skills and implementing them effectively (ibid: 20-22). He further adds that leaders should empower people by making them feel significant, enable learning and competence; encouraging a sense of family or community; and keep the work situation exciting and stimulating (ibid: 22-23). He concludes that true leaders follow a "path with a heart", and have identified their true calling to make a meaningful contribution (ibid: 108).

While concepts such as Bennis' have caused a shift towards more participation; the idea of an individual, charismatic leader, able to "empower" others, remained. Calás and Smircich (1997: 371) deconstruct leadership (in an organisation theory context) from a poststructuralist, feminist perspective; stating "how naïve it is to try to propose 'alternative organisations' without questioning the logic, the metaphysical assumptions, which inform our current thinking and writing about organisations," which they describe as a "masculinist monologic." In this sense, leadership knowledge has mainly been informed by a patriarchal, as well as upper class view, while disallowing more democratic and participatory models (ibid: 342-356).

2.6.3 The influence of complex systems theory

Systems, Chaos and Complexity Theory[22] have brought new insights into leadership concepts; abandoning the idea of the individual, charismatic leader, while emphasising relationships and collective leadership. Leadership is no longer understood as leading from the front only. Avery (2004, in Gill 2006: 56-57) suggests that in organisations of the future, a new style of transformational leadership will be required, which she terms "organic leadership". Here, a strong link can be observed to complexity theory, as leadership and vision are described as emergent; with shared vision, values and sense making, as well as self-determination playing significant roles. Leaders need to let go "of conventional notions of control, order and hierarchy, replacing them with trust and acceptance of continual change, chaos and respect for diverse members of the organisation … the members are expected to be self-managing and self-leading" (Avery 2004, cited in Gill 2006: 57). Griffin & Stacey (2005: 10-11) describe leadership as emerging in "social processes of recognition" through "communicative interaction and power relating".

The concept of emergent leadership has already existed in earlier theories; i.e. leadership emerging through group interaction (Bogardus 1929; Pigors 1935; Anderson 1940; in Bass 1990: 16). Gill (2006: 40-41) connects emergent leadership with the concept of servant leadership, as the "ability or desire to serve the needs of other people is usually the reason why leaders emerge." Zohar and Marshall (2001; cited in ibid: 41) describe servant leadership as serving "the ultimate source of meaning and value." Servant leadership may describe well the leadership demonstrated at community and CBO level, as leaders do not enter their role through formal contracts, but rather become leaders through their contributions (and sacrifices) to the community.

Senge (1990: 340) criticises the traditional Western concept of leadership, defined as heroic individuals leading people who lack power and vision; and emphasises the importance of collective learning and the awareness of systemic forces. He proposes effective organisational leadership through creating learning organisations, which remain resilient in the face of environmental changes and crises. In such organisations, people have a sense of their own vision and commitment and do not need to be led in the traditional sense. Leaders become designers (of systems which enhance learning) (ibid: 341); stewards (by creating a story and deep sense of purpose which gives meaning to the work at an individual and collective level) (ibid: 345); and teachers (by helping people understand systemic forces and

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[22] The literature often refers to complexity and chaos theory in similar ways. However, complexity as it is understood in this research is different from chaos, which is explained by Cilliers (1998: 127): "Complex systems are constrained, they have an organized structure, but within those contraints the system has to diversify maximally."

the story) (ibid: 356). The "creative tension" leaders have to work with lies in holding a vision while always telling the truth about the current reality (ibid: 357). Personal choice plays a bigger role in shared leadership than position: "One of the paradoxes of leadership in learning organisations is that it is both collective and highly individual. Although the responsibilities of leadership are diffused among men and women throughout the organisation, the responsibilities come only as a result of individual choice" (ibid: 360).

In a later publication of Senge et al (2004: 192) the "primary leadership issue of our time" is defined as "becoming a real human being" through self cultivation, in the sense of life long commitment to personal development. While Western concepts of leadership have increasingly neglected the need for personal mastery, old Chinese and Indian traditions (Zen Buddhist, Confucian, and Taoist) emphasised self-cultivation as a prerequisite for leaders: "If you want to be a leader, you have to be a real human being. You must recognise the true meaning of life before you can become a great leader. You must understand yourself first" (Master Nan cited in ibid: 186). Senge et al emphasise that while leadership cultivation of individuals formed a core aspect in the past, the "leadership of the future will not be provided simply by individuals but by groups, institutions, communities and networks" (ibid: 191). Therefore, forms of leadership should be nurtured that cultivate the wisdom of the group. Instead of depending on heroes, the "future can emerge within the group" (ibid: 191-192). The U-movement is presented as an approach to collective learning towards emerging future possibilities (ibid: 88; see also 10.5.5).

Similarly, Capra (2002: 121-123) distinguishes between traditional leadership, where a leader is a "person who is able to hold a vision, to articulate it clearly and to communicate it with passion and charisma" … "whose actions embody certain values that serve as a standard for others to strive for;" and another kind of leadership which "consists in facilitating the emergence of novelty." He further suggests that to facilitate emergence, community leaders need to build up and nurture networks of communication, and remain open systems, enabling new ideas and knowledge and thus a learning culture in the organisation.

2.6.4 African vs. Western concepts

While the examples above are drawn from Western as well as Eastern traditions, Malunga (2006: 2-4) offers an African perspective by examining the relationship of Ubuntu and leadership. Malunga critically argues that much of the documented materials about indigenous African leadership is written from a Eurocentric perspective, highlighting mainly the negative sides. He argues that while African leaders often seemed autocratic at first sight, their people's approval was critical for their legitimacy; and they had to be accountable and participatory.

Malunga (2006: 9-10) proposes the following principles of Ubuntu, which he translated into leadership qualities in organisations:
 * Collective responsibility for the organisation (sharing responsibility and work);
 * Importance of relationships (viewing organisations as extended families, going beyond the professional level);
 * Participatory leadership (transparent, democratic leadership; encouraging ownership and commitment; and governance through "councils, elders and healers");
 * Patriotism (organisational interests precede personal interests; connecting to and identifying with the organisation's values); and
 * Reconciliation (conflict management to ensure fairness, trust, reconciliation and relationship building).

While the principles of Ubuntu may be less applicable to predominantly Afrikaans speaking, coloured townships in the Western Cape, its cultural influence may have moved beyond African people in urban contexts such as greater Cape Town. Prince (2005: 111) points to the cultural, theological background of all (leadership) concepts: "All thought, even when fundamentally atheist, is inescapably located within and derived from a cultural context, including theological assumptions about the nature of the universe and our relation to it." In

the context of this study, belief systems such as Islam and Christianity, by accepting the authority of a "Creator God", may further influence a view of leaders in a hierarchical order; and emphasise "separation and difference" between leaders and followers.

Interestingly, Ubuntu philosophy is similar to systems and complexity theory, which emphasises the collective, relationships and participation. Hence, a complexity perspective may lie closer to an indigenous African philosophy than traditional Western as well as religious models, which prioritised the individual, hierarchical, and the separation of subject and object (i.e. leaders and followers).

Gronn (1995, cited in Gill 2006: 61-62) proposes that "theories of leadership wax and wane in keeping with wider cultural and economic shifts and developments." Bass (1960 in Bass 1990: 19) further suggests that "the definition used in a particular study of leadership depends on the purposes of the study." For the purposes of this study, leadership is examined through a complexity and feminist perspective, while also paying attention to a cognitive dimension of people's own sense making of leadership in the South African/ Cape Town CBO context (see 9.2).

The theory of complex systems informed the discussion and analysis of this research. Since the theory does not sufficiently address issues of power, which also emerged as a strong theme, the following chapter describes an understanding of power from a Foucauldian perspective.

2.7 Power

Asymmetrical power relationships emerged as a theme throughout the case study work and are present in the development sector at large. Complexity theory acknowledges such asymmetries (Cilliers 1998; 2000), but does not provide a means of studying them. Literature on leadership and development theory raises power issues to different degrees (e.g. Brews 1994; Kaplan 1996; Taylor 2000; Burns 1978; Heifetz 1995). The more classical OD literature often does not provide an examination of power relations; nor does it seriously question power inequalities (e.g. French & Bell 1984a; McGregor 1966; Senge 1990).

Foucault (1978; 1979; 1980; 1982) has been widely cited in historical, philosophical analyses of power. Foucuault's theory has in the past 20 years increasingly been applied in organisational studies, especially in labour process theory (Carter et al 2002: 515). Alvesson (1996: 95) has examined Foucault in relation to organisational theory: "Power as such does not exist" but it manifests itself as it is exercised (Foucault 1982: 336-337). It is not understood as a property or centralised; and can therefore not be localised or fixed (Alvesson & Skoeldberg 2000: 225). Power is understood as practices and structures, which are not necessarily imposed on those "'who do not have it'; it invests them, is transmitted by them and through them; it exerts pressure upon them, just as they themselves, in their struggle against it, resist the grip it has on them" (Foucault 1979, cited in ibid: 226). Foucault (1980, cited in Alvesson 1996: 96) further points out that power is a "machine in which everybody is caught, those who exercise power just as much as those over whom power is exercised." Here, the notion of discipline becomes relevant, in which individuals, as well as societies, internalise certain norms and "discourses" and act accordingly by constraining themselves and others; and establishing regulations of conduct (Foucault 1982: 336-337; Alvesson 1996: 97-98/103-104). "Power relations are rooted in the whole network of the social" and can therefore not be reduced to particular institutions (Foucault 1982: 345).

Foucault (1982: 341-342) emphasises that power exists within various possibilities of actions; and is exercised over free subjects in relationships of provocation. Struggle against power and domination plays a central role in Foucault's theory (ibid: 348); suggesting that people use resistance against forms of power as a starting point to understand it (ibid: 329). There exist also more subtle, manipulative forms of power, of which softer methods of organisational behaviour and motivation are seen as examples "for subjectivation in a desired direction" (Sotto 1990, in Alvesson & Skoeldberg 2000: 228). Therefore, organisational theories regarding

motivation and human aspects need to be at least viewed with suspicion regarding whose needs they serve[23].

A particularly interesting aspect of Foucault's work for this study is his emphasis on the close coupling of power and knowledge, where asymmetrical power relationships are maintained and re-enforced through the use of knowledge and "games of truth" (truths are understood as social constructions) (Alvesson 1996: 100; 122). Such games of truth were used in conventional development practice, which was mainly based on Western knowledge and interests, disregarding local knowledge (see 2.2.1). Furthermore, CBOs in the South African context are often seen as the end recipients of development assistance, and the knowledge of development experts is validated more than their local knowledge (see section 4.3.3).

A similar view is described by Ferguson (1994, in Williams 2004: 93) about a development project in Lesotho, where "participation merely adds to the 'anti-politics machine': it is a Foucauldian exercise of power that rewrites the subjectivity of the Third World's poor, disciplining them through a series of participatory procedures, performances and encounters." Through this exercise, development beneficiaries are supposed to become "empowered" and therefore responsibility for project failure rests with them, "leaving the anti-politics machine free to grind onwards" (ibid). However, Williams counters that in a Foucauldian sense, systems of power/knowledge allow for alternative discourses to emerge as a form of resistance, which can lead to opportunities for a "re-politicisation" (Williams 2004: 94).

While Foucault emphasised the micro-structures of power and resistance against those dynamics; Alvesson & Skoeldberg (2000: 231) critique his neglect of socially constructed stabilities in power relations; such as race, class and gender. They describe him as an "eternal rebel … rather than a global revolutionary or, for instance, a critical theorist…" (ibid). Similarly, both development and OD theory do not often sufficiently address notions of power from a critical theory perspective, failing to include class, race and gender relations. As an example in line with this thinking, Calás and Smircich (1997: 355) describe McGregor's "Human Side of Enterprise" (1960, cited in ibid; also see 2.6.2) as written for the "higher class male population" (corporate managers), with a false emphasis on egalitarianism, while maintaining "everybody in their proper place."

This research could also have been guided by a critical theory perspective for its "interpretive approach combined with a pronounced interest in critically disputing actual social realities" (Alvesson & Skoeldberg 2000: 110) such as power asymmetries and political dimensions. Critical theory therefore enables the researcher to become aware of the tension of being part of an existing social order, while at the same time challenging the same. However, Alvesson & Skoeldberg point out that critical theory tends to adopt an "intellectualising, theoretical stance, which also makes it difficult to apply in empirical research," as it is "highly theoretical" and "easily prestructures empirical material" to fit into the "framework, assumptions and vocabulary of critical theory" (ibid: 145). The authors further point out that critical theory tends to focus on negative aspects of society and its institutions, while in empirical studies one should also remain open to the positive, non-repressive sides "to broaden the interpretive repertoire" (ibid).

Since this study is guided by a grounded theory approach, the empirical material and themes resulting from its interpretations stand above the theories applied. The theories that were drawn on mainly serve the purpose of discussing the findings, while it is of importance to not 'bend' the findings to fit the theories. Therefore, various theories need to be combined, in order to describe and discuss the complex social phenomena observed. The study will mainly draw on Foucault to describe power asymmetries, while remaining conscious of critical theory aspects such as class, race and gender issues.

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[23] Becker & Langosch (2002) raise the conflict between productivity and humanity, which OD approaches aim to level within (corporate) organisations.

Knights (2002: 590-591) criticises organisation theorists who have appropriated parts of Foucault's theory. He states that while Foucault's theory is relevant to organisation studies on an epistemological level, as well as through his focus on "power, knowledge/truth and subjectivity/ethics," theorists often fail to fully engage with the depth of his works.

However, following the grounded theory approach, the study does not aim to examine the different power theories nor go deeper into further elements of Foucault or critical theorists. Aspects of the theories will be used when discussing (power) relationships within CBOs as well as with other stakeholders in the system, mainly informing the argument in chapter 9.

2.8 Summary

The development work in community and capacity development, and thus the work with CBOs, has been largely influenced by a worldview guided by modernisation theory and Western neoliberal interests, coupled with a reductionist, linear paradigm of development. While many development concepts today emphasise a more empowering, process-oriented and people-centred approach to development, power inequalities in the development sector have remained as stumbling blocks for such shifts to take place at a more meaningful level.

The break from modernisation theory led to new theories of development. What was common to a number of those approaches to development was the need for participation by citizens via their own autonomous organisations, such as CBOs. However, surprisingly very little attention was given to how to build the capacities of these organisations, so that they can perform the roles ascribed to them. Therefore this research is examining OD as a possible pathway of developing the capacities of CBOs. However, OD is understood in a number of different ways. The approach guiding this research is rejecting the mechanistic, instrumentalist or structuralist notions. For people-centred development to work, a process oriented, relational, complex systems approach to OD is necessary in order to genuinely build the capacity of CBOs as vehicles of authentic participation. Leadership and power relationships emerged as significant themes during the research and a feminist perspective of leadership and Foucauldian concept of power have been applied.

Kaplan (1996: 63-64) described the need to cultivate a "new development practitioner", who is competent to facilitate capacity-building processes, which will have a meaningful impact at the grassroots level. "Essentially, the development practitioner becomes an organisation development consultant, but to a select grouping of organisations – people's organisations, social movements, community-based organisations, non-governmental development organisations. He or she assists in the development of a healthy civil society which can serve to maintain a nation's consciousness, and, hopefully, hinders it from falling into the abuses of dogma, the unconsciousness of a status quo."

3

"There is a delicate empiricism which makes itself utterly identical with the object, thereby becoming true theory... The ultimate goal would be to grasp that everything in the realm of fact is already theory... Let us not seek for something beyond the phenomena – they themselves are the theory."

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1988, cited in Shotter 2005: 132).

3   Research Paradigms

The following chapter will provide an understanding of the research paradigm and methodology used in this study. Since the research was based on a real life study, it could not necessarily be linked to one single theory, but had to draw on different theories and concepts to meet its complex requirements.

The research process followed two broad strands: firstly, in gaining understanding of the case CBOs in their particular and broader context; and secondly in working with those CBOs as an OD facilitator, supporting the organisational development of each CBO while simultaneously trying to develop a meaningful practice. The complexity of the theme required a qualitative approach, while considering various research paradigms to enable reflexivity. Alvesson and Skoeldberg (2000: 246) define reflexivity in the research context as a way of paying attention to the process of constructing the empirical material, as well as the researcher and the social context constructing her; without letting any of these aspects dominate. They suggest a "broader, multilevel area of reflection", including aspects about the interaction with the empirical material; its interpretation and underlying meanings; its critical interpretation regarding ideology, power and social reproduction; as well as the reflection on authority of the author and language use (ibid: 248-250). While each aspect may be handled with various levels of depth, the authors suggest: "Reflexivity arises when the different elements or levels are played off against each other", and "no element is totalised" (ibid: 249).

This study is guided by a variety of qualitative research paradigms, which are elaborated in the following sections. Data presentation and interpretation are viewed mainly through a postmodern perspective, focussing on the contextual, local value of the research; and recognising problems arising through the researcher's authority (see section 3.1). The case studies as well as their broader environment and the development sector are understood as complex systems, requiring a complexity theory perspective in order to understand their inter-connectivity (see also section 2.1 for complexity theory). Further guiding paradigms in this research are Grounded Theory in order to generate theory from empirical material (section 3.2); as well as a phenomenological approach, by investigating the case CBOs and their particular situation within the context of development and community development in South Africa (section 3.3). The study has transformatory characteristics by collectively identifying obstacles or challenges on an organisational level with each CBO and aiming to positively effect change with the CBOs who participated in the research. This approach is informed by the Action Research (AR) paradigm (section 3.4). Sections 3.5-3.7 will describe the research methodology, delimitations and research ethics.

Reflexive research approach
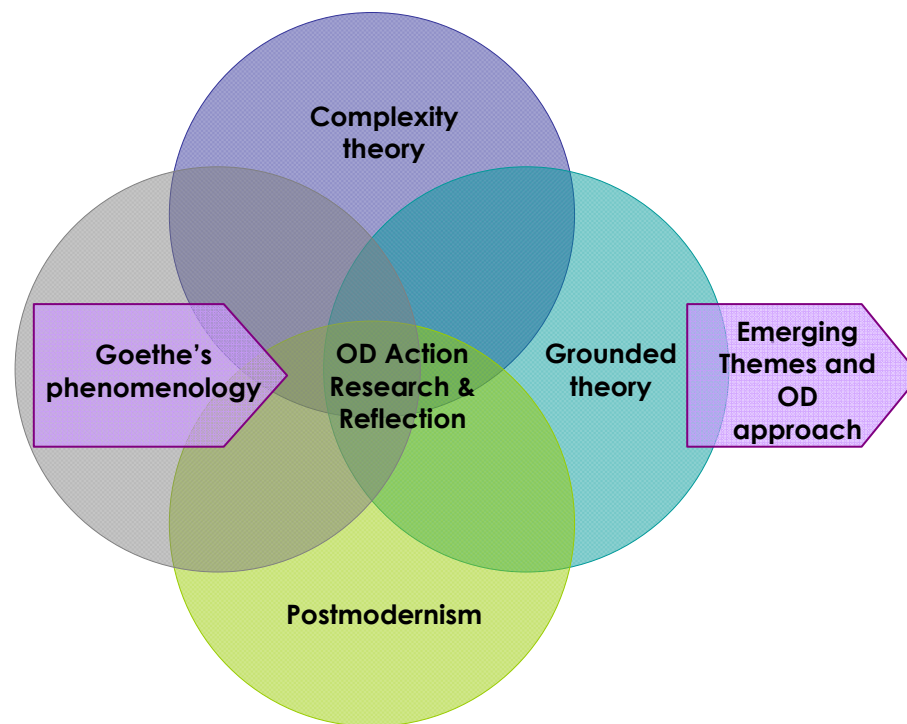
Figure 5: Reflexive research approach

3.1 Postmodernism

This study is informed by a largely postmodern imaginary, in the sense that it finds no need to establish as a point of departure a modernist idea of 'grand narrative' to legitimise certain kinds of knowledge or truth, by seeking to homogenise epistemological principles, norms and scientific laws (Lyotard 1979, in Babbie & Mouton 2001: 39). Instead, the findings of this research are understood as highly contextual and bound within their local relations; coexisting with related heterogeneous discourses. This does not imply the promotion of a relativist approach in which "anything goes." Rather, findings have to be validated within their fabrics of complex relations in a connectionist model. "Although different discourses form clusters within this network, they cannot isolate themselves from this network. There are always connections to other discourses" (Cilliers 1998: 115-116). Hence, empirical data, discussion and recommendations from this research may serve as useful inspiration or material for comparison for similar studies or practice work, but are not meant to hold truth universally, and should therefore not simply be transferred into different contexts.

Seidman (in Babbie & Mouton 2001: 40) further adds the following claims to a postmodern approach to social science:
  * "Social scientists are intrinsically linked to their social and historical contexts. This implies that any value free social inquiry is mistaken and impossible.
  * Social reality is constructed and social scientific knowledge is similarly a construct of social inquiry. There is no independent social reality that exists outside of human reflection and inquiry.

  ∗   Knowledge and power are closely related and mutually dependent. This means that a naturalist account of objectivity is totally inappropriate for social science."

These notions also relate to a phenomenological perspective, which is further elaborated in 3.3.

While there is little guidance in postmodern discussion about empirical research methodology and handling of data, Alvesson and Skoeldberg (2000: 185) suggest three points to be of significance:
1. Avoiding definite viewpoints at the theoretical and interpretive level,
2. Highlighting differences, ambiguities and divergences, and
3. Emphasising the problem of the researcher's authority in relation to other voices, by ascribing a definite meaning to a phenomenon.

Linked to the latter point is also the problem of language, which is seen as "ambivalent, evasive, metaphorical and constitutive", making impossible an objective representation of the phenomenon (ibid: 151-152).

The authors further suggest allowing a pluralism of voices (and multiple selves) in the research as well as variations and contradictions from identified patterns; while considering carefully what to include and exclude (ibid: 186-187). The style of research should encourage the readers' reinterpretation of synthesised material, rather than presenting unambiguous, seemingly true results. Authority, language and the "politics of representation" can be addressed by discussing problems of pluralism and exclusion; as well as an open way of writing while considering different theoretical frames of reference (ibid: 192-194).

Seidman (in Babbie & Mouton 2001: 40) further points to practical implications of a postmodern social science: implying the disappearance of disciplinary boundaries, and allowing for multiple genres of knowledge production and scientific methods.

3.2   Grounded Theory

Grounded theory as a qualitative research approach focuses on empirical findings in order to develop theory. The empirical material is not tested against an existing hypothesis or theory, but rather the theory derived from the data. Alvesson and Skoeldberg (2000: 15) describe how Grounded Theory was developed by Glaser and Strauss to "bridge the gap between 'grand theory' and empirical research," relating to postmodernism's criticism of "grand narratives." The main aim is to generate theory inductively from empirical data, instead of verifying existing theory in a deductive manner, which Glaser and Strauss criticise as "divorced from reality" (ibid: 16). Through focussing on empirical data, new theories can emerge, maintaining practical utility (ibid: 19). Glaser and Strauss recommend a highly intensive word by word or line by line "minute examination" of the empirical material, through which properties of the data can be identified and subsequently coded into categories (ibid: 22).

This study focuses on qualitative data collected through the following sources:

1. *Analysis of the broader context*
   The context of development and community development in post-Apartheid South Africa, especially with regard to its impact on the development of CBOs, was assessed and analysed through literature research and interviews with six development practitioners, donors and academics.

2. *Interviews with CBOs and community leaders*
   14 individuals from eight CBOs (selected from the same or neighbouring communities as the case studies) were asked about their views through semi-structured focus-group

interviews. Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with four community leaders[24] about their views on the topic.

3. *Conducting in-depth Action-Research with case studies*
   The researcher worked with three CBOs as case studies over a period of 17-29 months each. To ensure willingness and interest in being part of a research project, a contractual agreement with the respective CBOs was entered into beforehand. With each case study the researcher conducted an in-depth diagnosis of the organisation and applied various OD methods as a response to the diagnosis. The various steps were collaboratively agreed upon with the target CBOs, and feedback of findings discussed at relevant points. Besides the OD support, the leaders of the three cases were interviewed regarding their personal background, views about their organisation and work, as well as capacity development. At the end of the research period, the outcomes were evaluated by the CBOs through assessment-questionnaires. At a later stage, a consultative workshop was conducted with CBO members (some of whom had previously participated as interviewees or case studies); to present emerging research themes and gain feedback on their views.

Grounded Theory proves useful for this research, which derives its core contribution from its empirical data collection. Furthermore the emphasis of Grounded Theory on the local, provisional and pluralistic and its opposition to grand narratives are in common with a postmodern paradigm.

However, Alvesson & Skoeldberg (2000: 27) list several problems with the approach. Firstly, too much energy is spent on coding. Secondly, data is processed in an unreflected view, not taking into account the researcher's mental frame. Both seem to be informed by a positivist paradigm unusual to qualitative research. Hermeneuticians such as Heidegger criticised the view of "theory-free" data in that reality is always already interpreted through the researcher's cognitive and theoretical frames of reference (ibid: 17). Furthermore the authors point out that an over-focussing on empirical material can lead to "belabouring the obvious" and the possible "reinvention of the wheel" (ibid: 30).

Alvesson & Skoeldberg (2000: 34) recommend a "looser coupling to data and a more reflective focus upon the empirical material, combined with a bolder approach to the research process both in its foundations and theoretically." They suggest building on the general inspiration that Grounded Theory provides, while not being tied to its prescriptions, such as the coding procedure.

For the purpose of this research, coding has been applied in a broader sense, by coding each paragraph of the case descriptions (chapters 5-8) and categorising them into themes for discussion in chapters 9 and 10. Other materials, such as interview transcripts, process reports and the researcher's journal were not coded but used for triangulation.

In order to avoid too much of an empiricist interpretation and reliance on 'tangible facts', and enable a more reflective and in-depth data collection, a phenomenological approach has been applied, using the Goethean model of 'seeing', which is described below.

3.3   A Goethean Approach to Phenomenology

According to Babbie and Mouton (2001: 33) the phenomenological tradition emphasises "inter-subjectivity, engagement and empathy", allowing the researcher to get close to the subject and getting an insider's view of the situation. The approach aims at gaining a deeper understanding of a complex situation in everyday life, using lived experience as a departure point (Alvesson & Skoeldberg (2000: 36). What Husserl (in ibid: 37-38) termed "Wesensschau"

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[24] In this research community leaders are defined as individuals from disadvantaged communities who exercise their leadership towards community development on a broader level (beyond leading a CBO).

was an intuitive seeing of the being or essence of the phenomenon; while experience was understood as a process or "Erlebnisstrom" (stream of experiences).

Goethe offered a holistic way of seeing a phenomenon beyond the tangible, visible data. Bortoft (1996: 50) criticises the philosophy of empiricism in its belief that knowledge of the world is gained through the senses alone, as there always is a non-sensory factor in cognitive perception, and therefore "more to seeing than meets the eye" (Hanson, cited in ibid: 50). He cautions against a common tendency found in empirical research, which relies too heavily on the visible, tangible data. This is also emphasised by Alvesson & Skoeldberg (2000: 34) in their critique of grounded theory and the danger of taking collected data as the basis for truth; while ignoring the dimension of the researcher, and her interpretation based on her personal framework of experiences (see above).

The Cartesian divorce of subject from object has further informed an epistemology which separates consciousness from the world. Phenomenology, as developed by Husserl (in Bortoft 1996: 54) overcomes the incoherence of Cartesian dualism by adding the structure of "intentionality" to consciousness, therefore always meaning "consciousness of". The conscious mind and the object of which it is conscious form an "indissoluble unity" in cognitive perception.

Bortoft (1996: 61) suggests the "coalescence of sensory outsight with intuitive insight". He describes Goethe's holistic way of seeing as going beyond the verbal-intellectual or analytical mind, which requires a shift in consciousness to enable a "simultaneous perception of the whole". Here, relationships can be experienced, whereas the analytical mode of consciousness is more concerned with the elements which are related. He however sees the holistic mode of consciousness as complementary to the analytical and not meant to replace it (ibid: 63). What he criticises is the over-reliance on the intellectual mind in modern Western consciousness – as demonstrated in the writings of Descartes, Cartesian dualism and the development of science since Galileo onwards – of understanding the world through its measurable elements only (ibid: 109-111).

Since knowledge is not achieved by the senses alone, the non-sensory element can either be analytical or intuitive. Bortoft describes intuition in this context as "knowledge without recourse to inference", which enables the observer to go through the sensory surface to perceive its depth. Intuition is therefore a "seeing into" another dimension of the phenomenon (ibid: 67-68). Here, Goethe did not mean another dimension 'behind' the phenomenon. He also criticised the idea of deriving theory by constructing a picture of a hidden mechanism or law, which cannot be accessed directly but only through mental constructions with the intellectual mind. He therefore rejected a common way of developing theory through laws which are supposed to exist 'behind' the phenomenon. For Goethe, it was about seeing another dimension of the same phenomenon, which is the dimension of wholeness or unity. While the elements are the same as in the sensory way of experiencing the phenomenon, the intuitive seeing enables understanding their "mode of togetherness (…) that gives the phenomenon its intensive depth". The theory *is* the facts, if those are seen in a holistic way, as it is inherent in the phenomenon (ibid: 70-72). This insight is understood by Goethe as an "intensive inside", which can be reached by dwelling within the phenomenon consciously; rather than an extensive inside characterised by the external world of bodies and reached by the intellectual mind as described by Hegel (ibid: 73).

Hence, seeing organisations in their wholeness by way of intuitively accessing relationships between the elements provides a deeper dimension to this study. It is closely linked to complexity theory in its emphasis on relationships having more relevance than the nodes in each system (Cilliers 1998: 116). Further than that, Bortoft (1996: 128) suggests seeing phenomena in their dynamic, organising nature, in their "coming into being" instead of static, finished product; by thinking "verbally instead of thinking in terms of the noun." Based on quantum physics, Bohm (1980: 172) describes the "unbroken wholeness of the totality of existence as an undivided flowing movement without borders." Here, "both observer and observed are merging and interpenetrating aspects of one whole reality, which is indivisible

and unanalysable" (ibid: 9). Bohm (1980:1-4) describes the fragmentation of thought, and ultimately of the world, based on a Newtonian science worldview. Instead, he proposes a quantum physics perspective, in which the world is understood as an "undivided whole, in which all parts of the universe, including the observer and his instruments, merge and unite in one totality" (ibid: 11). This insight is called the "Undivided Wholeness in Flowing Movement", in which flow precedes "things" in a "stream of consciousness … In this flow, mind and matter are not separate substances. Rather, they are different aspects of one whole and unbroken movement" (ibid). Goethe's theory can thus also be related to findings in quantum theory.

Goethe's 'zarte Empirie' or 'delicate empiricism' was divided into four stages (Wahl 2005: 62-65):
1) Exact sense perception: seeing the phenomenon "as it is", while suspending classifications;
2) Exact sensorial imagination: focussing on the dynamic, process oriented nature in one's imagination. Seeing the unfolding;
3) Seeing is beholding: suspend active perception and only receiving; allowing the phenomenon to express itself, its being; which can lead to a sudden flash of insight;
4) Being one with the object: at this stage "form is understood as an expression of process" and "expresses its own coming into being through relationship. The patterns in this process of transformation can be discerned as laws and types – as possible paths or modes of expression," (…) communicating "how it relates to its wider environment, to the phenomena around it" (ibid: 65).

The stages are preceded by a preparation, or fifth stage, in which the researcher acknowledges how he usually meets the world; his basic assumptions and concepts.

Goethe's science is mainly referred to in the natural sciences (Becker 1999; Boehler 2003; Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag 1998a+b) and the current relevance of his way of seeing is stressed (Holdrege 2005; Wahl 2005). It can, however, also apply to this study in a social science context as it enables a deeper and more intuitive insight into the intangible aspects of organisations. Complexity theory in the postmodern sense rejects the transferring of models from one discipline into another. However it is not the results of Goethe's research that are being transferred into a social science context, but rather his approach to seeing and understanding phenomena were used as guidance when working with the case CBOs.

There are few references to Goethean science in social sciences literature. Kaplan (2005: 319-20) describes a "phenomenological conversation" in the Goethean sense in order to explore the "development industry". Here, the phenomenon's "action" or "coming into being" was fore-grounded in order to deeply understand the intention forming the industry. Instead of abstracting or observing the phenomenon from an onlooker's perspective, participants in this conversation were asked to "read for the formative idea", understanding the belonging together of all parts and one's own role in it. Such observations were only comprehensible in a holistic way of thinking which sees connections and "active relationship". The result of the conversation was described as a heightened sense of consciousness. "By seeing through to what is living, we are all more alive than we were" (ibid: 329).

Senge et al (2003: 41-47) refer to Goethe's way of seeing in the context of "seeing from the whole"; where the relationship between "seer" and "seen" is shifted away from the subject-object duality. This includes suspending one's assumptions and learning to "redirect" one's awareness to the "generative process behind what we see." In this way, an "authentic whole" can be encountered. The authors suggest this process can also be applied in organisations (ibid: 48-50).

The examples show how Goethe's way of seeing can be applied in a social science context as well as in developmental work. Bortoft (1996: 114) further points out that the value of Goethe's science is not so much in the individual discoveries he made, but rather by his new way of doing science; which is illuminated by contemporary European philosophy and the psychology of consciousness.

Goethe's science was described by Bortoft (1996: 75) as hermeneutic phenomenology. While hermeneutics has similarities with grounded theory in its close engagement with the empirical material, it differs in that perceptions of empirical material are always the result of interpretations, and not the starting point for interpretations as in Grounded Theory (Alvesson & Skoeldberg 2000: 32). In this regard, it is similar to phenomenology; as well as in its general focus on intuition (ibid: 52), understanding (Verstehen) and interpretation (Babbie & Mouton 2001: 30).

Another way of social explanation through interpretation is provided by Bevir & Rhodes (2000: 8) from a political science perspective, stating that "to understand actions, practices and institutions, we need to grasp the meanings, the beliefs and preferences, of the people involved." This research also engages with the meanings and beliefs of the members of CBOs and other interview and focus group members and their sense making of the situational context of CBOs. The study however goes deeper in that interviewees were not only being asked for their opinions, but also to reflect the conceptual presuppositions and assumptions they carry. For the purposes of this study, the Goethean, or hermeneutic phenomenology can provide an in-depth understanding of the CBOs (and individuals within) in relation to their contexts.

Hermeneutics includes an understanding of the relationships between the whole and the parts; observer and observed; pre-understanding and understanding; which can be related to the Goethean approach (Alvesson & Skoeldberg 2000: 99). Linked to hermeneutics/ phenomenology, Goethe saw an archetypal 'essence' in his observations of phenomena, which is "everywhere visible and nowhere visible" and needs to be perceived intuitively. He, however, did not subscribe to a generalisation or abstraction in this sense. In the phenomenon's coming into being, the archetypes shine through in various ways (ibid: 79-80). Such archetypes may also be observable in organisations, in that their characteristics "shine through" in various elements of the organisation and therefore do not manifest only in one single way. This could be the case for individual organisations and their characteristics manifesting in various ways; as well as across organisations in the form of archetypes or patterns, which can be observed in several CBOs (e.g. phases of organisational development or leadership archetypes at a CBO-level).

Alvesson and Skoeldberg (2000: 100) criticise hermeneutics for its infiltration by foundational thinking, as it suggests "the possibility of a transparent understanding of the meaning of the whole, and that there is such a whole" (Olson 1987 in ibid). While postmodernism may reject the existence of such a whole totally, the authors propose an alternative "to break the deadlock of either harmony or difference" (ibid: 104-105). The "French sociology of the imaginary (…) combines the hermeneutic interest in gaining access through interpretation to something underlying, with postmodernism's higher acceptance of (…) contradictions and fragmentation, the shape of a chaotic 'matrix' of colliding images, which are believed to lie behind the societal phenomena" (Maffesoli 1993 in ibid: 105).

In this study CBOs are researched through a complexity perspective. Hence, the intuitive dimension/essence may be multi-layered and contradictory, and does not require a homogenous description. Archetypal essences or patterns therefore need to be understood as possibilities rather than generalisation, as they may or may not manifest in organisations; since complex systems are contingent and not predictable (Cilliers 1998: 121-122). Archetypes can be understood as 'models', which in a complexity understanding are always reductionist, in that they reduce the complexity of the phenomenon to few parameters. While models are helpful in describing characteristics in a way that can be understood by others, they always carry an ethical dimension regarding the researcher's choice of what to represent (Cilliers 2000: 28-29).

Goethe's understanding, however, does not imply an essence 'underlying' the data, as mentioned above, but rather a further dimension to the facts, which is perceived intuitively. While Bortoft describes the intuitive 'seeing' as not done with the senses, one could also

understand intuition as another way of sensing, opening up to a more lateral way of perception.

The dimensions seen intuitively in each organisation further involve the intuitive seeing ability and mental frame of the researcher. What Goethe termed 'Vorstellungsart' described an individual way of conceiving the world, which involved an active role of the observer in cognitive perception, hence resulting in different Vorstellungsarten leading to different interpretations of the world. The way of seeing influences what is seen. "The scientist is an active participant in scientific truth, but without this meaning that truth is thereby reduced to a merely subjective condition" (ibid: 120-121).

This understanding transcended a modernist, positivist view of the world and added a postmodern dimension. Meaning is therefore described as the coalescence of the sensory with an organising idea (of the observer) (ibid: 131). This aspect corresponds to a social constructionist worldview within a phenomenological perspective (Alvesson & Skoeldberg 2000: 38). Wahl (2005: 60-61) points out that Goethe's "rigorous attention to direct experience, empathy, intuition and imagination" can lead to meaningful insights, and "the resulting experiences are not arbitrary projections by individuals but can be verified by others."

The close engagement with the case CBOs in this research was facilitated through the OD sessions, while applying Action Research. In the following section, Action Research is described as it was applied for the process of consulting the case-CBOs.

3.4 Action Research

Action Research (AR) was applied to enable a participative, emancipatory approach to knowledge creation. Reason & Bradbury (2001: 1) define AR as a "participatory, democratic process concerned with developing practical knowing in the pursuit of worthwhile human purposes, grounded in a participatory worldview" (…) bringing together "action and reflection, theory and practice (…)."

AR aims at transformation through research, thus creating a link between theory and practice. In AR the researcher (or consultant) studies problems in practice and thus changes the practice. Through the reflection of the process the researcher will also change the research – which creates a cycle of a continuous learning process (Becker & Langosch 2002: 53). The researcher also needs to engage in a continuous process of "critical self-reflection" through "Action learning" (Kaplan et al 1994: 37). Hence, for the purposes of this study the researcher kept a journal, in which reflections were written, using the action-learning cycle after each intervention with the case studies.

Lewin (1963 cited in Becker, Langosch 2002: 53) expresses this inter-relationship in a triangle of research, action and education:
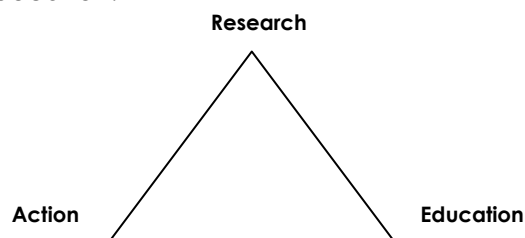
Brown & Tandon (1983: 278-289) critique AR in comparison to participatory research in that the researchers ally themselves with organisational authorities; while participatory researchers ally themselves with oppressed groups. They point out that AR assumes solutions are possible that benefit all parties, and although it strives for more human systems, this takes place to increase efficiency at the top level. Their observations are summarised as follows: "Action

research strategies will be appropriately employed when distributions of resources and authority are accepted as legitimate, when the relevant parties accept researchers as credible, and when rewards are available for integrating problem solving and research" (ibid: 290). Although AR was based on a participatory principle, this has not been upheld in all strands of AR, such as corporate contexts.

Fals-Borda & Rahman (1991: 5) describe Participatory Action Research as an approach to empower the oppressed, by changing the "subject/object relationship that characterises traditional acadmic research" into a "subject/subject" relationship, thus levelling the power asymmetry between researcher and researched. They further state that PAR can mobilise people "from the grassroots up and from the periphery to the centre" (ibid: 7).

Reason & Bradbury (2001: 2) emphasise the equally participatory worldview in AR, which is central to this study. The authors describe how mutual sense making and collective action with all stakeholders form emancipatory basics of AR; and how AR emerges over time in a developmental process; maintaining an activist orientation. Thus, in order to positively affect the development of the case studies, the research method used in this study will aim at social transformation through intervention, and put emphasis on a participatory approach. The level of participation of CBOs in this research was limited to the collective sense- and decision-making in their OD process. In the process of developing the OD approach, CBOs mainly participated through their feedback and evaluations. Furthermore, CBO leaders could read and comment on materials written about them before these were published. Beyond that, views from CBO members on the research topic were gained through focus group interviews; and through a consultative session on emerging themes after the research period. However, CBOs were not involved in the interpretations of the research-data or development of recommendations, which is why this research does not fall under the Participatory Action Research paradigm. Instead, AR was implemented in a participatory and transformative way.

Similar to OD, AR has its roots in Lewin's social experiments at the Tavistock Institute in the 1940s, but has been broadened in its interpretation and application since then, drawing on various other philosophies, such as critical theory informed by Marx, Gramsci and Freire; including the dimension of people's participation in relation to institutionalised power. More recently, AR has also drawn on complexity theory and postmodernism through its focus on the particular, local and timely; and its rejection of modernist, positivist perspectives. It is practised in various disciplines, including community and organisational development (ibid: 2-4).

Human beings are understood as co-creators of their world, drawing on a constructionist perspective which acknowledges the importance of language and cultural framework in knowledge creation. At the same time AR also includes an understanding of a given reality in which we partake, which confirms a tendency towards positivism (ibid: 7). Similar to phenomenology, AR also rejects the Cartesian separation of mind and matter, or notion of the objective observer. Instead, knowledge is seen as arising "in the process of living, in the voices of ordinary people in conversation" and the importance of "sensitivity and attunement in the moment of relationship" is stressed (ibid: 9).

Reason & Bradbury (2001: 9) emphasise the political dimension of participation in that it "affirms peoples' right and ability to have a say in decisions which affect them and which claim to generate knowledge about them. Selener (cited in ibid) adds the goal of shifting the "balance of power in favour of poor and marginalised groups in society."

In this research, the OD support provided aimed at enhancing each CBO's consciousness about internal and external dynamics and therefore increasing their ability to act upon those. Beyond power relations within the CBO and with its environment, the researcher had to also take into account her own power in her role as OD facilitator. AR involves a participatory and democratic relationship between researcher and researched, where the object of study becomes a subject, which participates in the research.

In this study, the researcher had to pay particular attention to the power dynamics resulting from the fact that the researcher was at the same time a consultant from an organisation subsidising the interventions. It needed to be observed how democratic the relationships could become and whether CBO members could fully take responsibility for and authority over their development process.

Another aspect of power dynamics was inherent in the work relationship of the researcher with her employer, Community Connections. While having the benefit of institutional support, she also had to account to the NGO and work within given parameters, which may have influenced the course of the study.

Touraine (1977: 185), on research on social movements, suggests that the researcher should become involved with the group being studied to better analyse the values and history of the group and thus give meaning to their work. The groups themselves are involved in analysing themselves and their activities, while the researcher "intervenes actively and studies the responses to the intervention." The term "permanent sociology" describes the connection between the group's self-analysis and the sociologist's intervention over several months, aiming to "contribute to the development of social movements" (ibid: 148). Touraine therefore proposes that the researcher establishes a close relationship with the researched group, and that next to analysing and interpreting the group, the research ultimately aims at enhancing the group's capacity. It is, however, mentioned that the final sociological interpretation cannot merge with the self-analysis of the group, but has to be the researcher's sole responsibility (ibid: 189).

It has been argued that AR, or permanent sociology as described by Touraine, brings the researcher too close to the target group, which might blur her ability to observe and analyse. On the other hand the information is usually more thorough and more complex due to the deeper involvement. To enable her to reflect on her analysis with others, and avoid the blurring of her analysis, the researcher presented her findings to a forum[25] of practitioners, which interrogated her reflections and conclusions and provided a more distant view from 'outsiders'. This aspect also aimed to keep the researcher on track with regard to the applied theory and its significance in the process. Beyond this, the forum played a role in counterbalancing power dynamics within Community Connections and between Connections and the case-CBOs.

In the following section, the various elements of the research methodology will be elaborated.

3.5 Research methodology

3.5.1 Analysis of the broader context

The analysis of the broader context was based mainly on secondary literature and primary relevant documentation (e.g. newspapers, journals, internet, and grey literature). This aspect of the research provided the basis for the theoretical analysis and linked the outcomes from the practical research with broader discussions about civil society and development.

Basic individual semi-structured interviews were conducted with six academics, practitioners and donors specialising in development, civil society and OD. They provided further information to the theme generally, as well as more local information about capacity development in South Africa.

According to Rubin and Rubin (1995: 43 cited in Babbie & Mouton 2001: 289) qualitative interviewing is characterised by being "flexible, iterative and continuous, rather than

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[25] Two 4h-sessions took place in April and August 2006 at Community Connections offices.

prepared in advance and locked in stone". They furthermore suggest that the "questioning is redesigned throughout the project". Thus, the structure of the interviews followed a question guideline (see Appendix 4B), which remained relatively open and allowed interviewees to speak about what they felt was relevant to the topic.

Interviews were conducted with the following people (short biographies are included in Appendix 1A):

David Bonbright
David Bonbright has been selected as an interviewee because of his extensive experience in the international and South African development sector and his interest in innovative approaches to strengthening citizen self-organization and accountability.

Nomvula Dlamini
Nomvula Dlamini was interviewed as one of the senior practitioners of the Community Development Resource Association (CDRA), who has extensive first hand experience of working developmentally with civil society organisations in South Africa and abroad, using an organisational development approach.

Prof. Alan Fowler
Alan Fowler was chosen as an interviewee due to his in-depth knowledge and experience in development, civil society strengthening and organisational development internationally and in South Africa.

Gerald Kraak
For this research Gerald Kraak was chosen as an interviewee because of his insight in the development sector, as well as his position in a donor organisation, which could therefore provide a donor perspective.

Christa Lynne Kuljian
Christa Kuljian was selected as an interviewee due to her long term experience in the South African development sector from a donor perspective, and her research and publications on civil society, grant making and equity.

Mariette Williams
Mariette Williams was chosen for an interview due to her in-depth community work experience at a grassroots level, as well as her knowledge of CBOs and insights into the relationships and dynamics between local government, donors, NGOs and CBOs at township level.

3.5.2 Interviews with CBOs and community leaders

To ensure triangulation and the generation of deeper information from the target community, two depth focus-group interviews were conducted with 14 CBO members from eight CBOs from the same or neighbouring communities where the case-CBOs were based.

Individual interviews were conducted with four community leaders; as well as with the leadership of the case CBOs. In depth interviews, the researcher does not only ask about a certain opinion or view, but also aims to get information as to where the view comes from, by phrasing further 'why-questions' (Babbie & Mouton 2001: 291). The aim of the depth interviews was to gain further understanding with regard to the content of the research apart from the case-study research. Individuals were also asked about their personal life story and motivation for community work. The interviews were semi-structured and followed a question guideline, which was adapted after the first interview (see Appendices 4A, C & D).

From a postmodern perspective, Alvesson & Skoeldberg (2000: 193) point out that there needs to be caution in relying entirely on interviews regarding "either social reality ('out there') or personal experience and meanings. How interviewees appear to represent reality

in specific interview situations has less to do with how they, or reality, really are (or how they perceive a reality out there); rather, it is about the way they temporarily develop a form of subjectivity, and how they represent reality in relation to the local discursive context created by the interview." Hence the responses from interviewees need to be understood in relation to each individual's position and perspective, and requires a consciousness about responses that may be triggered by the researcher's questions and the context of the research.

The following community leaders were interviewed (short biographies are in Appendix 1A):

Faizel Brown
Faizel Brown was selected as an interviewee due to his activist experience at community level, and his relationship with many CBOs and social movements such as the Anti Eviction Campaign.

Thozama Gcememe
Thozama 'Tutu' Gcememe's community work experience goes back to the anti-apartheid struggle through the transition until today, which has given her an overview over changes in the development context over time, particularly with community organisations/ CBOs and NGOs. She was selected for the interview for this reason.

Nocawe Mankayi
Nocawe Mankayi is pioneer and director of the Nonceba Child and Family Trust in Khayelitsha, Cape Town. She was interviewed because of her dynamic networking ability.

Khethekile Mbatha
Khethekile Mbatha is the founder of a CBO in Doornkop, Johannesburg, and has supported other CBOs through capacity development. She co-presented with the researcher of this study at a CIVICUS conference in Glasgow, and was asked to be interviewed there.

Thabang Ngcozela
Thabang Ngcozela was selected as an interviewee due to his in-depth experience at community level as well as in various NGOs and networks, and his resulting understanding of the development sector from an activist perspective.

3.5.3 Conducting in-depth research with case studies

This aspect formed the main part of the research. Three CBO-case studies from townships in the Cape metropole and surroundings were selected upon their request at the organisation Community Connections for OD support services. According to Handel (1991), Runyan (1982) and Yin (1994) a case study is "an intensive investigation of a single unit" (cited in Babbie & Mouton 2001: 281). They involve multiple variables in the examination as well as the context of the researched group.

Each case study was worked with over a longer period of time (2 case studies for 17 months and one for 29 months), in which an OD process was facilitated, while responses and changes were observed in each CBO and a journal entry written after each intervention. The case studies are described in detail in chapters 5-8 in order to provide a description of the organisations, OD processes and resulting reflections; before drawing out themes for discussion and further synthesising. In this way the aim is to enable the readers' own interpretations of the cases and OD work provided by the facilitator, as suggested by Alvesson & Skoeldberg (2000: 192).

The researcher's authority in what she represented and what was excluded prevails; and observations are affected by the "indeterminate nature of language" (ibid: 193). The process reports over time and the descriptions from chapters 5-8 were, however, verified by each organisation, as well as informed by their feedback and evaluations over time. Excerpts of the researcher's journaling sections were woven into the case study descriptions in chapters

6-8, further aiming to make transparent the researcher's thinking during the process of data collection, and bridging the gap between data collection and interpretation.

The following sections aim to provide an overview of the OD process as well as data collection, indicators and delimitations.

The OD Approach

The OD support provided aimed to increase each organisation's capacity, and help CBOs help themselves. Development models like Participatory (Rural) Appraisal[26] and Action Learning[27] draw on this strategy, encouraging people to realise their potential in an individual and organisational sense. During the procedure the facilitator and the client organisation commonly diagnose problems and develop their own solutions. The process can involve discussion and problem solving around micro and macro issues including strategy, structure and environmental impacts. It can further inspect covert issues affecting organisational progress including communication, organisational culture, power relations, personalities, group dynamics, leadership and authority, emotion and trust (James, 1998: 27; Schein 1969).

OD interventions are generally requested by CBO-clients who perceive a need[28]. The facilitator then further investigates the development need through a process of collaborative diagnosis where overt and covert dynamics are assessed. A contractual agreement is developed where mutual expectations are articulated. Interventions follow the action-learning-cycle with continuous phases of planning, action, reflection and learning (Soal 2004: 79). The key to success appears to rest in the relationship between researcher and client and the will of the latter to embrace and implement positive change (James, 1998: 37).

Furthermore the study operated in a people-centred way, by emphasising the role each individual played in the organisation and focusing on personal development as an aspect of organisational development. Personal growth has been highlighted as an important building block within OD, for as Kahn (1994: 45) states: "the dignity that comes from self-esteem is one of the most important tools … from it comes the refusal to be used or abused…". CDRA (1994/5: 6) states that organisational capacity depends on individual capacity, and both need to be considered in the development process.

The Action Research for this study was conducted through the researcher's work for Community Connections as an OD facilitator, while also contributing to the programme's development. The main focus of Connection's OD Programme is to engage in a long-term OD process with individual CBOs, in which a variety of services such as workshop facilitation, mentoring/ coaching and follow-up support are offered. Services generally follow a process of:

* Establishing relationship,
* Diagnosis,
* Facilitating transformation,
* Grounding and supporting implementation,
* Review / ending or re-defining the relationship (adapted from CDRA 1998/9: 10).

For the purposes of this study, a written self-assessment at the end of the work/research relationship was added as a feature in the consultancy process.

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[26] PRA is an interactive and participatory development process through collective problem identification, ranking, strategy and action planning (Rocheleau, Slocum, Thomas-Slayter & Wichhart 1995:13). It has been developed by non-governmental organisations in India and Kenya in the late 1980s and has found recognition by international development agencies.
[27] Action learning emphasises learning through experience, rather than theory, for the development of an applied practice, that "emerges out of a lived reality" (Soal 2004: 78).
[28] James (1999) provides a common checklist including: recurring problems, failed attempts to resolve issues, low morale, high staff turnover or absenteeism, closed communication, isolation, apathy, resistance to change, poor conflict management, centralised decision-making/ownership, rapid external change, lack of strategic direction, unrealised potential, identity confusion, maintenance of obsolete services/ practices; rapid growth and inflexible bureaucracy. However, these are examples which may not all apply in a CBO context.

A consultative session was facilitated about 7 months after the empirical research period to present and get feedback on emerging themes from the research. The session was attended by 13 participants, some of whom were members of case CBOs, previous CBO-interviewees; as well as new CBO members who were Community Connections associates and had expressed interest in participating (see section 10.8).

In the sections to come each of the phases will be further described (see also Connections' OD support policy Appendix 2).

Initial contact & Screening meeting

The OD support only responds to CBO-requests to ensure the organisation has identified the need for an intervention process. After being contacted by an organisation, an initial meeting is set up with the leadership of the organisation. Here, more information is gained about the request, Connections' OD process explained and expectations clarified. Emphasis is placed on clarifying a developmental approach, promoting self-empowerment instead of creating dependency. The organisation is broadly assessed against certain criteria[29] and whether OD support would be useful at this stage.

A profile-questionnaire is completed by the organisation, which gathers data with regard to the 'hard facts', the visible aspects of the organisation, such as vision, mission statement, programmes, target group and area, organogram, resources, etc. Further than that, documented information is gathered (e.g. annual reports, strategic planning reports, other documentation). After the meeting the CBO receives a proposal, outlining the possible intervention, including broad time frames, roles, responsibilities and a budget. CBO-rates are subsidised. Since many CBOs have no funding at all, the organisation has the option to suggest how much they can afford. Once the proposal has been accepted, it serves as a working agreement.

Diagnosis

In the deeper diagnosis, workshops as well as sessions with individuals are facilitated. It is relevant to give this phase enough time and patience to enable deeper insights.

In this phase the organisation is engaged in a review process with regard to its history, purpose/strategy and structure/relationships. This mostly takes place in plenary, so that collective learning can already be part of the diagnosis. Interviews are conducted with management and staff/volunteers with regard to the following contents:

* Conceptual Framework
* Culture/identity
* Strategy
* Structure
* Leadership/governance
* Staff/volunteers
* Beneficiaries/members
* Policies & systems
* Resources
* Networking/Partnerships
* Documentation
* Motivation

The deeper diagnosis looks at both the visible and the invisible aspects of the organisation to get a holistic picture of the situation. All phases also serve for relationship building and gaining an "intuitive" understanding of the organisation.

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[29] The CBO needs to consist of at least 4 people, who pursue a developmental purpose, and are operational through programme activities. There also needs to be openness for engaging in an OD-process.

Analysis & presenting results

The information is documented and analysed by the facilitator, who then presents it back to the organisation in a creative and reflective way, giving input but also providing space for clarifications, discussion and possible adaptations. Ways of doing this might include:

*   General feedback from all findings (assets/strengths & challenges/weaknesses)
*   Life cycle (organisational phase of development),
*   Sustainability map (definition of sustainability for the organisation/ see Appendix 3N).

At this stage conflicting information needs to be handled with care in order not to offend people involved in the process. To deal with resistances a positive attitude is promoted towards addressing and overcoming challenges and looking forward to a healthier, clearer situation. If needed, the outcomes of that session are summarised into a new proposal.

Facilitating the transformation process

The next steps are the actual facilitation of the intervention process specified in the agreed upon 'way forward' and the proposal/working agreement. The process might start in plenary again, by re-looking at the strategy and structure, while addressing the challenges diagnosed and building on the strengths. Appreciative Inquiry might be used to focus people's attention on the positive energising aspects of their organisation (instead of focussing on gaps and issues/ see 10.5.1). The process also tries to conscientise people regarding their view of the world and their role in it, their organisational attitude, culture and beliefs. Further aspects of the process might include mentoring/coaching of individuals from the leadership and training or input with regard to other tasks, e.g. proposal writing or networking. Individuals are referred to Connections' training courses to build individual capacity.

Supporting implementation

The transformation process can be implemented over a certain period of time as a combination of different aspects, while the implementation of the planned change is supported, e.g. through follow-up calls and visits. However, it is also crucial to find stages of letting go and giving the responsibility back to the organisation. Generally a relationship is upheld with the organisation over a longer period of time, but with different levels of intensity to ensure the responsibility still lies with the organisation, while Connections' facilitators are supporting and guiding processes.

Evaluation and the future

Evaluations with the client organisation generally take place verbally at the end of each day, and in writing at the end of each step in the process as well as after ending the contract (Yachkaschi 2005: 3-5).

Data collection & Indicators

Case study data was collected through:

*   Process reports, including methods applied, outcomes, decisions taken and evaluations/feedback from the CBO members,
*   Reflective journaling of the researcher using the Action-Learning-Cycle, including observations of the process, the CBO and the self in a Goethean sense,
*   Initial request and profile form; and final self-assessment of the CBO to capture visible and perceived change by the CBO,
*   Interviews with the CBO leadership as well as Connections' pioneers, including their personal stories,
*   Any other written data by and about the CBO.

Indicators of success from the OD support are positive changes in the organisation, either visible, or perceived by the CBO and/or researcher. These indicators were agreed upon with each CBO as objectives of the OD support, when the contract was formalised. They were adapted and changed throughout the process, as the people in the CBO and the facilitator increased their awareness about their development needs. General indicators are drawn

from Kaplan's (1999: 23) and CDRA's (Manual of readings) elements of organisational capacity:

1. Context and Conceptual framework (competent working understanding of its world where it can contextualise its work and keep pace conceptually with development and challenges)
2. Organisational attitude/ identity (the confidence to act and have an impact; and acceptance of responsibility)
3. Cohesive vision and strategy (sense of purpose and will)
4. Organisational culture (the assumptions, norms and values in practice)
5. Relationships (cooperation and communication)
6. Organisational structures and procedures (roles, function, communication and accountability that enable the implementation of the strategy)
7. Individual skills, abilities and competencies
8. Material resources

The elements are listed in a hierarchy of complexity, with the top elements being more complex and significant, and Kaplan suggests the need for those to be developed before others. The higher elements will thus inform the design of the lower elements. When working with the case studies, these elements will be given attention with regard to their level of development, perceived importance and impact on the capacity of the organisation.

Indicators include tangible outcomes, such as a more effective structure, a clearer strategy, a higher level of organisation, sound accountability systems, funding/resources etc.
Intangible indicators will include a definition of indicators for development by the CDRA (n.a.) as shown in the table below.

These levels might be more difficult to measure and often not be the CBO's identified development needs. However, such indicators actually present levels of capacity, which are key to other, more tangible outcomes and their successful implementation.

Relationships	**Understanding**
• More solidarity, openness, trust, • Mutual cooperation, • Integrity and credibility *Between selves and outside world*	• Know, understand who they are and what they do (can explain) • Understand their world – internal and external • Understand their needs • Ability to reflect and learn from experience
Facilitating	**Grounding**
• Ability to respond to changes (and changing needs) • Ability to organise and plan • To access resources (from internal and external environment) • Ability to facilitate own processes with creativity	• Successful implementation of own plans • Sustaining of achievements • Structures and capacities of implementation • Achievements/results of intervention • Capacities spread beyond the boundaries of the intervention (without our intervention)

Figure 6: Indicators for organisational capacity

3.6 Delimitation of study area & access to the target group

The research focussed on a sample of CBOs from the previously disadvantaged, mainly urban communities within the Western Cape, South Africa. The Non-profit organisation 'Community Connections[30]' in Philippi, Cape Town, which is committed to CBO capacity building[31], functions as a 'gateway' to CBOs (who can remain long-term clients of the organisation). Community Connections mainly operates in townships in the Cape Town Metropole (e.g. Gugulethu, Nyanga, Philippi and Khayelitsha) and to a lesser extent in rural areas in the Western Cape (e.g. Mbekweni/Paarl, Darling).

Since the organisation offers OD support to CBOs on a request basis, the selection of CBOs as case studies was determined by their request at the time of the study and their willingness to be part of a long-term research project. When the research began, few CBOs requested OD-support as the programme was yet unknown. Therefore the first three organisations which remained in a long-term relationship with the facilitator were selected for the research. The fact that these CBOs were in HIV & AIDS (2) and housing was incidental.

Since the research was a time-bound intervention, the CBOs willing to participate had the benefit of being supported beyond the research by the organisation. Community Connections in return benefited from the research, as its OD support for CBOs was still in the piloting phase.

When engaging with the CBOs, a mostly inclusive approach was sought, i.e. by inviting all members to workshops, although it was not always possible to ensure high participation. In interviews of the cases, the coordinators were chosen (and one former coordinator in one organisation), therefore excluding other members of the organisation and their personal stories. However, the initial diagnosis interviews were conducted with at least 5 members of the organisation, including leadership and members/staff/volunteers, as well as a few beneficiaries.

The research mainly focused on urban disadvantaged areas and does not give a complete picture of the CBO-spectrum in South Africa. For example, many CBO-members in the urban Western Cape have basic literacy and English skills, while this might differ in rural areas. However, the postmodern perspective of this research does not claim applicability of the results in other contexts, and therefore did not strive to describe a representative sample of CBOs in the South African context.

Interviewees from CBOs and community leaders were selected from the same or neighbouring communities as the case studies, except for one community leader coming from a township close to Johannesburg. Further interviewees (academics, OD practitioners and community leaders) were selected within South Africa or abroad according to their field of expertise (not delimited to the above areas).

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[30] In the chapters to come, 'Community Connections' will also be referred to as 'Connections', which is what the staff and CBO-associates call the organisation.
[31] Connections is pursuing 4 main programmes, namely:
1. OD support and training services for CBOs and community workers,
2. Development of educational materials for the CBO sector,
3. Networking and advocacy work to promote and protect CBO interests,
4. Internal capacity building of Connections through staff and organisational development.

3.7 Research ethics

All participants in the research were respected with regard to their right to privacy, and no data was collected without the permission of the participants involved.

The three case study-CBOs were informed about the scope of the PhD research and asked whether they would be open to becoming a case study. The agreement was formalised in writing and signed by the CBO coordinators as well as the researcher. The identities of the CBOs and of all individuals involved remained confidential in the case descriptions, although the leaders stated they would also agree to the use of real names. After the case stories were written, they were given to the CBO-coordinators to be read and approved before they were published. All three coordinators approved the descriptions without requesting any changes. In the same way, Connections' pioneers agreed to the description of the organisation and their personal backgrounds.

The names of interviewees (not from the case studies) were stated, as none of them requested confidentiality, and the information revealed was chosen by them.

It was seen as important to be engaging with CBOs through an organisation that would build a developmental relationship with each CBO beyond the research and thus avoid suggestions that CBOs were being 'used' for research purposes. The linkage to a locally known NGO, which CBOs approached for support, also helped the researcher in building a relationship of trust and facilitating an authentic intervention.

Each case-CBO benefited from the research through receiving OD support and access to other programmes offered by Connections over an extended period of time; as well as through access to research documentation about the CBO, which could be useful for other purposes.

3.8 Summary

The research paradigm and methodology evolved through the empirical study, confirming the Grounded Theory framework. Postmodernism and complexity theory serve as the guiding philosophy and theory in order to clarify the conceptual framework in which this research is conducted. Goethean phenomenology and Action Research explain how the research phenomena – the CBOs in their particular context – were engaged.

The chapter aimed at explaining how the various, sometimes conflicting, theories could also enhance and support each other in a reflexive study. In further chapters, these theories will be integrated in the way the cases are described and analysed.

Finally, a detailed description of the applied methodology and OD approach was provided, and delimitations and research ethics clarified.

4

"One day,
someday,
should some freedom be registered and
final
do not scoff when I spit at the fruits of
freedom
because maybe, my bongo
has the sound of a wail
and my voice, the anger of distance
and my movements
the estrangement of discontent
do not be angry"

Sandile Dikeni (2000: 13; excerpt from 'Way back home')

4 The development context & CBOs in South Africa

The following chapter will provide an overview of the South African development context with a focus on CBOs. Included in the chapter are views and quotes from interviewees of this research. They are interwoven with references and quotes from the literature regarding the various topics. In this way, the chapter sets two different orders of knowledge next to each other: the views of respondents and secondary sources. Giving those different kind of sources equal weight may at first seem problematic from a methodological perspective, as published material, which has passed a peer review process, is set against interview and focus group data, which is 'unfiltered' and cannot be verified. However, the approach has been selected to support the overall research objective, which includes testing assumptions about CBOs that exist within the practice and literature on OD for community development.

In this chapter, this is done by creating spaces for the voices within these CBOs to be reflected directly, and for the preconceptions of community workers, academics, practitioners and NGO members to be surfaced. The interviewees were not simply being asked for their opinions, but to reflect on their conceptual presuppositions and assumptions. This is, therefore, a kind of literature review mediated by the experience of the persons being interviewed, which also corresponds to the grounded theory methodology applied in this research.

Section 4.1 gives a brief introduction to the state of development in post-apartheid South Africa within a global context. Section 4.2 then defines and describes the role of civil society; and section 4.3 specifically describes CBOs and their roles within the development context. Section 4.4 provides a broad typology of 13 CBOs Community Connections has worked with between 2004 and 2006.

4.1 The South African development context

South Africa, and the majority of the black population under the Apartheid regime found itself in a particularly devastating situation, as the 'development' of the country was racially divided, and enforced by brutal oppression from the White population. Wilson and Ramphele (1989: 4) point out that the degree of social inequality is higher than in any other country. Above that, poverty in South Africa is described as uniquely severe through the combination of "the degree of inequality", the "extent to which poverty that exists (was) a consequence of deliberate policy", and "the way in which material poverty in South Africa (was) reinforced by racist policies that (were) an assault on people's humanity." During Apartheid, civil society organisations played a crucial role in developing poor areas and mobilising resistance towards the government, many of which attracted support from international donor agencies (Friedman 2003: 11).

At the time when Apartheid came to an end, the development of the new democratic South Africa was influenced by international paradigms and trends, which are still valid today (see 4.1.1 below). South Africa is in the fourteenth year of democracy since the transition from the apartheid regime in 1994. The democratically elected government has since then faced major challenges in addressing development needs and realising basic human rights (Donk & Pieterse 2004: 38). Significant improvements have taken place through the development of the 1996 constitution, which has been described as "one of the best statements of comprehensive citizenship rights in a participatory, pluralist policy framework", as well as an extensive policy and legislative reform aimed at transforming the racist apartheid legacy (ibid: 40). Furthermore various government programmes are fighting poverty through social and infrastructure development programmes (ibid: 42).

Although improvements have been identified, some developmental challenges have worsened in the past years, namely: poverty, unemployment, economic inequality and HIV/AIDS (ibid: 47). Furthermore South Africa "remains one of the most unequal societies on

the planet", with inequality having worsened within all racial groups since 1994 (Ohiorhenuan 2004: 11). Between 1995 and 2000, the Gini coefficient[32] has risen from 0,56 to 0,57. (Statistics SA 2002: 48, in Kotzé 2003: 5). In 2006 it was measured as 0,58 (57,8; in UNDP 2006: 337-338).

4.1.1 Neoliberal policies

One critical hindrance in the implementation of development programmes is the limited capacity of the state to implement policy and make reform succeed, which has slowed down programme delivery (Donk & Pieterse 2004: 51). However some critics see reasons for failure in the 1996 shift from the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)[33] to the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Programme (GEAR), a macroeconomic framework for growth and stability. Since then, the South African government has tried to balance contradicting pressures of social development with a neoliberal economic approach. "Given the prevailing balance of forces in a broader context of rapacious capitalism, interests in favouring neoliberal agendas are more resourced and powerful than countervailing interests in social justice" (ibid: 41). Kotzé (2003: 5-6) describes GEAR to be fundamentally an "anti-poor policy, in that it prioritises economic growth, an export orientation, privatisation, and trade and currency deregulation, and advocates reducing social spending. ... Within this policy framework, and with all the structural inequities in society firmly in place, it appears doubtful that 'poverty alleviating' measures, whether by government or civil society, can presently amount to much more than minimal welfare intervention."

C. Kuljian (Interview 24.05.06: 2) stresses that government's GEAR policy aimed to economically strengthen South Africa internationally; but "it wasn't focussed on poverty eradication or addressing inequalities." D. Bonbright (Interview 23.06.06: 1) further adds that mainstream development in South Africa follows a "middle class bourgeois logic that recreates itself ... It means well, but it hasn't got enough accountability to the poor."

In defence, Finance Minister Manuel (2006: 21) opposes criticism of GEAR by pointing out that the government had to apply a macroeconomic framework in order to ensure the sustainability of the RDP; and that there were "no contradictions between Gear and the RDP."

While the South African state has proudly announced the achievement of RDP targets in areas of water, sanitation, telephony and electricity, "there have been approximately 10 million cut-offs in water and electricity services because people have not paid their bills, and a further two million people have been victims of rates and rent evictions" (McDonald & Pape 2002, in Habib 2003: 236).

South Africa's democratic transition took place at a time when economic liberalisation became a requirement for entering the global economy. This was pushed by "a particular configuration of power in the global and national arenas, defined largely by the fact that the leverage of multinational corporations and the domestic business community has increased dramatically vis-à-vis other social actors as a result of the technological transformation of the last decade or two" (Habib 2003: 235). In the context of globalisation and the increasing influence of international economic institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB) and World Trade Organisation (WTO), nation states have decreasing autonomy about internal decision-making. "Domestic actions which are out of step with the demands of international markets will be punished" (Edwards 2004: 7). Habib (2003: 235) emphasises the negative impacts of neoliberal policies in South Africa, i.e. liberalisation of financial and trade markets, deregulation of economy and privatisation of state assets.

The South African government is facing the challenge of trying to overcome the apartheid legacy, while being caught in a global economy that pushes for neolibeal policies, which

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[32] The Gini coefficient is an international measurement for income inequality. A value of 0 represents perfect equality; a value of 1 perfect inequality.
[33] The RDP was developed in 1994 by the South African government, with the aim of providing programmes to address social and economic inequalities caused by the apartheid regime.

undermine social spending and redistribution necessary to redress inequalities from the past. The following section describes more recent attempts by the government to foster development.

4.1.2 Developmental state

The general tendency of the South African government towards privatisation of public services was criticised for coming "at the cost of socio-economic redistribution and justice" (Bond 2000; McDonald & Pape 2002, in Oldfield & Stokke 2004: 10). "Despite a deep scepticism amongst senior economic policy makers about any dilution of the spirit and letter of 'capital fundamentalism', it was accepted by South African economic policy makers that there is a link between inequality and growth" (Swilling 2007: 8). This was reinforced by the World Bank, which stated that "growth leads to less poverty reduction in unequal societies than in egalitarian ones..." and therefore suggests that "policies should focus on building up the human capital and physical assets of poor people by judiciously using the redistributive power of government spending..." (Institute of Development Studies 2000, cited in ibid).

The South African government has in recent years distanced itself from a purely market-oriented model of development by shifting towards a developmental state. This approach is largely interventionist; and its democratic principles may be questionable (Fakir, presentation 2006). Swilling (2007: 12) points out that the interpretation of a developmental state in South has led to "a state-driven capital investment programme to promote economic growth" resulting in "bureaucratically determined developmental priorities financed by public sector investments..." (see also chapter 2.2.3).

Attempts to achieve faster service delivery include integrated programmes across government departments, such as the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme (ISRDP); the Urban Renewal Programme (URP); and the implementation of Integrated Development Plans (IDP) (Donk and Pieterse 2004: 44). The recent AsgiSA[34] strategy developed by government aims to enhance more "shared growth", and acknowledges the importance of public sector-led investments in infrastructure as drivers of growth.

A. Fowler (Interview 23.06.06: 1) points to the fact that the core aspect of the developmental state agenda is "delivery, delivery, delivery" to the masses; which "is bumping into the problem of entitlement and corruption of state and municipal employees." He further mentions while government has an anti-poverty agenda, it is not using a strong redistributive framework but opts for growth and modernisation. Similarly, Donk and Pieterse (2004: 52) emphasise that "the choice of neoliberal macro-economic precepts and associated approaches to public management has undermined a robust redistributive development approach."

N. Dlamini (Interview 19.07.06: 1-2) argues government's paradigm of development to be top-down delivery, which is mainly understood in economic, market driven terms, with a growing focus on having to show results. She further points to the disabling environment for development and the lack of access: "Despite all the resources that have been committed to development we continue to see growing poverty... We continue to see how many people are really struggling; struggling to feed themselves, to educate their children, struggling to provide health care. ... I think we are making a difference if this gap between the wealthy and the poor can be narrowed; but that gap is not narrowing. ... For me real development is when ordinary people can really be helped to connect to their own power, and they can actually take control over their lives. But whilst our work is about helping people to connect to their own power ... the conditions under which they are expected to do so – that is something over which they have no control. So for me the issue of access is important in terms of development. ... Whether it is access to resources, information, services,

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[34] The Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (AsgiSA) aims for more socially inclusive, shared growth through achieving an average gross domestic product (GDP) growth rate of 5% until 2014; as well as improving "the environment and opportunities for more labour absorbing activities" (South African Government Information 2007: 2).

relationships, networks…" (Interview N. Dlamini 19.07.06: 4). F. Brown (Interview 17.05.06: 2) points out that "poverty itself cannot be eliminated unless there is a transfer of ownership of resources, land as well as access to other natural wealth in the country."

AsgiSA is described by one interviewee as a new version of GEAR, as "people have not been consulted, it is top-down, there is no involvement and participation, and people are supposed to just follow" (Interview T. Ncgozela 24.05.06: 2).

Swilling (2006: 8-9) distinguishes between welfarist and economistic categories of government policies; which "both regard the poor as objects of development rather than subjects of their own development" and both ignore relations of power.

"When I think of South Africa … one can see how things have changed: the more powerful and the less powerful. It's no longer a straight line that separates blacks and whites. Even with black communities - the new middle class – you can sense that new power and for some it is political power and for others it has to do with resources. So, whose needs are being served? For me it's clear: it's the needs of the more powerful" (Interview N. Dlamini 19.07.06: 3).

Swilling (2007: 12) however argues that the decision of the South African government to adopt a developmental state approach is a step in the right direction, but that ways need to be explored of "expanding its developmental focus beyond a narrow focus on capital accumulation." He further proposes that "real solutions are context-specific which means partnering with those who know, and they are rooted within civil society. The problem is that the language of partnering civil society has been around since 1994, and on the whole it has meant legitimation – getting your pre-conceived policies rubber stamped. What the trade unions, community-based organizations, NGOs, entrepreneur associations, faith institutions, science and research organizations, and the cultural arts really need is a state that knows how to engage, listen and co-create within increasingly rich inter-relationships…" (ibid: 16). The move towards a developmental state can therefore be understood as a strong improvement from a purely neoliberal agenda, but the ways of participation of and engagement with civil society need to be recreated in the sense of Evan's notion of state "embeddedness" (Evans 1997: 204; see also chapter 2.2.3).

Finally, in relation to state and civil society, businesses are also playing a role in development through their Corporate Social Investment (CSI) funds. Kuljian (2006: 1-2) emphasises that while "corporate giving is one of the largest sources of funding for civil society, companies remain reluctant to address inequalities and take on social justice grantmaking." Instead, with the exception of some very creative responses to the HIV/AIDS pandemic, CSI remains "limited in scope, often unstrategic, and emphasising service delivery not structural reform."

While in relation to other developing countries, the South African government and business sector are able to channel large amounts of resources to development and welfare programmes; the refusal to acknowledge issues of equity and justice inhibits addressing root causes of poverty and inequality. Further, the lack of real engagement and partnering of civil society – not for legitimation but for participation and building relationships – maintains a top-down mode of delivery which can easily be abused or lead to the implementation of solutions not suitable in a specific context.

4.2 Civil Society

Clark (2003: 13) emphasises that "there are signs of change, however, as these global priorities achieve growing constituencies of citizen concern." A transnational civil society is emerging through networks, which aim to influence global policies and ethical norms in the absence of global government.

4.2.1 Definition of civil society

Next to state and market, civil society forms one of the three spheres of societies[35]. Clark (2003: 92) defines civil society as the "associational activity of people outside their families, friends, and workplaces that is not for profit-making purposes (the private sector), nor for governing (the government, or public sector)." Association in this context is defined as "the voluntary coming together of people to pursue their own interests or wishes" (ibid). Scholte (2001a, cited in Clark 2003: 93) describes civil society as "members of a given public" (from the Greek term *demos*), which in modern times can be an "affinity group (ethnic, sexual orientation, occupation, class or gender…) as well as a group of people within a nation."

Within civil society social movements and organisations are constituted, such as CBOs (Eade 1997: 5), "interest groups (…), religious organisations, professional associations, trade unions, mass organisations and social movements (…), pressure groups and NGOs[36] of various kinds" (Clark 2003: 93). Clark (2003: 95) points out that "a strong civil society provides the means by which interests of citizens are represented in relation to state and market". The issue of representation is however problematic, since not all civil society organisations represent a constituency, and their legitimacy may be questioned (Fakir, presentation 2006).

On an international level, civil society and civil society organisations are being increasingly recognised as powers next to the state and the market (Perlas 2000: 70). Social movements organise in struggles against global neoliberalisation and its processes of "accumulation by dispossession" (Harvey 2003, cited in Oldfield & Stokke 2004: 2). However, Edwards and Gaventa (2001: 3) argue that especially at a global level there are "few formal structures through which this countervailing authority can be expressed."

4.2.2 Civil society in South Africa

Habib (2003: 238-239) describes the plurality of responses of South African civil society organisations to the effects of democratisation and globalisation; which are divided into three distinct blocks along a spectrum: on one end of the spectrum are survivalist CBOs in marginalised communities, who have no relationship with the state. On the other end are social movements or activist CBOs challenging neoliberalism, and engaging with the state in an adversarial role. The third block is constituted by formal, service related NGOs which enter partnerships with the state or are subcontracted. The boundaries between the blocks can be blurred, and Habib and Kotzé (2003: 266, in Oldfield and Stokke 2004: 8) emphasise the "need to transcend the false divide" of distinguishing CBOs and NGOs and their relationships to the state, as it "frames civil society organisations in monolithic and simplified ways" and ignores their diversity.

The biggest umbrella structure, the South African NGO Coalition (SANGOCO), has so far failed to effectively network civil society organisations in order to articulate critical voices; and may be seen by CBOs as "gatekeepers" since it mainly represents NGOs (Interview G. Kraak 6.06.06: 4). Habib (2003: 240) points out, however, that there can be no homogeneous set of relations between civil society and the state; but that civil society can play an important role towards building a stronger democracy.

Because of its diversity, civil society cannot be identified as an entity, or represented by an overarching structure. Therefore, civil society can rather be understood in its specific formations or networks in a particular context.

Galvin (2005: 7) describes how changes in the funding environment have forced many NGOs to look to government for funds, which has led NGOs to adopt a "more technical or corporate identity as well as less independence." G. Kraak (Interview 6.06.06: 4) points to a lack of creative vision from government of how to work with the non-profit sector. Habib &

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[35] In Western, democratic societies these three spheres are defined. Civil societies can however also exist within other forms of governance (in the absence of an elected government or market economy).

[36] In relation to CBOs, NGOs are professional intermediary organisations, which support other groups in civil society (or government) through resources and development work. They are based in the North and South (Eade 1997: 5).

Kotzé (2003, in Kotzé 2003: 17) describe a "massive paradigm shift", where "the language of neoliberalism has rapidly penetrated … 'NGO-speak' in South Africa," leading to a more technicist discourse about development and a lack of critical engagement from NGOs with economic and political matters. Kotzé (2003: 25) calls for a radical self-analysis of development organisations, including an analysis of the understanding of "development"; instead of continuing "business as usual." "NGOs (and other civil society formations) cannot – with the best will in the world – address the structural causes of poverty and inequality and certainly not through uncoordinated social delivery projects" (ibid: 27).

While formal NGOs may have benefited most from an enabling environment for civil society since the democratic transition, social movements around various issues have emerged on the political landscape in the late 1990s. In response to NGOs becoming "implementers of donor and government 'development' agendas … smaller, more radical community based organisations and social movements" push for an "alternative development agenda" (ibid: 28). They have "clearly struck a nerve with the government", which at times responded with "alarming hostility and repression" (Rustomjee 2005: 29). New social movements constituted around community issues – which have also been contentious in the anti-apartheid movement – such as housing and public services (Oldfield & Stokke 2004: 10).

In this sense, CBOs and social movements can both be understood as responses to a development agenda defined by government, businesses and international development actors; coupled with the often uncritical stance of many service-oriented NGOs.

Donk and Pieterse (2004: 46) point out that part of government's development agenda since 1996 includes "partnership arrangements, mainly with the private sector, but also with civil society organisations…" This raises expectations about the way in which "democratic principles will be routinely embedded and entrenched in everyday development practices in South Africa" (ibid). It is, however, mentioned that the current government's defensive response to criticism might prove to be a threat for future possibilities of a strong democracy. The authors furthermore note that a "better grasp of the diversity of the civil society sector is required" for developmental partnerships to work (ibid: 47).

Davids (2006: 11) describes the distinction between civil society "participation by invitation" through the government, such as in the ward committees and integrated development planning representative forums; and "popular spaces", where "people come together at their own initiative … to engage government on terms that are not provided for within provided spaces." He continues to argue, that this type of protest and contestation is not seen as a legitimate form of democratic participation by many government representatives; and often branded as a mode of engagement by "ultra-leftists" or "enemies of democracy." "Civil society has always, traditionally and historically, been seen as a threat to government. For anything that government does we have always been seen as opposing, and that has translated to a scenario where government sees civil society organisations as being anti-whatever government is doing. And that creates a lot of tension between government and civil society, to be able to engage" (Interview focus group 12.03.06: 6).

Oldfield & Stokke (2004: 30) describe the "competition over the right to be the legitimate representatives of 'poor people in the struggle'" between the hegemonic forces of the tripartite alliance[37] and its civil society affiliates; and new social movements which challenge the post-apartheid neoliberal democracy. The "clash between policies for economic liberalisation and struggles for socio-economic justice is an ongoing, multi-faceted struggle"; leading to civil society having to balance between engagement and opposition in a period generally marked by "growing mistrust between civil society organisations and actors from the state" (ibid).

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[37] The tripartite alliance is constituted by the African National Congress (ANC), South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Coalition of South African Trade Unions (COSATU).

One focus group member expressed it in the following way: "I think that politically, after so many years of struggling against the oppressor regime of South Africa, we have managed to free ourselves. After years of so-called freedom, more than anything else, I am worried about the people, the community at large. I believe if we cannot organise ourselves again…, this time not the struggle against white domination, but the struggle of how to reach and maintain the standards of the people. Bring back the respect that they deserve, and for humankind that is amongst us" (Interview focus group 12.03.06: 5). Another interviewee had a more radical view: "I foresee in time, poverty will drive us that we will change this government. Whichever way, maybe not through the electoral process, but poverty will drive it" (ibid).

While the need for more activism was clearly understood, there was also an understanding of barriers, such as mistrust within communities towards community organisations. Political favouritism and power struggles further created rifts at community level (ibid: 5-6). F. Brown (Interview 17.05.06: 2) suggests that the role of "development work is to provide the kind of skills necessary for communities to organise themselves to be able to take up the various issues that confront them. … The role of development practitioners is to help people think their own thoughts."

A. Fowler (Interview 23.06.06: 2-3) raises the need for contestation; where civil society becomes a protagonist in the development of the country: "I think there is still the apparent harmony that we have all got the same agenda to make this nation a rainbow nation, etc., that hides some disparities and the need for contestation to be as much part of both the repertoire and the capability of civil society – a capacity as harmony is. The way I try to capture it is civil society as protagonist, not simply client or beneficiary or voter. And that's why I try to argue with this idea of civic-driven change and civic development rather than state-driven development. Where is civic energy, what are people mobilising for, what are people engaging with in their own lives, anywhere, outside of the state as development actors? … And when we are doing capacity building, we seldom think about the capacity to contest. And the resilience you need and the degree of risk that you are prepared to take."

While relationships between government and civil society organisations are complex and varied, CBOs often remain in isolation and battle to relate to stakeholders outside their communities. The following section aims to locate CBOs as part of civil society, and focus on their role in development. Furthermore, their relationship with other stakeholders and resulting power imbalances will be explored.

4.3 CBOs in South Africa

4.3.1 Background

CBOs have historically played a crucial role in transforming power relations as well as addressing community needs in apartheid South Africa (Wilson & Ramphele 1989: 261). Radical civic organisations emerged in the 1980s through struggles against rent increases and township administration; and in the township revolt of 1984-86 leading to a state of emergency. After 1989 and during the transition from apartheid "civic organisations have occupied a position of unprecedented importance, being involved in protests and negotiations over rents, development and service provision, and local government restructuring" (Seekings 1992, 216). Lund (1998: 13) points to confusions about the difference between political parties and civic organisations, as it was (and often still is) accepted for civic leaders to stand for political office.

Until 1990 all anti-apartheid, non-profit- and voluntary organisations in South Africa were called 'community organisations', which were by definition anti-government. The term Non-governmental Organisation (NGO), which came into use in 1990, described the new relationship of the sector with the state in the time of transition. NGOs and Community (-based) organisations (CBOs) were encouraged to shift from political or resistance work to

development work (Walters 1993: 11). After 1994, CBOs mushroomed with freedom of organising and hopes raised by the RDP to assist government delivery through participative processes (Galvin 2005: 10).

According to a national study, there were nearly 99 000 non-profit organisations in South Africa in 1998, 53% of which were CBOs or Voluntary Associations (53 929 in total). They worked in sectors like culture and recreation (15 853), development and housing (12 023), social services (10 011), health (4191), education and research (4028), advocacy and politics (3465), religion (2532) and environment (1826) (Swilling & Russell 2002: 21). The study contradicts a dominant image that development services are mainly provided by formal and professionally run NGOs, and shows that most organisations have been established by people from poor communities to meet needs from within through community organising and solidarity (ibid: 85).

4.3.2 Definition & role

CBOs are defined as voluntary associations of community members who reflect the interests of a broader constituency (Kaplan et al, 1994). Many CBOs run development programmes, sometimes through intermediary NGOs (Eade 1997: 6). They are generally small, informal organisations; often membership-based, initiated by local residents and based within the communities they serve. They often work on a voluntary basis, and may suffer from the lack of internal organisation, structure and direction (Connections 2002: 2). Although such characteristics can be drawn, Wright-Revolledo (2007: 6) points out that CBOs are not homogeneous groups but differ in their "type, origins, missions and trajectories" and may for example be "organic, ascribed, traditional, voluntary, imposed, formal or informal" (Fowler 2005, cited in ibid). Their motivations for organising may vary as well. Fowler (2005: 3) suggests drivers for collective action such as:
*   "Reproduction and aspiration - security/survival, class, etc.
*   Identity – Co-defined by belonging, recognition, values
*   Meaning – Beliefs, world view."

CBOs may further form through "affinities that bind, commit and conform" such as "proximity of geography, kinship, race, ethnicity" and "shared conditions, experiences, risks, hopes, etc." (ibid: 4).

Ndlovu (2004: 8) offers the following working definition: "Community-Based Organisations refers to grassroots formations, either not formally constituted or less formalised. Members of CBOs are drawn from the community, including a wide range of formations and covering a wide range of activities from welfare work, development, co-operatives, to sports and culture. There are also many sectors that these grassroots formations cover, from youth to women, to HIV/AIDS and burial societies."

Habib (2003: 236-237) argues that as a response to globalisation and neoliberalism, civil society has reconstituted, involving "the proliferation of informal, survivalist community-based organisations, networks and associations, which enable poor and marginalised communities to simply survive against the daily ravages of neoliberalism." Hence, one cannot simply "celebrate these associations as representing the energies and vibrancy of South African society. Indeed, they should be recognised for what they are, which is survivalist responses of poor and marginalised people who have no alternative in the face of a retreating state that refuses to meet its socio-economic obligations to its citizenry." Government spending on social development is too little in relation to historical inequalities and future needs, and can only allow for slow improvements over time (Swilling & Russell 2002: 71).

F. Brown (Interview 17.05.06: 2-3) describes the role of CBOs in the following way: "I think the role that they can play is that they can articulate the needs of the poor, the most marginalised layers in society. And they can articulate this … to the various role players in society, whether they be businesses, whether it be local government or whatever other institutions that exist in society. But there is a need for closer cooperation between them. …

They seem to be very much operating on their own, separate from mainstream political structures like local government, ward committees, councils and other structures at municipal levels." Ndlovu (2004: 8) further points out that much of the literature conflates CBOs and NGOs by using the term Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) or Non-Profit Organisations (NPOs); which is misleading, as it ignores their differences in standing and existing power inequalities.

Galvin (2005: 8) stresses that "although the increasingly important role of CBOs is often acknowledged in the South African civil society literature, it is rarely examined in any depth. Instead, when observing CBOs in South Africa, there is enormous potential to 'see what you want to see'." This may range from seeing CBOs as improving service delivery; building partnerships with local government; or challenging government's neoliberal policies. The author further explains that what one sees may depend on where one looks; which – combined with a lack of research on CBOs – has limited our understanding of CBOs, civil society and its relationship with state and local development. Kotzé (2004: 21-23, in ibid) emphasises the need for in-depth, qualitative research on CBOs, including their activities and motivation.

Galvin (2005: 13-19) developed a typology of rural CBOs in South Africa, classifying them into a) coping/survival CBOs; b) income generating CBOs; c) service delivery, governance and advocacy CBOs; and d) culture, youth and sport CBOs. The composition of those CBOs also reflected local power dynamics and gender divisions: survival and income generating CBOs were predominantly run by voluntary members, most of whom were women; and service delivery, governance and advocacy CBOs were mainly constituted by elected members with political or economic standing, who were mostly men. Such local power dynamics seem to limit CBOs in their ability to play a larger role in society (ibid: 30). Ndlovu (2004: 36-40) discusses CBO-activities (in Mpumalanga, Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal provinces), such as survivalist programmes; encouraging social inclusion; women or youth participation; or addressing social problems, the HIV/AIDS pandemic and welfare needs. These typologies were mainly developed in rural areas and may differ from urban CBOs in the Cape Town metropole. They will therefore not be taken over, but chapter 4.4 will describe characteristics of 13 CBOs profiled in this research. For the development of typologies and comparison with the above, further (quantitative) research will be required.

4.3.3 Relationships with other stakeholders

Within the new democracy in South Africa since 1994, CBOs are recognised as pivotal stakeholders as reflected in the state's commitment to public participation and co-operative governance. The 'Reconstruction and Development Programme' (RDP) suggested that "trade unions, sectoral social movements and CBOs, notably civics, must be encouraged to develop RDP programmes of action and campaigns within their own sectors and communities" (African National Congress 2000: 131). The Growth, Employment and Redistribution Programme (GEAR) proposed "Partnerships between the state and voluntary organisations centred on developmental welfare services…" (Department of Finance n.a.: 14). The 'White Paper on Local Government'[38] stated that municipalities can promote "social conditions favourable to development" through their "commitment to working in open partnerships with business, trade-unions and community-based organisations" (Ministry for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development 1998: 22).

On a policy and legislative level, there appears to be an increasingly enabling environment for CBOs to engage and influence the national agenda. In reality CBOs, who exist on the peripheries of society, are also marginalised in the development sector. They are often seen as the end-recipients or beneficiaries of projects and programmes that are planned by government institutions, as well as non-governmental (international and national) development agencies, and are seldom accepted as equal partners in the development process. The paradigm shift in international development theory since the late 1980s, to put

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[38] A White Paper is a government policy, which provides a framework for legislation. The White Paper on Local Government aims at transforming local government "to meet the challenges of the next century" (Ministry for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development 1998: v).

emphasis on participation of and partnerships with the target group, has often remained a concept rather than a practice, and the effects are questionable (Fowler 2000a: 1; see also 2.2.4).

Galvin (2005: 7-8) points to the advantages and central role of CBOs, since they combine the ability to extend service delivery while contributing to the participatory nature of democracy with a local, more legitimate base (than NGOs). While playing an active role in local development processes, CBOs battle to assert themselves in relationships with other stakeholders such as NGOs and local government.

The roles and relationships are described by one interviewee as follows: "You can't let government govern on its own, government needs to interlink with civil society; there must be a networking partnership. One of the main issues here in South Africa, whether you like it or not, is poverty; and how is government going to engage to address this problem? Government will keep on addressing its GEAR policy knowing that the GEAR policy promotes capitalism. And you cannot have poverty reduction and capitalism, favouring the capitalists and forgetting about the masses. … From our experience now, between your CBO and your NGO, we see it as a question of rich and poor. The NGO will access the funding and you will find the NGO people having smart cars. The CBO is actually the person who does the work at grassroots' level, but the CBO doesn't get the recognition or the funding" (Interview focus group 12.03.06: 10).

Galvin (2005: 21) describes a range of complex relationships between the state and civil society organisations, including CBOs: a) relationships of "resource dependency" where CBOs implement government programmes on a contract basis; b) working hand in hand on collective programmes; and c) contention, where activist CBOs challenge government.

In individual and focus group interviews with CBO leaders and members the need for government to become more accessible at community level was raised several times. One interviewee drew a link between the 1996 shift to GEAR and government's attitude towards poor communities: "But when that (RDP) department was dealt away with and when RDP was replaced by GEAR in 1996 then things started to change. I remember we used to go to consultative processes that were organised by government and they would say, if we want transport, how many people do we want to bring, and so on. But after 1996 there was a fundamental shift, now the focus was no more a community driven focus, it became market driven. … Then things changed, you know, the attitude of officials and politicians towards civil society. The word civil society was not so dominant as it is now, but the attitudes changed, because we were saying we don't believe that GEAR is the right way to go and that also brought about some fundamental differences, you know, the people on the one hand and government on the other hand" (Interview T. Ncgozela 24.05.06: 2). He therefore proposes: "We need a government … that puts participation and informed involvement of communities at its heart. So as long as government is not in favour of people's informed participation in processes, then it is going to be difficult for CBOs. … But they cannot do that alone. Some of them are weak, some get government grants. So you cannot expect a group that is smaller than TAC[39] and dependent on government grants to agitate to a level where there is a meaningful shift on the part of government. You need organisations like TAC and COSATU, those who have the capacity to analyse and to organise" (ibid: 5).

It was seen as an issue that many CBOs working in the same sector were yet divided (Interview focus group 12.03.06: 4-7). The lack of responsibility and dependency attitude towards government was mentioned as a major obstacle to people driving their own development processes (Interviews N. Mankayi 24.05.06: 3; K. Mbatha 24.06.06: 1). CBOs often struggle to analyse the bigger picture of development; and organise beyond their own agenda. Further, the theme of collaboration with NGOs came up repeatedly in the CBO-interviews; where it was suggested to form closer ties with NGOs and share resources and strategy if working in the same communities; as well as developing the CBOs' capacities. This

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[39] Treatment Action Campaign (TAC)

was, however, also seen as problematic due to power inequalities and the danger of becoming dependent on NGOs: "I find it problematic that NGOs would be seen as helping CBOs to grow to the same level as they are. My experience tells me that to a certain extent you would end up depending on that NGO. In that partnership you could say, can we share resources for example. And what that basically means is that an NGO could bring its resources to a CBO to be shared. It doesn't create a sense of independence. I think a CBO would now be dependent on that NGO, which for me is a bit of a problem because you would sort of operate as a paralysed organisation. You would not be able to think independently or act independently because you have this NGO which shelters you as a CBO and you fall underneath. In an ideal situation, whatever you are established for, when you want to see yourself as developing, partner up, create an equal partnership which will ensure that you have an equal vision and a common goal around a particular issue. … Even when you engage with government; that is the attitude that CBOs should take" (Interview Focus group12.03.06: 11).

4.3.4 Legal & funding context

In relation to NGOs, the legal context in South Africa has become increasingly NGO-friendly while at the same time CBO-'unfriendly'. Recent changes in the tax legislation have relieved the formally registered organisations in the non-profit sector, while CBOs battle with increasingly complex application and registration requirements.[40] Galvin (2005: 19) points out that, despite the decline in funding for civil society organisations in favour of government institutions, in relation to CBOs, NGOs still "receive the lion's share of foreign funding." Based on tensions between CBOs and NGOs due to the inequalities, as well as the perception of CBOs that NGOs are mainly run by white people and should have ceased to exist along with apartheid, some donors recognised the role of CBOs and began funding them directly (ibid: 20). However, CBO-funding programmes by Kagiso Trust and the Independent Development Trust failed – despite their inclusion of capacity development – due to CBOs having to rely on consultants to assist them in implementing donor contracts. This raises questions about donor-expectations, and whether those CBOs were meant to implement development projects similarly to NGOs or consultancies. Since the 1990s, the National Development Agency has been expected to fund at a CBO level, but has so far failed to reach the intended scale (ibid), and has been involved in several financial scandals (Ngobeni, W. w. k. et al 2006: 1-2). In the context of a general contraction of international donor funding, the failure from domestic institutions like the NDA and Lottery fund to become reliable sources for funding community development programmes became a challenge to local organisations (Interview G. Kraak 6.06.06: 2).

For Kotzé (2003: 23), while it is appropriate to move resources to CBOs where they are needed most, there is a danger of shifting societal and political responsibility onto survivalist organisations. The question Kotzé raises is as follows: If CBOs are a "desperate response to the hardships imposed on poor people as a direct result of the government's economic policy, how can these very structures then be seen as instruments of poverty alleviation? Is this not a variation on the 'blaming the victim' theme?" CBOs may as a result become cheap implementers of government and donor programmes.

As an example, M. Williams (Interview 31.05.06: 2) raises the issue of government's HIV/AIDS plan in collaboration with civil society organisations. While the aim of reaching more people, i.e. through home-based care, is of value, the over-prescriptiveness of government forces organisations to comply – if they want to access the grant – and excludes those who cannot: "It is a very prescriptive way in which they want to fund home-based care. And that excludes the guys who want to … send somebody to check on the person next door and help them while they are there. … When you go, you have to visit for x-amount of minutes, and then you have to write a report, and what you do there is bed-bath, and dressing of wounds etc. There

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[40] After research done by the 'Katz Commission' and a lobbying campaign by the 'Non-Profit Partnership' in 2000, the government included tax-deductible donations from private donors as well as tax exemptions for a range of non-profit organisations (Kraak 2001: 141).

is no chatting or relationship building on that list of prescribed duties. … It's been done by bigger organisations, the small guys are being cut out completely."

Added to this can be the discourse on voluntarism. Whereas 49% of the workforce of the non-profit sector was made up of volunteers in 1998 (Swilling & Russell 2002: 22), this may mainly constitute CBO-members. Kotzé (2003: 24) refers to an "element of exploitation" in the face of acute poverty; and a growing gap between well- and under-resourced civil society organisations.

Wright-Revolledo (2007: 4) argues that recently international donors have been increasingly aiming to channel resources to CBOs directly to promote community development; moving away from funding intermediaries. While this is explained in terms of CBO-ownership and empowerment, critics suspect more instrumentalist reasons, where differences in power can lead to gaining control over CBO activities. This approach is usually complemented by organisational capacity building support (see 2.4). Since many of the reasons for not funding CBOs were related to capacity issues, capacity building approaches have been identified as a need to address gaps in the non-profit sector. A Commonwealth Expert Group report stated there was an "urgent and immediate need for education and training courses aimed at technical, administrative, research and management skills of personnel working in non-governmental and community organisations" (Harker et. al. 1991: 56).

While capacity development for CBOs is acknowledged as important, it has so far mainly focussed on technical skills development. This thesis will further explore other levels of capacity and engage with capacity development approaches that can increase the levels of CBO-capacity to a state of stronger independence from intermediary organisations (or interdependence with such) (see chapter 9.1). The following section will provide an overview of CBOs profiled at Community Connections during the research period, and lead to chapter 5, where the case CBOs are portrayed.

4.4 Description of CBOs working with Community Connections

The following section provides an overview of 13 CBOs that Community Connections worked with from 2004-06 (including the case studies), with an attempt to develop an open typology. Those CBOs have all requested and received OD support. In most cases, only short-term support was provided, because the CBOs were not open to a long-term relationship, or lost their commitment over time. Only five had so far become long-term clients of one year or longer. Hence, the three case studies were some of the few long-term clients of Community Connections. However, in 2006 there seemed to be growing interest in long-term relationships by CBOs who had witnessed positive changes in those CBOs that Connections had worked with, and began valuing the approach.

This study does not refer to political or RDP structures, not because of the lack of interest, but due to the fact that no OD-support was requested from Connections by such organisations. The study also does not engage with CBOs who have been set up by NGOs or local government in order to implement a particular programme, as their dynamics are usually very different from community-organised structures. CBOs set up by external agencies such as NGOs or government structures have been created as a result of an externally driven needs analysis and programme design; and the subsequent recruiting of community members (e.g. as employees). Such structures may lack the internal commitment and drive which usually characterise community-led organisations, and are often dominated by their top governing (and funding) structure, even if local management committees are set up. Since such structures differ largely from CBOs driven by community members, it disqualifies them from this research.

4.4.1 Types of CBOs

CBOs are made up of people, who have identified a need or issue in their community[41], which they decide to address. Most CBOs Community Connections has worked with were entirely made up of people from the communities which the organisation serves. The majority of leaders and members were women (8 had a majority of women; 3 were fairly mixed; 2 were predominantly male), although often higher positions were given to men (e.g. chairperson of the committee)[42]. While men would hold more influential positions; it was often the women who would do the work and therefore also carry authority for decisions to be taken on a daily basis (hence the men's power was at times more symbolic).

There were a few cases where people from more affluent areas joined or even co-pioneered CBOs. Such people usually have had access to higher education and contributed particular skills which CBOs often lacked (mainly writing, computer, fundraising and financial skills).

Of the 13 CBOs Community Connections' OD programme has worked with from 2004-06, most were formed between 1992 and 2000 (9). Three formed between 2003 and 2005, one in 1985. Most of the CBOs were therefore formed after the end of apartheid or during the transition, and may have chosen a particular focus as a result.

The nature of the service CBOs provided varied; some CBOs were filling a gap in service delivery: care for people infected and affected by HIV & AIDS (4); counselling abuse victims (1), supporting elderly groups (1); or providing information on breastfeeding (1). Other CBOs engaged in more developmental work, such as youth/childhood development (4); development of family values/ role of men (1); skills development (2); which can also overlap with the above provision of services. Some of those CBOs operated in isolation, while others affiliated to NGOs with a similar purpose, or were in a few cases supported by local government.

On the other hand, there were CBOs with a more activist orientation, who formed to advocate for particular interests, e.g. mobilising against evictions and lack of housing, privatisations, etc. (3); or lesbian issues in townships (1). Some activist CBOs started connecting across townships to form movements, such as the Anti-Eviction Campaign in the Western Cape area.

4.4.2 CBO-Structures

Nine of the 13 CBOs were structured as membership organisations, with an elected management committee responsible for decision-making as well as implementing the work (at times there was an executive committee above the management committee). Some members were beneficiaries (like in youth organisations); others were volunteers (e.g. in organisations providing home-based care to people living with AIDS). Often it was a mix of both.

One organisation had task teams of volunteers with various responsibilities; another one started as a committee of people employed elsewhere who were looking to find more volunteers and appoint a coordinator when funds were raised.

Looking at the three case studies, only one of them, the CRA, was membership based. The others had beneficiaries, some of whom were long-term through support groups. This setup may come close to a membership structure, but not involve decision-making rights of members.

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[41] The term community is mainly referring to geographic areas, e.g. townships; it can however also refer to a particular grouping or interest community within or beyond such areas (see also 2.2.1 on the definition of community).

[42] The study of Swilling & Russell (2002: 23) reveals that most of the non-profit sector (including CBOs) is led by black women (of the total managerial staff in NPOs 59% were women and 73% black; and of full-time employees 60% were women and 81% black).

In recent years, more CBOs decided to register as Non-profit organisations (NPOs) as this status enables organisations to formally raise funds. This decision has often challenged the structure of CBOs, since in formal NPOs there is a division between a voluntary board/committee and paid staff or volunteers. For CBOs this may mean the leadership of the organisation has to become 'staff' in order to be salaried (if funds can be raised) while a committee of volunteers needs to be found to form the governance body. Since unemployment and poverty are high, many community members do not like the prospect of volunteering in an organisation – especially if funds are available without them benefiting. Furthermore, there were usually capacity issues regarding financial oversight, which constitutes one of the board's main roles. The NPO-model which is derived from a wealthier context, where professionals volunteer to sit on boards of non-profit organisations, does not apply well at the grassroots level. So far, none of the CBOs Community Connections worked with in the past years had a well-functioning board. Similar comments about non-reliable committees and the expectation to be paid were made by CBO-interviewees (Interview focus group 12.03.06: 16-17). Often, this shift also disempowered community participation, as the role of membership was reduced and lost its oversight functions.

Three of the CBOs Connections worked with were NPO registered, had received some funding and paid staff (stipends rather than salaries). Two of the three became case studies of this research, which may prove a link between the level of formality and the ability to remain in long-term relationships with a capacity development service provider. This will be discussed further in chapter 9.1.1.

4.4.3 Strengths & challenges

In order to understand what kind of capacity should be enhanced in CBOs, it is valuable to understand existing strengths of CBOs and their sources of power, as well as challenges (based on both their own perceptions and what emerged in OD processes).

Strengths

Of the 13 organisations Connections worked with, all had strong pioneers/leaders as driving forces of the organisations. Most CBOs operated in a less structured and rather fluid, informal way (which could also be a challenge). Almost all CBOs (12) had a particular strength in networking (mainly in the community) to access support from other stakeholders. Most were very committed to their purpose/identity, and many were hard-working. Seven had managed to mobilise some resources – even if not permanently; and most organisations were able to continue their work without material resources. Four organisations were more than 10 years old. Teamwork played a particularly important role in three organisations. Other strengths were good writing skills (3) and the ability to mobilise the community (2).

In the interviews with CBO members (focus group) and community leaders, the following CBO strengths were listed: CBO members were highly committed, having determination and passion despite working with limited resources (4). Often, CBO members stated they were drawing strength from faith (2). Good communication, team spirit and the involvement of many people was mentioned as important (4). Further strengths were named as meeting a community need and being able to sacrifice and contribute one's own resources for a chosen cause; making a difference despite limited resources and having to work as volunteers. CBO members further stand together to help each other and promote unity in diverse cultures; being able to make people think and listen. Leadership and being a role model was seen as a strength, e.g. in mobilising youth or being youth driven and stopping crime and drug abuse. Networks and alliances were also seen as sources of strength, as well as CBOs' ability to withstand changes in the environment (i.e. by not being donor-dependent). The direct experience with injustice was also described as a "capacity on injustices" (Interviews focus group 12.03.06: 12-14; T. Ngcozela 24.05.06: 6; T. Gcememe 16.05.06: 3; F. Brown 17.05.06: 3; N. Mankayi 24.05.06: 4).

Challenges

A challenge for many CBOs was a lack of stability for various reasons, e.g. personal and organisational crises, poor health of leaders, poverty and/or family demands to provide (8). Many were running a variety of activities and did not have a particular focus (this could be a strength, but could also lead to overload and high expectations from the community) (7). Six organisations had rather autocratic leaders centralising authority and decision making (see also 9.2.1); and also internal conflicts. There was often not enough skill to 'comply' with donor requirements; and some funders pushed CBOs to 'professionalise' (6). Four organisations had issues regarding transparency/accountability; and finances had been misused in the past. Two cases had pioneers (from affluent backgrounds) wanting to move on, leaving behind a skills gap.

Interviewees from CBOs (focus group) and community leaders mentioned the following CBO challenges: A general lack of material resources (7); coupled with a capacity and skills lack (financial, project management, fundraising) (5). The lack of resources further led to people moving on to paid jobs after being trained; the decreasing of (youth) volunteerism (2); as well as the lack of space for programmes.

Another challenge was mentioned as the dependency on leaders and their personality (2); coupled with apathy from other members. This often led to a lack of discipline, accountability and following democratic processes, and a slowness in delivering tasks. It was seen as a challenge to not have an organisational focus (2) and not committing enough time to internal development.

Further difficulties were posed through mistrust from other community organisations; the lack of access to government support and policy influencing; and not having time for one's family (Interviews focus group 12.03.06: 14-16; T. Ngcozela 24.05.06: 6; T. Gcememe 16.05.06: 3-4; F. Brown 17.05.06: 3-4; N. Mankayi 24.05.06: 4-5).

Beyond the 13 organisations profiled here, another 16 CBOs had requested OD support in the period from 2004-06, but had either lost interest before they began to work with Connections, or they had been referred to Connections' training programme as they had not yet formed a functioning CBO, where OD could be beneficial. Almost all requests were geared towards registration as an NPO, fundraising and/or strategic planning. Often, interest decreased when Connections' facilitators explained the organisation's rather long-term and developmental process, as quick fixes had been expected. This pointed towards a general difficulty of working with CBOs who would often not be open to long-term engagements towards the development of their own capacity, and hoped for a faster 'delivery' by the supporting NGO (see also section 10.1). It, however, also points to the fact that 'capacity gaps' regarding fund raising and formalisation were so big due to sector requirements that they could not have been addressed in a short period of time (see also section 9.1).

4.5 Summary

Major challenges in South Africa's development and redistribution process can be linked to a global neoliberal context, where issues of justice and equity are not addressed at a fundamental, structural level. Within this context in South Africa, civil society organisations began forming and restructuring in various ways; either as service providers in collaboration with government, or as social movements contesting current policies. CBOs have increasingly emerged as (isolated) responses to poverty and marginalisation; while battling to enter the development arena and partner or engage with government, NGOs and other stakeholders.

Forming 53% of South Africa's non-profit sector, CBOs play a relevant role in community development and civil society formation, but while officially recognised, remain at the periphery of the development industry and struggle to meet formal requirements.

In this research, 13 CBOs that Community Connections worked with over two years were broadly profiled. Their types and structures, as well as strengths and challenges, may point to a way of engaging with CBOs in a more developmental manner by understanding their characteristics and aiming to strengthen those rather than predefining which capacities they need to develop.

In order to provide a more in-depth understanding of the cases, chapters 5-8 will describe the three case studies, as well as the OD processes facilitated with them over time.

5

"The phenomenon is not detached from the observer,
but intertwined and involved with him."

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1998, in Ebach 2005: 254)

5 Case Portrayals: seeing the phenomenon 'as it is'

5.1 Introduction to case & process descriptions

The following chapters provide a detailed description of the case studies and the work conducted with them. Not every reader may be interested in the process descriptions over time; but they may be valuable for practitioners and people working with CBOs, as such processes are rarely recorded. Since there are many ways of applying an OD approach, the descriptions also aim to provide an understanding of how the researcher/facilitator interpreted and applied the approach and its outcomes, which ultimately enables a better understanding of how themes for the following discussion were selected. The descriptions also show that the processes were not perfect but 'messy' and discontinuous at times; and they reveal the capacity limitations of the facilitator herself.

The descriptions are written in the first person, and do not aim to claim any neutrality of the researcher/facilitator; but are her accounts of the process. In chapter 3 it was mentioned that no data is neutral or "theory-free", since it is always already interpreted through the researcher's cognitive and theoretical frames of reference (Alvesson & Skoeldberg 2000: 17). Bartlett (1932, cited in Gardner 1985: 16) explains that: "Remembering … is an imaginative reconstruction, or construction, built out of the relation of our attitude towards a whole active mass of past experience. … It is thus hardly ever really exact…" The way in which the case CBOs are perceived and described is therefore filtered through the cognitive interpretation and frames of reference of the researcher. Having worked through an OD perspective further influenced the interpretation possibilities within the researcher's OD knowledge.

In order to avoid a reconstruction that relied only on the researcher's memory, and to allow different voices to speak and not only be represented, each individual process over time was documented in a written report, which was given to the respective CBO, and comments were invited. The final description of the case stories over time as presented in chapters 5-8 was given to the leaders of each case CBO, who read through it with several colleagues and approved of it as an appropriate description. Furthermore, the information was enriched through interviews conducted with the leadership, as well as written evaluations over time and a final assessment in writing by the CBO-members (see assessment form in Appendix 5); which were partly quoted in the text. To make transparent her own thinking and adaptations of the approach throughout the process, the researcher wrote journal reflections, excerpts of which are also cited throughout the case descriptions.

Since there was very little other literature available regarding the case CBOs, only few references appear in these chapters. Hence, chapters 5-8 are mainly based on process reports and reflections over time, interviews and a final assessment with each case CBO.

Section 5.2-5.4 provides background information about each of the three case-CBOs and their leaders. It aims to describe the history and motivation of each CBO-leader and their organisation, in order to understand the development of the organisation and reasons for requesting OD-support from Community Connections. Furthermore, it provides personal stories located within the socio-political context (see chapter 4), which contributed to shaping each of the organisations.

Section 5.5 offers a similar account of Community Connections, the organisation providing the OD support, in which the researcher was working. As formulated by Bohm (1980: 172; see section 3.3): "both observer and observed are merging and interpenetrating aspects of one whole reality, which is indivisible and unanalysable." Therefore it becomes necessary to describe the background and coming into being of the organisation providing the capacity development support, including their pioneers' backgrounds and motivations; as well as the researcher's role in it.

The process of understanding and describing organisations is linked to Goethe's way of seeing (see section 3.3); with chapter 5 playing the role of "seeing the phenomenon as it is", i.e. describing each organisation and their leader's background. Here, the researcher needs to remain conscious of the fact that the perception of the phenomenon is not an objective reality 'out there', but interpreted through the researcher's cognitive and theoretical framework. Each process description in chapters 6-8 describes the "unfolding" over time, i.e. the development process. The after-thoughts in chapters 6-8 describe the "seeing is beholding" – another level of connecting with the CBOs in retrospect and reflecting on them and the overall process. A table at the end of each process description lists all the methods used in each intervention. Chapter 9 will finally correspond to the fourth stage of Goethe's delicate empiricism, called "Being one with the object", where "patterns are discerned … as possible paths or modes of expression," … communicating "how it relates to its wider environment, to the phenomena around it" (Wahl 2005: 65; see section 3.3).

Names of the CBOs and of individuals were changed for confidentiality purposes, except for Community Connections and their leaders' names.

5.2 Portrayal: Impiliso HIV & AIDS Organisation

According to Swilling & Russell (2002: 21) the response of CBOs is "particularly effective for the HIV/AIDS crisis, as they would be providing support and care to the poorest of the poor, who have few other channels of assistance."

Impiliso HIV & AIDS Organisation is based in Khayelitsha, one of the isiXhosa-speaking townships of Cape Town. The organisation was conceptualised in 2000 by two pioneers from different backgrounds.

Nomandla, who is the coordinator of the organisation today, was born in Kensington, Cape Town in 1961. Her parents had both come from Queenstown in the Eastern Cape, to find work in Cape Town. Her mother was a domestic worker and her father worked on construction sites. In 1962 the family was forcibly removed, and lived in Gugulethu from then on. Nomandla describes her family as very religious, being in the Presbyterian Church.

At the age of 14 the marriage of her parents broke apart with her father having turned violent against her mother. Nomandla grew up with her mother, who "had to work day and night. She was one of the hard working women, because she had to raise six children. I am the fifth child, and I didn't get that mother's love because she had to go and work for us" (Interview Nomandla 16.01.07: 1).

In 1976 the school riots began, and Nomandla's school was closed several times, while the youth were protesting in the streets. "They called it chop down. We had to leave school and go out on the streets toyi-toyiing (protesting). At that time I was starting the high school level, and we were told about Apartheid … It was difficult for education at the time. I think the way we grew up was really terrible for us, experiencing youth being killed. … If you were wearing school uniform and were out on the street, in the crowd, sometimes you'd just get arrested. Once when we got out of school the police van just stopped and they beat us. We didn't do anything, just because we were in a crowd of school children. That is one thing I can remember: beating without reason" (ibid).

Profile	
Focus	Children & Families affected by HIV/AIDS
Founded in	2001
Mission	Establish a foster care network that can offer support and care for children, families infected and affected by HIV/AIDS.
Programmes	- Placement of children with foster parents - Support groups: foster parents, people living with AIDS, income generation skills group - Staff development/ organisational development
Structure	Management Committee: 3 members, later 4 people from Rotary Club as interim committee, later community members Staff: 5 women, isiXhosa speaking, aged between 30-46, low salaries, some volunteers when available
Funding/ Donations	Grants were obtained from Rotary Club and international funders for programme implementation and equipment
Office & resources	Office with computers, phone, fax, stationery, and email; project car
Access to capacity building	- Training in proposal writing, bookkeeping, NPO-setup, constitution (NACOSA), - Training in governance, management, labour law, administration (Community Chest) - HIV, ARV & counselling (ATTIC) - memory box (UCT) - group therapy (Hope Worldwide) - Foster parenting & understanding the court (Child Welfare) - Support group facilitation (Health Department/ Philippian Trust) - OD support, organisational skills and computer skills (Community Connections) - multicultural wellness education (Capacitar)
Formal registration	Registration as NPO / Voluntary Association
Other comments	Organisation started with the support from Rotary Club, which brought financial and material resources from the onset

Figure 7: Profile Impiliso

She was out of school from 1976-77, had her first child in 1979, with school being closed down again in 1980-81. She started working in a restaurant on weekends, and when the schooling situation remained tense, she decided to look for full-time work, as she had to provide for her child. She found work in a pre-primary school in Claremont as a cleaner, and worked herself up into being a carer: "I was so curious. All the time I wanted to learn. And I was helping everyone until I got the skill" (ibid). In the years to come she worked in two more preschools as a carer, until she applied for work in a children's home, where she was a youth carer from 1993-2001. Nomandla has three children and is divorced, having her own house in Khayelitsha.

As the impact of HIV and AIDS became increasingly visible in poor communities as well as amongst the street children she worked with, she started taking courses to get informed about the virus, while still working in the children's home. "In those days it was something people did not want to talk about and there was a big stigma. The people did not have any information about it and people were dying. Like flies with doom, they were really dying. And they were so scared to come upfront because it was a bad thing. When you were diagnosed HIV positive you could not live in your community" (Interview Nomandla 28.4.06: 1).

While she started with HIV education in her workplace, her niece became ill with tuberculosis, and disclosed to her that she had AIDS. Nomandla supported and counselled her niece to the point she felt confident enough to disclose her status to her family and, thereafter, even to her community. Nomandla supported her niece to her final stages, and at her death bed her niece encouraged her to start HIV awareness work at her funeral. "I have done that on her funeral day. I decided to collect all the information about HIV. … And I stood in front of the people, telling them about her status. People started to listen to me and in the church it was very quiet" (ibid).

Nomandla then realised that she had to continue this work, and through a former colleague from the children's home, who later pioneered Community Connections, she got to know Elisabeth, a Rotarian and banker, who was eager to contribute to South Africa's development in a more meaningful way. Nomandla invited her for a meeting with community members, which became the first of many after-hour meetings to come during the year 2000, in which the organisation was conceptualised. A third woman joined, and the organisation was initially launched under a different name, but conflict arose before the end of 2000 and the two pioneers distanced themselves from her.

With the help of Rotary Clubs in Cape Town and the United Kingdom (UK) the first funds were raised for the organisation. In 2001, the organisation was launched and an office set up. Work in the community started with counselling HIV positive people. In the sessions a need for foster care placement of affected children became evident, which gave rise to another programme. Elisabeth took on the role of coordinator, dealing with finances and fund raising, while Nomandla became programme manager, responsible for the work on the ground and networking. From UK funding salaries were sponsored for a social worker and Nomandla; and a full-time administrator, Bulelwa, joined on a voluntary basis.

In 2002 the organisation grew rapidly and became increasingly known. The first foster child was placed. Funds were raised and staff/volunteers sent to various training courses around HIV and AIDS, as well as Community Connections' Organisational Skills-course. From the onset, Impiliso requested annual strategic planning workshops from Connections, as the Connections' coordinator, Ninnette, had supported the organisation's setup and introduced the practice of review and planning workshops.

More funds were raised locally, Bulelwa became paid staff, and Elisabeth resigned from her position at the bank to work full-time for the organisation. Other volunteers joined, one of which, Thembeka, became paid staff in 2003. Programme work increased, and the Department of Social Services ran HIV and AIDS related training courses hosted by Impiliso. According to the group, everyone in the organisation was highly motivated by the level of growth and success in 2002.

2003 posed challenges to the organisation, as Rotary, the organisation's main donor, made it clear that it does not fund ongoing programme activities. Mid-year, the organisation had a funding crisis. At the end of 2003, a final instalment was made by Rotary, which would maintain running costs until mid 2004. At this stage, the organisation had 5 staff and ran 4 programmes: (1) placement of children with foster parents; (2) foster parent support group; (3) support group for people living with AIDS (PWA); (4) empowerment group for income generation skills. The organisation had only one external management committee member, while the other two members were the staff leadership, Elisabeth and Nomandla (Report April/May 04).

5.3 Portrayal: Uxolo Community Health Organisation

Uxolo was started as early as 1992 in Mbekweni, a mainly isiXhosa speaking township close to Paarl, about 70km outside of Cape Town city centre. A group of people responded to the growing crisis of HIV and AIDS, as there was only one clinic in the area, and 24 volunteers began to educate people though home visits. The original pioneer is described as a visionary, who managed to excite others about her vision of working with the people in the community. She and her successor both fell ill while working in the organisation and subsequently died. Three of the original founders are still part of the organisation: Lindiwe, who became the third coordinator, Nonkululeko and Phumla.

Profile	
Focus	Health, HIV & AIDS and Social Issues
Founded in	1992
Mission	Driven by passion and dedication, we the UCHO, commit ourselves to create change in a supportive and reliable manner. We intend to serve with our hearts and minds and improve the standard of health and quality of life in our communities that are devastated by domestic violence, poverty, illness, unemployment and related social problems. Our ultimate aim is to build and strengthen the capacity of local and neighbouring communities, through …
Programmes	HIV/AIDS and Nutrition Programme Youth Programme Elderly Programme Domestic Violence Programme
Structure	Management Committee: 7 members, not all are active Staff: 4 women & 1 man (initially 2); aged between 30-46; low salaries
Funding/ Donations	Funding from BLA, CWD and international funders for programme implementation and equipment; external fundraiser available
Office & resources	Container with 1 computer, phone, stationery; fax was lost due to repeated break-ins and PC damaged
Access to capacity building	- leadership, financial management, structuring (CWD) - proposal writing, budgeting, financial management, reporting, registration (RDSP) - Action Learning and Strategic Reviews (CDRA) OD support, development practice course – not finalised, advocacy (Community Connections)
Formal registration	Registration as NPO / Voluntary Association
Other comments	Strong relationships internally and with the community

Figure 8: Profile Uxolo

Lindiwe was born in Mbekweni in 1968, where she still lives today. She went to high school, but did not pass her matric test in 1989. Subsequently she worked in Paarl as a shop assistant and in a restaurant. In 1992, when Uxolo was founded, she joined to fulfil her passion of contributing to her community. "I had wanted to be a social worker, but due to some financial constraints I didn't go further to school and study. Then I started working as a community worker. Uxolo was the first organisation, and I stayed. I was working at that time in a restaurant but I just decided to quit" (Interview Lindiwe, 16.01.07: 1). She volunteered for two years until the organisation raised some money. Her husband was working at the time, and supported her, although they divorced later. Lindiwe has three children. She became coordinator in 1996 after the second coordinator fell ill (ibid).

In 2002, Zola became coordinator of the organisation. He was born in 1977 in Mbekweni. At a young age he stayed in the Eastern Cape for one year, where his parents were from, but says he has no recollection of that. While he grew up, his father was a construction worker, and also worked on building the Paarl tunnel. His mother initially worked in restaurants and later became a domestic worker. Zola passed the matric level and studied public administration for two years at Boland College from 1996-97, which he had to discontinue due to financial problems. He states that after the end of Apartheid, community initiatives emerged in his area. "We were moving out of Apartheid and everything was new. And we wanted to grab opportunities. One thing that they were telling us was: 'If you go and start your own thing you get money, because the more you are black the more money you get for activities'" (Interview Zola 16.01.07: 1). He joined the Mbekweni Youth Forum, which was initiated in 1996 by one of his friends active in parliament. For about a year, Zola worked for Metal Box, a packaging company. When his contract ended in 1998, he started to work for Uxolo organisation.

Although the organisation had started highly motivated in 1992, and some volunteers were sent to training courses, only 11 people were left in the second year. The group decided to write proposals for funding and support, and was able to receive office space in the old library in 1994. The following year, the first funding was received which was, according to the group, mismanaged. The organisation was not yet aware how to budget money for activities and funds were used for salary payments only. "We still needed to learn how to use money," said a staff member in retrospect (Report May 05). An internal crisis followed, with some people leaving the organisation. In 1997, when only four volunteers were left, Catholic Welfare and Development[43] (CWD) started supporting the organisation through mentoring. When they had to leave their office in the same year, CWD provided a container as replacement, which the organisation still uses today.

Between 1998-9 the organisation went through another difficult period, which brought along shifts and growth: Programmes were developed for the first time in 1998-99 to focus on (1) HIV and AIDS, (2) Nutrition, (3) Domestic Violence, (4) Elderly People, (5) Child Abuse and (6) Street Children. While in 1998 some volunteers had joined, in 1999 an evaluation was conducted by CWD, which subsequently caused a crisis in which some people left. In 1999, funding was received from Breadline Africa[44] (BLA) and CWD, and people were sent to HIV-related training courses. The current coordinator felt that those years brought major turning points: "The introduction of programmes brought clarity … and through CWD we learned leadership roles, received funding and were introduced to BLA. … The crisis opened up wounds, but helped us introspect" (ibid).

Since that time, the organisation was mainly funded by BLA (occasionally other donors), and continued to implement programmes. In 2002 the organisation went though another external evaluation. Lindiwe decided to step down from being coordinator, as she did not feel confident in her role. The staff asked Zola to take over coordination. He had started as a volunteer in earlier years and at the time facilitated the newly developed youth programme as a staff member. He had some knowledge about financial management through his studies at college, and had supported the previous coordinator with administration work: "I don't know what they saw, maybe my capabilities. … So people felt that I could take the leadership role, although there were lots of uncertainties. There were people who were happy for me, who started the organisation. And also reservations, saying: 'Will I manage to be a project coordinator?'" (Interview Zola 2.06.06: 1). In retrospect the staff felt it was crucial to appoint Zola, who became a strong driver of the organisation.

In the same year a friend helped the organisation to formally register as a Non-Profit Organisation (NPO); a decision was taken to discontinue the street children programme and an external bookkeeper was appointed.

In 2003 the organisation started a relationship with the Community Development Resource Association (CDRA). The facilitator had worked with Uxolo organisation through CWD already, and was now an employee of CDRA. She facilitated annual strategic reviews in 2003 and 04, as well as monthly mentoring sessions, where programme work was reflected upon using the action-learning-cycle. The group commented that the strategic reviews helped Uxolo to focus; and were very happy about the relationship they had established with her: "She was like a mother; she brought us together and gave hope in crisis. We evaluate every activity since then" (Report May 05). About the same time, the organisation became involved in a pilot programme on Anti-Retro-Virals (ARVs), being one of the leading organisations in their area in managing the drug trial with a group of people (Huna 2004: 4).

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[43] CWD is an umbrella organisation, comprising ten programmes and ten community development centres in the Greater Cape Metropole. It works with women, children and youth development, health and food security, and economic development (CWD Website 2007).
[44] Breadline Africa is an international donor organisation that raises funds in Britain, Ireland and the Netherlands. The organisation supports "programmes and projects that are innovative and have a lasting value for the community" and "wherever possible - each project is run and managed by the direct beneficiaries" (BLA Website 2007).

In 2004, an external fundraiser was found, willing to provide pro-bono work for Uxolo. He has since supported the organisation randomly by identifying potential donors and writing proposals. In 2004, the first financial audited statement was produced, which helped fundraising efforts. Although Uxolo paid low salaries (rather stipends) and still operated from a container (which was broken into regularly), the organisation managed to continually implement its programmes and maintain a resource base. In 2005, the organisation had six staff (Report May 05).

5.4 Portrayal: Concerned Residents Association

Swilling & Russell (2002: 31) note that a substantial number of NPOs in South Africa are working in development and housing sectors (see also 4.3); with most of their activities revolving around economic, social and community development. Both housing and development sectors are predominantly managed by black females; which is explained through the fact that this kind of work involves supporting and improving the lives of ordinary people, which are more often women's activities (ibid: 26)

The Concerned Residents Association came into being in 1995, when three organisations in the same area merged into one. The organisation is based in Valhalla Park, a predominantly Afrikaans speaking township of Cape Town. The coordinator, Sophie, has been involved in community work for more than 18 years.

She was born in 1949 in a small township called Crawford in the Western Cape. She was three years old when her mother died, and has no recollection of her except the birth of her younger brother 6 months before her mother's death. She lived with her father, who worked at the City Council, until she was ten. "He used to work from 6 o'clock and he had to leave 5 o'clock in the morning. He had to lock me up and ask someone to later in the morning lock the door open. Everyday there was somebody else that came to dress me, comb, and plait my hair" (Interview Sophie, 16.01.07: 1).

She then lived with her mother's sister for two years as her father remarried, until he and his wife decided to take her back. Her brother grew up with Sophie's cousin. Sophie had a difficult time growing up with her stepmother, who treated her badly, having four children of her own. Sophie did well in

Profile	
Focus	Advice office, housing, community safety & maintenance, youth & nutrition
Founded in	1995
Mission	Our Mission is to empower and develop our communities by ensuring access to quality housing, clean water, maintenance, electricity and other human rights. We raise awareness about social problems, and provide information, nutrition and youth development programmes.
Programmes	*Housing, evictions, water & electricity *Community safety & maintenance *Advice and referral office *Soup kitchen for children and poor people *Youth leadership development
Structure	Management Committee: 5 Street Committees; Approx. 35 general members (not all are active); of which 25 women & 10 men, aged between 38 up to 60s (many active pensioners); average age in 40s.
Funding/ Donations	Donations for transport to marches, etc.; food; materials
Office & resources	Container for meetings which is leaking; operating from home of coordinator
Access to capacity building	OD support, development practice course, advocacy (Community Connections)
Formal registration	none
Other comments	Strong relationships with the community; can mobilise people

Figure 9: Profile CRA

school as well as in the netball team and was looking forward to high school. "I was walking to school bare feet; I didn't have a case to put my book in. I had a carrier bag ... I had to walk to school a very long distance, all bare feet. And the winters at the time were very cold and it was raining a lot. And when I reached school I was soaking wet, and I did very well at school. And my stepmother's children didn't do so well at school..." (ibid). In the school holidays before high school, when Sophie was about 13 years old, her father fell ill with tuberculosis and could not work any more. Her stepmother decided to take Sophie out of school and sent her to work in a Canadian canning factory, where she worked for more than 10 years. "There we worked from Monday to Monday, from this morning until the next morning. And we used to work on a Saturday and Sunday and

nightshift and again dayshift. It wasn't a job to work there and it was hard work" (ibid: 1-2). After the factory closed, Sophie had her first child, and then began working in several clothing factories in Salt River and Woodstock as a machinist for 16 years.

In 1988 she became involved in community work and had to quit her work, as her increasing responsibilities forced her to be absent too often. Sophie has four children and is divorced.

Her initial community support consisted of helping others fight evictions from their houses, as she herself had been evicted three times. "How I became a community worker is because I am a single parent, a mother of four. I used to work in the clothing factory and used to earn very little money. I am now speaking of the times of Apartheid. I actually had a very small salary and wasn't really able to keep up with the payments of my rent and water and electricity at the time. … The first evening, my furniture was all standing outside and my children were playing in the street not knowing what was going on. They were shouting at me as I came, they were shouting saying that: 'the council threw all our furniture outside, and the council took our key from us'…" (Interview Sophie 18.05.06: 1). When she asked the council what to do the following day, she was told she had to deliver three months' rental by 12 o'clock, or she would not be able to return into her house. "And then I had to run around to family members and friends to borrow that money. Then I stood in the street and hiked a lift after I managed to get that three-months payment. And so the first time I came there about 5 to 12. The lady said I am lucky it's 5 to 12" (ibid).

Since she had to pay back the people she had lent money from, she fell back with the rental again and was evicted for the second time. This time she knew the procedure, and managed to borrow more money from different people to take to the council the next morning. "And here came the third time. And at the time they evicted me for the second time, I hadn't even finished paying back to the people that I lent the money from the first time. So the second time I went to lend money by somebody else again. So now I am deeply in debt, and the money that I earned couldn't make it to even pay the people properly. And then the third time I said to myself: This is not on. I am not prepared to go run around this time, and to get money. … I'm gonna stand up now, and I'm gonna speak my mind now. I'm gonna ask them how am I supposed to pay, if this is the money that I earn and there is no other income" (ibid).

Sophie managed to negotiate with the council in the 1980s, and still lives in her house today. As a result, more community members facing evictions came to her for advice. "There were people that were evicted, and from the first time up to today, they still haven't got a house. They were evicted and they were out. They just left it at that, they didn't fight for their house. The people that were evicted with me for the second time, they also didn't fight for their house; they just went off to stay with family members. Still today they haven't got a house of their own. And after the third time, people started talking and, when other people were evicted, they came to me and said: 'I'm evicted. What did you do and how did you do it? What did you say?' And from that time I had a very passion for people that have been evicted. So when I hear that a person has been evicted then I go to that person's rescue. … And that is how I actually became involved. And then after a while people didn't only come to me with the eviction-story. They also came to me seeking for help with other problems, and I sort of tried to help them in my own way. And never was I unsuccessful. I was always successful in helping people, and that is how the workload became too much, and then I quit working. And from then on I have been in this field of community work as a volunteer".

18 years ago Sophie left her job. In 1993 she was approached by two Muslim men planning a community meeting to start an organisation. They asked her to become one of the founding members. They formed one of three organisations which were active in her area at that time, working in similar fields. Hence, when in 1995 all three organisations had lost members, the leaders decided to join forces and merge to become the Concerned Residents Association (CRA). The event having sparked the first collaboration of the three organisations was the eviction of an 83-year old lady from her house. The organisations immediately mobilised the community, fought the police and enabled the old woman to live in her house until she died

in later years. After that incident, no other evictions took place in the area; although they continued in other townships.

In the mid-1990s the City Council disconnected electricity in the entire neighbourhood, although many households were paying their bills. A community-wide protest forced the Council to reconnect electricity, and activists have since monitored Council activities in the area, with Council rarely entering without consultation (Oldfield & Stokke 2004: 16).

Oldfield & Stokke (2004: 10) point to the fact that community issues of housing and public services have already formed part of the anti-Apartheid movement. Those issues have re-emerged on the agenda of new social movements demanding justice in the liberal democracy in South Africa (see 4.2.2).

The CRA became a channel from the community to other organisations and institutions, and the work broadened. In 1999, street committees were established, to ensure community safety and maintenance. In 2000, the Western Cape Anti Eviction Campaign (AEC) was established, of which the CRA became a founding member. In 2001, the CRA took the City of Cape Town to court, and in 2003 the High Court case was won, with the City being instructed to provide legal rights to land and services to an informal settlement on council land (Oldfield & Stokke 2004: 16; Report CRA June 05). Desai (2002: 142, cited in Kotzé 2003: 20) describes similar struggles of South African community organisations for housing and services: "But in Chatsworth and elsewhere, communities are organising and fighting back. They have developed networks of communication amongst the different units and interdependent relationships with lawyers, academics, human rights groups and journalists of the outside. Led mainly by women, many of whose biographies tell a story of abuse that once cowered them into submission, they have re-emerged to take on a new bully-boy – the local government."

In 2003, the CRA started a soup kitchen based on food donations from shops; and since 2004 the organisation began to negotiate with the City Council, as well as protesting, for the upgrading of streets, delivery of food parcels and other support. Having challenged the city, Sophie became a respected community leader and has been approached by the council when support was needed. She signed applications of community members for grants; distributed food parcels from the council; and negotiated in the case of electricity or water cut-offs. The local councillor was usually less informed about events; and hence she established a direct relationship with the council; which relied on her on a voluntary basis (Report CRA June 05).

Oldfield & Stokke (2004: 15) describe the way in which the CRA was able to engage with state officials and institutions, while at the same time also opposing the system and acting in protest. Particularly by building relationships through "persistent engagement with officials in the police, the health and housing departments … civic leaders have found ways in which to make them more responsive" (ibid).

The leadership had also managed to negotiate with local gangs to stop gang wars in the community (Report CRA June 05).

In 2005, Martin, one of the members of the AEC from a white, privileged background, offered to raise funds for the CRA. It was understood the organisation could achieve more with resources and funding; as well as money for capacity development for its members. In relation to the latter, Sophie suggested to Martin that he contact Community Connections. She had participated in the Development Practice course in 2004 and felt Connections would be able to support further capacity development for the organisation.

5.5 Portrayal: Community Connections

Community Connections was conceptualised in the year 2000 by two pioneers with very different backgrounds. Ninnette, who became Coordinator/ Director of the organisation, was born in Johannesburg in 1972 into a wealthy, Jewish home and a conservative environment. Her parents were hard working, having two successful businesses. She grew up rather protected from South African realities, until in her matric year as part of an extra mural programme she visited a township for the first time:

"And it was a real shock to my system, because I had been very protected, quite indoctrinated; my circles were very much Jewish circles; and I hadn't seen black people except for those that worked for my parents or what was on television. So it was quite a profound experience of seeing how people were living almost around the corner from me, and that while I had been experiencing my growing up years, Alexandra had been there all the time. I think I had already made a decision to do social work, but that really kind of cemented it" (Interview N. Eliasov 9.09.07: 1-2).

Toto was born in 1976 in Nyanga, one of the townships surrounding Cape Town, where he grew up with his mother in a two-roomed house; his two siblings being with his grandmother in Worcester. She disciplined him from an early age, where he had to clean the house every day from the age of six, before she would come home from her work as domestic worker; and Toto would be punished if he got involved in "wrong" activities: "So that in a way

Profile	(from Connections Annual Report 2005/6)
Focus	Capacity Development for CBOs
Founded in	2001
Mission	Our Mission is to promote community-led development by strengthening the capacity of community workers and CBOs to conscientise, organise and agitate for the transformation of society.
Programmes	*OD Support and Training *Infrastructural Support *Advocacy Work
Structure	Executive Committee: 10 Staff: 9
Funding/ Donations	Mott Foundation, HIVOS, BLA, CWCI, Symetrix
Office & resources	Offices in Gugulethu until mid 2005; then moved to Philippi
Access to capacity building	Each staff has a budget for training & mentoring; as well as internal mentoring and learning days
Formal registration	NPO registration

Figure 10: Profile Connections

got me to know what I was expected to do and what not to do. Most people of my age, by the time we reached standard 1 or 2, ages of 8-9, were already experimenting with smoking" (Interview T. Gxabela: 4).

His mother's influence and his passion for soccer and later drama kept him away from unhealthy activities; and also prevented him from joining one of the gangs, which attracted many boys and young men at the time: "When I started becoming aware of what was happening around me in 83/84, there were Amapantsula who would host dancing events. … And they were street smart, wore fancy American clothing, they would have every girl they desired because they were like the trendsetters in the township. Everyone wanted to be a Pantsula" (ibid). During his school years, Toto witnessed many gang fights and barely survived an attack on his way back from school in standard 4, where one of his friends was stabbed. His area, MauMau, had a particular reputation for "meanness"; which at times protected him from being robbed by people from other areas: "And in a weird way there is a bit of, shall I say enjoyment, and even a sense of satisfaction from knowing that I come from an area where you don't mess around with people from it" (ibid: 4-5). He, however, managed to refrain from joining a gang: "I can't even recall how I actively or consciously resisted getting into a gang really, I tend to attribute that more to the kind of friends I had, because even though Masseratis, our football team is known as the most rude, aggressive team, we played great football, and we had a culture of really looking after ourselves. If you started doing bad things, an older member of the team would go report you at home because if you do so, it means you don't attend training, you are now mixing with the bad ones who are not part of the team. So that and my mother's strength generally kept me out of those" (ibid: 5).

He formed a drama group at the age of 14-15 with some soccer peers, led by one of the pioneers of Nyanga theatre, who had been active in drama since the 1970s. Here, Toto's politicisation began: "And the very first play we did was 'Who'll be who' in the new South

Africa. That was I think 1990 or so when there were talks about Mandela's release. There was a whole lot of anticipation around how South Africa will look like with the un-banning of political parties, the release of Mandela, and everyone had this crazy idea that Mandela is going to become president. But I was still not as conscious at the time. It was through that, because most of the arts were one way or the other of political nature" (ibid: 1).

He joined the Pan African Student Organisation (PASO), the student wing of the Pan African Congress (PAC), and attended sessions where political debates took place around the state of the country. His involvement, as well as a group of Rastafarians in Nyanga, who encouraged education and a positive outlook on life, further shaped his personality (ibid: 5-6).

Ninnette studied Social Work in Cape Town from 1991 to 1995, at a time of political tensions and violence during the transition to democracy: "I remember being in Gugulethu when Amy Biehl[45] was killed, I was there a day or two before, and feeling very aware of my whiteness and quite nervous about entering the township - it was still quite a foreign, scary place to be - but also very naïve and idealistic about the future" (ibid: 2). There were also tensions between black and white social work students: "White students were questioning why they had to go into the township to do practical work during such a vulnerable time, and black students were accusing white students of racism. So one of our lecturers did almost a class experiment with us of getting us into focus groups regularly and getting us to talk about what was going on, and again the experience of forming friendships with black students and being able to talk openly about political issues was very inspiring for me, having been raised in an environment where that wasn't really discussed" (ibid).

Towards the end of her studies, Ninnette spent 6 months in Worcester as a community worker, being disillusioned with the welfare-oriented approach of her study course. "So it was at that stage that I was already starting to lean towards capacity development, and ran some workshops and training, very informal training. Then after my 6 months there I returned to Worcester for a year and my project was capacity building with a civic organisation. So before I graduated that was something that really started to make sense to me; the idea of transferring skills, of making yourself redundant. I remember at the time as well that I felt that the demands on me were sometimes too great, because I was always the resourced one, I had a car, I had a computer, I had technical skills; and even in my friendship circles there would be this huge gap between me and my friends. And I found that I was just working all the time, and from a personal reason capacity building makes sense because you start creating a more equitable situation" (ibid: 2).

Ninnette specialised in Community Development, which she had felt drawn to from the onset (rather than individual case work). "So I specialised in community development and thought that when I graduated I would find a job as a community development worker. At the time, this was 1995; the RDP had just been released. ... So I was very passionate about contributing to the RDP, and when I graduated I discovered that there were really no opportunities for community development workers, there were no jobs; it was not a recognised profession" (Interview N. Eliasov 9.09.07: 1).

She began to volunteer as a community worker with CBOs, and subsidised her work through her employment as a social worker and later as a researcher at the University of Cape Town. In 1996 Ninnette became involved in setting up an Arts and Culture forum with the City of Cape Town: "And I met a rich range of community artists and community arts organisations and some of them had been pioneered by people my age and I was extremely inspired and excited and befriended a whole group of people" (ibid). While she remained involved in the arts movement, she also met Valda Lukas, who was passionate about youth work and exposed her to youth organisations, and together they initiated a youth organisation called 'Pride'. "So having just graduated I entered a very rich kind of hard hitting community work, and it was very much facilitated by friendships and people that I had met that guided me or

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[45] Amy Biehl was an American student on a 10-month stay at the University of the Western Cape Community Law Centre. She was killed by an angry mob in Gugulethu in 1993 when she drove some colleagues home.

encouraged me to pursue something that was very original and outside of the conventional system that I was working in" (ibid: 2).

In 1998, Ninnette went to Australia to study "professionalising youth work", which she saw as a stepping stone to contributing to South Africa's professionalisation of community work. "And when I returned from Australia I had access to Rotary as an organisation, because they had sponsored my trip away and it was a good opportunity to pitch a project to them. And Connections had formed as an idea quite some years before, the need for a coordinated response to the capacity building need, because there were a lot of ad hoc kind of interventions, and I was really wanting something to be in place that would be well-coordinated and would be able to reach a great number of organisations. And with the support of Rotary I was then able to draw up a proposal and come up with a concrete idea, which was to set up a capacity building pilot project. And that evolved into an organisation called Community Connections" (ibid: 3).

At the beginning of 1997, Toto started studying drama at the University of Cape Town. This was his first encounter with white students, who were mostly younger than him, and came from a wealthy background, driving their own cars and having received better schooling than him. "And ya man, I got to really face a situation where I was struggling with all this frustration and anger around how I am expected to perform on an equal footing … with people who had so much head start already" (Interview T. Gxabela: 2). He initially resisted making friends or staying at the students residence, but over time – being particularly gifted as an actor and having fellow students want to team with him for productions - he began befriending others. "And I would in a weird manner gain a lot of pleasure from having whiteys respecting what I had to offer" (ibid).

After graduating he started a theatre group in Nyanga with some of his friends from his previous drama group. At that time, in February 2000, he was contracted by UCT as a research assistant, where he met Ninnette, who he had heard of before through a common friend. "And we connected immediately because we had known each other quite well even before we actually met. … She started sharing with me how she had this idea … of formulating … a support to community organisations, which would provide organisational skills capacity building. And that was exactly what we were struggling with at the time with our theatre company. … So I was in, I was totally buying the ideas" (ibid).

Toto and Ninnette from then on met regularly to brainstorm and further develop the proposal. Consultations with other organisations took place as well as a needs assessment with about 20 CBOs, which confirmed the need for organisational as well as computer skills. Ikamva Labantu[46] provided a desk and computer at their premises. In September 2000, the first computer training was hosted at Ikamva Labantu, facilitated by a volunteer from Rotary Club. In January 2001, Ninnette managed to secure seed funding from the David Anderson Trust[47] to implement the first Organisational Skills course. Two friends, Gillian Wilton and Thabang Ngcozela, joined the team, who collectively developed and facilitated the course over 12 weeks (ibid). In the course of the training, issues arose which could not be addressed, leading to "consciousness building" through an issue-based programme (Interview N. Eliasov 9.09.07: 3). Ninnette and Toto "were able to complement each other and bring a whole batch of skills and resources and networks that made for a very rich pilot" (ibid).

"So we completed the pilot and opened up to the beneficiaries in terms of what should happen next, and there was a strong support that an organisation gets constituted, which is what happened, and the founding members were the pilot CBOs, some of whom became executive committee members, some became volunteers in a task team" (ibid).

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[46] Ikamva Labantu is an umbrella body NGO based in Cape Town, supporting CBOs through programmes in health, education and capacity building, land and buildings and food security (Ikamva Labantu website 2007).
[47] The David Anderson Trust (DAAT) is based in the UK and supports education and training in African countries, with the aim of contributing towards human resource development and effective public administration (DAAT website 2007).

With the pilot and thereafter, the organisation grew quickly and by the end of 2001, six volunteer staff had become part of the team, including Schirin, the researcher of this study. She had joined the organisation after having worked with a South Africa-based German development NGO for a year. She originally came from Iran, with Iranian-Czech parents; and had studied Environmental and Open Space Planning in Germany.

By mid 2002, the organisation had moved to Gugulethu, and grown to 10 team members; most of whom came from the surrounding townships. Small income had been generated through consulting work, while fund raising was underway, and the organisation's programmes had broadened beyond the training programme, including fieldwork, outreach, and a computer centre. The organisation strongly promoted a flat structure, where decisions were taken collectively and everyone received the same stipends. Connections functioned like a family, where every person was allowed to contribute to one's own level of capacity and learn 'on the job', acknowledging the fact that historically many South Africans did not have access to higher education. This, however, meant that a few people were carrying the burden of the work, while others were struggling to perform their tasks. The problem was heightened through the fact that many management committee members came from the beneficiary CBOs. This meant the very same people who came to Connections for organisational skills courses were expected to provide organisational leadership and oversee finances and operations.

A German sponsor, PNP[48], urged the organisation to scale down and focus, but it took until the beginning of 2003, where a financial crisis forced the leadership to stop and critically evaluate the effectiveness of the organisation. A decision was taken at a strategic planning workshop to professionalise, refocus the programme work and remain with five staff. A team of OD facilitators generated income through consulting work for NGOs, although the work burden still remained unbalanced, and the staff was challenged to perform income generating activities while subsidising the CBO support work (Connections 2003/4: 2).

At the end of 2003, the first core funding was approved by the Mott Foundation[49], and subsequently Hivos[50], enabling the organisation to finally focus on its CBO support work.

In 2002 and '03, CBO members attending training courses had repeatedly mentioned the difficulty of integrating what they had learnt in the courses into their organisations, and the need for more individualised organisational support was raised. The year 2004 therefore started with two main programmes, Training and OD support, with the computer resource centre as a support programme. Schirin became manager of the OD programme, which she developed collectively with Toto from early 2004 onwards. This thesis documents how the piloting of the OD programme became an Action Research exercise, being combined with a PhD research.

In the years to come, Connections managed to overcome many of its initial challenges, moving from a pioneering to a more decentralised organisation with shared leadership roles and an emphasis on ongoing staff and organisational development. The initial membership structure was not feasible over time; and was replaced through CBO-Associates, some of which have been involved in the advocacy programme since the end of 2005 (Connections 2005/6: 1-2).

The Executive Committee has over time acquired strong members able to oversee the organisation's governance, and more donors have begun supporting the organisation. Ninnette managed to make herself redundant and step down from being a Director in the

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[48] PNP was a corporate consulting company based in Hamburg, who supported Connections through sponsoring a website, two salaries and providing consultancy support.
[49] The Charles Stewart Mott Foundation is an American donor organisation. It aims to enhance the development of capacity and community; with programmes in Civil Society, Environment, Flint Area and Pathways out of Poverty (Mott Foundation website 2007).
[50] Hivos is a donor organisation based in the Netherlands; aiming to and contribute to a free, fair and sustainable world where citizens, women and men, have equal access to resources, opportunities and markets and can participate actively and equally in decision-making processes that determine their lives, their society and their future (Hivos website 2007).

beginning of 2007; allowing a management team to take over, while she stayed on as a senior practitioner.

Connections has become a professional NGO with growing recognition, but has at the same time aimed to keep its closeness to the target CBOs; i.e. by remaining as accountable as possible to associate CBOs as well as by operating on a relatively low budget (in comparison to other NGOs), and having an office in one of the townships. The tension of wanting to operate close to the grassroots' level while trying to attract skilled and professional staff has remained a challenge Connections is still battling to hold; although the organisation has managed to source highly committed staff.

In a sense, the early stages of Connections' development, where the organisation relied on volunteers sharing a vision and struggled to focus its activities, resemble the development phases of a CBO (see also section 9.1.3). In this way, many of the experiences of this period have been extremely valuable in understanding and being able to work at CBO level. As Connections has grown and become more financially stable, the same was expressed as necessary for the CBO sector. Hence, with its new advocacy campaign the organisation aims to address CBO recognition and financial sustainability (ibid).

This research began in mid 2004, when the OD programme was piloted. The three case stories therefore focus on OD as an aspect of capacity development; although the discussion in chapter 9 will also address broader reflections about CBOs and capacity.

The following chapters 6 to 8 will describe the OD processes with the three case CBOs. The descriptions will include the processes over time, as well as methods applied in the workshops (which are listed in a table at the end of each CBO's process description. Some of the methods appear in *italics* in the text, which is not for emphasis, but as a reference to Appendix 3, where they are described in detail. The description of the methods and how to facilitate them formed part of the researcher's work for Connections; by documenting how methods, mainly derived from other sources, were adapted to suit the CBO context.

6

"To exist, humanly, is to name the world, to change it. Once named, the world in its turn reappears to its namers as a problem and requires of them a new naming. Men are not built in silence, but in word, in work, in action-reflection."

Paolo Freire (1972: 61)

6 The OD-process with Impiliso: seeing the unfolding

The following case story describes an organisational development process facilitated with Impiliso between April 2004 and September 2006. After Community Connections had designed its OD support programme early in 2004, Impiliso was the first organisation to request support.

6.1 Initial meeting April 2004

At the beginning of 2004, Elisabeth contacted Community Connections requesting a strategic planning workshop. An initial meeting was held with the organisation by my colleague Toto and me, in order to get a better understanding of the request. In the meeting, the financial crisis of Impiliso stood out as the main reason for the leadership to request support, as it was felt that strategic planning could address the situation.

Community Connections' new programme was explained, suggesting a diagnosis process to gain deeper understanding of the organisation's current state, to which the group agreed. Various printed information of the organisation was gathered, and a profile questionnaire filled in. A contract for a long-term process was signed.

Dates were set for the same month for a review process and interviews, followed by a strategic planning workshop. The aims of the process were to:
* Review the strategy and structure of the organisation
* Identify other challenges to be addressed, and
* Develop strategies aimed at financial sustainability (ibid).

In my reflections afterwards, I felt the coordinator had dominated the meeting and some attention would need to be given to encourage equal participation in further processes, i.e. through group work (Journal: 1).

6.2 Diagnosis/ Review

The review workshop was facilitated with staff over half a day, followed by interviews with each staff and a few beneficiaries over another day. The process agenda was clarified, after which the group created a time-line of the organisation, by taking turns in telling the history since its inception and reflecting on it. Secondly, the *bus-activity* was facilitated, enabling a reflection on the organisational structure and culture. Finally, a SWOT[51]-analysis was conducted to assess the overall strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of programme activities. Interviews were conducted following an interview guideline (see chapter 3.5.3).

The interviews and review process provided a wealth of information on various levels, which were captured in a table. Some of the findings that stood out strongly were as follows:
* The organisation had committed and hardworking staff/volunteers who strongly identified with its mission;
* Networking within the neighbouring communities as well as outside was a particular strength, which has brought in various forms of support and made the organisation well known;
* Programmes were well implemented, relevant and needed in the community, and also well-received by beneficiaries.

This was reinforced by the fact that the organisation had received funding from the outset to pay staff salaries and programme expenses. However, the organisation had not paid sufficient attention to its own internal needs, specifically:

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[51] Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats

∗ The financial crisis was not only threatening organisational survival, but had also surfaced conflict around leadership style, transparency and democracy. The coordinator had initially withheld information about the financial crisis, and even paid salaries out of her personal account. She felt that she should be reimbursed by the organisation once funds were raised.

∗ Staff felt burnt out and had lost motivation as the financial crisis was looming; there was a lack of trust since financial documents had not been made available to the staff, and the management committee was perceived as dysfunctional with only one external member from Rotary and the two pioneers.

∗ Most expectations to re-establish the well-being of the organisation were geared towards Elizabeth, who was also expected to raise funds, and Nomandla.

∗ There was a feeling that the organisation should develop a higher degree of professionalism and maturity; and it was expressed strongly that Impiliso should grow to the point of opening up satellite offices in other areas (Report April/May 04).

In my reflections I felt the process had gone well, as the organisation had worked with Connections before and there was a certain level of trust and acquaintance with such processes (although it was the first time for us facilitators to work with the organisation, and we had to establish a relationship ourselves). The interviews had taken very long, and the question guideline needed to be more focussed. In the review sessions the two pioneers mainly participated, while others had remained silent most of the time. I wondered how to address group dynamics, and felt this could be done through the interview feedback session (Journal: 1).

6.3 Feedback of Findings May 2004

In a one-day session the learning so far was presented and verified, in order to reflect on it and collectively decide on the way forward.

In a check-in the group expressed relief through the process and resulting feeling of moving forward and clarifying issues within. A creative story was told to inspire reflection, which described a man looking for a key outside his house although he knew he had lost it inside.

A synthesis of findings was presented based on an analysis of strengths and assets as well as weaknesses and challenges for each aspect of the diagnosis. Each aspect was discussed and verified with the group. There was a lot of positive, acknowledging feedback, but for the negative part, Elisabeth took much responsibility. It was on the edge of becoming a negative or threatening feedback, instead of a positive, constructive one. I tried to shift it to a lighter and positive space, by encouraging people to see this as a first step to addressing issues.

The problem analysis tool[52] was presented, linking actions, patterns, underlying structures and mental models. Although most of the content was acknowledged, it appeared to be too complicated, lacking true engagement. People were generally too quiet, and it also seemed it offended the leadership to some extent ("autocratic leadership, centralised decision-making").

The organisational life cycle[53] model was applied in relation to the organisation's stage of development. It was again presented as a feed-back, and often our observations were not in line with their own assumptions. They had thought themselves to be much further in their development than we presented. This was yet another sobering moment.

Thereafter, some solo time was given to the individuals, giving space to reflect on the process so far. The feedback was positive, with participants expressing they finally saw some light, and were relieved that issues were brought up.

Finally, a strategy map[54] with organisational goals for programmes, internal processes and staff development was introduced. The group's feedback was positive, but again it seemed overwhelming to them. "When are we going to do all this?" Elisabeth asked. It was agreed to prioritise aspects from the strategy map to be addressed subsequently, which helped reduce items, and postpone others for later (Report April/May 04).

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[52] From Collaborative ChangeWorks, LCLA course manual
[53] From CDRA Basic Toolkit of Exercises / Glasl 1997
[54] Adapted from a Balanced Scorecard sheet from PNP Hamburg

My reflections afterwards were quite critical of our work: "I generally feel that we have presented too much, we were over-prepared and threw all our analysis on them. This inhibited a true learning process and stronger ownership. The information was 'digested' by us, while they might have interpreted it differently had they been given a chance. Secondly, they might almost feel manipulated. It seemed to me that some only understood parts of the feedback, and therefore might not be able to work with it nor remember it. It was too overwhelming. I think we need to reduce our feedback to the summarised information of the interviews. I don't think all those maps and charts are going to help their own development. They are too imposing. The only way we can use them is by developing them (or simplified versions) collectively. I also think it will be better to only look as far as they go themselves, when asked the right questions, instead of trying to cover all information in a strategy map. Less can be more (meaningful)" (Journal: 2).

6.4 Strategic Planning

The 2-day strategic planning workshop in May started in a stressful atmosphere, with some staff members feeling extremely anxious about the financial crisis. A check-in with the group was very emotional, and throughout the process, it remained difficult for participants to stay focused. Another story was told to encourage the group to engage with fears and find a sense of optimism. Looking back at the findings from the diagnosis, the group reflected on the nature of the organisational culture, including relationships amongst staff, behaviour patterns and style of leadership. A decision was taken to move towards more democracy and collectivism. The group drew a circle of women standing hand-in-hand saying: "Everyone responsible together".

The *vision and mission* of the organisation were revisited, which were still relevant and merely needed refinement. Recommendations from the SWOT analysis on programmes would be taken to the action planning session. An internal programme on staff development and organisational development was added, for which the coordinator would be responsible.

The organisational *structure*, roles and responsibilities were *reviewed*, and an organogram developed. The need for more transparency emerged again, and it was suggested that they include all staff in management committee meetings to increase information sharing. The governance structure was understood as a gap in the organisation needing to be addressed through establishing a functional committee. A system for financial transparency was proposed, by handing financial administration over to Bulelwa, the administrator, and keeping financial files in the office. Elisabeth presented a bank statement to the group, which the other members scrutinised by asking questions. This provided a first sense of ownership over organisational resources, which so far had only been under Elisabeth's control.

In a final session later in May, pairs developed *action plans* for each programme. From this point onwards, I facilitated alone, as more organisations had approached Community Connections for OD support, and Toto and I decided to work individually in order to reach a larger number of organisations.

In the action-planning session the lack of people in the organisation to run all of the programmes became evident, and attention would need to be given towards financial sustainability. I tried to encourage attentiveness towards internal needs, but a general sense in the group promoted programme work to continue, even if the organisation was in a crisis.
A written evaluation of the process so far revealed participants found the sessions useful and reassuring during these stressful times. A way forward plan was developed, suggesting I should provide mentoring support for fund raising and annual report writing; and facilitate a review session after three months (Report April/May 04).

In my journaling afterwards I felt the stress and fears of the group, resulting in less attention to the planning activities: "My main work seems to lie in affirming people that by working on their issues, they can resolve them … It seems like positive affirmations and motivating people

to stay strong and focussed is more important than all those nice plans on paper. Then again they will need those to be able to raise funds. It is a contradiction between wanting to support this organisation in its own development, which obviously takes its own time, and at the same time helping them with their most stressing issue, which is finance. That meant I needed to give more input, e.g. by rectifying some of their plans and making them look more professional" (Journal: 3).

It looked as if the more technical aspects were not driven by internal needs, but rather by requirements in the non-profit sector. "Holding a space, having positive relationships and being able to give support and affirmation on an emotional level are quite important. Technical aspects come after that, as they don't have any meaning without the people and their inner clarity and strength" (ibid).

6.5 Follow-up mentoring June-August 2004

After the workshops, editing support was given to Elisabeth for fundraising and annual report writing. I generally felt unsure about the quality of my support, as I had fundraising experience, but not real expertise. On the other hand I knew that at this stage the organisation would be unable to 'buy' such expertise, and my support was probably better than none.

In August, Rotary decided to provide a final instalment for the organisation, with certain conditions: Impiliso was supposed to use the money for 6 months' running costs in order to develop policies, set up a proper governance structure which would in the interim be made up of Rotarians, and raise funds from other donors. Elisabeth called me in to facilitate a staff meeting, where she planned to introduce this proposal to her colleagues. I had initially expected the staff to be excited about the prospects, and was wondering why I was even called to facilitate this session. In the meeting people were extremely tense, and in the check-in various people pointed out July had been "the most terrible month", where relationships had become worse, and people did not feel valued by others. Nomandla felt she did not belong here any more, and Bulelwa said she could quit any time. A new social worker had joined Impiliso, and was struggling to fit in. The Rotary proposal was viewed with suspicion, and questions were raised regarding the 'strings attached'. At some stage I asked the group, whether they felt the organisation to be of enough importance to be rescued by any means, or – if their fears were more around personal income – jobs could be found elsewhere. This gave rise to new expressions of commitment, with people wanting to stay to see the crisis through. The proposal from Rotary was generally accepted, although some open questions remained. It was a difficult session.

In my reflections the importance of good communication stood out: "All skills and hard work are worth nothing if people get stuck in negative feelings about each other, and are unable to talk through it" (ibid: 4).

6.6 Review September 2004

A 1-day review was facilitated three months after the strategic planning. In the meantime, Impiliso had been given the promised Rotary grant with the requirement that the organisation had to develop its organisational structure, policies and systems to improve its fundraising capacity and become more sustainable. A management committee had been set up by Rotary to support these activities.

The review had the following purposes:

  * Review the objectives set in May and evaluate progress
  * Revisit and adapt the organisational programmes and structure
  * Develop an action plan for the way forward to fulfil Rotary's requirements until March 2005

When recapping the process so far leading to this review-agenda, and asking for expectations, Elisabeth expressed her impatience: "We want to move forward and not look back!" I gave an input on the action-learning-cycle[55] in order to explain our reflective approach, and why it is useful to think back, or at least evaluate the current situation.

However, in the session to follow it remained difficult to review. I asked the group to reconnect with the strategy map and problem analysis tool and share observations on shifts in the organisational culture and processes, but there was resistance to speak openly. I emphasised that the purpose of the exercise was not to control people's actions, but to reach a common understanding about what had shifted, and what still needed to be addressed. However, the lack of engagement also proved that these tools still had no real meaning for the group.

Programmes and internal *organisational objectives* were *reviewed* in pairs, which again surfaced the overload of activities and stress levels, and some programme plans were adapted. It was acknowledged that the new (interim) management committee helped Elisabeth with her tasks. The grant from Rotary was seen as a success; however, there was still unclarity around finances amongst the staff. It was suggested again that staff attend management committee meetings to be part of financial decision-making, which had not been followed through after the last decision to do so; and the budget should be developed collectively.

The *organogram* with roles and responsibilities was adapted to include the new management committee, and an *action plan* was developed to pave the way until March, when the committee would step down. It was emphasised again that Bulelwa should take on financial administration, as the hand-over had not started yet.

In a verbal evaluation, participants were thankful for the clarity the workshop had brought, and the amount of content that had been covered (Report September 04).

It struck me again how difficult communication had been: "Although positive things are coming to the organisation, they are not seen. There seems to be a focus on negativity, non-communication and stuckness" (Journal: 4). I remembered how I had lost patience at times during the workshop and challenged the group, saying I could not review and reflect on their processes without them. I decided that "I need to work with mindsets. People need to take more responsibility for their process and start understanding their own contribution to a difficult situation" (ibid). Ownership and the actual implementation of decisions taken seemed to be an issue.

6.7 Review and Planning January 2005

In December 2004 I was visited in my office by Elisabeth, who excitedly told me Impiliso had received funding and donations. She insisted on a strategic planning to take place in January, in order to clarify programme activities and responsibilities. I proposed including some work on communication, since this had been an issue. It was welcomed initially, but closer to the date she suggested planning was more important, and things were fine now anyway.

Based on our conversations I proposed the following objectives for the 2-day review and planning session:

* Review the programmes and objectives set in 2004
* Plan programme implementation for 2005 in line with funding received, including monitoring, evaluation and documentation
* Revisit and adapt the organisational structure, look at needs for recruitment of new staff and management committee members
* Develop communication skills such as listening, inquiry and feedback, as well as effective advocacy

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[55] From CDRA Basic Toolkit of Exercises

When the workshop started, it only took minutes for the first disagreement to break out. Throughout the day people got upset about issues, and generally it was increasingly hard to review and plan, as unspoken conflicts dragged progress. A long conversation on the first afternoon surfaced Bulelwa being upset because she had felt undermined for a long time. She had still not been given the chance to take over financial administration except petty cash, and the planned mentoring in financial management by Elisabeth and an external bookkeeper had not taken place. Facilitating the conversation remained difficult as people resisted speaking openly or receiving feedback.

In the check-in of the second day, I asked each individual how they could personally contribute to improve the situation (I had sent them home with that thought the afternoon before). Individuals mentioned they wanted to be more open to criticism; try to communicate what was bothering them; encourage more openness and address communication problems when observed amongst other colleagues.

The responsibility of each individual in contributing to conflict, or improving the situation by acting differently, was highlighted. I also gave feedback on behavioural patterns I had observed, such as a culture of blaming others, not taking responsibility for issues, a lack of positive, acknowledging feedback towards colleagues and passive aggressiveness. The group acknowledged the points and suggested improving communication and being more honest with each other.
It was challenging to try and work through the conflict (while holding the space) and proceed with the planning.

When *reviewing programmes* and internal objectives, the strategy map was revisited. Some of the aspects not prioritised the year before, such as policies and systems, were now seen as relevant. Since a lot had been achieved already, the strategy map seemed less threatening than in the beginning and could thus be engaged with. The action-learning-cycle was brought back as a guideline, programmes were reviewed and recommendations incorporated into *programme/activity plans* for the coming year. Two new posts were created, and the *organogram* adapted.

The last half day was dedicated to practising *dialogue skills*[56], which the group enjoyed, such as listening, advocacy, inquiry and feedback skills as well as conversation styles and the ladder of inference. Finally, there was laughter and lightness in the room again. Everyone agreed this was crucial for the organisation, and dialogue should be practised in staff meetings.

During the evaluation of the workshop, the group felt exhausted, but it was also mentioned that frustrations were in the open now, and ways of addressing them were there. It was decided I ought to come back twice per annum to address communication issues and support the planning process (Report January 05).

In my journaling I was relieved the conflict had surfaced, and the group saw the value of engaging with it as well as practising better communication. It seemed that after having resolved the financial crisis, it became possible to engage other (underlying) issues.

However, in retrospect I was questioning why I had tried to stick to the planned process and postponed addressing it fully to the second day (except a first conversation in the afternoon of day one). "If other material emerges like a conflict, it should be worked with on the spot instead of postponing it" (Journal: 5). It also seemed useful to work with examples and metaphors in the communication exercises, which had helped in surfacing issues in a less direct way.

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[56] From Collaborative ChangeWorks, LCLA course manual

6.8 Organisational Review and Communication Workshop July 2005

I had asked Elisabeth via email to discuss with the team what should be addressed in the 2-day workshop, and after no clear feedback was given, I proposed content for the session. As before, Elisabeth's response was to look forward and not backward in our session. I tried to accommodate that by focussing on the moment rather than the past, while not losing the reflective part of it. I also suggested taking a look inwards, by reflecting on the organisation's well-being and developing an internal vision.

I proposed the following outcomes for the workshop, which were accepted by the group:
* Participants have a clearer picture of their organisation's situation at present (incl. the context it operates in) and its strengths & weaknesses
* Participants have developed an internal vision for the organisation over the next 3 years
* Participants have a deeper understanding of the quality of their programmes and how to evaluate them using the action-learning cycle
* They have reviewed their structure/relationships, looking at democracy, accountability, communication and teamwork
* Participants have engaged with and practised dialogue (advocacy, inquiry, listening and feedback) and the 4 archetypes of leadership/ 4-player system in relation to communication

This time the session began with practising *dialogue*-skills, and introducing the *4-player system* and *4 leadership archetypes*[57]. Each person reflected on her own style of communication and leadership, and recommended who should further develop certain qualities. An observer was appointed to reflect back the level of dialogue at the end of the day.

An *organisational inquiry* was facilitated, where participants were divided into two groups to develop symbolic images of the organisation at present, including its elements as well as the overall impression. Major points from the presentations were scribed and collectively placed on the *levels of complexity*[58]-grid, which enabled a reflection about the well-being of the organisation.

It came out strongly that despite challenges from the environment Impiliso had developed a strong identity and values enhancing the accessibility of all programmes to the target group. Staff was strongly connected to the programmes, and the new management committee helped the organisation stabilise. Weaknesses were identified in the way staff communicated, listened, shared information and took decisions. Linked to that, the need for better communication and interaction in existing processes was expressed, e.g. in staff meetings, as dialogue had not been practised after the January session.

The day was closed with *feedback* from the observer, who felt dialogue had been practised during the day, as everybody was participating; the quieter people spoke as well while others tried more to listen. Generally it was felt that during the day everyone had been very focussed and present. Participants also mentioned this session was different from previous Connections workshops, and the new approach was appreciated.

The next day began with a guided *visioning meditation*, which was debriefed and the concept of creative visioning[59] explained. The same two groups from the previous day were now asked to develop an *internal vision* for the organisation, including a leading image. One image showed a grown organisation with 15 staff, its own building and food garden and increased programme work. The second image was a tree, symbolising a growing, positive and happy organisation with more staff and satellite offices. Both images were seen to

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[57] From Collaborative ChangeWorks, LCLA course manual
[58] From CDRA Basic Toolkit of Exercises
[59] From Senge 1990

complement each other, and were synthesised collectively. In this vision, participants were asked to describe the values, principles and internal processes the organisation would be practising, and how relationships and structure would look. Values such as honesty, respect, democracy and transparency were listed together with practices such as listening, team building, staff development, cooperation and keeping positive relationships. The ways in which collective planning and decision making could happen were also depicted.

As a next step, the group reviewed the *organogram* and made changes where necessary. The Rotary board had stepped down and was taken over by people mainly from the surrounding communities. I asked the group, where and how the structure could promote democracy, good communication and accountability, and suggestions were made around processes and activities.

Finally, two programmes were reflected upon in plenary using the action-learning-cycle, and the exercise was felt to be very helpful as it clarified issues at a deeper level and helped to structure the thinking process.

In the written evaluation the unusual workshop content was commended and some elements mentioned as particularly interesting or helpful, such as revisiting dialogue, the archetypes and 4-player system, the action-learning-cycle and the meditation. Although some people were not feeling well in the beginning of the sessions, energy levels at the end of the workshop were high (Report July 05).

In my reflection I felt the workshop went easily and I had been able to cover all the aspects I had planned. "Two things were striking for me: Over time it seemed we have established a good 'intuitive' relationship, and although I had not seen them for six months, the content I thought was relevant was quite accurate. The questions I had initially thought of, while expecting to change them in the workshop, were exactly the ones I needed to ask. And I even gave an example I had made up about one of their support groups, and this example turned out to be true (they thought I knew or was a fortune teller).

Secondly, the shift in engaging from the beginning with dialogue skills, leadership archetypes, etc. was really welcomed. The need and openness to look at the 'invisible' factors were finally there, and participants were open to learn and be criticised by others."

I finally concluded: "The more I dare go into intangible areas, the more it shows success and that those areas are important to CBOs. Some of the exercises might still be too complex, and I need to be aware of simplifying. Intuition seems to be an important factor in developing a good process. I also think the level this CBO has reached by now is a result of the experiences and processes in the past, so maybe it does take time for such pathways to open up. … Relationship building and promoting learning and reflection is one way of achieving that end. Encouraging responsibility is another important aspect for people to understand they are the 'makers' of their lives. … I need to engage more with dialogue skills, handling conflict, 'seeing' and understanding organisations holistically" (Journal: 5).

6.9 Organisational Review May 2006

Early in 2006 I contacted Impiliso via email to see whether we should set dates for our next biannual session, to ensure I would not overbook my diary. However, I first had difficulties to get a response, until a few months later, Nomandla called me for a meeting. Elisabeth had resigned late in 2005, as relationships had deteriorated over time. However, she had not handed over finances yet, and it was not clear whether she was still part of the organisation or not. The management committee tried to give guidance, but was struggling to exert authority. The organisation was in limbo, and Nomandla and Bulelwa were distressed about the situation. No-one had formally been given a mandate to take over coordination, and it became impossible to run the organisation.

After some conversation we decided to have a session where a proper handover could be facilitated. The management committee was invited as well, but could not attend.

I prepared a workshop with the purpose to support members of Impiliso in engaging with their structure, roles and relationships and restructure in a way that could respond to the current challenges. The workshop was aiming at achieving the following specific outcomes:

* Participants have a clearer picture of their organisation's structure at present and its strengths & weaknesses
* Participants have engaged with the current challenges in their structure (e.g. the coordinator leaving) and relationships
* They have developed a meaningful structure, including roles, responsibilities, relationships, communication and accountability/transparency
* Participants have revisited and practised dialogue skills (Report May 06).

I also sent my preparations to Elisabeth, and was relieved she responded well and was eager to have a handover process.

I knew this would not be an easy process and was unsure about my ability to hold it. I felt the existing relationship I had with the group would enable a sensitive process. However, I also knew I had to change my approach: "All this made it clear that I had to shift gear, and stop being friendly and the nice facilitator. Two years of working together have luckily built up a level of trust where I could approach them in a more direct way. I was dreading the workshop beforehand, and prayed they would finally face their challenge and manage to work through it – not to get the coordinator back, but to have her leave in a constructive way" (Journal: 6).

The session started with a presentation of the agenda and clarification about expectations for this workshop. The ladder of inference, ways of listening, effective advocacy and inquiry were reintroduced as they had already been captured in 2005. It was agreed to communicate through dialogue as far as possible.

An extended check-in was facilitated to gauge people's feelings about the organisation. Responses portrayed a general feeling of frustration in the group. There was confusion about the current structure, who should give leadership, and what kinds of skills were needed in the organisational management. All in all, motivation was low, although there was hope that things could be changed for the better.

Participants were asked to individually draw an image of the organisation in a way that symbolised the current situation. Images represented circles and shapes, where leadership and staff were disconnected; a box held closed by a heavy chain; a toddler trying to climb stairs not knowing how. When asked: "what stands out from those images," participants commented on the fractured and non-cohesive leadership, lack of guidance from the management committee; and no clear roles and responsibilities. Communication was not good, and dialogue had not been practised. However, people were committed to working out issues and growing.

The situation described triggered another question about: "why did it get there?"
Responses revealed when Elisabeth resigned, the management committee offered Nomandla the position instead of advertising it. When she accepted, Elisabeth resisted, as she felt someone with better financial management and fundraising skills should be employed. Since then she held on to financial control, although she wanted to leave and hand over; communication had broken down. Since there was disagreement around the succession, I suggested brainstorming the kind of leadership including roles and responsibilities expected from a coordinator. Thereafter, scenarios were developed for a possible coordinator, looking at the leadership Nomandla represented and what could be found outside the organisation. There was a strong tendency in the group to support the scenario of her becoming the coordinator, since she carried the vision and values of the organisation close to her heart and had managed programmes already, while accessing expertise in

financial management and fundraising externally and through mentoring and training. I suggested viewing leadership as function and not position. This would mean different functions and roles of the coordinator could be shared amongst staff, instead of one person holding a position and having to deliver everything. Being able to grow into one's role was described by the social worker as "home-breeding of expertise", which was more common in CBOs.

In order to be clear about limitations and potential difficulties, the group brainstormed concerns and what to look out for. In this context, I pointed out Elisabeth was one of the pioneers of Impiliso, and it should be acknowledged that it was hard to pioneer an organisation, as well as stepping down and letting go. The question was raised as to whether a pioneer could be retained in the organisation in some ways, but the transition was seen as too difficult, as power dynamics and old patterns might not allow her to change her role.

Since this transition was not easy and would require strong leadership, each person was asked to think about: "what can I contribute for the transition to happen in a more healthy way?" For some, it was easy to respond; others struggled with the situation and did not know how they would be able to contribute.

I commented that the organisation was changing internally due to a crisis, and this crisis persisted because conflict had not been dealt with in a healthy way in the past. Therefore I suggested clarifying values and guiding principles needed in the organisation. As in previous workshops, values and principles raised included open communication, transparency and openness; respect and the ability to resolve conflict in a mature way; expressing feelings and giving feedback in a constructive way.

Towards the end of day one Elisabeth had to leave. The remaining staff sat together to develop a vision to inspire and give direction to the transition process. The vision was described in words and a leading image, which represented a group of happy people holding hands in a circle. There was good communication, openness and unity. I remarked that a circle of women holding hands had been the leading image two years earlier as well, and it was important to take it seriously this time.

The next morning started with a check-in, where Nomandla shared her feelings about regretting the conflict and resulting exit of Elisabeth. A short meditation was facilitated to encourage participants to relax and focus on their heart energy, in order to be gentle with oneself and others in the process, and see the positive sides of the organisation; which triggered more emotional expressions in the group.

The session proceeded to clarifying the structure, roles and responsibilities of the organisation, and what skills were to be developed or found externally in order to fill the gap of Elisabeth leaving. To ensure a proper handover and all upcoming tasks would be taken care of, a way-forward plan was developed.

The session ended with a check-out with participants expressing feelings about the process. It was felt to be a very hard process. Connections and I were thanked for handling the process well and making sure everything necessary was addressed and resolved. There was anxiety about the organisation being in such a vulnerable state, but hope was expressed for the future; and that the staff and Elisabeth should remain in a good relationship in the spirit of what they have built together (Report May 06).

"Facilitating the process was quite hard. Elisabeth kept on being disruptive and passive aggressive ... She kept on taking everything personally and constantly feeling attacked, which made honest conversation hard. I tried to appease her by calming her down and explaining things. I also tried to encourage a level of appreciation for what positive things she had done for the organisation and that it takes courage to pioneer a CBO. When she held on to her attitude on day two, I lost my temper and raised my voice against her, telling her she cannot expect me to remain the nice facilitator absorbing all her aggression while she keeps

on being disruptive. After that she apologised and became calmer. The others were surprisingly open. They seemed to understand it was too late for niceties, and were quite honest about what they felt and what needed to happen" (Journal: 6). It was also positive to see people trying to use dialogue, and even reminding each other of it when they did not practise good communication, e.g. by saying: "You are up on your ladder of inference; you are making assumptions and are not listening."

I tried to make sense of the process thereafter: "What was different this time? Clearly my attitude was different. Throughout I was trying to be as centred as possible, not forgetting to breathe, trying not to be pulled into anxieties and sad feelings. At the same time I really tried to be fully in touch with what happened, picking up emotions and responding to them or amplifying them; and trying to work with the 'stuff' that was there, so all issues present in the room could be responded to and 'resolved'. ... But beside my attitude, *theirs* was different, too. And without that no shift would have been possible. And I cannot assume my different stance changed things – but rather they were ready for this themselves (and actually they had no choice)" (ibid).

What remained unresolved was my role and responsibility as a facilitator: "One question remains open for me: would I have been able to change the course of things by being more challenging at an earlier time? Was it partly my fault they were separating, because I could have intervened more strongly or at least tried to make them aware there are things needing to be addressed? Was I being too nice? And: would that have changed anything or not? Would they have become a 'happy' organisation, or were the constellations of characters not going to make that shift anyway? On the other hand: what did they need? They never asked me for conflict or communication work; I suggested it to them amidst all the planning and review-requests. So did they just go their natural course and I am only there to work with what they become aware of themselves? Does developmental work mean watching people crash until they get it themselves? ... However, what I learned for myself is that it can be powerful to communicate in a direct and open way, which can also help others to do the same. ... It really felt like plunging into a deep hole and hoping for the light on the other side. It also made me experience what it actually means to 'trust the process.' I had minimal control, and yet things somehow worked out. Maybe that is coming closer to letting things 'emerge' ... but what *is* emerging here is a very clear sense of will to make it happen" (ibid: 7).

6.10 Organisational and programme review September 2006

Mentoring support was provided to Nomandla in July to fill in a funding application, where I realised how well on track she was with her tasks. In September, Nomandla asked me to come back for a review as planned, and when she heard I was leaving, she asked me to facilitate programme planning until June 2007. Although my colleague would continue working with Impiliso in the future, she felt it would be better to have a longer-term plan. Besides her request for reviewing and planning of programmes, I also requested looking back at our process of working together, to which she agreed.

The purpose of the 2-day workshop was to support members of Impiliso in reviewing their history of the past few years and changes that had occurred recently, as well as taking decisions for the way forward until June 2007. We aimed at achieving the following specific outcomes:

* Participants have reconnected with their own journey over the past 3 years
* The organisation assesses the current organisational health by looking at strengths and challenges
* Participants have reviewed the strategy as well as admin and management, and planned the way forward until June 07
* Participants have reviewed the structure, including roles, responsibilities, relationships, communication and accountability/transparency
* Participants remain aware of and practise dialogue skills

This time the group was well-prepared and had printed out previous reports as well as the way-forward plan from May. After a check-in and engaging with the agenda and expectations, the ladder of inference, ways of listening, effective advocacy and inquiry were reintroduced as there was a new social worker, who had joined Impiliso in July 2006. It was agreed to communicate through dialogue as far as possible.

Participants were asked to think back since the beginning of 2004; and draw an organisational biography[60] for the period until the present moment. In the May workshop each individual had been asked to draw an image that symbolised the organisation. The exercise was repeated to see what had changed in each person's perception. In relation to this, current strengths and challenges of the organisation were brainstormed and reflected upon. For the rest of day one, the group *reviewed programme and coordination/ admin* activities since the beginning of the year in pairs or individually.

Points raised by the group as a result of the various presentations included:
* May brought about big changes: staff worked well together, supporting one another, and people were passionate and motivated to get the skills needed to keep the organisation running.
* Staff were strong and capable, and could deliver and report on their duties: the new coordination-admin team worked well together and managed to overcome most challenges so far; and programmes were running well, with the new social worker playing the role of programme manager.
* An improvement was seen in financial transparency, where a financial team consisting of the coordinator, administrator and bookkeeper were working together, and preparing reports for the management committee.
* As challenges fundraising, computer skills and the weak management committee were listed, amongst others.

I commented on the need to remain aware of group dynamics and issues being bigger than an individual's contribution. The 'culture of blaming' would need to be addressed through conscious work on dialogue and taking responsibility for one's own leadership.

Day two was used for *programme/activity planning* from October 2006 to July 2007. Plans were presented to each other and comments and additions made by other colleagues. Each individual had taken charge of her own programme, and even a quieter member of the organisation presented her programme plans with confidence. Finally, the *organogram* was updated and a few changes made regarding the social worker's role (Report September 06).

The day ended with a written assessment, which looked back to the beginning of the involvement with Connections' OD support programme in 2004 and asked for people's perceptions regarding work done and changes in the organisation. The group felt satisfied with all the work done over the past 2 years and 4 months, as well as the support provided since Impiliso's inception in 2000.

When asked what the themes or needs were when Connections had initially been approached, the group responded: "(1) Knowledge on running an NGO, (2) Community Connections' affordability, (3) mentoring of the organisation, (4) networking with other organisations, (5) skills programmes that assist staff development" (Assessment Questionnaire 14.09.06:1). Priority areas subsequently identified were "Organisation Development training, skills training and networking", which were addressed through "strategic … and operation review sessions, communication skills training and way forward planning" (ibid:2). The support was seen as "very useful, as the organisation is able to look at its progress in terms of its operations and planning ahead; identification of roles and responsibilities; (and) improvement in staff communication" (ibid). When asked what was less useful or should be

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[60] From CDRA Basic Toolkit of Exercises

changed, the group felt that all the information was useful and nothing needed to be changed.

Regarding changes perceived in the organisation since the beginning of Connections' support on various (listed) levels, the following was stated:
  * "In terms of the organisation's development, it is well established, and there is understanding on running the organisation
  * The organisation is at a stage where systems and policies are in place
  * The staff has developed to an extent where they are confident in marketing the organisation
  * Through Connections' support and guidance the organisation can hold its own workshops on reviewing its policies and operations" (ibid: 3).

The organisational members felt confident now about facilitating internal review and planning sessions, as well as having improved communication. It was also added that Connections' organisational skills course "assisted the staff in running the organisation", and the advocacy programme was beneficial (ibid: 5). It was requested that Connections should continue to support Impiliso twice per annum, or as needed.

"This workshop was probably the smoothest one so far. It was interesting to see how well-prepared they were, printing out previous reports and bringing them along, having the way-forward plan from the last session, etc. This was one of the things they had been criticised for by their past coordinator, and it almost seemed to me they were trying to prove her wrong, to undo the damage done unto their self esteem. Generally there was a sense of strength and togetherness, and it was emphasised repeatedly that the group wanted to work as a collective, with a fundraising team, admin and finance team, etc. There was an exciting energy, mixed with a bit of nervousness" (Journal: 8).

Also the reviewing and planning exercises ran smoothly, and every individual in the organisation demonstrated ownership and responsibility for her tasks. "It was good to see all the reviewing and planning had actually encouraged a learning culture in the organisation, and people felt confident to facilitate these kinds of reviews themselves. In that sense, the laborious work over the past years was not in vain, although there is still an open question as to whether this is really enhancing the organisation's practice. It seems though, the mere fact programmes are spoken through collectively and learning drawn from them helps the further development of the programmes ... I think working with this organisation over years has had a positive impact. It was good to see the level of independent work and ownership. For me, it shows change only really manifests over time, but it does actually happen. It has also been a relationship evolving over time into a much more intimate one, as I finally had to deal with their deeper issues, which could not remain covered any more. It felt like as a facilitator, I had become an accomplice over time" (ibid: 9).

6.11 After-thoughts on Impiliso: seeing is beholding

6.11.1   Strengths

Impiliso started in a unique way; it was embedded in its community, and yet had the support from the 'outside' through Elisabeth and her connections to Rotary Club. Thus it had a very different start, and in many aspects the organisation had become more formally established than average CBOs.

Yet what made the organisation strong and able to survive was partly its direct involvement in the community and the commitment drawn from that relationship. Nomandla described the strengths of Impiliso in the following way: "We had this vision and put it on the table. I think this is the strength, this is 2006 now and we are still surviving. We get information, capacity from organisations like yours, Connections. ... We managed to drive the first vision. The other strength was to get funding. And even if we are at this ground level, the staff is a big strength,

because we still have the staff from the beginning. At the beginning we had this vision but we were working under pressure: short of staff, dealing with people's problems, some clients died in front of us. So that was a strength that we managed to deal with those issues, we didn't say we're going to give up. Just imagine, you're talking to this person, and this person is so sick and sick and sick, and the person starts to die in front of you. To manage to deal with those difficult issues, to deal with the family, the children of that client; and we are still here. So that's a big strength" (Interview Nomandla 28.04.06: 4).

Over the period of working with Impiliso the organisation transformed on various levels. However, in a complex world with multiple relationships it is very difficult to gauge what capacity was drawn from where. Much of it must have developed through experience over time, coupled with support from various organisations. Over time, Impiliso had received capacity development support from various organisations such as NACOSA, Community Chest, UCT, Hope Worldwide and Child Welfare. Support towards running and managing the organisation came mainly from NACOSA, Community Chest and Community Connections; while other training was provided towards HIV and AIDS related skills (Interview Nomandla 28.04.06). Except for Connections' process-oriented approach at an organisational level, the organisation has received exclusively training for individuals.

6.11.2   Requests for support & what was facilitated

When asked for support, Connections' facilitators were always called in for a strategic planning, even if that was not at all times what was needed by the organisation. This can be led back to the fact that Connections was known for facilitating such workshops, and had possibly not made clear enough that the approach could include other aspects. It was probably also difficult for Impiliso's members to imagine what other support could be adequate, as CBOs are usually not exposed to OD work. Hence, strategic planning was seen as the cure for many ills. In retrospect, it remains questionable what aspect of strategic planning was really seen as beneficial in situations like the initial crisis. It could have been the energising and team building aspects such workshops can bring along; or the refocusing on the overall vision; and developing programme-plans for proposal writing purposes. At some stage process reports seemed important to Impiliso, as they played a role for donor-reporting; while not many of the documented decisions taken were actually implemented.

However, it also seemed crucial that Connections could provide a service to help the leaders run the organisation. Nomandla pointed out in her interview, many people at grassroots' level have a vision, but do not know how to put it into action. Hence capacity should be developed in order to run effective organisations (ibid: 5).

Throughout the process of working together, the facilitator asked the group what kind of support was needed and what areas should be worked on. Usually, little was raised beyond strategic planning and clarifying roles and responsibilities. Hence, processes were designed and content suggested (such as dialogue work), which increased the facilitator's level of responsibility in the 'intervention'.

In the beginning, Impiliso even agreed to a deeper diagnosis although the members were not accustomed to it. In retrospect it seems the number of areas covered were not relevant to the organisation at that time; and the massive feedback offered was rather disempowering. Even if it was claimed to be working with what came out of the process, the very same was directed through the interview-questions. By asking about aspects of organisational life, the organisation's self-diagnosis was directed into areas they had not yet thought about (such as policies), implying a deficiency if they did not have such.

Throughout, there were deviations between what the group asked for and what was facilitated. Connections' values and the facilitator's 'reading' of the organisation guided a process usually welcomed by the group, but not necessarily asked for in the beginning. The facilitator's role was therefore far bigger and surely not neutral in the process. This raises questions about the power of the facilitator, and to what degree she becomes part of the

development-journey, by even initiating certain aspects of it. Choices made in terms of workshop content guided the process in certain directions. Had another facilitator been working with the organisation, different focal areas may have been chosen, based on the person's values and interpretation of the situation.

In her responses to the requests, the facilitator increasingly diverted into other areas of organisational life, as programme review and planning sessions (looking at what was done and what was not done yet and where were strengths and challenges) did not seem to 'crack' the issues at hand. Furthermore, the organogram including roles and responsibilities, meeting procedures, etc. had been reworked without it being implemented thereafter. It seemed in real life such plans had little meaning to the group.

6.11.3 Shift in process

Over time, the facilitator dared to venture into more intangible aspects of the organisation, trying to get to the core of recurring issues. Yet, one observation she made was her own fear of challenging the organisational members beyond their resistances. There was reluctance to intervene into those invisible boundaries to a degree where people would be pushed beyond what they voluntarily wanted to reveal from themselves. It seemed difficult to judge whether people were ready to go deeper, and it became necessary to leave it up to them to signal. People would also regularly mention being sick or having a headache, which could be interpreted as another form of defence. Facilitating often turned into being a peacekeeper, having to stay at the surface of things. While this was respectful of their feelings, it is questionable whether it was transformative.

The number of activities facilitated in each workshop may also have diverted from going deeper into the issue. Each reflective activity in itself may have brought the group to a deeper level of reflection, but once resistances to go further were felt, the facilitator would present the next activity – hoping this one may bring about stronger results. In July 2005 the group finally started addressing the situation – yet it was not a breakthrough.

Only in 2006, after working with the organisation for two years, had the approach been shifted with the facilitator naming and engaging with what was present in the organisation. This enabled a process which, for the first time, felt meaningful and alive. No-one was distracted; each person was fully present in the room. However, as mentioned above, this was only possible because the group was ready for it and had let go of resistances and defences. What further helped the process was the intuitive relationship having developed over time between the group and facilitator, and her working with whatever emerged. The agenda did not count much, and one conversation led to the next. What seemed to matter most in the facilitator's involvement was upholding a safe space and encouraging self-diagnosis. Working with metaphors through drawing helped the expression of issues.

Repeatedly bringing back the action learning cycle and dialogue seemed laborious at first, but over time, it had an impact on people's perceptions towards learning and reflection; with the group expressing confidence about being able to facilitate their own reviews and having improved on communication skills in the final assessment.

6.11.4 Power and hierarchy

What surfaced much later was staff's anxiety to criticise the coordinator. This brought back an understanding of a South African society, which still has deeply entrenched levels of autocratic, hierarchical leadership. In relation to this: did the facilitator ever really challenge such levels of power? In the process the organisation was treated like a collective, and teamwork and collective decision-making encouraged; but when this did not happen the group was not challenged. Elisabeth was not only the coordinator, but also had control over finances and resources through fundraising and financial management, which increased her level of power. The theme of racial and class differences was also hardly touched. When it was raised once that Elisabeth was white, the organisation's members made it clear they would not judge people based on race, as each member was there to contribute to the

community. However, it may have played a role in the way her colleagues felt undermined by her, as it could have been harder to accept such treatment from a white, privileged person.

The role of Rotary should also not be minimised. The club clearly supported the organisation as a donor, but also expressed demands, which were well-meant, but not necessarily developmental. The organisation had to formalise and professionalise in order to be acceptable to other funders; which benefited the organisation as its fund raising activities were successful thereafter. However, Rotary did not always take into account other needs of the organisation, and a more bottom-up approach was not considered.

6.11.5   A system's view

Looking at this scenario from a system's perspective, it cannot be assumed individuals were the source of problems; but power-relationships, communication problems and conflict were themes living in the organisation at various levels. It is also interesting to note the organisation started initially with another woman, who also separated because of conflict. Conflict occurs in many CBOs that Connections has so far worked with, and it may also reflect the level of stress and crisis community workers experience on a daily basis. The culture of blaming may play a particular destructive role in this, and taking responsibility for difficult situations may have been a first step in order to truly learn – and begin to dialogue. Initially, the financial problem was 'blamed' for the crisis; and only after that was resolved, did the conflict surface more clearly. It had been less the financial issue, but rather how it was handled and not communicated, which had raised the level of mistrust and misunderstandings. In this process over time, dialogue work and good communication became one of the most relevant aspects of organisational growth. But although there had been some will to learn and change, the organisation ultimately had to go through a separation from one of the pioneers. Hence, the question remains whether and to what degree the organisation has actually transformed beyond those issues; or whether they could resurface in a different constellation.

What was experienced with this organisation was strength, a source of power that could spark conflict, but would not be diverted from its goals. Impiliso was driven by compassion, but there was also anger, frustration and fear; and the stress of working with people who are dying.

The organisation was led by strong women, who, through the process of building their organisation, had to also get in touch with their own power as human beings, and their determination to hold on to one's creation, even if it may look ugly at some stages. The level of will-power came out even more strongly after the transition in May 2006, when the whole group stood up to take responsibility, and Nomandla grew into her new role with determination to fill it rightfully. In a sense, this process was a coming into being, a taking full ownership and responsibility for what had been created by those women who were serving their own communities.

What did it mean for Elisabeth, and how did this process affect her? Did she finally have to leave because she did not open up to the challenges posed to her? Could her own resentment lead her to never wanting to engage in such work again? What is the difference of meaning of such an organisation to someone who lives within the communities, and someone from the outside? Elisabeth clearly cared about the organisation and invested her energies. She even resigned from a well-paid position to be able to work there. However, her rather patronising leadership style caused a lot of resistance, and her background in banking probably gave a very difficult starting point to community work, where collectivity is an important factor. By not informing the staff about the financial crisis she probably hoped to protect them and divert the crisis before it became obvious. In retrospect this caused resentment in all people involved.

It seemed the process over time helped the group in developing courage to speak openly; which finally culminated in the May 2006 workshop. It remains open whether this experience will lead to a different communication culture in Impiliso in the future, but it surely has had an impression on all participants, including the facilitator. Hence, while accompanying Impiliso over time, the facilitator went through her own transformation. It was truly a two-way development process.

6.12 Methods Used in Each Phase:

Phase	Method/Tool used
Diagnosis April 2004	Check-in – how do I feel? (each participant) Agenda and expectations A time line was drawn through story-telling by various members of the organisation, starting with founding members. SWOT analysis of programmes
	Review of structure & relationships: Bus activity: people imagine their organisation as a bus and place themselves as a part that corresponds with their role (e.g. driver, engine, wheel, etc.). Verbal evaluation
Interviews April '04	Interviews with staff, management and members looking at the following: Conceptual Framework Culture/identity Strategy Structure Leadership/governance Staff/volunteers Beneficiaries/members Policies & systems Resources Networking/Partnerships Documentation Motivation Beneficiaries' views on the organisation
Feedback May '04	Check-in – how do I feel? (each participant) Story-telling and reflection, Feedback summarising strengths & weaknesses within the topics above Problem Analysis looking at mental models influencing organisational patterns Life Cycle of an organisation to examine stage of development Strategy Map for recommendations Plan for way forward. Verbal evaluation
Strategic Planning May '04	Check-in – how do I feel? (each participant) & agenda Reflection on Organisational Culture and designing an image of a preferred culture Revisiting and refining vision, mission and programmes of the organisation Developing an organogram including organisational structure, roles and responsibilities Financial systems for transparency Action Planning for programmes Written evaluation
Mentoring support July/ August '04	Proposal and annual report writing. Information on funders Facilitating staff meeting
Review September '04	Check-in – how do I feel? (each participant) Agenda and expectations Revisiting Strategy map Reflecting on Organisational Culture and Mental Models Action-Learning Cycle
	Programme review and planning: What was planned? What was achieved? What went well in the process? What were the obstacles? => Adaptation of programmes.
	Financial transparency discussion Adaptation of organogram, with roles & responsibilities, including new management committee Plan for way forward

Review & Planning January '05	Check-in – how do I feel? (each participant) Agenda and expectations Action-Learning Cycle
	Programme Review: What went well? What did not go well? What did not happen? Lessons learnt & recommendations for 2005. Programme Planning for 2005.
	Adaptation of Organogram
	Communication Skills: Listening skills, effective advocacy, inquiry and dialogue. Personal contributions towards shifting the culture Verbal evaluation
Organisational Review July '05	Check-in Agenda and expectations Recap on dialogue skills; including 4-player system and 4 Leadership Archetypes Organisational Inquiry: think of your organisation incl. overall & elements; draw a symbolic image
	Visioning meditation Creative visioning input Developing an internal vision including leading image, values & principles; activities and relationships
	Structure review: how can it support democracy, communication & accountability; adapt Organogram Qualitative Programme Review using Action-Learning-Cycle Revisiting Strategy Map & evaluations Written evaluation
Organisational Review May '06	Check-in: how do you feel about the organisation? Agenda & expectations; recap on dialogue Organisational image (individually); what stands out? Why did it get there?
	Requirements for a coordinator (brainstorm); developing scenarios for succession; concerns to look out for Personal contributions and values/principles for the transition
	Vision for the organisation/ transition Organisational structure and clarifying new roles and responsibilities and possible gaps Way-forward plan for the transition Check-out
Review September '06	Check-in, agenda & expectations Recap on dialogue Organisational Biography: think back to the beginning of 2004 and draw a time-line including highlights, changes, crises, turning points and other relevant events; internal changes as well as external ones Images of the organisation & brainstorming current strengths and challenges
	Programme/activity review: What has happened in the programme since January? What went well? Where were challenges? Learning & Recommendations for 2007
	Programme/activity planning: Programme/ overall expected outcomes/ target group Activity/ time frame/ who is responsible/ who else is involved?
	Final assessment of process since April 2004 (questionnaire filled in by the group)

7

"Dialogue is the encounter between men, mediated by the world, in order to name the world."

(Paolo Freire 1972: 61)

7 OD Process with Uxolo: seeing the unfolding

The following story describes Uxolo Community Health Organisation and my facilitation of an organisational development (OD) process from April 2005 to September 2006.

7.1 Initial meeting

Four Uxolo-staff came to meet my colleague and me in our office in Gugulethu in March 2005. Zola, who had called us and requested support, told us about the organisation's history, and being at a point where they wanted to develop policies, systems, and improve on reporting, monitoring and evaluation. We were also told about the organisation's relationship with the CDRA, but they wanted Community Connections to take over their capacity development facilitation. We were suspicious about the shift, as the relationship with the CDRA came across as having been very positive and beneficial. It emerged their donor had initiated shifting to Community Connections, as we were seen to work more 'hands-on' with a specific CBO-focus. We clarified we would not support this shift if they had been pushed into it by their donor. We also explained our good relationship with the CDRA, and not being interested in 'poaching' clients.

Zola insisted Uxolo needed the change and although the work with the CDRA had been very beneficial, there was now need to address more practical issues and work more 'hands-on'. We made clear, our relationship could only rest with Uxolo, and we would not like working in a 'donor-prescribed process'.

I felt awkward afterwards in my journaling: "The situation raises the question of who is driving the process and how we should position ourselves in case a funder takes decisions on behalf of a CBO. We are on the one hand lucky, if CBO-donors fund capacity building and we get paid for services. … The flipside is, when a funder 'prescribes' capacity building to a CBO, they might not be ready or open for it, but just abide by the funder's decision" (Journal: 10).

More conversations took place in the meantime, including with the CDRA. I finally submitted a proposal to Uxolo, which they agreed with and forwarded to their donor who accepted the budget. The proposal outlined a relatively open 1-year capacity development process including a diagnosis, policy and systems development workshop; 12 days of mentoring over the year; and a final evaluation of the work done leading to a termination or renewal of contract. To enhance the impact of the OD intervention, it was suggested that two staff attend Connections' course in development practice. Uxolo staff also filled in an organisational profile questionnaire.

7.2 Review Workshop/ Diagnosis April 2005

In May 05, a 1 1/4-day review and diagnosis process was facilitated, its broad objectives being:
* Look at the background of Uxolo as well as the current situation,
* Reflect on structure and strategy/programmes,
* Engage in a deeper diagnosis of the organisation using questionnaires with individuals.

The workshop was attended by all five staff. At the end of the first day two members of the management committee joined and were briefed about the outcomes.

The first day started with check-in and introductions, presenting the agenda and brainstorming expectations and ground rules for the period of working together. The group was not entirely sure about their expectations, but Zola asked when I would come into the office to work 'hands-on'.

I explained that 'hands-on' would not mean doing Uxolo's work, but playing an assisting role in developing those areas. Our main aim was to build capacity, while the people within Uxolo project would need to take responsibility for their own learning and its implementation.

To ensure an understanding of the background of Uxolo, a biography[61] was established by asking participants to draw a time-line since the inception of the organisation in 1992; and add a symbolic image representing the organisation currently.

Roles and relationships were reflected upon through the *bus-activity*; and a short input on phases of organisational development[62] was presented.

Current *programmes / activities* were *reviewed* by individually looking at one's own responsibilities.

The plenary session was closed and interviews conducted with staff and one management member.

The outcomes of the session so far were presented to the management committee members, who requested the report when finalised. The process ended with a verbal evaluation, and was generally received positively. Participants liked the facilitation style, and commented that I was easy to talk to and made people feel comfortable. They were looking forward to working with me, and mentioned they had lost their initial nervousness (Report May 05).

In my reflections, I felt very good about the review. The group was open and comfortable with reflecting, although there was nervousness amongst some, as they mentioned in the check-in and evaluation: "One thing that came out through the interviews was their relationship with their funder, who had not consulted with them about their shift from CDRA to Connections, but just told them. This confirmed some earlier concerns and made me very angry. When I raised this to the group, they insisted they see the benefit of working with Connections, as we are working more 'hands-on', and therefore they see the shift as being useful to them. I still pointed out they needed to carefully observe, whether this would be the case, and never feel obliged to work with us … I am not sure, whether we should use the term 'hands-on' at all, as it might raise wrong expectations." (Journal: 10). I concluded: "Power dynamics between CBOs and funders need to be carefully monitored and at some stages addressed. We always need to clarify, why a CBO wants to work with us and also be very clear about our approach, so that no wrong expectations are raised" (ibid: 11).

7.3 Feedback session May 05

The ½-day session started with a check-in, followed by a *brainstorm on sustainability*, defining the term and mind-mapping sustainability for their organisation, bringing out a variety of themes, relating to strategy and purpose; networking and marketing; inner strength and commitment; good communication; funding/resources; and legal compliance, policies and systems.

The report and interview outcomes were scrutinised to verify and discuss further questions and comments. Only a few questions were raised and most aspects agreed with. Input was given on the life cycle[63]. In their own view, they were an adult organisation – relating to the rational or independent phase; I suggested that they were still on their way there, and we put a dot into adolescent towards young adult. It seemed tricky to set people back in their own view of themselves, and I tried to explain how organisations could stay in one of the phases, if it suited their nature better; and there was no general need to grow through the stages (ibid).

A summary from the diagnosis phase included:
  * Staff in the organisation were a very supportive team, working well together with a high level of commitment and passion for their work.
  * Programmes were relevant in the community and good relationships with beneficiaries as well as other organisations existed.
  * Challenges were felt by the team through the lack of internal organisation and leadership, and integrating administrative responsibilities and report writing into the daily work of the organisation.
  * The management committee did not provide sufficient support to address those.

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[61] From CDRA Basic Toolkit of Exercises
[62] From CDRA Basic Toolkit of Exercises / see also Glasl 1997
[63] From CDRA Basic Toolkit of Exercises

* There was a feeling that the organisation needed to develop from a pioneering towards a more rational phase.
* Furthermore relationships with outside organisations, although existing, needed some clarification and purpose.

The following areas were agreed upon as means to addressing those challenges:
* Internal Management & Structure: (1) Developing an organogram, including roles, responsibilities, accountability and communication systems; (2) developing policies and systems (based on existing values of the organisation) to support internal processes; (3) developing formats for report writing and documentation;
* Strategy: (1) Regular action-learning reflections building on the work done by the CDRA; (2) strategic review to reflect on the overall strategic direction; (3) assessing external environment and networking/relationships with other organisations;
* Leadership: Ensuring the development of leadership through capacitating all staff members and building the management committee (Report May 05).

"Generally it went well and they expressed excitement about the phases of development and the challenges they have to address. … As usual with feedback sessions, I did a lot of talking, but it was much less and more simplified than in previous feedback sessions (e.g. Impiliso), so I don't think it overwhelmed them. Although everybody engaged, there was still the feeling, I should set the tone. Over time I will need to find ways of getting them to engage more with the tools and take ownership of the process." (Journal: 11).

7.4 Policy and systems development July-August 2005

Based on the previous sessions, policy development seemed rather donor-driven and less meaningful to the organisation. I contemplated saving time and energy for everyone and avoid 'fake participation' by working with the coordinator on developing draft-policies, which the others could read and comment on. However, since Zola had been sick prior to our scheduled workshop, we went ahead working through it collectively with all staff.
Between July and August a 3-day policy, systems and report writing workshop was facilitated, with tasks in-between the days. The workshop aimed for the following specific outcomes:

* Participants have a clear understanding of what policies are, why they are relevant and how they interlink with other organisational aspects.
* The organisational values and principles are revisited.
* Participants have gained an overview of different types of policies and have chosen the relevant *policies* to be *developed*.
* The content of the chosen policies is developed and responsibilities allocated for drafting and finalising.
* An organisational structure/organogram is developed that will serve the purpose of Uxolo, including communication and support procedures/processes, roles and responsibilities.
* A *system* and guideline *for report writing* is developed collectively.
* The way forward determines how policies will be finalised; report writing monitored and in which way mentoring by Connections can support the process.

The session started with a check-in, presentation of the agenda and clarification about expectations for this workshop from all staff. Individuals wanted to know what policies were, how they worked, why it was important to have policies; and who would benefit: the organisation or individual? There was cautiousness about policies, and insecurities about whether they could negatively affect individuals.
The way of working together was re-visited and emphasis put on higher participation, punctuality, cell phones being switched off, and focussing on the session.

In plenary, we brainstormed the question "What are policies?" and located them within the organisational framework, i.e. how they link to the conceptual framework, values, principles, procedures/systems and the practice. As a reference, existing organisational values were

used to develop an example of how they could shape the development of principles, staffing policy and staff systems.

The question of "Why should we have policies?" was discussed, and types of policies brainstormed, which were clustered into three different types: resource, organisational and operational policies. The group felt all three areas to be relevant; and chose the following policies to be developed first:

* Human resource policy: governance, staff and volunteers
* Assets & resources policy
* Financial management policy
* HIV and AIDS policy
* Accident/disability and death policy
* Organogram including communication, accountability and support
* Roles and responsibilities for management and staff

In order to understand the process of drafting policies, the cycle of policy development[64] was introduced and discussed. To start developing policies, participants formed two groups, who brainstormed: "What questions does each policy need to answer?"

Secondly, a policy development exercise was introduced, to help the groups develop each section of the policies, looking at (1) Rationale; (2) Objectives; (3) Scope; (4) Values/Principles; (5) Content (answering all the questions that were brainstormed for the policy to answer)[65]. The activity was given as a task to be finalised before the next session. Sample policies were provided as guidelines.

In the next session the groups presented each policy-draft in plenary, clarified questions and agreed on points of discussion. While the group tried to remain in line with the legislative framework of South Africa, e.g. Labour Relations Act, it stood out how government regulations did not take different contexts or traditional customs into account. Clarifying the meaning of each section brought everybody on board to a level where the decision-making process turned into heated and loud discussions, which usually switched into isiXhosa when issues were fought over. It was agreed that each staff member would type some of the drafts, which would be handed to the coordinator to compile and finalise with my editing support through mentoring sessions.

In plenary, the group brainstormed the structure of the organisation and developed an organogram including meetings and procedures. Secondly, roles and responsibilities of the management committee and staff were brainstormed and agreed upon.

It stood out how Zola carried the double-burden of being the manager and administrator of the organisation, as well as running programme activities. It was therefore decided he should as far as possible avoid programme implementation and mentor others in his specific skills. In the long term it would be necessary to employ an administrator. It was also mentioned, due to limited space in the container and constant visitors, Zola could only see to tasks like report writing in the evenings and weekends, which was not a sustainable solution, and funding for more conducive workspace would have to be raised. It was suggested my mentoring support be geared towards the coordinator's role.

Since the current management committee was not able to give much time to the organisation, its roles were minimised to oversight of finances and strategy implementation. One policy (governance) also listed selection criteria for management members to ensure certain skills within the committee. The youth programme needed a new facilitator, as Bongani had left the organisation for other employment.

The group had mentioned report writing to be a weakness in the organisation, although some training had already taken place. It was brainstormed why report writing was relevant, what types of reports should be written and who should be responsible for those. It was agreed that

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[64] Adapted from Olive, Ideas for a Change 5: 21
[65] Adapted from Olive, Ideas for a Change 5: 24

staff would write monthly reports and minutes of meetings; and the coordinator would write quarterly and annual accountability reports. The bookkeeper wrote regular financial reports. Formats were developed for the monthly report (based on the action-learning-cycle), annual report and minute taking. The quarterly/annual funders' report had to follow the outline given by the funder, and would form part of the next mentoring-sessions. It would remain the responsibility of the staff to actually write reports and follow given outlines.

Finally, required *systems* were brainstormed; and as a result minute-taking-formats, leave applications, evaluation formats that don't require literacy; and case documentations for the domestic violence programme developed.

The 3-day process was evaluated in writing. Generally the workshop was seen as useful and relevant to the organisation, and knowing one's rights was specifically mentioned as beneficial, e.g. how many days of leave one has. One person wrote: "Policy gives the organisation dignity" (Report July/August 05). Facilitation was rated as excellent, understandable, flexible and accommodating, and people acknowledged their high participation. It was agreed that the mentoring sessions in August and September be used for finalising policies and supporting report writing. Furthermore I was asked to facilitate a strategic review and planning workshop at the end of 2005 (ibid).

In my reflections I felt "the workshop actually went very well and participation was high, with people fighting about paragraphs around leave, etc. I could sense they took full ownership and were clear these policies would actually have to be used by them. In this way, I think it was a healthy process. It might also challenge staff to become more accountable and professional, which they raised themselves in the evaluations. … I question the fact that outer circumstances demanded this to happen, and it did not come from within. … I felt though that the process did in the end turn into an enabling/empowering event, as people really participated and engaged fully with it, and therefore had to think about the bigger picture and responsibilities posed by the environment, as well as learn about their own rights and responsibilities. … It is ok to work on getting the house in order and dealing with outside requirements, as long as it keeps the power within the organisation and ownership and choice are clear" (Journal: 12).

7.5 *Mentoring session September 05*

We had agreed to meet for a policy mentoring session, but on the day the policies were not ready nor complete any more. Although tempted to suggest we finalise the policies in this session, I decided to not 'spoon-feed' the organisation by just fixing something for which they haven't taken enough responsibility yet. I asked what kind of support they would expect from me in this session and beyond.

Zola responded he wanted me to help him with his funders' report writing; and to spend time with the organisation and visit one of their support group sessions or home visits to understand their work better; as well as helping them reflect on and document their work in a better way. I was surprised not to hear any request about finalising policies and inquired. I was told this should happen too, but the coordinator's priority was reports. We decided for this session to focus on funders' report writing, and I suggested Zola and I work at the computer together, while I left it free for others to join or do their own work. We also spoke about Connections' training course, from which both participants had dropped out – Bongani because he left the organisation and Zola because he was overwhelmed by his work.

The session on funders' report writing went well. We first went through the report and I made small remarks, asking for clarity. The main weakness was a lack of structure, so we decided to develop a template report, with a table of contents and all the headings and subheadings in place. Zola felt afterwards, the session had been very fruitful and would improve his report writing. In this context I asked whether staff were using the report writing format we developed in the last workshop and he responded they had not started yet. I encouraged the group to start using it, and see how it would work.

I did not know yet whether Zola would really utilise the learning, but I saw him absorbing everything and taking it seriously. The lack of follow-through on policies left me questioning their relevance again. There seemed generally to be a contradiction between wanting certain support but not taking full responsibility for it, which had also happened with the training course, which they found very exciting and yet dropped out.

"I need to find ways of not taking responsibility while remaining a support structure. This involves confirming what an organisation really wants and whether they are ready to take responsibility for the process. The quality of their process will still depend on them, as long as I know I have given all the support I could give without taking over the task. The challenge is remaining developmental" (ibid: 13).

7.6 Mentoring session October 05

We met to finalise policies. Zola had confirmed in advance everything to be typed. I arrived on time and had to wait for Uxolo, as they were collecting a cheque at some mall-opening, pondering their usual late coming for our meetings.

Zola arrived, and suggested we start editing policies at the computer, while other staff would arrive later. We went through each policy; some files were not found on the various disks, and we had to rewrite. As we spoke through them, I typed or shifted paragraphs around. All the text was there, but it was not structured, there were no headings, and the language was not always understandable. I found myself taking the lead with editing. When information was unclear or missing, I asked Zola what should be added or changed, and then did the work. We collectively managed to edit all policies to be clear, understandable and spell-checked by 2pm. Looking at the policy development cycle, I suggested the policies be circulated amongst staff and further edited, to be given to the management committee.

Zola requested me to sit with staff and mentor their report writing, which was done collectively, by listening to each report and giving feedback, and so learning from other reports and helping each other in improving them. The session went well with all staff having worked with the report format, and being open to feedback. I hoped it would instil confidence to continue writing their reports and being able to give feedback to each other.

After the session we looked at other tools that had emerged from the last workshop. I asked Phumla, the domestic violence facilitator, whether the case-documentation system we had created on her request worked well. She had not realised yet that it was in my previous report. I also doubted roles and responsibilities had really been engaged with, as it seemed that not much had changed.

Finally I asked what the group expected from the strategic planning coming up in December. There were suggestions to review the year's activities and structure and what needed to be changed; and plan for 2006, including programme planning.

In my reflections I felt "I needed to be very aware of my own power in such processes. I was assisting the organisation finalise their policies, and because these are difficult for them to do, I ended up suggesting and editing quite a bit. The process therefore became less developmental and the aim of the session was merely to finalise the policies, not to take time and learn. For whom are we doing this?

Secondly, report writing was again something for the outside. Internally, the organisational members report to each other verbally and work closely together. Things work well like that. Now they are trying to report in writing. I think that this is very valuable, but it puts another strain on the staff, and again the question arises: to whom do we report? Why couldn't they report in isiXhosa, if it was for other community workers?

What is confusing is that I am responding to clear requests. The organisation approached us for policy development and report writing, and yet there seems to be less interest now. In the last workshop the domestic violence facilitator urgently wanted a system for case documentation. We developed it, I typed it, and it was never even looked at.

There is a clear difference between the things CBOs want or need to learn in order to function well, and those things that need to be in place so that funders accept them.

The things funders expect aim to increase the organisational accountability and good governance, but there is no guarantee this will really be the case.

One threat could be CBOs putting 'formalities' in place while not adhering to them. This could be increased through the fact that CBO members often don't account or report properly and are used to doing things the way they want to. On the other hand some CBOs might actually stick to the rules, but get strangled in the process. When is a CBO at a level of wanting to 'professionalise' internally, and not just pushed by their inability to access resources and the mighty power of donors? Is it right to push CBOs to levels where they will spend all their productive time trying to formalise and professionalise, which takes away from their time in their programme activities?

However, even if many requirements came from the funders, there is a sense of urgency coming from many CBO members when they approach service providers for help. They need to be attended to as soon as possible, they really want the process or the learning to take place, and they can hardly wait for their organisation to be at another level. But when it comes to implementation people are late, unreliable, forget agreements and lose interest.

I need to deepen my understanding of power dynamics between outer requirements (and those who require) and internal needs/wants. I also need to understand what keeps the energy of an organisation going and what makes people lose interest. What other forms of accountability are there so that CBOs don't have to undergo all those processes?" (ibid: 14).

7.7 Strategic Review and Planning January 06

I had sent a proposal for workshop-outcomes based on their request in the last session, which Zola confirmed over the phone. The planned outcomes of the workshop were to support Uxolo-staff in gaining a deeper understanding of their current situation by reviewing their organisation on a deeper level, and planning the strategy/way forward. We aimed to achieve the following specific outcomes:

* Participants have reviewed their organisation's programmes/activities and structure, and drawn conclusions/learning from the review.
* They have a deeper understanding about their best practices as an organisation.
* Participants have developed an internal vision for the organisation for the next 3 years.
* The external vision for Uxolo has been developed and the mission and programmes consolidated/revised.
* Participants have developed action plans and budgets for each activity/programme for 2006 and consolidated those into a year planner.

The management committee could not attend.

Each day started with a check-in, expectations and presenting the agenda for the workshop. Each staff member presented a *review of programmes/activities*. It had been prepared beforehand following a proposed question-guideline. The *organisational structure* was *reviewed* by each individual writing what were perceived to be strengths and weaknesses on colour-coded cards; placing those on the *organogram* while giving explanations.

In order to assess *best practices* of the organisation, the team was divided into two groups for an appreciative inquiry[66] exercise engaging with questions about experiences making them feel most alive, excited and fulfilled about their work (see also section 10.5.1).

Feedback from the various activities is summarised in the following:

Generally there was a sense that all programmes and coordination/admin had been very busy in 2005, and many activities were implemented successfully. There was a strong feeling

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[66] From Magruder Watkins & Mohr 2001

about the work being relevant and accessible in the community. Valuable networking with other organisations had furthermore strengthened individual programmes. Many beneficiaries of Uxolo shared their learning with others, multiplying the impact as a result.

Best practices were understood as:
  ∗ The good communication and collaboration in the team, commitment, passion and dedication from staff working around the clock.
  ∗ The action-learning reflections initiated by CDRA (which should be continued by Connections in 2006).
  ∗ Having clear policies, roles and responsibilities and developing them collectively through Connections' consultation.

Areas to address were:
  ∗ Report writing and documentation of success-stories.
  ∗ Low funding/salaries as well as maintaining and looking after resources.
  ∗ The difficulty in addressing the dependency of people we work with.
  ∗ The only partially active management committee.
  ∗ The overload of the coordinator and need for another person, e.g. an administrator, as he was still taking part in programme activities.

Recommendations from the group were to combine the HIV & AIDS and nutrition programme, which should be facilitated by Nonkululeko. Lindiwe should hold the Youth Programme. The organisation needed to budget and fundraise for better salaries and an administrative support.

In a guided *visioning meditation*, participants looked at their life and work at present and developed a vision for how things could ideally be. The exercise was debriefed and participants shared some of the visions and feelings they had during the meditation.
The concept of creative visioning[67] was introduced, and the creative tension between the vision and the current reality explained. The ability to achieve one's vision was linked to each person's personal belief in how much she can change or influence her life / the organisation / family / or even society.

In the same two groups, participants developed a *vision* for the kind of organisation they would like to build over the next 3 years; and drew leading images for this vision; adding values/principles; activities/programmes; structure/relationships; and how they felt about it.
Both groups presented their results, one Image being a 3-legged pot, symbolising the health workers and the community; both needing each other. The second vision represented a lily; growing even in difficult conditions.

The values/principles combined from both groups were team work, support, affirmation, communication, accountability, commitment, respect, confidentiality, accessibility and trustworthiness.
Activities the organisation would undertake were including all current programmes and activities; a new vulnerable children programme (which Zola had suggested earlier); and action learning.
The structure and procedures were as the current situation; with the only difference being that the organisation should have ample resources and the ability to manage those. There would be office space for each programme; and a good partnership with the Department of Social Develpment.

As a next step, an *external vision* was developed to provide inspiration and clarity for what Uxolo was working towards. The scope was decided to be a vision for South Africa in the next 20 years. In plenary, the group brainstormed words/qualities to be part of the vision-statement. Two groups wrote draft vision-statements, adding a leading image. One Image showed a train for South Africa, where all South Africans were together including the

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[67] From Senge 1990

president and parliament; the other image a colourful tree, full of resources to which everyone had access. Both statements were read and merged into one. The process of formulating the final statement went quickly, as most people agreed on suggestions.

The mission statement was revisited and decided it still captured the mission of the organisation. Programmes planned for 2006 were listed as: (1) HIV/AIDS and nutrition; (2) youth; (3) elderly; (4) domestic violence. The organisation would also start fundraising for a vulnerable children programme due to the increase of child-headed households, and a first brainstorm was done around its content and scope. It was decided more consultation would take place around the programme and it would be added to the funding proposal.

The day started with a requested yoga-session, and check-in. A format for *action-planning* was presented (based on their previous programme plans), consulted with the group, and tested collectively with one programme. Then each person developed an action plan for 2006, while taking the learning from the programme/activity review into account. Action planning took rather long, and the meaning of columns became confusing. I questioned whether the format should have been simplified, and whether we were trying to meet donor needs again.

While each staff presented, we inserted every planned activity into a year planner. The year planner meant to ensure operations could run smoothly, with time remaining for staff meetings, OD processes, training courses, etc.

A way forward plan helped to lay out immediate actions. Finally, all staff wrote evaluations. Generally, participants were happy with the process and its outcomes. In the final check-out, most people remarked they had never had a vision, and were excited about the visions and images they had created. Some also remarked they were surprised how easy it actually was to develop them. The staff took the images back to the office to remind and inspire them (Report January 06).

"The interaction between the group, my co-facilitator Denise and me has become easy and relaxed. In the final evaluation, individuals mentioned their appreciation of our kind and respecting way; and when saying good bye one person also mentioned that she never saw a facilitator washing dishes or making coffee for participants. There were also comments about how we allowed them to create their *own* vision and not pushing our ideas upon them.

It is good to feel more relaxed about the process and let things unfold; I however don't want to fall into the trap of just implementing a programme for the sake of it. I need to stay alert to the usefulness of it and what the organisation really needs. The environment pushes the organisation to upgrade on administration, and so we identify gaps based on that. On the one hand, this would not be an internal need, if not pushed by the outside. On the other hand we co-exist with the outer environment, and so the need emerges out of the 'bigger picture'. ... In the CBO-sector it seems more threatening though, as power-relationships are even more unbalanced, and so the CBO could be overturned through external push- and pull-factors. And is accountability downwards, which many CBOs have, not sufficient for proving themselves? How do I foster the kind of confidence to listen to one's own needs while not being unrealistic regarding outer requirements? ... Relationship building is core – especially in building trust to a level where the organisation does not see a power-divide between them and the facilitator. There seems to be some fear about a facilitator being pushy or more powerful, which makes them regularly comment about how down to earth and gentle we are.

Visioning needs to be done more – including encouraging an organisation and the individuals to dare to define and ask for what they need and want, and thus moving out of a poverty-consciousness. Confidence-building is part of that. ... I need to stay connected to a level, where I continue to 'read' properly what is needed" (Journal: 15).

7.8 Action-Learning mentoring March 2006

Zola had suggested I observe some of their processes, to then facilitate an action-learning-cycle. I came in the morning to sit in a training session where elderly people prepared for Sports Day. Secondly, I sat in a tuberculosis-treatment awareness workshop with traditional healers, which had already been going on for some time. I enjoyed observing even if I did not understand most of what was said, as both took place in isiXhosa (ibid: 17).

It felt like a very honest and open attempt from Uxolo, inviting me to observe some of their processes. Unlike other organisations, who might not like somebody 'looking over their shoulder', Zola had suggested this for me to get a better insight.

My initial impression while sitting in both sessions was mutual respect and kindness connecting Uxolo and their participants. There was never a sense of 'experts' or 'leaders' informing or instructing beneficiaries. Participants were very active and showed a sense of ownership over the process. The elderly people were visibly enjoying themselves, by cheering and shouting at the runners; the sangomas were deeply engaged, at times expressing their anger, but yet in a respectful way. Generally it came across how well connected Uxolo was with their community, as different strands of people attended their sessions and some had known the organisation for some time. The high level of participation also confirmed a real need for such sessions (Report March 06).

In the afternoon, we went through the action-learning cycle[68], focusing on the traditional healer-session. Although it was after lunch and energies were slightly down, everyone participated well, and it helped reflecting and clarifying. I felt insecure about whether this short session had actually provided much benefit, but a verbal evaluation was positive; saying this presented a good platform to debrief and get a deeper understanding.

After the session I sat with the coordinator who had requested mentoring for admin/coordination. He revealed the organisation was running out of funding and he was burnt out, frustrated and wanting to leave the organisation. He was not sure whether any funding would come in, and felt very depressed. He stated someone else should do the work, as he felt he had failed.

I inquired into more details and found there were quite a few outstanding funders' responses which could be positive. Their main funder had not responded recently, but it was likely they would continue funding Uxolo. I could, however, understand his frustrations very well, and struggled to give him appropriate advice. We went through different options and I tried to inspire a plan of action rather than resignation. I hoped he would hold out the crisis. I became aware how vulnerable this organisation was.

"It was helpful to sit in processes and observe. … Generally, I sometimes wonder whether what I offer is not too little, and whether it could not simply be done by them. The response is usually positive, and even if it seems simple they feel they need external facilitation. With this group, it often feels like personal comforting and acknowledgement is as important as the OD-skill they expect from me.

This group is open to going 'deeper', which should be supported by creating space for it.
The fact that funding is so insecure, and quarterly instalments from the main donor usually come late, pushes people in the organisation to an edge of survival. Nothing seems secure and their work being more than relevant does not guarantee income" (Journal: 17).

7.9 Action-Learning mentoring May 2006

We had set a date for an April-mentoring session, but it was postponed due to the fact that their donor was late with the tranche, and the organisation worried about not being able to pay. Zola first wanted to meet with the external fundraiser (who had been unavailable for some time), before we should have another action learning session. I assured him we would continue working with Uxolo even without pay, and we could also address the funding crisis

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[68] From CDRA Basic Toolkit of Exercises

collectively. However the session was postponed until the end of May. In the session, Uxolo requested not to pay until funding was raised again, and Connections agreed.

Prior to the session I had been told over the phone to review programmes. However, that morning Zola asked me to look at funding issues. In the check-in it seemed, each individual was affected and worried by the depleting funding (ibid: 18).
Expectations requested fundraising support, talking through a possible relationship with CWD; using action learning to talk through the elderly programme; and for me to observe the youth programme facilitation in the afternoon and give feedback.

We used the action learning cycle to analyse the current funding crisis. The awaited quarterly tranche had been paid with the notice of it being the last one; since the organisation had been supported for seven years and should be sustainable by now. It had come as a shock to Uxolo, who had not been warned earlier. After analysing the situation, it was understood Uxolo should have given more attention to fundraising, and not relied on one funder (although the donor's notice should have been given much earlier). A decision was taken to develop a fundraising strategy, which we started collectively, and which should be continued with the fundraiser.

Secondly, a potential relationship with CWD was discussed, e.g. by becoming a project of CWD. Different scenarios were developed and advantages and disadvantages reflected upon. After establishing what Uxolo staff would expect from a relationship, a proposal to CWD was drawn up including what Uxolo could offer to such a partnership. Generally there was concern the organisation could become co-opted by a stronger partner and lose its independence; while at the same time the possibility of secure income was seen as benefit. A presentation was drafted for a planned meeting with CWD, in which Uxolo members could show they were a well-established CBO and rather a partner than dependant.
The elderly programme was reflected upon using the action-learning cycle. Finally, I observed the youth programme for one and a half hours and gave comments on how to improve its facilitation in writing afterwards (Report May 06).

Generally I felt the sessions had a calming effect on Zola, who was worried and not sure how to address issues. Thinking through those and developing steps of action seemed to help. The rest of the team did not participate much, which dragged the process. Other people kept coming into the room and asking questions; and a number of times Zola had to attend to them, leaving us unable to proceed. I was not sure how relevant and helpful I could be, as I was not a fundraising expert, but the feedback stated it was helpful and things seemed clearer.

"I was not sure, whether the low participation was due to the theme. I might have had the session with the coordinator only instead. On the other hand this organisation usually insists on collective sessions, so that everybody can learn.
It was also relevant to have everyone participate in the discussion about CWD. It is interesting how the theme of identity and autonomy comes up whenever there is a potential NGO-partner or funder. CBOs seem to already know they are the weaker part of the relationship, and therefore fear decisions could be taken on their behalf, which they would not agree with. It was a question of independence or dependence (instead of interdependence).

Giving my own opinion about the youth programme facilitation was not easy. I would have preferred to facilitate a learning process where they come to their own conclusions through reflection. However, this was what they asked for, and I tried to formulate my written comments in a developmental way (not as the only right way)" (Journal: 18).

7.10 Review workshop September 06

We had tried to have a session in July/August, but Zola had been very sick for months, which made it impossible to meet. In August, Connections had its annual general meeting, and we had prepared an award ceremony for some CBOs committed to their organisational

development. Hence, we invited Uxolo and asked Zola to give a speech about our collaboration. He mentioned how they had at first not known what to make of me as a facilitator; and how I had insisted over time that capacity development meant not doing their work but assisting them in being able to do it; which they appreciated.

This was my last session with the organisation, and besides programme action learning (what they had requested), I also wanted the group to reflect on the period of us working together. Shortly before we met, Zola also asked me to support the development of a project plan for the Department of Social Development, who had agreed to fund the HIV & AIDS programme.

The overall aim of the two-day process was to support Uxolo staff in reviewing their history of the past few years and changes that occurred recently, as well as taking decisions for the way forward. Specific outcomes included:
* Participants have reconnected with their own organisational journey over the past 2 years,
* The organisation assesses the current organisational health by looking at strengths and challenges,
* Participants have reviewed the programmes as well as admin and management, and a way forward is planned.
* A project plan is developed for the HIV & AIDS programme as requested by the Department of Social Development.

I co-facilitated with my colleague Denise, who would take over working with Uxolo in the future. The first day started with a check-in, presenting the agenda for the workshop and expectations.

Participants were asked to work in two groups and think back to the beginning of 2005; and to draw a biography for that period, which was presented and debriefed.
The group was asked to individually draw images representing the organisation for them. The images should symbolise the overall organisation as well as the structure, relationships, organisational culture, leadership, etc.
The same values as in previous sessions were raised again as present in the organisation.
Thereafter the group *reviewed* each of the *programmes* and admin/coordination. Each individual was responsible for one programme, and the coordinator reviewed his responsibilities.

Day two started with presentations from each individual and recommendations were brainstormed for how to improve each programme (if needed).

The various activities brought about the following comments by the group:
* The organisation put a lot of effort into working as a team; fighting at times but being strong together, and learning as it grew. The group was able to talk openly and give each other feedback in the spirit of a family.
* The organisation had self-esteem, and was held in high regard in the community; being required in the health forum and approached for support by other organisations, e.g. for proposal writing.
* However, Uxolo had relaxed once money was available, and had not broadened its funding base, which had turned into a crisis. Luckily it was being addressed, and a new funder (Hivos) promised support.
* Ongoing challenges were the management committee not attending meetings and being unreliable. Some may have wanted to be paid for attending, or use the organisation's resources for their own benefit.
* When Zola was sick for several months, the organisation struggled. The team tried to resolve all upcoming issues, but at times did not know how to find things in the filing and reporting systems. As a result, Zola had started working closely with Nonkululeko, orientating her to office work.

* It was felt that with more regular monthly action-learning sessions with Connections, the organisation could have achieved more. Those sessions would usually put things in perspective, and enable more of a balance between programme work and coordination/ admin (as the organisation usually prioritised programmes, while admin and coordination suffered as a result).
* Prospects of working with the Department of Social Development already looked problematic, as the Department expected a lot in terms of reporting and finances, while they would only provide a small budget which Uxolo was not allowed to use for expenses like bookkeeping.

A project plan for the HIV programme needed to be drawn up as requested by the Department of Social Development. Unfortunately, the contract and reporting schedule did not give clear indication about requirements of the plan. Thus, a logical framework was developed with columns corresponding with the objectives and time frames set in the contract and reporting schedule.

Since the budget had been set by the Department for each activity, we specified expenses under each of the budget items. There was, however, still confusion as to whether the Department would cover costs for facilitators, as salaries were not paid by the fund. Another concern was the demand to pay each expenditure item by cheque, which was not only high in bank charges, but also impossible at community level. Finally, there was worry about Uxolo having to pay a bookkeeper for the requested monthly financial reports; as well as a separate audited financial statement for the money received, but not being allowed to use the provided funds for such expenses.

All in all, it was worrisome how community organisations were treated by local government, which made such an engagement a very risky undertaking for CBOs. They might lose money in the process, without having financial backup. Generally, it was difficult to facilitate this project planning session, as it seemed to be too complicated. We facilitators started taking the lead in filling in columns to finish in time; while others started disconnecting. In the presentation afterwards, many open questions remained to be asked of the Department.

A way forward plan was developed for the next steps to be taken by Uxolo. The group stressed monthly action learning should be picked up again with Connections (Report September 06).

A written assessment questionnaire was filled in by the group to reflect on the last one and half years of engagement, and verbal feedback was given as well.

Themes/needs for initially approaching Connections were listed as: "(1) Report writing, (2) action learning cycle, (and) (3) putting filing system into place" (Assessment Questionnaire 12.09.06:1). Areas subsequently prioritised were named as: "(1) Organisational diagnosis, (2) policy development, (3) report writing, (4) strategic planning, (5) action learning, (and) (6) invitation to activities" (ibid). Policy development and report writing support were seen as the most useful of those areas. Nothing was seen as less useful or needing to be changed.

When asked what had changed in the organisation, the following was mentioned:
* "The organisation was at a point where it needed an improvement in its upliftment, Connections helped us with setting up policy documents,
* We do evaluations after each activity,
* They assist us in report writing, where they assist in computer and editing the report" (ibid: 3).

When asked what aspects of the support had those impacts above, "(1) feedback on activities, (2) action learning, (3) developing of policy document, (and) (4) strategic review workshop" were pointed out.

Aspects mentioned verbally included how, initially, the organisation had expected Connections to be "hands-on" in the sense of "doing" work in the office; and how I had explained wanting to build capacity and walking the path together. It was appreciated that

the facilitator would always ask the group before a session what they wanted to work on, instead of making assumptions.

It was also mentioned how the support enabled the organisation to have more aspects in place, like policies, and how the organisation was proud to have them, as they also enabled Thembisa's maternity leave ("We have something that belongs to us; something that we never had."). They also mentioned better report writing as very important, although more needed to be improved. Annual programme plans were seen as useful for fundraising. The action-learning sessions and reports were described as "benchmarks". My feedback given after observing activities was also mentioned as valuable.

Invitations to other activities of Connections, such as the advocacy programme, were seen as helpful. The distance to Connections' offices was felt to be problematic, as Connections' training courses could not be completed (Report September 06).

In my journaling I wrote: "It is difficult to define what elements of our activities are serving CBO needs, community needs, or external donor needs. And since CBOs are in too weak a position to protest, in the end they just want to comply. You become a better organisation when you are more 'professional', meaning formal.

So, needs become blurred. CBOs do like to have those formalities in place, with which they can impress others. But what is the kind of capacity that we are trying to build?

I am also not sure whether the organisation could cope on that level if Zola was not there, and he being sick for several months was quite difficult for the others. Although he is not the pioneer, and the former coordinator is still part of the organisation, he is expected to carry a lot of responsibility and represent the organisation to the outside world. … Where is the 'will' of the organisation at a specific time? Should the will not indicate the readiness for a specific process? Then one could try to tap into it and not end up pushing a process one was asked to facilitate. But what if only one person shows the will and understanding? The team is strong, but does not share on all levels of the organisation" (Journal: 19).

7.11 After-thoughts on Uxolo: seeing is beholding

7.11.1 Strengths & challenges

What stood out most in working with Uxolo was their strong relationships and mutual support. There was a sense of a united family, drawing its energy and commitment from "passion and dedication", as formulated in the mission statement. Each person supported the colleagues. Programme work was usually done in teams even if one person carried responsibility; which is why people could easily be substituted by others. All staff and management were isiXhosa speaking; but beyond this unifying factor, there was diversity in terms of age, gender and sexual orientation. Yet, there was a sense of mutual respect and acceptance; while being able to joke about each other's differences in a loving way. Communication was good amongst the team, and sessions were collectively evaluated in the group, which enabled learning on an ongoing basis. Team work and good communication were always rated as strengths in reflections during our sessions.

What also made Uxolo strong was its embeddedness in the community. The organisation was well known and community members relied on the support provided. This came out strongly when a large number of traditional healers came to a workshop on ARVs, although they were not beneficiaries of the organisation; but rather open to having a conversation on the topic with an organisation they trusted. Hence, Uxolo played an important link between the (traditional) community and health institutions, enabling access to treatment, information; and opening up communication channels. This embeddedness, and the resulting demand from the community, made it impossible to disconnect from the work. In many sessions, staff mentioned people coming to their houses at night asking for help; and Uxolo staff always trying to assist as best they could. Zola commented, when asked about Uxolo's core capacities: "It's whatever it is, if there is an activity to be run, they do it at their best, giving all

that they have. It's also having a heart for serving people. Because someone knocking at your doorstep at 10pm, and you are sitting with your own family, and you try to assist where you can" (Interview Zola 2.06.06: 2). However, although stress levels were high, there was always a sense of positivity in the organisation.

In another session it was mentioned how the team at times did not have the strength to stay emotionally disconnected, and when abused children came for counselling, the facilitators would cry with the child. This also showed the level of connectedness; where there was no boundary between the lives of community members and Uxolo staff. When issues in the community increased, the organisation's members directly experienced the effects, and felt obliged to act; e.g. through wanting to start a vulnerable children's programme, as increasing child-headed households were observed.

In an evaluation report by the CDRA, Huna (2004: 10) pointed out how the organisation drew its "strength and energy from the people and communities it serves." It was, however, mentioned that the challenge for the team lay in remaining conscious and alert to the external environment (ibid: 4). While local relations were strong, external ones as well as an understanding of larger contextual patterns still needed to be developed further.

Generally, there seemed to be a sense of contentment and power coming from the ability to help community members, and changing people's lives for the better. Each staff member proudly identified with being a community health worker of Uxolo organisation.

The only person wanting to leave on two occasions was Zola, the coordinator. Prior to us working together, he had been offered employment in a bigger organisation and was considering it. The funding crisis also made him feel he should leave as, in his view, he had failed as coordinator. Both times he stayed committed to Uxolo; but the knowledge of being able to work elsewhere might keep his mind open to it. On the contrary, three of the team of five, were part of the original pioneers, and had already worked with the organisation for 14 years. The matter of long-term commitment might both be linked to dedication to and identification with the community and organisation; as well as age, (formal) skills level and belief in employment possibilities elsewhere. It is not clear whether aspirations to move on would be there if there were options, or if commitment would be stronger.

7.11.2   Pioneer leadership

At times, the ability of the organisation to survive should Zola move on was questioned, but on the other hand Uxolo had existed for 14 years, and he had only joined the organisation much later. Uxolo had developed its own life force and raison d'être, and may be able to redefine itself should leadership constellations change. However, expectations towards Zola leading and holding the organisation together were high; which often overwhelmed him and made him feel autocratic: "If there is no proper direction from the coordinator, I don't think there will be proper direction from the fieldworker either. Even if they bring out the best they want, but you have to push and say: 'we have planned a-b-c for this month, what are your plans, what will you bring...?" (Interview Zola 2.06.06: 3). Although Zola was not the pioneer, his leadership was seen as central in the organisation. The others contributed meaningfully and had the capacity needed for the organisation's programme activities; but Zola was expected to have the capacity to interface with donors and NGOs. The management committee was never a strong presence. While the group expected more leadership and support, this was difficult due to volunteerism and possibly also lack of experience.

Huna (2004: 8) recommended more work to be done to improve leadership and management, as in the organisation's flat structure, there was no real distinction between management and fieldwork, with the coordinator being active in programme implementation and giving little attention to management. Although the organisation was understood to be in a transition from a pioneering phase (see also chapter 9.1.3), the author cautioned from resorting to "quick solutions" in order to help this transition, e.g. by employing someone from the outside; but rather to see it as a capacity development process in itself (ibid: 8). While Zola was the leader, the issue of him not paying enough attention to internal administration and management persisted. It seemed as if he needed the permanent

connection with the organisation's 'pulse' at programme level in order to remain clear about its direction.

7.11.3   Reflection and learning

What came out strongly when working together was Uxolo's eagerness to learn. There was no defensiveness or fear when it came to reflecting on one's work, but rather openness and humour about one's own weaknesses. It was therefore easy to engage in action learning sessions, as participation was usually high, and the work done by CDRA had presumably laid the foundation for such smooth processes. In the CDRA report, Huna (2004: 7) describes how over time, action learning sessions were understood by the organisation's members in their aim to provide a space to reflect as well as work and learn as a team.

Particularly Zola was keen to learn more, and therefore also encouraged Connections' facilitator to observe their processes and give feedback on how to improve their facilitation. Although the facilitator rather wanted to encourage self-assessment, giving feedback became easy as the organisation could take criticism non-defensively.

It is questionable, however, whether the eagerness to get feedback also came from a place of feeling inadequate (compared to other, more established NGOs); and wanting to become as professional by doing things the way they should be done. Action learning, which is learning from experience, was already well-rooted in the organisation. Beyond that, there was also a wish to be told how to improve, which implied there was a correct way of doing things.

7.11.4   Donor influences & facilitator's role

While the CDRA had an impact on their ability to reflect and learn, their donors had an impact by demanding policies, systems and better reporting. This influenced our collaboration throughout, and often made the content of the sessions questionable. While the facilitator responded to requests from the organisation, the first year was dominated by developing and completing aspects the funder had asked for, such as policies, systems and report writing. While at times processes felt alive and relevant (e.g. when beginning to develop policies), there were other instances, in which participants had lost interest (e.g. when finalising them). There was an expectation that those processes should be facilitated, but the sense of ownership was lacking at times.

In the facilitator's reflections the donor-driven approach was often questioned, and yet it was not challenged at any given time. This was partly due to a reluctance to intervene in the CBO-donor relationship; and partly because Uxolo kept insisting the content was relevant (being proud about having such policies also proved their appreciation). To a certain degree it felt the policy and systems development process had empowering elements; and provided the organisation with aspects they did not have before. But not being able to grasp its meaning during the process made its usefulness doubtful. And again: were they proud because of the information it contained; or because it made them look more professional? At the same time, the facilitator's eagerness to help the organisation look professional also pushed for meeting donor-needs, e.g. when editing and smoothing out policies. It was understood that organisations were judged by their level of establishment; thus helping Uxolo becoming more formal was perceived as another way of strengthening the organisation. Hence, the push for professionalisation had been unconsciously internalised by the facilitator and supported through her actions. Preparing with the organisation a meeting with a potential NGO-partner was similar: Uxolo needed to be able to present itself as a well-established CBO, who should rather be seen as partner than beneficiary.

However, it was at times difficult to blame the loss of interest on a donor-driven approach only, as in other situations a seemingly important aspect (e.g. a case documentation system) was not implemented. There was not always the sense of persistence, even if a matter was brought to me with urgency. The will of the organisation and its members to engage with certain themes varied.

In the end it became difficult to polarise between CBO- and donor-needs. It seemed both sides were pushing for similar capacity to be developed; as Zola defined CBO-capacity building in an interview: "For me it's a level where financial issues are involved, that's quite a lot: report writing, funder reports, when you receive money you need to account for. Another thing is planning programmes, because we don't stop and reflect on what we did in the past few months, so for me that is quite vital to do. And also assisting in the monitoring and evaluation of every day" (Interview Zola 2.06.06: 2). However, when beginning the policy workshop, participants expressed fears and insecurities about policies, which confirmed their imposition again, or at least a sense that they may disempower the organisation.

Connections' understanding of capacity, and the facilitator's ability to direct processes, may have brought in a third power-dynamic. While there is interconnectedness in the sector – where it is difficult to distinguish between inner and outer needs – the root cause making it problematic is power inequalities, which are based on access to material resources.
The organisational members were expected to make their own choices and take ownership; where they had been deprived of such in their relationships with more (resource-) powerful partners.

7.11.5   Unfolding of the process & its usefulness

Initially, a one-year contract had been set including all aspects agreed upon in the diagnosis and feedback session, and leaving room for other elements to arise in monthly action learning sessions. However, the process unfolded in its own time and dates were usually postponed at least once.

Attendance of training courses and other activities also caused the group to often postpone sessions, and it was never clear whether other capacity development options were clearly prioritised, or whether training opportunities were simply taken as they arose. As a result, meetings took place less often than planned; and collectively set goals were not upheld. In the final assessment, this was seen as an issue by the organisation, and it was said we should have met more often to help the organisation stay on track. However, this consciousness did not dominate the collaboration over the year and half, and late coming to sessions was often the case. It was never clear whether this was a sign of lacking commitment and valuing the process less, or if it simply formed part of their reality to be late or forget about meetings.

However, the long-term contract did not take into account Uxolo's less structured way of operating. In later sessions in 2006, the content opened up more towards action-learning on various levels, such as programmes, coordination and fund raising. It felt more natural to respond to whatever Zola had raised over the phone, or what the group would request on the day, than trying to work according to a plan of action, as was done in 2005. There were less tangible results, such as policies or systems, but a reflective process accompanied the organisation's operations at regular intervals.

In many cases, emotional support and helping to think through issues seemed to be more relevant than actual content of sessions. Often, aspects of training were included in the workshops; e.g. by understanding policies before developing them. This aspect may be different from working with more established organisations, where background knowledge is expected.

In retrospect, the facilitation of a review as part of the diagnosis was not necessarily relevant to Uxolo at the time; and information could have been gained through interviews only. It had been an assumption that such a review should form part of it; meanwhile they had their own rhythms of strategic review and planning sessions once a year.

Bringing in the phases of organisational development and setting them back in their own perception was probably too directive; while at a CBO-level they may have well been an adult organisation. Phases (or a life cycle) for CBO-development are needed, rather than comparing them to more formal organisations (see chapter 9.1.3).

The initial proposal also included a final evaluation at the end of the contract; however, there was never a sense of ending; and sessions were evaluated on an ongoing basis. Only in the last session was the relationship engaged with; and requests made for Connections' future support. By proposing more structure as part of the diagnosis recommendations, such as an organogram and policies, the facilitator succumbed to the donor imposition. The request from Uxolo, the inert donor-requirement and the diagnosis outcomes became blurred, suggesting all those elements emerged from the diagnosis.

Many organisational issues identified in the sessions remained and were raised repeatedly. It seemed change could only happen gradually, and often the staff seemed to be able to 'live' with the problems. Partly, this was due to the ongoing funding shortage; as a result of which the shortage of staff, office space and resources could not be addressed. It may have also been a lack of ability to really focus on such issues; as ongoing programmes were always prioritised. Finally, it could also have been an ability to endure; and an acceptance of poverty as a long-term reality, which made the organisation stay in its situation. Growth was perceived to be only happening over a long time; and there were no big expectations of quick changes. The facilitator's need for faster growth was probably geared towards justification of the support provided, and wanting to see quick results, which may have had little to do with Uxolo's realities. The only time when the organisation was under pressure to act was the financial crisis in 2006. However, there was also a sense of disempowerment; and waiting for such problems to be resolved by outsiders (e.g. the fundraiser). The facilitator subsequently took too much responsibility by partly driving processes, when they lacked energy; or taking the lead in editing.

To a certain extent, personal support to the leader in terms of assuring and calming him played a positive role; visioning also had an energising effect, although it is not clear whether that lasted beyond the workshops.

What was never resolved was the request for 'hands-on' support. It was initially explained away by saying capacity development did not mean doing the work of the organisation. In a later interview it became clear that 'hands-on', in Zola's understanding, would have included engaging more at office level, and working with their systems collectively in order to improve them. This was partly done through mentoring of the coordinator in reporting and finalising policies (which was at times less developmental). In his interview, Zola also raised the following ideas: "If an organisation can come for a week or two to spend at the office, and really put things (in place) when you talk about administration. For two days ... to really assist us and bring things into perspective when it comes to administration. Then for two days come someone from financial management to assist us: ... 'This is where you put the slip; you give money when you receive this.' Someone who can also go to the field and say: 'This you can do better; and you can add on that.' So that (is) proper ongoing communication really" (Interview Zola 2.06.06: 4).

The relationship throughout was positive, and the facilitator always looked forward to meeting the group, being welcomed warmly. Striking were repeated comments about the facilitator being gentle and kind. Uxolo members initially even expressed nervousness to work with the facilitator, stating "But you were easy to talk to". This reveals a kind of disempowerment towards a capacity development facilitator, and does not confirm the sense of 'client being queen'. It remains open whether this nervousness was based on experiences, or whether it was informed by the fact that their rather directive funder brought Connections into the picture; or whether the facilitator's appearance (white, privileged) triggered assumptions about her.

Generally, it remained unclear whether the support we provided was truly meaningful to everyone in the organisation. There was a clearer sense of the coordinator valuing the sessions, whereas at times others hardly participated, expecting Zola to lead in conversations. This was partly in sessions which were not directly involving their tasks, e.g. developing a fund-raising plan; which may have reduced interest or ability to comment. Partly it could be led

back to language issues, and at times Zola translated or the facilitator rephrased several times in order to be understood. However, whenever someone wanted to communicate, she would find a way, which reduced the language barrier.

According to their own evaluations, the facilitator's (Connections') support was beneficial on many levels. However, it seemed Uxolo was already well on its way and had developed resilience as an organisation. The action learning sessions seemed to truly enable the organisation to learn from its experiences, and it may be beneficial to continue those. Strategic reviews also seemed to help the group focus on its purpose. Uxolo would, however, need to become more acknowledged for its successes, and finally be given the resources it needs to continue its activities - without having to radically change and formalise.

7.12 Methods Used in Each Phase:

Phase	Method/Tool used
Diagnosis/Review May 2005	Check-in – how do I feel? (each participant) & Introductions Agenda and expectations A biography was creatively drawn including major events, highlights, turning points or crises; as well as a current image of the organisation Bus activity: people imagine their organisation as a bus and place themselves as a part that corresponds with their role (e.g. driver, engine, wheel, etc.); debrief and look at bus as a whole.
	Programme review: What was planned? What was achieved? What went well? What needs to be improved? Verbal evaluation
Interviews May '05	Interviews with staff and management looking at the following: Conceptual Framework Culture/identity Strategy Structure Leadership/governance Staff/volunteers Beneficiaries Policies & systems Resources Networking/Partnerships Documentation Motivation
Feedback May '04	Check-in – how do I feel? (each participant) Brainstorm: Mind-mapping sustainability for Uxolo Feedback summarising strengths & weaknesses within the topics above Life Cycle of a human being and an organisation to examine stage of development Recommendations & way forward plan Verbal evaluation
Policy & Systems Development July / August 05	Check-in – how do I feel? (each participant); agenda, expectations & revisiting ways of working together Policies: what are policies? Locating policies in organisational framework; values to develop policies Why should we have policies? Types of policies (clustering); which policies are relevant to us & should be developed? Cycle of policy development What questions does each policy need to answer? Policy development exercise (task to write up) Presenting and discussing drafts (task to type up and collate)
	Organogram incl. meetings, procedures, roles and responsibilities Report writing: why is it relevant? Types of reports to write; Developing formats for each Developing organisational systems/ tools Written evaluation
Mentoring support September 05	Policy mentoring postponed Funders' report writing: developing template
Mentoring support October 05	Editing policies Mentoring monthly report writing

Strategic Review & Planning January 06	Check-in – how do I feel? (each participant); agenda (each morning) and expectations Presenting prepared programme review: Planned Objectives Activities implemented in 2005 Strengths, challenges & learning
	Structure review: place cards with strengths & weaknesses on organogram; develop recommendations Appreciative inquiry: best practices of the organisation & areas to address
	Visioning meditation & debrief; input on Creative Visioning / Creative Tension Developing a vision for the organisation incl. values/principles; activities/programmes; structure/relationships Developing a vision for South Africa in the next 20 years
	Review mission statement & programmes Programme & Action Plans for 2006; Year Planner; Way forward plan Feedback after day 1 & 2; written evaluation after day 3
Action Learning Mentoring March 06	Observation of 2 sessions with Uxolo beneficiaries Action learning cycle to reflect on one session Verbal evaluation Mentoring of coordinator
Action Learning Mentoring May 06	Check-in & expectations Action learning to analyse funding crisis; develop fundraising strategy Brainstorm potential NGO-relationship; including proposal and presentation Action learning with elderly programme Observe youth programme and comment in writing
Review September '06	Check-in, agenda & expectations Organisational Biography: think back to the beginning of 2005 and draw a time-line including *highlights, changes, crises, turning points* and other relevant *events*. It should include *internal changes* as well as *external* ones affecting the organisation. Images of the organisation & brainstorming current strengths and challenges
	Programme/activity review: What has been happening in your programme? What have you done well? What do you still need to do better? What can we learn/conclude from this? => Recommendations for each programme/ activity
	Develop Project Plan & Budget for Department of Social Services Way forward plan
	Final assessment of process since May 2005 (questionnaire filled in by the group)

8

"Man knows himself only to the extent that he knows the world; he becomes aware of himself only within the world, and aware of the world only within himself. Every new object, well contemplated, opens up a new organ of perception in us."

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (cited in Schotter 2005: 132).

8 OD Process with the Concerned Residents Association: seeing the unfolding

The following case story is based on an organisational development support period from March 2005 to October 2006.

8.1 Initial meetings March 2005

In March 2005, we were contacted by Martin, who wanted a proposal for capacity development for CRA from us, in order to include the budget in his fundraising efforts. I suggested a meeting with him and Sophie to clarify what the request was about. In the meeting Martin explained he wanted to support CRA in obtaining a computer, fax and capacity development, in order for the organisation to become an efficient advice office in the community. When Sophie agreed that this was necessary, I explained our OD programme and suggested using the work we do in order to inform a funding proposal, i.e. through strategic planning. We agreed I would submit a proposal with a budget, which could be used to raise funds, while Connections could subsidise the CRA by already embarking on the process (which could inform further fund raising). We decided to meet with more members of the organisation, where I could present a proposal of how to possibly work together.

After our first meeting was cancelled, we met with about 12 people, and I presented a proposal for a one-year process including a review and diagnosis, strategic planning, ongoing mentoring and other forms of support as required, three quarterly reviews, and a termination or re-negotiation of our relationship. The proposal content was translated and discussed. Martin did a lot of talking, and I was not sure whether others regarded the process as relevant. Sophie welcomed the proposal, but was not sure whether strategic planning could be useful to an organisation working on a day-to-day basis responding to crises as they arise. I suggested it could be useful, not in terms of planning all activities, but in deciding about more proactive strategic goals, instead of being reactive only when in crisis. When there was consensus we agreed on a date to start the process.
After the meeting I was not sure about ownership and who drove the process. It seemed Martin had a stake in it, while he was actually not an organisational member. I felt the need to confirm ownership and our way of working with CBOs in the process to come (Journal: 20).

8.2 Review Workshop/ Diagnosis June 2005

A 1-day review workshop was facilitated with the purpose of gaining a deeper understanding of the current situation of the organisation. The workshop aimed for the following specific outcomes:
* Participants have shared their organisation's history including the context it operates in.
* Participants have a clearer picture of their organisation at present.
* The purpose, structure and activities have been reviewed.
* Interview results provide further information about the reviewed areas.

15 participants took part in this process, and 5 people from management and members were interviewed the following day. The review started with introductions, a check-in and an elaboration and discussion about how Connections works and how the process could unfold over time. The agenda was presented and the group brainstormed expectations for the process and agreed on ways of working together.

Expectations raised included (1) addressing lack of communication; (2) developing more supportive relationships amongst members; (3) clarifying the focus and activities of CRA; (4) income generation opportunities; (5) how to address accountability, conflict or bad conduct; and (6) clarify who the organisation belongs to, who forms it and who does the work.

A biography[69] exercise invited participants to reflect about their history as an organisation in three groups. The *bus activity* reviewed aspects of the organisational structure and relationships.

The *purpose* of the organisation was brainstormed by having pairs of participants discuss their view of the organisation's purpose and sharing in plenary. Aspects mentioned included working with the communities to (1) help people addressing their needs; (2) be known to them as a support base; (3) enable people to benefit from the fruits of democracy; and (4) stand together with power and be recognised by government.
Specific aims were (1) providing access to housing, electricity and water; (2) addressing the effects of globalisation, e.g. privatisation; (3) educating the community about rights; and (4) fighting crime, drugs, gangsterism and educating youth about those issues.

The *activities* of CRA were *reviewed* in two small groups through a drawing exercise, and feedback was presented in plenary.
Activities working best were (1) fighting evictions, (2) providing housing, (3) court victory, (4) marches, (5) supporting the unemployed, (6) working with other organisations, etc.
The discussion included the following points:

* CRA was formed in 1995, and has had many achievements so far through its various activities. Concerns were raised about having started on a very high note with over 70 members, five executive members and weekly meetings. Since then people had become tired, mainly due to the lack of funding and resources and the need to work voluntarily, while not having any other income. The executive decreased to three people, the membership shrank to 35 and meetings could only happen monthly, as the venue (library/community centre) needed to be paid for. The annual general meeting (AGM) had been postponed for the past three years. The container was leaking and could not be used during winter. There was a general lack of shared leadership in the organisation and a few people were carrying the load of the struggle/activities. It was mentioned the organisation was not where it had started.
* It was a strength of the organisation to be always active and present, e.g. through providing the advice office, which is available every day and responds to issues as they arise; as well as being creative and having strong will-power, by making things happen even if there are no resources ("We act and succeed").
* However, CRA was addressing many issues at the same time, which made it difficult to be successful and strategic. There was need for a clearer purpose; but the community was relying on CRA to be there for all problems.
* Leadership in the organisation was carried by few people, while others were 'passengers of the bus', who supported through their presence, but not by carrying responsibility for the organisation or certain activities. Sophie was overloaded.
* Other issues raised were the lack of interest from youth, and how to build a sustainable organisation beyond the current members; pressure from family and husbands to stop participating in the organisation voluntarily; and the need to build capacity and knowledge within the organisation about issues, human rights, as well as government policies and role. Many members lacked necessary information and skills; some were illiterate.
* It was mentioned how government and NGOs had come and profiled CRA, making empty promises. It was understood CRA was too militant for local government, and therefore not funded or supported. It would be important to build a stronger support in the community.
* Communication with government structures, as well as communication and feedback within CRA, were seen as a gap.

The day ended with an evaluation, in which participants were generally satisfied with the workshop, and were looking forward to more sessions. It was felt the facilitation encouraged

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[69] From CDRA Basic Toolkit of Exercises

participation and could accommodate the local language. Unfortunately, not everybody was present in the workshop (Report CRA June 05).

In my reflections I felt the workshop had gone well, with participants being pleased with the process and glad Connections was supporting them. This confirmed they saw its relevance at the time. In the process I learnt Martin had managed to raise money, which Sophie could not use for paying the library hall, as he kept it for marches. The information brought up suspicion regarding Martin's control over money. I made it clear to the members of CRA that our relationship could only rest between the organisation and Connections.
"I feel they are facing a particular challenge, as they are confronting government and are therefore not likely to get funds easily from local donors. They also have a low level of skills regarding administration, fundraising, etc. They however have a strong spirit and unity, which keeps them powerful and active. ... We need to find a way to support this organisation's development and ability to raise funds, while encouraging their spirit to remain as it is. The resources need to be in the hands of the organisation" (Journal: 20).

8.3 Feedback session June 2005

The feedback session was meant to encourage more ownership and make sure everyone carried the process. Only nine people attended the session, as Sophie had not reminded everyone. After welcoming participants and having a check-in round and preview of the day, the term *sustainability* was *brainstormed* and clarified. It was seen as meeting the needs of people to sustain themselves, e.g. housing, employment, water, etc. while maintaining these for future generations.

It first seemed difficult to look at the term sustainability, as people had different understandings. After it was clarified, it was easy to mind-map elements of sustainability for the organisation, and many suggestions were made, including: (1) vision, purpose, effective activities and serving the community with love; (2) good communication with members and networking with other organisations; (3) values like commitment, responsibility, accountability; (4) funding/resources, good governance and policies; and (5) leadership, teamwork, education and skills.

Participants then engaged with the life cycle of a human being, and an input was given on how this also related to the life cycle of an organisation[70], including the characteristics of each phase. The life cycle was easily understood, and the group suggested CRA was like an 'adolescent', still in the phase of 'dependency' and 'pioneering'. The organisation had been running in the pioneering phase for a long time, characterised by the sense of family and presence of a strong leader who kept things together. Other characteristics were the informality of the organisation and no clear roles and responsibilities – everyone was doing a bit of everything. At the time, the organisation was facing a crisis, which forced it to address the current situation – the need for more clarity on purpose and roles arose, as well as the need for material resources. There was a general sense in the group that CRA could move towards independence and sustainability, as there was will power, unity and the support of Connections.

Feedback was given from the interviews, and the analysis verified with participants or additions made. The interview feedback was accepted fully, and participants engaged with some of the points. Recommendations from the report were presented and discussed:
Throughout the review and the interviews, the strong connection of the organisation with the communities emerged, and members believed in the impact and achievements they have had and would still have in future. However, there was concern about the vulnerability of the organisation, as the structure relied on a few people, and roles and responsibilities were not divided. In order to decide on roles, the purpose of the organisation needed to be clarified to allow for a more proactive strategy. Linked to that was also the ability of the organisation to raise funds, as a funding proposal required a strategy and a structure, which would allow for

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[70] See CDRA Basic Toolkit of Exercises

its implementation. The organisation had a constitution, which had been taken over from one of the three founder organisations. It did not represent the organisation's mission and goals correctly. In order to address the current challenges, it was agreed that a strategic thinking and planning workshop would be held over three days in August 2005 (Report feedback session June 06).

In my journaling I felt "the session went well although more people should have been present. ... Connections' support was seen as absolutely crucial and needed by the organisation. ... The feedback session generally feels useful, as we have learned to structure it in a more engaging and less lecture-style way. People like the sustainability map and the life cycle, as it illustrates their path. ... The life cycle will need to be adapted, as in the current model CBOs feel like forever-children. What is a grown up CBO? Are they not always pioneering?" (Journal: 21).

8.4 Meeting Sophie February 2006

The Strategic Planning workshop had been postponed several times. In February '06, I finally suggested setting up a meeting to see what was needed at present, as the 'big event' did not seem possible, and I began doubting its relevance altogether. We met at Sophie's house. She gave me an update about the organisation at present, and problems they were experiencing with a committee member. CRA members had therefore decided to hold an AGM and elect a new executive. I asked whether she saw value in me supporting the process leading up to the AGM, and she welcomed the help. I mentioned some of the work in preparation for the AGM was actually strategic work, as CRA's constitution needed to be amended, which meant they needed to be clear about their mission. We set up a meeting for March with the old executive and the street committee, to discuss the way forward and select a small group which would prepare the AGM.

"It was good to meet again, as I had started doubting whether they are still interested. However, I am still not sure how to facilitate an inclusive process with such a big and 'all-over-the-place' group. It almost seems easier to mentor a small group of leaders. On the other hand it will be important to have a collective process in order to take strategic decisions. This might still lead to the main leaders 'suggesting' the core decisions, but would at least have to be agreed to and understood by everyone. Generally what stands out for me is that social movements are difficult to contain in OD processes, as they lack that level of organisation internally" (Journal: 22).

8.5 Meeting Small Group March 2006

About seven women were present in the meeting aimed to talk about the way forward. The men were busy cleaning drains for the rainy season, and replacing stolen water-taps.
Sophie gave an overview to everyone about the situation since the last review workshop, and why we had not been able to convene for the strategic planning workshop. She also mentioned the AGM. I suggested the AGM should ratify the constitution, which needed to be amended to represent the organisation properly. Sophie felt the constitution needed to be re-written entirely. I then suggested having a strategic workshop, which should clarify the core purpose/mission and objectives of the organisation, as those would inform the constitution.
The group was relatively quiet while Sophie did most of the talking; I encouraged others to speak and suggested everything could be translated. Generally there was a sense of agreement, but little ownership demonstrated by most members.
"I have clearly taken a lead by suggesting how things could be done, and it will have to show whether this will be commonly 'owned'. ... I still need to understand how a social movement group can work with a strategy, and need to remain sensitive" (Journal: 22).

8.6 Strategic Workshop April 2006

This time Sophie was well-prepared. She made sure the library venue was booked, lunch organised and people were there. Unfortunately, in that week water cut-offs were an issue in

the community, and some people could not attend. We still had 13 participants on the first day and slightly less on the second.

The purpose of the 2-day workshop was to support members of CRA in understanding the current situation and developing a broad purpose and strategy. The workshop aimed for the following specific outcomes:

* Participants have reconnected to the review-workshop and what has changed since then; and are able to see the present picture clearly (internally and context).
* Participants develop a vision and purpose as a way of responding to the situation and giving them focus.
* They also develop broad objectives to further clarify the purpose.
* A clear way forward is mapped out towards the AGM and further planning of activities.

The session was opened by Sophie with a prayer; and we proceeded to introductions, check-in and a statement from each person as to what the organisation currently needed. It was suggested:

* The organisation needs to get things in order: what do we really want to do?
* We need a strategic plan and run projects,
* Stay together united; one voice,
* Care for people and not discriminate,
* Be educated in order to run professionally: about how to do community work, access funds, write proposals, housing related knowledge, admin skills, etc.
* Improve the internal structure including meetings,
* Get resources, funds and equipment,
* Amend the constitution and register as an NPO
* Not lose the spirit if we become more formalised.

The agenda and planned way forward were presented and the group brainstormed ways of working together. Many questions were raised about the way of addressing needs by looking at the current situation; vision, mission and objectives of the organisation and the way forward towards the AGM. After a long discussion, it was felt the programme made sense and would lead the group on track.

Participants were divided into groups and asked to look at *changes in the context* by describing: (1) the current situation in CRA; (2) the situation in the community, city, and country (politically, socially, and economically); and (3) drawing an image representing the organisation and the context they were experiencing.

Three presentations were given and collectively synthesised as follows:

* The community brought a huge variety of needs to CRA; and other organisations – the Department of Social Services and even the police – also require CRA for services. There was recognition on the one hand, but CRA was also being used by others.
* Despite all issues the organisation had grown from strength to strength and achieved a lot, including two new projects: the soup kitchen and youth development. However CRA had become a "multi-purpose organisation", without having enough resources or capacities to always respond adequately. One leader was mainly holding the organisation together; there was need for broader leadership. It was unclear what CRA stood for.

A *visioning exercise* followed. Initially, the meaning of vision was brainstormed and contextualised in relation to conceptual framework, mission/purpose, objectives and activities/programmes. The next activity was to develop common *visions* for CRA *internally*, and for the context (*external vision*). It was decided the vision should apply for the whole country. Small groups worked with the task of developing visions for the organisation and South Africa by drawing images and adding words.

The three visions for the organisation were relatively similar, and described CRA to have a building with office hours, security and comfort and office equipment like computer, fax,

telephone and private waiting rooms. The community could access different services in this building (possibly even from other organisations), which would be hosted by CRA. There would be an advice office with educated advisors, housing support, the soup kitchen, carers, working projects and income generation through sales of products. The organisation would have ample funding and be supported by local government and other organisations. The organisation would grow in members, stay united and be widely recognised.

The three South Africa visions included a huge variety of aspects, which were summarised into nine areas. These were ranked by participants, to decide which were most relevant. Then a vision-statement was developed collectively in plenary. It was placed next to the summary of the current reality, and the creative tension[71] explained between the two.

The ability to achieve one's vision was linked to each person's belief in how much she could change or influence. The relationship between personal and organisational visions was discussed as well as the relevance of testing one's own vision.

The group was asked to brainstorm in plenary, what the organisation was really doing well, and what it was recognised for by others. A long list of points was collected, which were clustered into similar areas:

* Housing – evictions, water, electricity, court cases (also in other communities),
* Community maintenance and safety – street lights, escorting people for safety, cleaning drains,
* Soup kitchen/food – every Thursday for children and poor people,
* Referral/advice office – for matters related to health/hospitals; welfare/social services; crime/police/court; children/education/schools.

It was generally felt all those areas of work were relevant and should be continued. However it was difficult to manage them, and whenever there was a crisis, everybody had to react, while other things were neglected. I raised the point that this could be a matter of responsibility, as everyone expected Sophie to take responsibility for each activity, while others saw themselves as supporters. The fact that everyone was doing a bit of everything made the organisation more ineffective.

A list of core activities was established, out of which a *mission*-statement and *programmes* were developed. In order to enhance shared leadership in the organisation, it was suggested that each area of operation should have its own leadership, while Sophie would hold the role of coordinator, as well as the advice office. Since the organisation wanted to formalise, there was also a need for administration and fundraising. The *structure* was brainstormed, and one or two responsible leaders, who had already been active in that responsibility, assigned for each programme area.

In a way forward plan, next steps included organising the AGM and preparing a draft constitution prior to it. After the AGM roles and responsibilities could be clarified for each person (possibly in a workshop) as well as activities the organisation wanted to undertake; to then be able to register as NPO and fundraise.

The day ended with an evaluation, in which participants placed dots on a chart, rating how they liked content, facilitation, usefulness, timing and participation. All areas were rated to the highest satisfaction, only 'participation' had some lesser rating. In the final check-out participants expressed it was a good learning experience, clarifying the way forward. Facilitation was appreciated for its motivation, patience and understanding, and I was asked to stay in support of the organisation. The process did not feel finished yet to the group. They complained about some people not taking part and others not participating fully (Report April 06).

In my reflections I acknowledged my insecurities before the workshop, as I had still questioned its usefulness, and what kind of organisation they were trying to become. "For one I saw the tensions between the requirements in the sector and their level of 'formal' capacity.

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[71] From Senge 1990

Secondly, they are an activist organisation challenging the government, and this does not make it easier to raise funds. So to go ahead with their idea to professionalise and formalise in order to get funding and recognition might lead to failure. But it might also work out well and be just what they needed. So who am I to decide on that?

The workshop itself went well but I felt language was an issue and translations weren't always entirely accurate (from what I understood). Some people were very quiet, which was partly language, but probably also because the topic was too far removed from them (mainly the older women, some of whom are illiterate).

We spent quite a lot of time in the beginning clarifying what the organisation needed and what we would be doing and why. It felt right to take that time to make sure everyone was following. Throughout the workshop I made sure translations happened and everything was explained until it was clear. This meant I had to leave out some activities, which seemed ok.
It also meant I could not go into depth with the 'seeing' part as I wanted to. I had planned for the group to really engage with the current picture at a deeper level, but it did not seem that they were ready for it. The images were how they saw the situation: very simplified, with a lot of blaming on the outside world.

At a later stage, when we spoke about leadership, I really tried to challenge the groups' defences around why one person needed to do everything. It felt ok to do that and the group accepted it, but I cannot be sure about the level of ownership, as it hadn't emerged from them.
Generally I had to lead the process quite strongly, as some people did not participate fully or felt it was too difficult to contribute. The level of capacity in this group varied greatly.
… I am wondering about the ownership of the outcomes. I think that what we got is what they wanted and it will help them in the way forward, but it might be difficult for some of them to engage with the concepts of vision, mission, objectives, etc. And in the end it might mean nothing to their daily operations. However, I hope that it will mean something to them in terms of clarifying who they are and what they are doing; and communicating this to the outside world.

At least the feedback showed that even those who had been quiet felt they were getting clearer and more excited about things. … I will have to stay with it, and again ensure I am not taking too much responsibility for the group. I need to ensure that over time, I can step back a bit and they will run with it (or not)" (Journal: 22).

8.7 Multi Agency Fund Mentoring July 2006

Connections' advocacy programme had facilitated the establishment of a CBO-fund through a collaboration of donors. Sophie wanted to meet me since she had questions regarding the application form. We went through the form together, and I assisted in those fields she was not clear about. It was difficult to include a budget, as CRA had never developed one. I suggested using most of the money for stipends for the main programme managers, and a lesser amount for materials, transport, capacity building, etc. Sophie felt more money should be used to ensure materials for programmes and not for stipends, which I appreciated. The implementation of programmes was more important to her than personal remuneration. Unfortunately, her organisation's goals did not fully fit the criteria of the fund, and they were rejected at a later stage.

When I gave her a lift home, she told me about the youth programme, for which she was trying to get donations of several thousand Rands by the next day to buy costumes for the minstrels-performance. She told me her daily work was running around for the one or other thing, but that she usually succeeded. She mentioned the strategic planning really had an impact on her organisation, and I wondered how that was possible the way they operated.

"It is again and again humbling me to see how much work this woman puts into her community. I often think that she is not really interested in the support we offer, but seeing her

schedule I can also understand why she does not have time for internal processes. … I am not sure how relevant the OD sessions really are to this organisation. In a sense, it seems things are running, and the energy is not where we offer it. On the other hand she keeps on stressing the OD work really benefited her organisation and things were changing for the better. I wonder whether she was being polite" (Journal: 23).

8.8 Constitution Mentoring October 2006

It had been difficult to meet for some months, although we had planned to work on the constitution together. As usual Sophie was very busy and had to postpone several meetings. When I phoned in August informing her I would leave my organisation, she was adamant we meet around the constitution, as this had been her goal for some time. She was aware that the absence of a proper constitution had put the organisation in jeopardy a few times, as they had tried to apply for support from local government grant in aid, etc.

We subsequently set three dates, which each had to be postponed because she could not uphold them. Finally the fourth time could take place, and Sophie came with another committee member. We had agreed to meet at Connections' resource centre in order to work at the computer, and my colleague Denise, who would take over working with CRA, was present.

After a check in, we looked at a draft NPO constitution from the Department for Social Services. Sophie read through each paragraph aloud, and we discussed and made changes where appropriate, as well as filling in the organisation's details and objectives.

It went very quickly, as they easily understood the constitution and made their necessary comments for changes. Hence in about an hour it was completed.

I asked them to fill in a final assessment questionnaire (Journal: 24). The responses stated Connections had initially been approached to develop organisational skills, as it was accessible to non-funded organisations. Priority areas identified in the process were listed as: (1) capacity building, (2) strategic planning, (3) developing a constitution and other areas. Means of addressing those areas were described as Connections' courses in Community Development Practice, Computer Course and workshops; providing the organisation with more skills and knowledge. The facilitator was described as excellent, humble and making things easy by coming down to their level. The support was seen as extremely useful and also would enable CRA to register as an NPO and raise funds.

When asked about areas of change (listed), the following was mentioned:
* "We are now able to plan strategically
* We have policies in place
* We work on specific time frames
* We know now what we stand for and what we want to do. We know our aims and objectives and the way forward. We also know that we can't carry the whole world on our shoulders.
* The organisation has developed since working with Connections. We are no more a merry go round" (Assessment Questionnaire 10.10.06).

We had a final check-out, where Sophie thanked me for being so adamant and following up constantly, as she really valued the support, but had not been able to be forthcoming. She said that several times, when she was really unreliable, she was worried that I would never call again. However, she was glad that I kept on calling, and she finally had this constitution.

When I asked her whether the division of responsibilities, as it was agreed in the strategic planning, was being implemented she responded yes, they were working differently now. She mentioned however, that she still needed to convince people to go to meetings, and not only expect her to go. She was happy that my colleague would take over the support, as she had been part of processes before. We agreed to stay in touch.

"It was good to have this final session ... The way things have been going I have continuously questioned whether this kind of support was suitable. I have also tried to assist in a more flexible way and less through workshops, and yet things had to be postponed.

I believe her that she really values this, and that she is glad the support remained although she was unreliable. Another level of me says she would have been more reliable, if the need was stronger, or in other words, the value was seen more strongly. ... If an organisation works at such a pace, support becomes difficult, and the needs of the community are too strong and cannot be postponed for 'internal' processes. A community worker is expected to deliver support at any time, and such OD processes become a luxury. I wonder if things had been easier, if it was not mainly the coordinator, who was doing most of the work, and if there was more of a 'capacitated' group in terms of taking responsibility for organisational matters. ... To a certain degree I have taken too much responsibility for this organisation, as I really liked the coordinator, and wanted to render support. This may have brought about a degree of reliance on the fact, that I would continue the support regardless of them being reliable. But she seemed very conscious of it as well. I need to let go of 'mothering' organisations, and carrying them too much, once I get emotionally involved, as this can be disempowering as well" (Journal: 24).

8.9 After-thoughts on CRA – seeing is beholding

8.9.1 Strengths

Looking back at the work with CRA, what stands out strongly is the strong will-power of Sophie and some other leaders. After being evicted three times she decided: "This is not on!", and started changing her reality and subsequently that of her community, too. "What we have done without resources. I can put it on paper and I can also take people on the hand and show them: this is what we did without resources. So what do you think will we be able to do if we have resources? ... Because sometimes when I sit down quietly, then I think: How was it possible? Because I mean this court case ..., it was going on for three years. And for three years we had to run up and down to the high court with all the people in busses and stuff. And it wasn't easy. We didn't have a cent of money. We had to run around but we made everything. When the lawyer of the resources centre wanted us to be there with all the people, he wants us there today, you must be there, then we're there. He himself doesn't even know how we came there" (Interview Sophie 18.05.06: 6).

The neighbourhood around her began relying on 'Auntie Sophie' removing blockages and barriers; and up to today she is heavily relied on by members of her organisation. Although there are other respected leaders in the organisation, such as the chairperson, she is the one mostly approached for help, as she is known to be reliable and successful. And her organisation has managed to mobilise masses for marches and protest actions; and been successful both at a street level as well as in court. Sophie described CRA's strength being in their relationships and unity. "One of our strengths is that we have very close relationships, we stand together. The ones in the forefront, we have got very close relationships. So we won't easily fall apart, because we've all got what it takes to do the thing, to let the thing happen, because we know where we come from. ... And we easily overcome our differences. And even if we have differences we agree when it's for the sake of the people" (ibid: 5).

"Committed and continuous leadership active in the area for twenty years has generated a group of activists with extensive capacity and determination to solve their neighbourhood problems" (Oldfield & Stokke 2004: 16).

8.9.2 Role of leaders

While there seemed to be ample confidence in many members of the organisation to be active in their community, Sophie and the chairperson played an important role in representing the organisation at meetings and with the authorities. Many community members lacked confidence or language abilities to interface at such levels. They relied on

and accepted her and a few other leaders in such regards: "At the moment the leadership role is very huge, because some of them are more than willing people that haven't got the skills. We've also got people that can't read and write, but they are more than willing. You can call upon them in the middle of the night if the struggle is on. They wouldn't mind getting out of their beds when there is an eviction, or when there is water cut-offs or so. But just that leadership must also be there because … they've got the knowledge; they know how to do the thing. But if the police come, or council or government come, they wouldn't know how to approach. They will say wait we are going to fetch our chairman now, we've got nothing to say, we'll just fetch our leaders. Like even we are affiliates with the AEC, but none of them wants to go to an AEC meeting without me or someone from the leadership" (ibid: 5). When the lack of leadership from other long-term members was questioned in the strategy workshop, there was a level of acknowledgement, but resistance to step up prevailed.

8.9.3 The unfolding of process & ownership

The process itself was initiated by an outsider, Martin, who wished to help the organisation; but vanished in the months to come. Although it was not useful to work on behalf of a third party requesting capacity building, it seemed Sophie was interested and had directed Martin to Connections. However, the process to come dragged and was difficult to uphold.

Subsequently, relevance of and ownership over the process remained unclear, while the initial agreement was pursued: capacity building in order to strategise and raise funds. Hence, in the initial review workshop, other expectations regarding better communication and relationships were not taken much note of. The path was set and the facilitator tried to steer towards the expected outcomes. Although Martin never managed to raise substantial funds for the organisation, his initial intervention remained a driver of the process, as the prospect of funding remained a powerful force. And although there was an attempt by the facilitator to re-contract with the organisation in March 2006, even the planning of the AGM took her back to suggesting a strategic session. Thus, the facilitator herself was caught in the perception of professionalising enabling funding. Subsequently, this may have increased the lack of ownership of the process, as the group was working on an 'externally imposed' agenda.

8.9.4 Working with an activist organisation

The facilitator's initial suggestion to focus the activities and purpose of CRA was not workable within the realities of the organisation, and in the strategic process different activities were merely clustered into programme-areas. It emerged strongly how an organisation like CRA would not be able to specialise its activities, while the community already relied on its support on all levels. The process never went further into clarifying specific activities and responsibilities; and its usefulness to the organisation would be doubtful. It remains open whether a more conscious practice could have been supported through action-learning, but there never seemed time for that.

Generally, the question of how to work with a protest organisation, which is not structured in the same way as an organisation running programmes on a daily basis, was not resolved. The attempt to remain more flexible and focus on supporting the leadership did not pay justice to the need for democratic decision making. At the same time constant crises in the community such as water cut-offs or stolen taps inhibited a collective process.

In the sessions, members of CRA would voice out how relevant certain skills would be to enable them run their organisation and facilitate community development. However, in both years of working with CRA, members had not attended Connections' development practice course or short courses (and according to Sophie no other capacity development support was accessed either). In 2006, two members had applied and were accepted for several Connections' courses on a bursary; and yet did not come to the actual course. There seemed to be a link between blaming the outside world for the lack of opportunities; while not being able to take such up once they arise. This might apply as well to the contradiction of expressing the need for OD services from Connections, while being unavailable in the process.

8.9.5 Role of facilitator & usefulness of the approach

The facilitator kept driving this process as well as suggesting what to do. As a result Sophie mentioned in her interview that she has learnt to do things differently: "It was very, very helpful. Like for instance the way we operated before. After I finished the community development course a lot has changed. I've tried to do things the way I've learnt it at Connections' workshop. And I am still trying, I am still trying to get things together the way it should be. And even now I think it's beginning to happen after the two-day strategic planning. And after the other workshop also, things have improved. We even got more people on board now, people that we think have got the skills that were just hiding" (ibid: 6). While this acknowledges perceived improvements through Connections' training and OD support, it also implicates a sense of having to do things 'the right way'; or "the Connections way" (Assessment questionnaire 10.10.06: 4). Hence, the support may have given the impression that CBOs are not operating properly if they do things their own way.

However, Sophie was very clear about her level of success, as well as providing adequate support to her community: "We became the leaders through our experience and through what we are doing. We weren't employed for a job with a qualification. You see the positions that we have; the people on the ground elected us into these positions, because of what we do for them out of our own mind. Because people on the ground don't mind how things happen. If they come with a problem, they don't need me to write them a big letter with high words to produce wherever they go. They need me to go with them personally and speak for them in my own language and with my own words, as long as it is successful. … So they are not interested in how professional things are done, they just want to be helped" (Interview Sophie 18.05.06: 4).

Hence, it remains questionable whether the OD intervention was in any way useful to the actual activities of CRA; or whether it simply helped create another, separate layer to the organisation, which would help it interface with the outside world.

In retrospect, it also needs to be questioned whether the facilitator's own limitations as an OD facilitator kept her holding on to a process dominated by strategy and structure for the organisation. Since not much direction came from the group, she suggested what she knew. Although the results were appreciated, they may have been mainly due to making the organisation look more professional. The process did not reach a level of truly accessing the 'will' of the organisation to fully self-direct and own it.

Despite Martin's attempts and the new multi-agency CBO-fund, CRA was not able to access funds. The organisation operated outside of what most donors support (e.g. HIV & AIDS); and has not been able to attract support. It might be a matter of time, but also raises the irony of pursuing a process in the hope of a specific result, which is not achieved.

Finally, the facilitator's personal wish to support CRA, as she understood their relevance, made her try fast-tracking the process, which needed to happen in its own time. Members of CRA were at varying levels of capacity, while the leader was too busy to deal with organisational matters. The process was never completed as planned, and yet the facilitator's personal attachment made her keep on phoning Sophie and following up. She had personally begun to carry responsibility for the organisation; and became involved to a level of being taken for granted to a certain degree. By respecting the organisation's own time frames and readiness, the process may have stopped altogether for some time; but may also have continued when the organisation would have been ready for the intervention. Sophie was thankful for the perseverance; as the facilitator had also become a support structure to her. It will need to be seen whether any of the processes will have long-term outcomes.

8.10 Methods Used in Each Phase:

Phase	Method/Tool used
Diagnosis/Review June 2005	Prayer; Introductions; Check-in – how do I feel? (each participant) How Connections works; Agenda and expectations; Ways of working together A biography was creatively drawn incl. a current image of the organisation Bus activity: people imagine their organisation as a bus and place themselves as a part that corresponds with their role (e.g. driver, engine, wheel, etc.).
	Purpose brainstorm in pairs & sharing in plenary Activity review: draw a fire and place what is working well in the centre; less well in the margins and not at all outside the fire; debrief Verbal evaluation
Interviews June 05	Interviews with members and management looking at the following: Conceptual Framework Culture/identity Strategy Structure Leadership/governance Staff/volunteers Beneficiaries Policies & systems Resources Networking/Partnerships Documentation Motivation
Feedback June 05	Check-in – how do I feel? (each participant); preview of day Brainstorm term sustainability; Mind-mapping meaning of sustainability for the organisation Life Cycle of a human being & an organisation to examine phase of development Feedback summarising strengths & weaknesses within the topics above & verifying Recommendations & way forward plan Verbal evaluation
Meeting Coordinator February 06	Establishing current situation Clarifying need and way forward
Meeting Small Group March 06	Assessing current situation Plan way forward: strategy workshop & AGM
Strategic Session April 06	Prayer & opening by coordinator Introductions; Check-in and statement about what the organisation needs (each participant); Agenda (each morning) and ways of working together Assessing the current situation in the organisation & its context; images and synthesising results
	Clarify term vision; develop visions for the organisation and country (in small groups) Developing a vision statement in plenary; Discuss creative tension, beliefs, etc
	Appreciative inquiry: best practices of the organisation / what is core? Develop mission statement and programmes Divide responsibilities for shared leadership of programmes
	Way forward plan Evaluation (bullets on chart) and check-out
MAF Mentoring July 06	Mentoring of coordinator in filling in form
Constitution Mentoring October 06	Check-in Adapt draft NPO constitution by reading and amending each paragraph (coordinator and 1 committee member) Final assessment of process since June 2005 (questionnaire filled in by the two) Final Check-out

8.11 Summary and overall reflections of chapters 5-8

The chapters have provided a detailed account of the CBOs and the processes conducted with them. Each CBO had their own unique process and outcomes; and the after thoughts present the emergence of different topics. Some of those topics could be observed as recurring patterns, even if they presented themselves differently in each CBO.

In the process of 'coding', using the Grounded Theory approach, each paragraph of the descriptions was coded and summarised into emerging themes. Here again, the authority of the researcher stands out, as she is coding and interpreting her own writing; although the text maintained a presence of different voices and the CBO leaders had approved of the accuracy of descriptions. Yet, the researcher's own reflective ability led to a particular reading of the text, which may have varied with other researchers (see also 5.1 on neutrality).

What was observed in the three cases were strong pioneers being the driving forces of the organisations, but at times also holding too much authority and responsibility; giving rise to the theme of leadership.

Good relationships also played an important role within CBOs as well as between them and their community. Internally, the absence of such could lead to conflict. Externally, relationships were important for the CBO to be accepted by and embedded in the community they served, hence giving them a mandate to operate. Relationships were also crucial to the outside world of potential donors, NGO partners or local government; being characterised by huge power asymmetries.

The question of power and dynamics in the capacity development sector tended to skew the OD processes, which were intended to be facilitated in a developmental, people-centred way. The facilitator was repeatedly faced by the question of whose needs those processes served, and became aware that requests posed to Connections by a CBO do not necessarily reflect internal needs of the organisation. What was understood as organisational capacity to be developed often did not take into account existing capacities and strengths of CBOs, but pushed for formalisation instead. Hence, the theme of CBO-capacity required further discussion. The OD approach applied had to take those dynamics into account and find a way of working with the ambiguities.

Themes for discussion selected from the empirical material will be further elaborated on in the discussion chapters. Three broad themes will be discussed in chapter 9, which had relevance for all three CBOs (even if in different ways): (1) CBO capacity; (2) Leadership, and (3) Relationships. Chapter 10 will engage with principles for an OD approach at a CBO level.

Throughout the action research process the facilitator went through her own process of learning and development; and the OD processes with CBOs had transformatory effects on her and her ability to facilitate such processes.

The journaling and reflections helped immensely in order to remain conscious of her thinking process over time. Looking back at the reflections every few months enhanced some of her learning, by realising that many patterns observed recurred, and had to be addressed. Her insecurities regarding the approach were expressed, but the learning from the reflections encouraged her to change her approach over time. It evolved from a more technical support, with a planned agenda; to a more open, fluid process, where one activity or question led to the next, allowing the process to take its own course.

Less structure seemed to be more responsive to CBO needs over time; yet this did not mean that a facilitator could engage in such processes without prior knowledge or preparations. It rather meant that with increasing experience and knowledge of approaches and methods,

these could be applied or adapted more flexibly, being able to connect to the moment and respond to what emerged.

Another change within the facilitator was her acquiring the courage to speak openly, even if that may not have pleased everyone. The need to be liked and accepted as a facilitator, and the wish not to push people beyond their boundaries; had previously stopped her from doing so. Yet in the process with Impiliso she had to overcome her own fears of confrontation – which simultaneously happened in the organisation with people becoming able to challenge each other. She had to learn to hold the tension between being respectful and speaking one's truth, without becoming directive or patronising.

Finally, the consciousness of the facilitator was sharpened, by learning to listen carefully and trying to see organisations in a Goethean sense. Over time she increasingly tried to stay alert to what was really needed, and not simply implement a process for the sake of it. Yet, some understanding only came to her in retrospect, like the fact that she may have supported the external donor agenda by unconsciously internalising it. Hence, she struggled to free herself from pressures posed by the sector. Furthermore she worked from within Connections, which meant some decisions could not just be taken by her, but had to be negotiated within an organisational context (although the relatively open structure of the OD procedure enabled her to manoeuvre within each process).

In this way, the research became a learning journey for the facilitator/ researcher, through which she was changed herself. Shiel (2005: 2001) describes similarly that "…if I am engaged in this process of knowing my own knowing will be changed simultaneously".

9

"If we imagine the outcome of these attempts, we will see that empirical observation finally ceases, inner beholding of what develops begins, and, at last, the idea can be brought to expression."

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1795; cited in Holdrege 2005: 50)

9 Emerging themes: CBO capacity, leadership & relationships

In the following chapter, emerging themes will be discussed as a result of the presentation of data. They do not aim to be exhaustive of the various themes which could be derived from the data; but have been selected as a focus for the discussion. This chapter corresponds to the fourth stage of Goethe's delicate empiricism, called 'Being one with the object', where the "patterns are discerned … as possible paths or modes of expression," … communicating "how it relates to its wider environment, to the phenomena around it" (Wahl 2005: 65; see chapters 3.3 & 5.1).

The research question of this thesis is mainly concerned with OD as an approach to CBO capacity development. However, while conducting the research and engaging with the three case studies, further questions arose regarding what CBO-capacity is more concretely defined as, what capacities are to be developed at a CBO level, and towards what end. Although the literature chapter (2.4 & 2.5.3) engaged with goals of organisational capacity development, this goal setting could not take place within a neutral environment. CBO-capacity development has been and is being defined by a variety of actors in the development sector, and needs a closer examination, which will be done in 9.1 (below). Here, instrumentalist definitions and goal setting for CBO-capacity development will be set against existing strengths and capacities of CBOs, and the contradictions arising surfaced.

Further on, two selected areas of capacity will be discussed: leadership capacity (section 9.2), by elaborating on the characteristics of pioneer leadership at CBO level; and the capacity to relate (section 9.3), through the examination of relationships within CBOs as well as with their broader context. Both capacities stood out in all three case studies and seemed to be significant and meaningful for reasons that will be elaborated later.

Finally, the discussion of the three themes will lead to chapter 10, where they will inform principles of OD/ capacity development work at a CBO level.

The themes were derived from the empirical material through grounded theory, and will be discussed in relation to the broader literature. To provide a thread throughout the themes, complexity theory will be used as a lens of examination (see section 2.1). Furthermore, asymmetries of power demanded attention. Foucault's notion of power is relevant in this study, as it is analysed through relationships (Foucault 1982: 343; see chapter 2.7) which corresponds with the relational context that is central to complexity theory. Foucault's theory of power will be used in order to explore notions of power permeating the themes that will be discussed. At the same time, a level of suspicion about context and relationships will be maintained, while avoiding succumbing fully to all aspects of Foucault's perspective. Power in this chapter will be analysed from a relational and systemic perspective, underpinned by a critical sensibility in line with the emancipatory aspects of this research (see section 3.4).

Quotes from interviewees regarding the themes were added throughout the discussion.

9.1 CBO-capacity

9.1.1 Views on CBO capacity

Capacity development is based on the assumption "that developing countries lacked important skills and abilities – and that outsiders could fill these gaps with quick injections of know-how" (Fukuda-Parr et al 2002: 2). This assumption has led to a massive capacity development industry in developing countries, where "experts" are sent to support development through "technical cooperation", by building local capacity. In 1999, the worldwide budget for technical cooperation totalled US$ 14.3 billion (DAC/OECD, cited in ibid: 3).

A 1993 publication (Berg & UNDP, in ibid: 4) criticised capacity building practice in Africa in that "technical cooperation had proven effective in getting the job done, but less effective at developing local institutions or strengthening local capacities; and that it was expensive, donor-driven, often served to heighten dependence on foreign experts, and distorted national priorities."

Although attempts were made to address this kind of criticism, many recommendations were not implemented and capacity development remains criticised for undermining of local capacity and other issues. Fukuda-Parr et al (2002: 8) raise two assumptions, which made old problems persist. The first assumption is "that it is possible simply to ignore existing capacities in developing countries and replace them with knowledge and systems produced elsewhere – a form of development as displacement, rather than development as transformation. The second assumption concerns the asymmetric donor-recipient relationship – the belief that it is possible for donors ultimately to control the process and yet consider the recipients to be equal partners."

When discussing the development of CBO capacity in the context of this research, the issues raised above apply. CBO capacity development and its various approaches take place within a larger context of development practice; which impacts on the kinds of capacity to be developed, as well as the relationships between the stakeholders.

In chapter 2.5.3 specific values and goals of CBO capacity development were proposed, which guided the implementation of this research. However, even if a service provider or facilitator works in a people-centred way, relationships remain unequal and goals of capacity development remain guided by overt and covert sector demands. Capacity development does not take place in a neutral zone, and is largely directed by those more powerful in the sector, such as donors, NGOs and local government institutions.

CBOs are openly valued for capacities they have, and have become the target of many development interventions. CBOs are seen as central to development efforts, since they are closest to the dynamics of poor communities that are the target of development; and often are embedded within their social relationships, which makes it easier for them to drive local development processes (see chapter 4.3.2). There is however a contradiction in the kind of capacity meant to be developed in order to execute their role as development agents, and work towards the historical task of eradicating poverty.

Mancur (1971: 52) points out small groups are better equipped to further common interests than bigger groups. As long as group members find their activities and benefits worthwhile, they may function without any group agreement or form of organisation to obtain a collective good (ibid: 46).

Pieterse & Donk (2002: 14) distinguish organisational capacity development between (a) technical interventions towards task performance (e.g. financial reporting); and (b) process to foster organisational well-being (internal relations), as well as positioning and

responsiveness to the external environment. Morgan (2006: 8) aims to define capacity by dividing the concept into five core capabilities: the capability to act; generate development results; relate; adapt and integrate.

Although these examples propose a more holistic view of capacity, CBO capacity development is mostly focussed around skills development towards task performance and formalisation.

In the interviews with CBO-members and CBO/community leaders, there seemed to be general agreement regarding areas of capacity that CBOs need to develop. Next to sectoral capacity relating to the particular field of work each CBO offered, suggestions relating to organisational capacity included:

* Operating independently and accessing resources; including formal NPO-registration,
* Financial management, project planning and management,
* Writing of minutes, reports, funding proposals and reports[72].

Most CBOs who requested OD support from Connections from 2004-06 have asked for strategic planning (8); fundraising support including proposal writing training (7); and formalising the organisational structure including NPO registration and policy development (5). Other requests included training of committee members, analysing organisational blockages, report writing support, action learning and capacity building. Similarly, all three case studies wanted to professionalise in order to raise or maintain funding. However, since the need usually arose through external requirements, the capacity-development process lacked life and immediacy. Although the case CBOs had asked for this type of support, often no real commitment was there to actually pull it through. In all three cases, it was difficult to work with their actual needs, as the funding issue dominated.

The capacities listed above resemble the capacities expected in the more established NGO (and to a certain degree private) sector, and one needs to question whether those would have been requested by CBOs if they were not imposed in the sector. In a Foucauldian sense, the power exerted by donor-demands has led CBOs to claim they themselves require the kind of capacity needed in order to be accepted by the donor. Hence, power has become internalised by CBOs, and they are caught in its grip, while also resisting it and wanting to be accepted the way they are (Foucault 1982: 336-337; Alvesson 1996: 96-98). The unequal relationship is upheld by donors through financial power; as well as knowledge, where through an extremely unequal educational background, knowledge is being used by donors and NGOs to make CBOs their subjects, and justify that they know better. Capacity development gets caught in a kind of politics of (un-)truths (Alvesson 1996: 101): donors and NGOs claim to know what capacity is needed by CBOs, and CBOs play along to avoid risking the potential funding.

Having worked voluntarily for long periods, CBO members wish to 'enter' the development sector and be rewarded for their activities. There is growing awareness amongst CBO-members that this involves increasing their levels of formality and upwards accountability in order to keep up with national (and international) requirements and enter 'partnerships' with funders, NGOs and government institutions (see also Galvin 2005: 12). This is in return only possible for organisations, who do not contest the programmes of donors and government. "Here, capacity building easily becomes the process of enabling benefiting communities to develop the skills needed to implement programmes they neither conceptualised nor planned. Endogenous capacities are replaced by functional capacities required to satisfy donor and large NGO designs" (Brews 1994: 9). In the same way, CBO-capacity educational materials for NGO- and community workers promote capacity development relating to

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[72] Similarly to these findings, a CBO research conducted in Mpumalanga, Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal revealed that CBOs perceived they "lack knowledge and skills around fundraising, financial management, project management, planning and report writing" (Ndlovu 2004: 45).

formalisation and addressing community needs; but most do not address larger questions of power.[73]

"The other thing is that a lot of the capacity building initiatives for CBOs are not focussing on where the structures are. But they focus a great deal on where we are trying to bring them to. In other words, their capacity is being developed with an end in mind – and for me that is usually unfair. I think often in relation to building their capacity, the interventions that are undertaken in many instances do not give consideration to the purpose that these organisations are trying to think of. … I think in many instances it is done in a way that treats them like you are at the lower end of the food-chain. You are not important, you are just in the development sector, but really, your role is not that important. … They are not given the recognition that they ought to be given" (Interview N. Dlamini 19.07.06: 8).

The contradiction surfacing here is that often, the value stated behind capacity development is "empowerment", yet no real shift in power resulted from such interventions: "In short, many South African NGOs have engaged in capacity building programmes which have improved the ability of communities to access, mobilise and manage resources within the framework of existing power relations. The consequence is that the control of resources and distribution processes has remained predominantly in the hands of the economically and politically powerful. There may have been some transfer in resources, but it has not led to any shift of power" (Brews 1994: 7-8).

Hence, the purpose of capacity development needs to be questioned: "It is the 'for what'-question: For what would CBOs need capacity? Is it to take on your own development, and accept the privatisation route where you have to take more responsibility for yourself? Or would you see it more in contestation and claim-making on the state systems that are supposed to be redistributing and re-allocating, etc. And my inclination is to say that the latter makes you stronger than the former, and the former doesn't allow you to be stronger at the latter" (Interview A. Fowler 23.06.06: 3).

While working with the three case studies, the 'for what'-question remained an issue: should one try to enable a more authentic approach and ignore sector demands? Or should one help CBOs play the rules of the game (which seldom would lead to contestation)?
The time and resources spent on capacity development for donor demands can be both counterproductive to development and activism work, as CBOs get side-tracked in compliance activities and may lose their embeddedness in the communities as a result; as well as become incapable of challenging the very same agencies that they now depend on. The following section will look more closely at issues regarding resources and accountability.

9.1.2 Resources & accountability

Professionalisation remained a means to an end of being able to raise funds, but after trying to reach that end with little success, many CBOs lose interest in the process. A governance workshop for CBO-members conducted in 2004 by Connections in partnership with the Non-Profit Consortium[74] brought up resistance and frustration amongst CBO members, who felt that they were required to become as formal as NGOs in order to be accepted in the sector. There was a worry that breaking through the 'glass ceiling' involves challenges, which many CBOs cannot overcome. Most CBO-members lack formal skills like financial, management, computer or (English) writing skills.

Ndlovu (2004: 23) points out that the issue of capacity building remains key in funder- grantee relationships: "NGOs have many ways through which they source the knowledge and skills that help them to comply with funder requirements, either by employing individuals with the required skills or using their resources to obtain those skills from consultants. CBOs, on the other

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[73] E.g. Connections 2002; Symes 2005; Swanepoel & De Beer 1998. An exception is offered by Hope & Timmel 2002, who raise political inequalities using Paolo Freire's approach.
[74] The Non-Profit Consortium (NPC) is an NGO providing capacity building to the non-profit sector, mainly through training in non-profit law; as well as contributing to an enabling regulatory environment in the non-profit sector (NPC website 2007).

hand, do not have the resources that would enable them to source those skills, and a CBO that is seeking funding for the first time from donors is likely to be lacking in some or all of the following:

* Proper governance structure;
* Internal management system;
* Financial management system;
* Project management; and
* Policies and procedures."

It needs to be added that even after receiving funding, most of the above skills require salaries that CBOs are not able to pay from their small grants. Many CBO-grants exclude stipends or salaries from the onset, romanticising voluntarism in a poverty stricken context (Ally, in Ndlovu 2004: 32). CBOs have come to understand "their lack of finance as a major reason for not getting funding…" (Ndlovu 2004: 48).

Organisations like Uxolo and Impiliso, who had already managed to raise some funds, had just as much difficulty in maintaining further income. Uxolo had only been able to access one core donor due to their informality, who would withdraw support after a certain period, claiming the organisation should be sustainable by now (see section 7.9). And since an external person helped the organisation raise funds by writing the proposals, dependency remained on the availability of external volunteers.

Impiliso was already more established through the formal skills and knowledge of Elisabeth; and Nomandla's experience in NGO-work. Yet the organisation was not stable in terms of income, although better funded than other CBOs.

It needs to be acknowledged that financial resources are an important form of organisational capacity which should not be minimised, and most CBOs struggle to mobilise cash for their activities. Since there are resources available in the development sector, it is natural for CBOs to want to receive a share. As development efforts have become mainstream in South Africa, they are also seen as a means to access income. It needs to be questioned why CBOs have remained at the bottom of the development industry, while others use it as a lucrative career path.

Some people also decide to start CBOs for the sole purpose of raising funds and creating their own income. This proves problematic as the will to provide a service to the community may be questionable. When working with CBOs it is therefore relevant to test their embeddedness in their community, and whether they are actually providing any relevant support.

Linked to financial barriers, the legal framework for non-profit structures was developed in light of more formally established NGO-settings and the need for upward accountability. However, the establishment of voluntary management/executive committees or boards, who oversee implementation and finances; and paid staff implementing programmes and managing finances, does not reflect the grassroots realities. CBOs usually start off as a group of people, who all do the work on the ground. Often they consist of unemployed people. Some CBOs have formal committees, others are just a group of volunteers, and many have membership (see section 4.4). However, when funding and upwards accountability comes into play, the role of membership in directing and electing decision-makers diminishes. At the same time, there is usually discontent amongst the management committee about not being paid, as poverty is an issue to every individual. Particularly, if the committee are the working people: "The challenge that we are facing – our executive is on a voluntary basis – to change that executive committee into staff" (Interview Focus group 12.03.06: 17). Once the initial group has become 'staff', other voluntary committee members need to be sought to oversee the organisation.

Impiliso and Uxolo (who were both funded CBOs) had difficulties in maintaining a viable management committee from the communities they served; as did most interviewed CBO

representatives (ibid: 16). Similarly, the leader of a CBO in Doornkop, Johannesburg, explained that most management committee members agree to join with the expectation of being paid: "So once they discover that this is purely voluntary work, they drag feet not to attend meetings and you end up playing their role for the organisation…" (K. Mbatha 24.06.06: 3). However, when asked how else they would want to form as an organisation, most CBO leaders opted for management committees: "I see the value of a management committee, so that the staff will know who to report to, who will oversee the project. If there is no structure, then things will not materialise. Everyone would do their own thing, and that is where conflict will come" (Interview Nomandla 28.04.06: 5). Management committees were therefore held on to in order to regulate and oversee finances.

It was nonetheless extremely difficult to find people with the skills required for managing and overseeing finances, report or proposal writing, etc., which increased the divide between CBOs and NGOs. "I agree there should be a mechanism in place; there should be rules and criteria how funding goes. But on the other hand these rules can also suffocate an emerging CBO" (Interview Focus group 12.03.06: 18).

Impiliso was more fortunate with fundraising, as Elisabeth came from an advantaged background and had the needed financial and writing skills to promote the organisation to funders (see section 5.2). The other cases, as most CBOs Connections worked with, had problems with financial management due to the lack of skills within the organisation. And the funding provided to CBOs usually consisted of such small grants, that sourcing an external bookkeeper and auditor became a huge liability; or even impossible (e.g. when Uxolo was expected to use a small grant for project costs only and not for the required financial reports and separate audited statement; see section 7.10).

In CRA, committees served as the core decision making bodies, and elected members accounted to their constituencies. They were governing bodies and at the same time also doing the work on the ground. Here, issues of 'oversight' were less valid, and coordination of activities and meetings of more importance (section 5.4). Hence, committees were less problematic, if they consisted of elected members who would represent others or have coordinating functions. They became an issue, once funding came into play, and they were on the one hand expected to remain volunteers (while often unemployed and poor themselves); and on the other hand were given powers to direct and control.

Donors often shy away from funding CBOs due to low capacities for financial accountability systems. The weaker the accountability systems, the more donors tend to "subject disbursements to prior conditions, and tighten requirements and control mechanisms, which are difficult to comply with precisely because of weak institutions" (Fukuda-Parr et al 2002: 17). This contradicts the general notion of supporting CBOs, while not accepting the realities they live in – and rejects possible alternative accountability systems (e.g. downward accountability[75]). "The requirements that are sought by government, the bureaucratic model and how it's imposing itself on communities; communities … are made to feel inferior because they can't play the game in those structured ways" (Interview D. Bonbright 23.06.06: 5).

CBOs are therefore caught within a donor-driven bureaucracy, making it either impossible for them to get funded, or forcing compliance models on them which question the usefulness of the funding received, as those might distract them from their actual activities. In the worst case they can even cost them more money than they have received (for expenses like audited financial statements).

"The donors are giving a problem to these small community NGOs when it comes to funding. They will demand a lot of things, amongst those are financial audited statements, which the small organisations do not have. And also they will want the small organisations to have a board of directors. Now, for the size of these organisations it is not easy to get professional

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[75] see also Keystone: www.keystoneeporting.org

people to help them in terms of a board. So it also gives problems to small NGOs in terms of getting the money. Even the government itself are also demanding all those things from a very small group of people who are just recently starting to mobilise themselves, and then it takes time. You find that those people have a very good business plan, and they have structured their things very well, but because they don't have those two things they cannot be funded" (Interview K. Mbatha 24.06.06: 1).

Some NGOs particularly working with CBOs (i.e. as umbrella bodies or capacity development providers) may also provide small grants based on minimal accountability systems[76]. It is, however, seldom possible for CBOs to directly access donor funding and therefore improve their financial situation (i.e. in order to be able to pay salaries); and dependency on intermediary NGO programmes prevails. In this context, Balfour (2006: 1) raises the issue of the "exorbitant amount of resources spent on monitoring recipient organisations" in relation to the "menial grants we give to some recipient organisations…"

Ndlovu (2004: 56) argues that "Funders need to avoid dismantling governance structures that make sense and are well understood by CBOs and replacing them with bureaucratic and confusing structures. They should make an effort to understand the already existing governance and leadership structures within CBOs and find ways of using those same structures to fulfil the fiduciary responsibilities that they expect of governance structures."
Ndlovu (2004: 47) describes how CBOs feel that funders usually do not understand the realities under which CBOs operate, where "community impulses, tempos and priorities determine CBO operations, and the concepts of professionalism do not count much in that environment. … CBOs actually view operational requirements as one of the most significant obstacles to CBO funding. Even funded CBOs argue that most funders put them under enormous pressure to operate like NGOs … CBOs are prepared to professionalise their operations, but not to the extent that they would become bureaucratised and removed from community impulses and lose the ability to respond to community needs timeously and efficiently."

For all three case CBOs, the closeness to the community was of vital importance for their existence as well as for the relevance of their activities, and governance requirements often became a burden. For Uxolo and Impiliso, it remained a challenge to maintain their management committees on a voluntary basis, as well as keep up with writing donor reports in their required formats. Much of the initial OD support to Uxolo was therefore around policy development and donor reporting (see section 7.3). Similarly, Impiliso utilised the facilitator's reports from the strategy sessions for donor reporting and fund raising (see section 6.11.2). For CRA, this closeness and accountability towards their constituency increased their inability to access funds, as they were – according to their own views - seen as too militant (see section 8.2). They had in fact chosen to prioritise their community needs, and not succumb to potential donors. Donor demands put the case CBOs under a tension between wanting to meet such demands while staying true to their purpose and accountable to the community they served. Hence, such requirements were not increasing the organisations' support to the communities, but rather distancing and distracting them.

Balfour (2006: 2) raises the divisions and disempowerment that donor grants could bring to communities, and how the created dependency on donor money destroyed a community initiative when funding was not renewed.

While money may become an enormous burden and threat for authentic community organisations, as it can create conflict and opportunism, it is as much a necessity in poverty stricken areas. "Unlike in rural communities, poor people living in urban economies must continuously access and spend tiny bits of cash to survive. They must constantly invent and re-invent stories to justify countless and complex chain reactions of borrowing, earning, stealing, giving, lending, trading, saving, begging for and hiding away cash" (Swilling 2005: 9).

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[76] I.e. Western Cape Networking AIDS Community of South Africa (WC NACOSA), Social Change Assistance Trust (SCAT); Ikhala Trust (Eastern Cape Province); West Coast Community Foundation (WCCF); Ikamva Labantu

Wilkinson-Maposa et al (2005: 46) point out that in poor communities, helping one another is essential to survival. Material help, such as money, goods and productive assets are frequently exchanged (as well as non-material help). This contradicts the notion that financial support is only given by wealthy donors. The need for an organisation to be financially sustainable or pay salaries goes beyond the current abilities of community giving.

Ignoring the need for finance in community organisations may – as mentioned above – romanticise poverty. On the other hand the current model of external donor control reproduces the dependency and disempowerment people in poor communities are already experiencing. Suzanne Pharr (cited in Moral 2005: 3) describes how non-profit regulations have caused social justice movements in the USA to suffer: "The nonprofit sector has given us more government and corporate money, less autonomy from those sources of money, less community membership and involvement in organizations, more corporate mimicry, and more professionalisation of roles within grassroots movements. The effects of all this? Organizations are no longer places where money and leadership are controlled by their constituents." External donor funding can therefore have direct impact in the decision-making powers of membership and leadership in CBOs, as well as sideline those with less professional capacity. "A masters degree or academic knowledge of a program area is often more valued than community relationships, experiential knowledge or personal investment" (Moral 2005: 4). The argument raises the danger of supporting CBOs in becoming eligible for donor funding, as it may at the same time contribute to their disempowerment and disconnection from community, as well as depoliticise their activities.

Swilling (2006: 13) points out that formalisation of community movements will "empower professionals, accountants and managers." It remains questionable whether it empowers CBOs. Swilling further mentions the tension between financial management and local accountability. The more CBOs account to their donors, the less they may remain accountable to their constituencies in their communities. Bonbright et al (2006: 13) suggest a redressal of "the pitfalls of professionalisation and bureaucratisation. If justice – and in particular the transformation of nature and structures of power – is your objective, then accountability offers itself as the key." Accountability practices of civil society organisations should "put the beneficiary at the centre of their mission – not their donors, not the institutions with whom they are ever more frequently collaborating, not governments … in order to guard against the danger of undercutting national and customary structures of accountability" (ibid: 14).

Wilkinson-Maposa et al (2005: 122-123) propose that vertical philanthropy (through donors) needs to take into account an existing horizontal philanthropy of community and promote synergies between the two. Swilling (2006: 10) suggests self-organised systems within poor communities to create alternatives and new power bases; organised around cash in order to ensure daily survival, such as community-driven saving schemes. Moral (2005: 5) suggests that "grassroots fundraising and leadership development of the people in our communities keep us true to our visions, flexible in our goals, and relevant to the people who yearn and strive for justice."

The power and independence resulting from self-organised funding schemes at community level are evident, and support to CBOs should explore fostering horizontal community support rather than creating vertical lines of funding and accountability. It may however prove difficult to sustain grassroots fundraising for CBOs in poor communities, unless a direct personal benefit can be drawn, such as from saving schemes mentioned above. Whether CBO activities, such as HIV/AIDS programmes, can be financed through community fund raising is questionable. Here, non-financial contributions through volunteerism are more likely (such as in the case of CRA), but also difficult to maintain (see section 9.2.4).

While CBOs are being valued for their closeness and embeddedness in their communities and their ability to drive local development processes, they are expected to develop capacities that do not reinforce those existing CBO-strengths, and might at worst even override inherent capacities and disconnect from community embeddedness. Although an organisation may

change in many ways to fulfil donor requirements, it often seems not enough as the 'glass ceiling' is too high and hard. There is a contradiction between the increasing (theoretical) acknowledgement that CBOs should be supported and hold a central role in development efforts; while they have to transform into different organisations to comply with sector requirements. In order to support CBOs in gaining resources, one should therefore be conscious of not forcing upon them sector requirements, but rather advocating for an acknowledgement of their existing strengths and assets (Yachkaschi 2006: 3)[77]. Sections 9.2 and 9.3 therefore present capacities observed in the case CBOs (and various others): leadership and relational capacity. Those capacities (or the lack of those) are explored, and it is argued that the acknowledgement and further development of such capacities could prove relevant for community development (as opposed to bureaucratic compliance models). Those capacities were selected through the grounded theory approach of this research. There are obviously far more areas of capacity, which could be seen and acknowledged in CBOs, which this study does not cover.

At the same time, it is often not acknowledged that CBOs have capacities that donors or NGOs lack, like their experience and embeddedness in their social context, having access to the 'target group', language capacities, flexibility and adaptability, the ability to respond to crises as they arise, the capacity to deal with tragedies and injustices, etc. Those capacities seem to weigh less and not empower CBOs towards equal status or an openly acknowledged interdependence in the sector (see section 9.3.3). Beyond that, such acknowledgement may threaten those who currently hold power in the development sector, as it would question their legitimacy.

Figure 11 describes this situation in an overview. The section to follow will offer alternative ways of engaging with CBO capacity development needs.

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[77] In November 2005 Community Connections together with CBO associates embarked on an advocacy programme to promote CBO acknowledgement and financial sustainability. One result was the establishment of a Multi-Agency Fund for CBOs, which was piloted in 2006.

Lack of donor trust in CBOs to implement programmes and account for finances

*Glass ceiling *Not seeing inherent capacities *CBO funding too low to comply with accountability requirements

CBOs central to community development, but unequal power relations in the development sector: * Not giving up power as a form of capacity * Development becomes an apolitical act

CBOs identified as lacking capacity

CBOs to formalise & comply with donor demands

Intermediary NGOs & consultants to build capacity & channel funds

Capacity development industry grows: *various programmes *self-justifying sector

Figure 11: CBO capacity development cycle

9.1.3 Organisational culture & phases of development

The examples above depict views of organisational (and individual) development in order to professionalise and become more formal organisations. Capacity is thus mainly equalled with formal skills and abilities to conform to demands in a particular context.

Traditional OD work, as varied as it may be, does not necessarily focus on such levels of capacity development. Chapter 2.5.2 offered various definitions of OD, such as the one from French & Bell (1978, cited in French et al. 1989: 7), stating: "… organisation development is a long-range effort to improve an organisation's problem-solving and renewal processes, particularly through a more effective and collaborative management of organisation culture…".

As explained in chapter 3.5.3, Kaplan (1999: 23) and CDRA (Manual of readings) describe the elements of organisational capacity as (1) context and conceptual framework, (2) organisational attitude/ identity (3) organisational vision and strategy, (4) organisational culture, (5) relationships, (6) organisational structures and procedures, (7) individual skills and (8) material resources.

Kaplan (1996:89) further defines OD as "the facilitation of an organisation's capacity to self-reflect, self-regulate, and take control of its own processes of improvement and learning." The emphasis of organisational capacity lies in the ability to learn and respond to contextual changes. Such capacity does not simply rest within specific skills to perform particular tasks, like financial management; and requires a different angle of working with organisations.

Schein (1991: 4; see also section 2.5.4) emphasises the relevance of organisational culture in understanding organisations and their development areas. Alvesson (1996: 64) warns that culture studies are often guilty of "trivialising issues of power and politics." Much of the organisational culture literature is "functionalistic" (Calás and Smircich 1987, in ibid: 65) and "pro-managerial, based on the assumption that management acts in the common interest" (Alvesson 1996: 65). While CBOs cannot be directly compared to corporate organisations with management structures (which most of the organisational culture literature is written for), CBO-leaders may still control culture and manage meaning in their organisations; following similar assumptions about having to be 'in charge' (see 9.2.1). However, Alvesson (1996: 68) emphasises that cultural analysis "can certainly take seriously the fact that the social world is also complex and contradictory, and thus dynamic, and that basic conflicts may exist."

Organisational culture, as a cognitive, learned but unconscious behaviour in organisations, also relates to Foucault's notion of disciplinary power by way of normalising certain behaviours, which are then generally accepted in the organisation (Alvesson 1996: 125). An organisation does not simply operate according to overt rules and structures; but has an unconscious modus operandi which has been structured in the history of the organisation. It is "a learned product of group experience and is, therefore, to be found only where there is a definable group with a significant history" (Schein 1991: 7; see also Cilliers 1998: 122 on complex systems).

The question arises as to when organisations perceive the need to develop or change their way of operating, i.e. their culture. Schein (1991: 271) describes organisational growth stages through which organisations may develop over time in their life cycle, as well as their characteristics and change mechanisms. The organisational culture can therefore also be linked to characteristics of development phases over time.

Lievegoed (1991: 48-77) describes the phases as Pioneer, Differentiation and Integration Phase, extended by Glasl (1997: 6) with the Association Phase (see also chapter 2.5.4). Similarly, the CDRA (n.a.) present those phases of organisational development, using the term Rational Phase for Differentiation. Relating to an organisational life cycle, pioneering can also be described as the dependency phase; rational as independent phase; and integrated as interdependent phase. Both the individual organisational culture and phase of growth can inform the kind of development or capacity growth needed in an organisation.

According to the phases of organisational development an organisation develops from a pioneering phase towards a more rational/differentiated phase when it reaches a crisis[78]. Schein (1991: 280) emphasises that in a therapeutic and self-insight model of OD, the organisation needs to be motivated to change, and at times first needs to be in trouble. The organisation outgrows the pioneering stage, and need arises for a different structure.

The case examples were clearly in their pioneering phase, with strong leaders (partly autocratic) and a dependency of the organisation on their presence. Similarly, other CBOs Connections worked with operated in the pioneering phase. In all CBOs Connections worked with, one or two leaders (who may be the initial pioneers or successors), were central figures and drivers of the organisation. Even if an organisation was made up of more than 50 members, a central leadership prevailed. Decisions were taken intuitively/ ad hoc and there was less formality and structure to the organisation. Things could get chaotic at times, and conflict could drive some leaders away. However, there was an expectation by other members that leaders needed to be strong and pave the way (see section 9.2.1).

Often, when organisations approached Connections, they made a (conscious or unconscious) decision to move towards more professionalism (see section 9.1.1). This was in return usually triggered by a crisis. In all three cases, the facilitator supported a process of formalisation, i.e. through policy development and report writing (Uxolo and Impiliso), or

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[78] E.g. (1) the organisation outgrows the pioneer's capacity to manage; (2) through autocratic leadership, or (3) when the informal structure is unable to cope with increasing complexity (CDRA n.a.).

programme planning and evaluations (Impiliso and CRA). While this was welcomed and had been requested, the level of energy and willpower to stay committed to the process varied. This points to the fact that the expressed need may not have been authentic, but rather imposed by sector requirements. The lack of willpower could, however, also be related to other demands and stresses at community level, which require the attention of CBO members.

Working with CBOs one needs to question in each case, whether they 'naturally' reach the level of outgrowing the pioneering phase, or whether the need to change into a rational organisation actually arises through external needs in the development sector. A facilitator needs to take into account that organisations need to naturally move through their stages of development, and will have their own timing for growth (which cannot be pushed by external people or organisations like facilitators, funders or NGOs).

In CRA's and Uxolo's case, the leaders struggled to disconnect from the pioneering phase, e.g. by dividing up roles between programme implementation and internal management / administration of the organisation. The pioneers were used to working on all levels, because the organisation personified their passion. Only Impiliso became ready for a more differentiated stage, where Nomandla took over coordination, and accepted the withdrawal from programme level (although a strong reliance on and presence of the pioneer leader persisted).

Kaplan (1996: 14) points out that formal structures and procedures may be necessary when an organisation reaches the stage of outgrowing the pioneering phase, "to restore not only organisational coherence but also sound human relationships." Similarly, it may have helped to clarify and agree upon roles, responsibilities and authority in the three cases in order to reduce conflict through an autocratic (or overwhelmed) leadership; and increase the sense of responsibility in other members. While a certain degree of formalisation may have helped the organisational members in understanding and coordinating their way of operating, it is questionable whether the organisations were ready for all introduced aspects of formalising. Uxolo's staff initially felt threatened by policies and showed little energy in developing them; although later they seemed proud of them and one staff member could access maternity leave. Impiliso did not seem to ever use their policies after developing them for donor purposes. CRA expressed not being ready to change by postponing processes for many months.

In a context of unequal power relations between donors, NGOs and CBOs (see also section 9.3.3); a facilitator needs to be particularly alert to the actual development needs of CBOs, as they may be skewed by wanting to be recognised in the sector, and feeling obliged to formalise. One needs to inquire whether the crisis is in fact related to the pains of outgrowing the pioneering phase; and which other factors influence the request for support. And if a more differentiated phase is called for, what could it look like in each individual CBO, taking into account their capacities and needs. Most CBOs may need to largely remain in the pioneering phase due to their fluid and flexible characteristics. Rather than working towards a differentiation phase; it may be sufficient to address notions of collective leadership or clarify roles and responsibilities.

Another way of examining internal dynamics in CBOs is through phases of group development. In the absence of formal structures, many CBOs may resemble small groups or teams, who have formed for a particular task. Here, groups move though stages of Forming, Storming, and Norming (see a similar model in Thaw 2003: 11). Schein (1988: 40-59) describes building and maintaining groups through (1) problems in entering a new group; self-oriented behaviour; and (2) task and group maintenance functions. Over time, group work leads to the development of implicit common assumptions and norms of conduct; summarised through the group's culture (ibid: 76).

In small CBOs like the case studies, group culture and organisational culture may be identical. However, in the case of Impiliso, there was a sense of an overarching, rather imposed culture,

initiated by the first coordinator; which differed from the general culture between other staff. Hence, the 'climate' could change when all staff were together; and in workshop situations some remained quiet as they did not dare to challenge their leaders (see section 6.6).

In rather loose CBO-groupings, these phases may more accurately describe internal dynamics, while the phases of organisation development refer to more established CBOs. However, both cycles can overlap each other, since group and organisation development are ongoing processes. Kaplan (1996: 15) further emphasises that the phases of differentiation and integration may occur several times: "in the realm of human and social development at least, development does not have an end point – we are always in a state of becoming." Schein (1988: 82) points out mature groups – amongst other capacities – need to have developed good communications and a capacity to learn from experience. Similarly, the OD processes in this research aimed at enabling each organisation to more consciously learn and reflect and therefore become aware of their own phase of group and organisational development.

Figure 12 describes group and organisational development in a CBO context. In the complex context of organisations and their development needs, one cannot necessarily differentiate sharply between the internal and external, as complex systems interact dynamically and CBO boundaries are porous. The figure is therefore not to be understood as describing an either-or situation, but rather making visible the possible dynamics when CBOs move through the different phases.

Forming / Pioneering:
-Formation into: small group or (bigger) membership organisation
- Mobilizing around issue or providing service
-'Followers' grouping around strong leader(s)

Storming:
- Power struggle/ conflict
- Questions about mandate/constituency, hierarchy, structure, workload, responsibility & authority
- Unclarity about identity & purpose
- Positioning: how much am I valued in this group?
- What am I gaining?

Integration
- Become more mature with self-organised teams
- Strive for excellence
- Case CBOs have not reached this level yet

Rationalising
-Professionalising,
- Differentiating roles, job-descriptions
-Registration, formal NPO-structure
-Fundraising, salaries, staff
- Implementation of programmes/projects

Internal crisis & need for structure or External agenda?

Regrouping/ Norming
-Clarifying purpose, structure, responsibility & authority, etc.
-Sometimes breaking apart and forming new
-Change of leader possible (pioneer or rival gets kicked out)
- Possibility to develop into more mature group & learn from experience
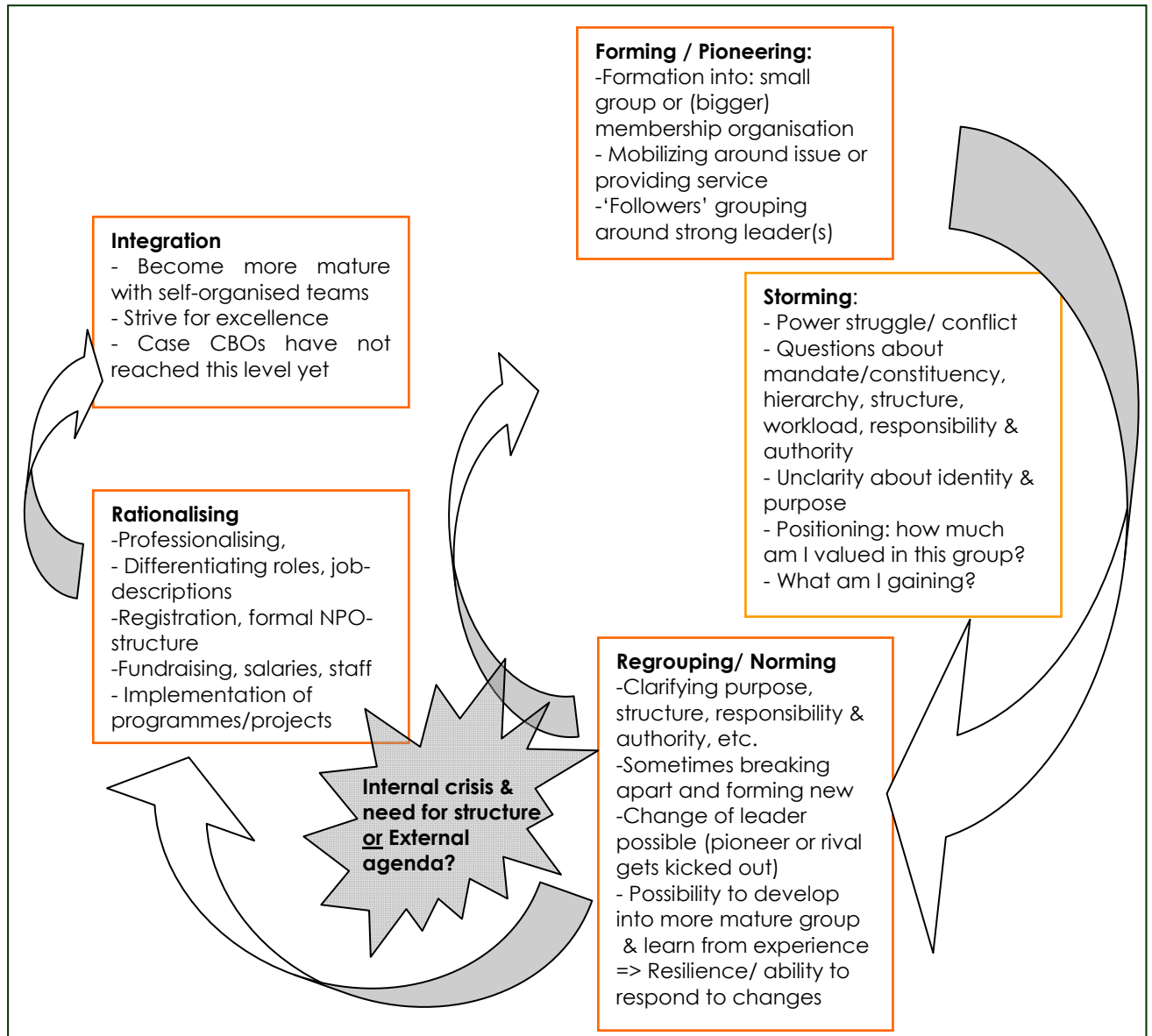=> Resilience/ ability to respond to changes

Figure 12: Phases of organisational & group development

9.1.4 **Levels of capacity**

The sections above have given an overview of CBO-capacity as it is described in the sector, as well as organisational/group development phases. The aim of this research process was to develop an OD approach for CBOs. Hence the focus was on the 'doing'. What became clear over time was that besides the doing, the 'seeing' was actually more relevant. What is called 'diagnosis' or 'gaining understanding' in OD processes had to be taken seriously. It became relevant to gain an understanding about CBOs, which – even if one cannot get to *one* general image or archetype due to the varieties – clearly looks different from more established organisations such as NGOs. There is a need for understanding better the different typologies of CBOs that one encounters in each context (see chapter 4.4; also: Galvin 2005: 13), as well as deeply connecting with each individual organisation in order to understand and 'see' its specific characteristics (without falling into the trap of categorising and boxing them right away based on some typologies). The process of seeing, if it is done collaboratively, may in return enable the CBO to better understand itself and its capacities.

Goethe's way of seeing, as described in chapter 3.3, enabled a deeper look at the case CBOs. And while initially, the OD processes followed a capacity development thread taken for granted in the sector, it shifted over time. Questions arose about whether CBOs were seen as deficient because they were not 'professional' like NGOs. What were the inherent strengths, which one may not be able to see because of the 'lens' in use? Was there a possibility of overriding and diminishing those strengths by forcing other capacities upon them?

While gaining understanding about the three case-CBOs and the capacity development approach used with them, particular capacities stood out as critical – either through their strong presence or absence. Those capacities seemed to play a role in the context CBOs operated in as well as internally in order to establish resilient organisations:

* **Leadership capacity**, or the capacity to lead and inspire the organisation's vision and identity; while remaining democratic, ethical and enabling collective leadership (see section 9.2);
* **Relational capacity** or the capacity to create open and empowering relationships within the CBO, with the community, as well as with other stakeholders in the development sector; while addressing power inequalities (see section 9.3).

Since there are other capacities relevant in CBOs as well, those are no attempt at providing a complete account of CBO-capacities. However, these capacities seemed to possess life and meaning during the OD processes with the case studies, and will therefore be more closely described in the following chapters.

9.2 Leadership, Vision and Identity

The following discussion of observations in the CBO-cases will examine the role of leadership from a complexity perspective as well as include cognitive aspects about the meaning of leadership in their particular contexts. It will highlight the role of pioneers; personal emotional 'baggage'; volunteerism; as well as purpose, vision and identity as drivers. The section will be discussed using mainly the case of CRA.

9.2.1 Pioneers

As mentioned in section 9.1.3, CBOs are mainly led by pioneers or leaders, who have been elected due to their proven leadership capacity in the community. "Leaders in the CBOs come from that community. They are elected, chosen by the community to perform a particular function and role. So they are created by that community. Their role is essentially to be the spokespersons of that community and to speak on its behalf. They are mandated and empowered to play that role; to echo the views of the community, to articulate the needs and aspirations of that community. That is the role of CBO leaders" (Interview F. Brown 17.05.06: 4).

In a complexity understanding, leaders have emerged out of dynamics and relationships in the community by choosing to take on responsibility for addressing issues of concern. According to Hosking (1997: 303) "leaders emerge in the course of interactions" involving "organising processes." They are usually not put into their position by being formally employed, but follow a personal calling. In all three cases, leaders had chosen to abandon their paid work outside the community in favour of becoming a (voluntary) community worker. Leadership emerges out of unjust or unhealthy conditions in the environment, the leaders' personal history and resulting choice to act upon injustices; and their acceptance as leaders through their constituency by organising around those leaders. Leaders emerge in "social processes of recognition", where the "leader is as much formed by the recognition of the group as he or she forms the group in his or her recognition of the others" (Griffin & Stacey 2005: 10).

While there is a close relationship between pioneer-leaders and the people they support, leadership is often understood as an individual position, in the sense that particular power is attached to the role, and community members will accept the role of followers, who will group around their leaders (unless there are others who want to take over the position). Hence, the general understanding of the people in the researched communities defined leadership as the elected position of individuals, who carry most of the burden and are expected to 'lead' others out of their misery. "At the moment the leadership role is very huge, because some of them are more than willing people that haven't got the skills. We have also got people that can't read and write. … You can call on them in the middle of the night if the struggle is on. … But just that leadership must also be there because … if the police come, or council or government come, they wouldn't know how to approach" (Interview Sophie 18.05.06: 5).

The authority and responsibility leaders carry is defined by Heifetz (1995: 57) as "conferred power to perform a service." In this sense, authority to lead is given to chosen leaders in exchange for what the community expects the leader to perform. Such authority can be taken away when leaders fail to deliver. Heifetz further argues that such conferring of power does not always happen consciously, where people are aware of their own power to confer authority to others; but can also take place in contexts where people feel disenfranchised and "take their powerlessness for granted" (ibid: 58-59). In such situations people may look for strong leaders to take the lead from the front, and not be aware of their own power which authorises them.

In the case of CRA, Sophie was the main person driving the vision and responsibility for putting it into action; and therefore was perceived as a strong leader. This had led to permanent

expectations from the organisation and community that she would be there to support and protect them. And since she operated from her home, she would be visited and called upon for support at any time of the day or night. While often acknowledging that she felt tired and exhausted (Interview Sophie 18.05.06: 4), she also represented strength and resilience. Since everyone relied on her, admitting weaknesses and asking for support would have proven difficult. While she was aware of potential burnout and emotional breakdown, it remained impossible to leave and disconnect, as much depended on her. In this sense, the concept of strong individuals leading others persisted in both leader and followers. While this leader was expected to be participatory, empowering and transformative (Malunga 2006; Bennis 1989 Burns 1978; see also chapter 2.6); people were less aware of their own 'empowerment' of the leader. It however stood out that democracy and representation played a big role within CRA, and a 'power monger' would soon have lost the support base.

According to Heifetz (1995: 65) people are more likely to confer authority and power to leaders in times of social distress, where leaders are expected to resolve the problems.
Sophie was expected to be the main driver of her organisation. She had proven to have the willpower and confidence to shift her reality, and others expected her to uphold this role in her community. Although her leadership would remain meaningless without the support of the organisational members, who – in her words – were always willing and supportive, she was expected to stand in front and relate to other institutions and organisations. Her strong capacity to engage with the local council from the days in which she was evicted onwards, gained her the trust that she would represent and fight for people's interest vis à vis other stakeholders (see 8.9.2).

Hosking (1997: 293) suggests a view of leadership as process rather than position or person; and further proposes leadership to be seen as organising activity. "Leaders are defined as those who 'consistently make effective contributions to social order, and who are expected and perceived to do so'" (Hosking & Morley 1985, in ibid: 301). Hosking (1997: 301) further argues that leaders may or may not be appointed, there may be more than one leader, and they can only be identified through leadership processes. While there were other leaders in CRA, who also played important parts, Sophie seemed to be the number one address where community members could expect support at any time. She was officially appointed as the secretary of the committee, but most of her organisation's members identified her as the main leader due to her contributions (see chapter 8.9.1). Her leadership was accepted by the community, not due to particular formal training or skills, but due to her proven ability to shift unwanted conditions. Her (and others') leadership encouraged the organising around issues, resulting in collective power to change their reality.

There seemed to be a contradiction between complaining about the lack of responsibility and commitment from other members, and the lack of a second layer of leadership; while inhibiting such leadership from emerging by holding on to one's role. Sophie was never an autocratic leader, and upheld principles of transparency and democracy as depicted by Malunga (2006; see chapter 2.6.4). However, she did not necessarily challenge others to step up and remained in her role of driving all activities. Hence, while complaining about being over-burdened, she may have inhibited shared leadership through her strong presence.

Hirschhorn (1997: 27) suggests, in postmodern organisations (and times) the modernist concept of a central, authoritative leader no longer holds. Instead, new relationships to authority must be built within organisations, supporting a "culture of openness"; where leaders must allow themselves to be more vulnerable and risk their apparent authority. Members need to learn to "lead as followers", by both overcoming their dependence on authority as well as their hostility to it. In the process of working with CRA, shared leadership was encouraged, which organisational members seemed to approve of and begin to implement (according to Sophie's statements; see chapter 8.8).

Also in Uxolo and Impiliso the coordinators carried most of the responsibility and there was an expectation of them to interface with other stakeholders, such as NGOs and donors, and have the skills to administrate and fundraise. And although Zola had not been the initial

pioneer (and the previous coordinator had remained in the organisation as a facilitator), he was nonetheless expected to play such a role. The capacity to relate or interface with other stakeholders shall be discussed further in section 9.3.3.

In Impiliso, leadership style was initially autocratic and undermined attempts of others to take on more responsibility and authority. It can, however, be argued that this authority was conferred to the coordinator by "habitual deference." "Many of us have been so conditioned to defer to authority that we do not realize the extent to which we are the source of an authority's power" (Heifetz 1995: 58). This remained a challenge until it was openly addressed in 2006.

In the South African context, only 13 years after Apartheid, leader-follower relationships may still be well entrenched in most of society as top down and hierarchical, and play themselves out in various structures. Hence, in a Foucauldian understanding, centralised and possibly autocratic leadership would be reinforced through both leaders and followers, by re-creating the discourses that condition them.
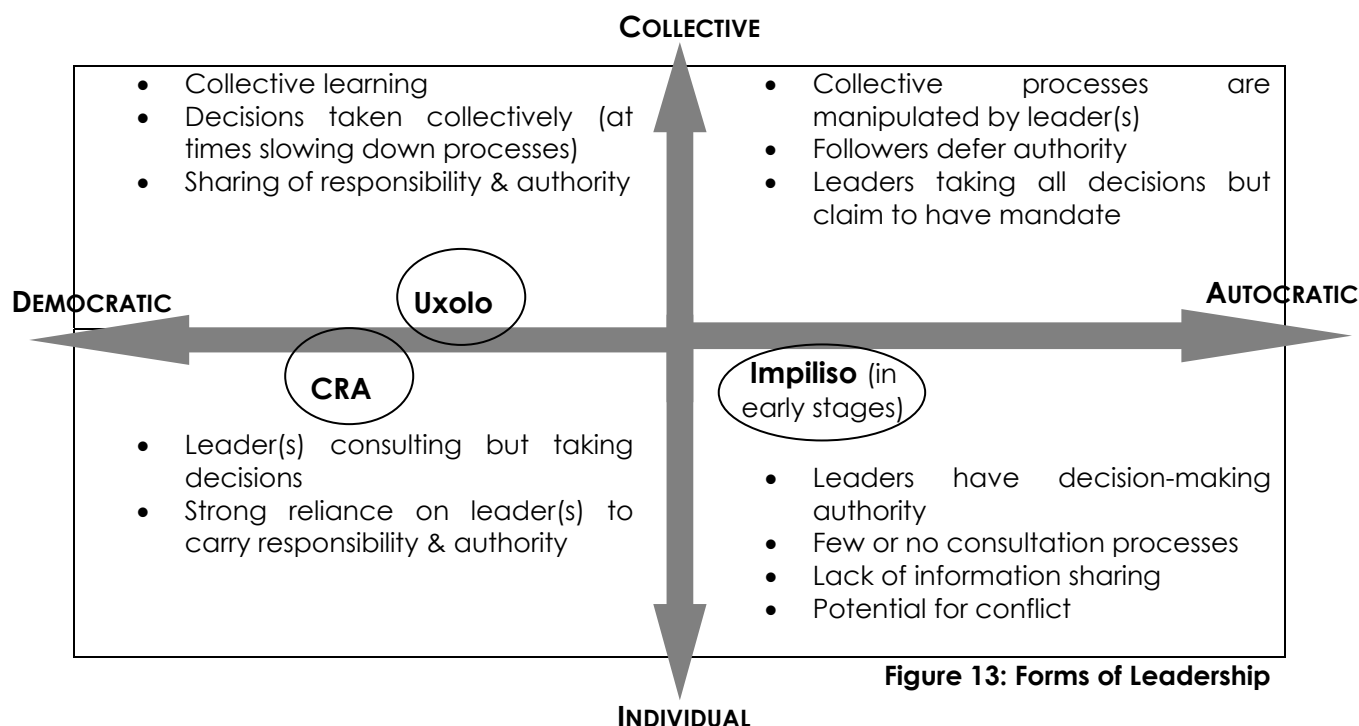
Hailey (2006: 32) argues that leadership development programmes also need to address the dark, "addictive" side of leadership, such as abuse of power and autocratic behaviour. In other CBOs Connections worked with, leaders could be manipulative, e.g. by using the CBO for their personal benefit. There was often little distinguishing between the self and the organisation, hence leaders may have assumed that organisational assets also belonged to them. Strong family links within the organisations, which proved to be a strength at the beginning, could also lead to unethical leadership; where relatives of CBO leaders became their management committee members, therefore lacking scrutiny of finances and proceedings. "CBOs depend mostly on dominant personalities within such CBOs … So if the dominant personality is an undemocratic personality, then the CBO is going to encounter a lot of problems. … The experience of asking people to give reports when they are coming from a practice of not giving reports, then it is not easy for them to understand the shift that they have to employ. … People will have problems with being challenged" (Interview T. Ncgozela 24.05.06: 7). Malunga (2006: 2) points to the possibly negative side of Ubuntu-leadership which, amongst other things, may lead to unquestioning loyalty towards leaders, leaders' assumption of being rulers for life, and corruption and accumulation of personal wealth due to fears of unpredictable futures. Figure 13 describes forms of leadership, looking at democratic vs. autocratic leadership in relation to collective vs. individual.

While in Impiliso leadership was initially very centralised and undemocratic, both Uxolo and CRA emphasised collective, democratic processes, while a strong reliance on the pioneers persisted. The OD processes tried to encourage collective and democratic leadership, where authority and responsibility would be distributed in the organisation, creating less dependency on pioneers.

Observations in Connections' training courses revealed that leaders of organisations at times resisted the fact that they themselves still needed to learn (from skills training) and would send field workers from their organisation to courses instead. Argyris (1991: 100) points out that managers and professionals often have a "learning disability", by not being open to self-reflective, double-loop learning due to their education and position. Similarly, the position of CBO leader might inhibit individuals from acknowledging the need to learn further. However, in all three case studies, the appointed leaders expressed their eagerness to learn and develop skills. Senge (1990: 360) emphasises the importance of learning on all levels by pointing out that "natural leaders of learning organisations … are the learners."

While one aspect of learning consists of skills development in training courses, the OD process mainly encouraged action learning through reflection. In Impiliso a self-reflective approach was initially resisted by the leaders due to their fear of being criticised by other staff, which also inhibited learning and a deeper understanding of the situation. In the same context, a culture of blaming could be observed, where individuals were not willing to take responsibility

for their situation, hence expecting others to change and rejecting a process of learning (see section 6.7).

COLLECTIVE

- Collective learning
- Decisions taken collectively (at times slowing down processes)
- Sharing of responsibility & authority

- Collective processes are manipulated by leader(s)
- Followers defer authority
- Leaders taking all decisions but claim to have mandate

DEMOCRATIC

AUTOCRATIC

Uxolo

CRA

Impiliso (in early stages)

- Leader(s) consulting but taking decisions
- Strong reliance on leader(s) to carry responsibility & authority

- Leaders have decision-making authority
- Few or no consultation processes
- Lack of information sharing
- Potential for conflict

Figure 13: Forms of Leadership

INDIVIDUAL

9.2.2 Personal history

Almost all CBOs Connections worked with were established due to personal experiences of the pioneer(s) and a triggering event. Hence personal emotional 'baggage' and passion constituted main drivers. "Because most of the leaders in CBOs went through a lot of things during the Apartheid era, and still now, and you will always see the leaders of CBOs are the people on the ground. … While the struggle is on you always find the people that know the struggle. That know what it is to go without a piece of bread, that know what it is to go sleep without food, that know what it is to be evicted, and things like that. People that are used to work for very little money. People that raise their voices. People who are not scared to speak the truth and their mind. People that really want to see things happen, to change things in the communities" (Interview Sophie 18.05.06: 4-5). In the Concerned Residents' case, Sophie was evicted several times herself, which made her start helping others in the same situation. "Personal experience of evictions drives many leaders to continue to work hard to protect and support neighbours and the community" (Oldfield & Stokke 2004: 16).

Cilliers (1998: 122) points out complex systems have histories: "The history of a complex system is not an objectively given state; it is a collection of traces distributed over the system, and is always open to multiple interpretations." In this sense, the multiple personal stories of individuals as well as collective experiences form the backdrop for sense making and organising activities. Gardner (1996: 14) analyses leadership through personal stories leaders convey: "They told stories – in so many words – about themselves and their groups, about where they were coming from and where they were headed, about what was to be feared, struggled against, and dreamed about." He further elaborates that such stories are dynamic over time, and that "audiences" need to identify with and make sense of those stories. Hence, he suggests a cognitive approach to understanding leadership, by examining the ideas or stories of the leader and how they are communicated and understood by her supporters (ibid: 15-16).

Personal stories can become shared stories, if they are closely related to supporters' own experiences. Such processes of relating and sense making of stories may form core aspects of leadership and organising activities, supporting the emergence of shared stories, which

community members chose to pursue. According to Hosking (1997: 301), leaders emerge in the process of negotiating social order through "acts which influence social constructions."

In a Foucauldian analysis, "discourses shape and precede the subjects" (Alvesson 1996: 99). This implies that the construction of social practices is in itself limited to historically shaped discourses which unconsciously influence and inform people's beliefs about themselves and the world. However, there is always potential for resistance against the power of such discourses (ibid). This was shown by CBO leaders who, despite coming from a past of oppression, took responsibility for changing situations in their communities instead of succumbing to them, such as fighting evictions in CRA's case.

In CRA, Sophie's personal story, her emotional 'baggage', provided strong energy for keeping the organisation running. It was her personal driving force, as much as it resonated in community members' own stories. What defined her as a leader was that she had not, like others in the past, succumbed to being evicted, but instead fought for her right to remain in her house. Her story of resistance, and every other that followed, therefore energised other community and organisational members to keep on fighting. In this sense, Sophie's story was not of a possibly manipulative leader, who may relate a story to convince others. Rather, in the context of CRA (and the other cases), the story made sense to other people and was intertwined with theirs, as those leaders have emerged out of their midst, and have experienced similar issues, which they began to shift.

Hosking (1997: 302) also emphasises the importance of values and interests in the group when investigating leadership contributions, as they "are implicated in participants' constructions of their pasts, presents and futures, along with understanding of cause-effect relationships, the conditions for acceptance or rejection of influence attempts, and distributions of resources." Hence, community members will choose to accept a leader's contribution, if it is congruent with their own sense making of their situation and in line with their values and interests. The story of the leader then becomes a collective story, which justifies the organisation's existence as it evolves over time. "Dialogue is the encounter between men, mediated by the world, in order to name the world" (Freire 1972: 61).

However, such stories also involved bad experiences, causing anger, frustration and other negative feelings. Although at times, the story may have served as personal therapy through experiencing the power of shifting negative conditions, other issues never got resolved and remained a source of frustration. Sophie expressed in her interview, that although CRA was tackling issues, those would re-emerge soon again, as they were not able to change the root cause of such: "What we do where poverty is concerned, it is just a drop in the ocean. Tomorrow it's again there" (Interview Sophie 18.05.06: 3). As a leader she has chosen to act upon injustices she has encountered personally; but in the process of dealing with those may never resolve the underlying issues. Although CRA is proud of its many successes, there is also a looming frustration and helplessness. Impiliso staff expressed a similar question in a workshop, relating to the increasing numbers of HIV-affected people: "Are we losing the battle?" (Report Impiliso June 05). Although those CBO leaders are still fighting for their story to have a happy ending, they may have actually lost the belief in it being realised. This may in turn inhibit any real chance in changing their reality, as a social constructionist perspective can be applied with both positive and negative feelings and experiences. In this way, unconscious actions can reproduce the situations one believes one cannot escape from. It can also lead to addressing problems by remedying symptoms only, and not working at a systemic, root cause level, as this requires the belief that change at that level can happen. Nonetheless, more systemic changes also require the attempt to analyse complex situations, which was not sufficiently done by the case CBOs.

While positive stories may have encouraged community members, there were also countless negative experiences forming part of the story. At times, there was a sense that mental models could disable people from moving beyond a particular threshold; and a resistance to change could be felt, although CBO-members would express they wanted it. CBO members may recreate realities they knew, because they did not believe that things could change. In this sense, poverty consciousness may hinder people in transgressing poverty, as they get

stuck in the current reality, feeling unable to hold the creative tension towards their vision (see also Senge 1990: 150-151; 157).

Being able to process personal emotions and frustrations requires emotional maturity, and may involve the ability to ask for and access help. Senge (1990: 143) emphasises the importance of emotional development as part of personal mastery. Staff of Impiliso and Uxolo would mention the need for counselling in order to cope with their work, but found it difficult to access such.

Addressing interpersonal issues in workshops also remained challenging for Impiliso's staff, and individuals would rather withdraw themselves and resist engagement than raising issues. This involved conflict as well as the fear of being challenged in one's leadership style (see section 6.3).

9.2.3 Vision, Purpose & Identity

Senge (1990: 345-346) describes how every leader he interviewed "perceived a deep story and sense of purpose behind his vision," … "a larger pattern of becoming that gives unique meaning to his personal aspirations and his hopes for their organisation." The "purpose story" becomes central to the leader's ability to lead. "But the stories are also incomplete. They are evolving … as a result of being told," while "the vision is a vehicle for advancing the larger story" (ibid: 351). Senge further adds: "In a learning organisation, leaders start by pursuing their own vision, but as they learn to listen carefully to others' visions they begin to see that their own personal vision is part of something larger" (ibid: 352). In this sense, shared visions are essential in learning organisations, uplifting people's aspirations, exhilarating and compelling courage naturally (ibid: 207-209).

Griffin & Stacey (2005: 4) argue that vision is not inspired by leaders only, but that people construct their futures in "complex responsive processes" of relating, where meaning is negotiated. In the process of collective sharing of histories and sense making, the vision and purpose of each case organisation was negotiated, moving beyond personal stories and giving justification to the organisation. In this way, collective experiences were used to give direction to a vision and mission, which people would work towards. "For me a CBO with capacity would be one that has a good understanding of its social purpose. One that is able to say: in this environment, these are the things we are trying to make a difference in" (Interview N. Dlamini, 19.07.06: 7).

Schein (1991: 314) emphasises that even an organisation's mission and goals are influenced by the organisational culture, which is constituted by underlying assumptions of its leaders and members about the world. In that sense, the process of vision and purpose development is cognitive and negotiated amongst different views.
 "We had this vision and put it on the table. I think this is the strength, this is 2006 now and we are still surviving" (Interview Nomandla 28.04.06: 4). Leaders of all three CBOs strongly identified with their organisation's vision and purpose, and often did not seem to have a life outside of their activities. Being a community worker meant living this purpose. At the same time all three cases also had the tendency to provide more and more services to the community; since many needs at community level were not being met by government and other stakeholders, those CBOs often felt obliged to step in and do something about it.

In the case of the CRA this had led to providing a bit of everything and generally playing an advisory role in the community. On the one hand, this has been particularly beneficial to the community and turned CRA into a well-known address for help. On the other hand this has also led to a complete overload of activities, and less ability to provide adequate support (see chapter 8.6).

The CRA operated from Sophie's home, who complained about community members knocking at her door even at midnight. And although the organisation's initial purpose was fighting evictions, it was also advocating for the provision of municipal services and housing;

facilitating youth development; running a soup kitchen; maintaining and cleaning the area; preventing crime; and Sophie was called whenever a midwife or an undertaker was needed. The organisation dealt with almost everything concerning community life, and had so far never raised any substantial funds besides food donations and small amounts for transport, etc (see chapter 8.2).

While it was admirable to see how much CRA could provide with limited resources, Sophie also always seemed to be close to burnout and frustration. Organisational literature suggests organisations need to specialise and develop a clear purpose and products. In the same sense, developmental programmes are expected to be specific, measurable, achievable, realistic and time-bound (SMART) (e.g. Novib 2004). However, the facilitator's attempts to assist CRA in defining core areas of work and refer community members to services of other stakeholders proved not to be workable. The ability to be there for the community in crisis situations could not be limited, as the organisation played particularly that role of being an address for all issues. The main change facilitated in this regard was supporting the development of shared leadership by dividing responsibilities and authority for their various activities. In that way it was attempted to relieve the burden on Sophie and enable a more sustainable structure.

Sophie mentioned in an interview, if the government was supportive of the work the organisation provided, so much more could be achieved (Interview Sophie 18.05.06: 3). Hence there was also a sense of having to do it alone, without much help from those with more resources and power. Chapter 9.3.3 will further examine relationships and interdependence.

9.2.4 Volunteerism

From the CBOs requesting support from Community Connections, many of the particularly committed and hard working CBOs were led by middle-aged women. Their commitment usually was less bound by resources or a salary, but dedication towards their community (although many did not have another breadwinner in the family). While these positions were less rewarding, there was still a sense of empowerment for women in leadership roles: "You know men used to think as a woman in an organisation you can be a secretary, just to write minutes and everything. To hell gone are those days!" (Interview N. Mankayi 24.05.06: 4).

Younger people, particularly young men, seemed to have more pressures towards income generation, and may have tried using a CBO as a springboard to move towards better employment (e.g. in an NGO). Many interviewees complained about the lack of volunteerism, particularly in young people: "With what I am doing, it is a generation thing. If there are no younger people involved in the programme, the older people are fading out. They are getting old, sick, they are dying. That means the programmes won't be there if there is no generation following up" (Interview T. Gcememe 16.05.06: 3-4).

All CBOs Connections worked with had received access to skills training to capacitate their members for the work the organisation aimed to do. However, most of those CBOs complained about members leaving the organisation after being trained, as the organisation was not able to provide a salary to maintain the person. Particularly groups of young people experienced a high turnover, which may have been a success for each individual moving through; but not for the CBO struggling to survive and maintain its activities. "People coming and going, that's the major weakness; to retain people and skills that we have developed. You send people to courses, but once the person has acquired skills then there is another opening for him or her somewhere else, maybe at Pick & Pay" (Interview T. Ncgozela 24.05.06: 7).

In a complexity view, elements in complex systems interact dynamically within as well as across system boundaries (Cilliers 1998: 119-122), and a 'cross-pollination' between neighbouring systems may strengthen the systems' resilience. However, since CBOs are perceived to be weaker systems in terms of material resources, many people strive to shift towards materially stronger organisations, i.e. NGOs or businesses; while CBOs are constantly

depleted. On the other hand, people from affluent backgrounds have been attracted to CBOs in order to support at a grassroots' level, but their commitment and availability may fluctuate (as in all three cases). This view may not explain behavioural decisions within CBOs, but point to the fluidity and instability of CBOs, as well as pull-factors in their environment which can weaken them internally.

Particularly in a neoliberal context in South Africa (and globally), there is little encouragement for and valuing of volunteerism, and sometimes community workers are simply perceived as not having found better employment. In an interview, community leader T. Gcememe (16.05.06: 2) points out that volunteerism has decreased in the last decade: "It is not easy today to say you organise volunteers. They feel like, what are they going to get. … The time is not as it used to be. … I think it is because of the economy. There is high unemployment, people have got families; people cannot just live without employment, because things are expensive."

In the case of CRA, Sophie had left her employment 18 years earlier to become a full-time community worker on a voluntary basis. Her commitment towards her community seemed limitless, and when filling in a funding application she stressed the importance of programme funding over salaries/stipends (see chapter 8.7). The members of her organisation were mostly middle-aged to elderly women (24) and fewer men (11) (Interview Sophie 16.01.07: 2), many of whom were illiterate. There was worry about the lack of youth interest in joining the organisation, and there was fear the organisation may die out with its members. Towards the end of our collaboration, one young man with computer and writing skills had joined the organisation. Much hope was placed on him to help the organisation with formal requirements.

Both Uxolo and Impiliso were slightly better off through being able to pay small salaries to their staff. Nonetheless Zola had been offered better paid work twice in the research period. Each time he considered leaving the organisation, he was pulled back by feelings of guilt that he may leave behind a gap. Moving on towards better employment remains a question of consciousness, as individuals may feel they are abandoning their community. Having been shaped in the Apartheid period, the service to one's community and sacrifice that comes with it remains a strong discourse which influences people's behaviour and equals resistance against it with treachery. On the other hand, a different (neoliberal) discourse of economic possibilities in a New South Africa presses for material wealth. Hence there is a contradiction between wanting to be respected by one's community for material status vs. the status one gains for sacrificing personal needs and serving the community. "I once left community development saying that I'm tired. I am doing a lot for people and there is nothing that I am gaining. And I think I went to work for Woolworth, but I couldn't finish six months. In the kind of work for the community, it's very demanding and people often don't appreciate what you are doing. People have got mistrust and sometimes you don't get enough support. If a person is capable of doing something for herself, for me it's much more paying than a salary. The person achieved something through your assistance" (Interview T. Gcememe 16.05.06: 5).

While the leader(s) may gain respect and authority from community and organisational members for their services, forming part of an exchange (Heifetz 1995: 57), in the CBO context this authority does usually not come with material benefits. Zohar and Marshall (2001, cited in Gill 2006: 41) emphasise servant leadership as an "ultimate source of meaning and value." The meaning of servant leadership, as explored by Zohar (1999: 146), includes leading from a "level of deep, revolutionary vision", which is accomplished "not just from 'doing', but more fundamentally, from 'being'." While servant leadership describes the deep vision and the sacrifices of CBO members and leaders for the benefit of their community, the term becomes skewed in a context of poverty, where people have acted as servants for generations. Here, the contradiction becomes clear, in which community members are not able to pay for the services offered from leaders they have authorised; while donors may choose other 'leaders' to be funded. This scenario raises questions about whether community work can remain a 'sacrifice', which fewer and fewer people seem to be willing to commit to in the long run, or

whether it could also be developed into a career pathway[79]. The lack of recognition of CBOs in the development sector, but also often within their own communities and families, proved to be a painful aspect for many CBO leaders, whose ability to sacrifice was being taken for granted at times. It often caused resentment and a lack of fulfilment from being a community worker/ activist. The following section will engage with relationships within CBOs, their community and the development sector.

9.3 Relationships

In complexity and systems theory, relationships play a more important role than the elements (nodes) of the system (Cilliers 1998: 119; see also chapter 2.1). Working with the case CBOs, the relevance of relationships as elements of capacity stood out strongly. The capacity to foster strong and healthy relationships was relevant within each CBO as well as within the broader environment. Griffin & Stacey (2005: 4) describe organisations as processes of human relating, through which people "cope with the complexity and uncertainty of organisational life". However, hierarchies of power rested within those relationships (Ibid: 120) which could manifest in the case CBOs in relationships between central, pioneering and sometimes autocratic leadership; and members who either conferred power to the leadership or resisted it based on feelings of lack of democracy and transparency. Externally the power issue surfaced in asymmetrical relationships between CBOs and bigger organisations or institutions which the CBOs depended on, like funders, NGOs and local government. The relationship between the CBO and the facilitator from Connections also needed to be given attention.
In the following section, relationships will be examined within CBOs, as well as with their close and broader environment, using complexity theory, as well as Foucault's theory of power. Uxolo will be mainly used as case example in this section.

9.3.1 Within CBOs

Relationships play a particularly important role within CBOs, especially since any work for the organisation is usually not remunerated, nor structured in clear ways. The relationships become the 'glue' keeping the organisation together and defining its way of operating. CBO members often have close relationships, and work together like a family, since they operate in a pioneering phase (see section 9.1.3), and there is a perception of shared values and identity.

Cilliers (1998: 120-122) points to a rich level of non-linear interactions in complex systems, including constant flows of energy and information to fight entropy. In this sense, rich relationships and communication (internally and externally) can increase the resilience of organisations: "For me the biggest challenge (in CBO capacity) is the relationships. If people get the relationships right, then some of the other things almost fall into place" (Interview M. Williams, 31.05.06: 4).

Uxolo presented a good example for healthy relationships within the CBO. The team worked closely together and was very supportive of each other. If one person was unable, another colleague could easily step in and facilitate a programme. Collective reflections enabled a culture of open feedback towards each other and good communication. It was mentioned how they experienced coming to the office (container) as synonymous to coming 'home' to one's chosen family, and members were able to share their personal stories, joys and pains with each other (see chapter 7.3). Entering such an organisation as a facilitator meant immediately being able to communicate openly, as there were no fundamental blockages or disturbances in the relationships. The organisation was open to learning and the staff shared relevant information amongst each other and the facilitator.

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[79] For example through accredited training in community development practice, see Sustainability Institute (www.sustainabilityinstitute.net);
Also: Government's efforts to employ Community Development Workers, which however often do not target existing community workers and activists.

CBOs able to maintain open communication and healthy relationships like Uxolo seemed more resilient and able to face crises than those with conflict (Impiliso). Hence, the financial crisis in Uxolo did not have much impact on good relationships of its members, nor did they consider closing down as a result. The difficult side of such close relationships may include the inability to disconnect or leave the organisation due to the strong identification with it and with serving the community (see section 9.2.4).

In chapter 2.5.4, Communities of Practice are described, depicting "human organisations as living social systems" (Capra 2002: 100). At a CBO level, the description of informal networks or CoP applies. Unlike larger, more formal organisations, CBOs are characterised by their dynamism, informality and fluidity. Collective negotiation of meaning, participation, identity and community, as well as a shared practice and learning (Wenger 1998: 52-121) are important characteristics within CBOs. In this sense, CBOs are more alive than probably many of their supporting NGOs and donors, especially if their interactions are rich and communication can flow freely. This points to the contradiction raised in section 9.1.1 regarding the attempt by capacity development NGOs and donors to help CBOs formalise and become more structured and controlled, while not realising that this may be an end to their "aliveness".

Wenger (1998: 61) describes the duality between participation (the active involvement in social enterprises) and reification (projecting meanings and perceiving them as existing, i.e. a mission statement). "But the power of reification – its succinctness, its portability, its potential physical persistence, its focussing effect – is also its danger" (ibid). If participation dominates the group, and little is reified, ambiguities and diverging assumptions might prevail. Too much reification may in return hinder further interactive negotiation based on shared experience (ibid: 65). An emphasis on formalising may therefore lead to 'frozen' organisational structures, leaving no space for its further evolvement.

Wenger (1998: 207-208) describes notions of power as interplay between identification with the group; and negotiability of meaning. Barton and Tusting (2005: 6) critique Wenger's notion of CoP, in that it does not sufficiently engage with theories of language, literacy, discourse and power. Hence, CoP have inherent dynamics that need to be understood in each context. CBOs, as examples of CoP, may have relationships of domination, or their interaction may not foster learning. A Foucauldian view would also criticise the notion of identity within organisations, as its negative side could include a coupling of identity with organisational results; manipulating people to embrace the economy of power while feeling positive about it (Alvesson 1996: 131).

While some CBOs maintained very good and supportive relationships, others suffered from conflict and power struggles, and people broke away as a result; as was the case in Impiliso. The organisation was initially caught in a pattern of domination and (passive) resistance, which played itself out through the relationship between the coordinator, project manager and other staff (see chapter 6.5). Although Connections was approached by Impiliso to support their strategy and resource mobilisation, in the process conflict management and communication proved to be of more importance to the organisation's well-being than strategy. And while a patronising leadership may have sparked the conflict, it was further increased by other staff not challenging the leadership style openly; leading to covert power-struggles and a culture of blaming, while at the same time reinforcing the power inequality. This confirms Foucault's notion of power resting within the system of relationships, and being transmitted by the ones who exert power as well as those who suffer from it (Foucault 1980, cited in Alvesson 1996: 96). Impiliso claimed to be democratic, but operated in an autocratic manner. The general acceptance of hierarchy prohibited the criticising of the leader, as 'subordinates' were scared to challenge (see chapter 6.6). The lack of information flow and knowledge about organisational matters, such as finances, further increased power inequalities (coupled with different educational backgrounds), as access to information and knowledge presents another form of power (Foucault, in Alvesson & Skoeldberg (2000: 227).

Further, the influence of the South African history may have enabled relationships of authority and domination, as well as caused resistances against such; repeating a historic struggle for freedom. On the organisational level, a history of misunderstandings, hurt feelings and bitterness over time made it increasingly unlikely for those relationships to heal.

And while collectivity and democracy were seen as crucial by the members of each CBO, there was still an expectation of (and resistance against) strong leaders (see section 9.2.1), implying a hierarchical order. Cilliers (1998: 120) explores the principle of asymmetrical relationships in complex systems, pointing to hierarchy; power and competition even in shallow structures (see also Cilliers 2000: 24-25). He suggests that "complex organisations work best with shallow structures", although those need to be rich, including levels of hierarchies and structure on all scales as well as "much interaction" (ibid: 26-27). Similarly, Capra (2002: 113) proposes that power relations need to shift from "domination and control to cooperation and partnerships" as "partnership – the tendency to associate, establish links, cooperate and maintain symbiotic relationships – is one of the hallmarks of life." Foucault (1984, in Alvesson 1996: 105) points out that "in human relations … power is always present: I mean the relationship in which one wishes to direct the behaviour of another." One needs to remain critical towards assumptions of partnerships as ever truly equal.

Hosking (1997: 310) states, "A major reason why participants gain power in a system of relationships is because others come to rely on them for contributions of this kind." In this sense, power – i.e. through knowledge or skills – can be either abused or used in a participatory way. In Impiliso, financial matters had been withheld from organisational members, and thus they remained powerless over those for a long period of time (see chapter 6.2). Capra (2002: 124) stresses the importance of transparency, information and collective empowerment; and points out that "Leaders who facilitate emergence use their own power to empower others."

The leader-follower relationship – whether autocratic or not – was reinforced from both sides in the three cases, as followers did not challenge it openly nor were they taking on more responsibility. The relationship between responsibility and authority was not always understood, and some individuals may have wanted more authority without taking the necessary responsibility. Heifetz (1995: 60-61) points out that "giving people power does not readily produce empowered and responsible citizens. Not only do people have to change their concepts of power and responsibility, they also have to give up the payoffs of deference…" For democracy to work, people have to first understand that "they are indeed the principals and that those upon whom they confer power are their agents."

South Africa's history of struggle against Apartheid further influenced understandings of organisations. In all three cases unity seemed important to all members. CRA most strongly existed in 'struggle mode' where speaking with 'one voice' and standing together was seen as being of utmost importance for the organisation and community; particularly with CRA being an activist organisation. This also relates to Malunga's (2006: 6; see chapter 2.6.4) Ubuntu-principle of "patriotism", where internal quarrels should never lead to divisions that outsiders could take advantage of.

While unity seemed relevant, it may have also silenced difference and disabled real, honest exchange of viewpoints. The need for 'one voice' could therefore become pretence against criticism. The normalisation of the value 'unity' may enable disciplinary power and control (Foucault 1974, in Alvesson 1996: 98). However, Sophie also stressed that disagreements and fights within the organisation existed, which they managed to resolve in a constructive way: "One of our strengths is that we have very close relationships, we stand together. … And we easily overcome our differences. And even if we have differences we agree when it's for the sake of the people" (Interview Sophie 18.05.06: 5). The need for unity and collectivity therefore became a means for constructive conflict resolution. Maintaining positive relationships was understood as crucial for achieving the organisation's purpose. In the absence of other resources or powers (such as finances), the power of collective action remains a core strength of CBOs.

CBOs are likely to operate towards a collectively identified goal. However, differences in power still influence the expression of goals and values. Heifetz (1995: 22-23) describes leadership work as "adaptive work" which "consists of the learning required to address conflicts in the values people hold, or diminish the gap between the values people stand for and the realities they face. ... The exposure and orchestration of conflict – internal contradictions – within individuals and constituencies provide the leverage for mobilizing people to learn in new ways." In this way, meaning making of the world and the values in an organisation can become a negotiated process, which does not deny conflict and contradictions. Hosking (1997: 299) describes organising activities as "political decision-making in which, to some significant degree, participants negotiate relationships, definitions of social order, and distributions of resources".

"Foucault focuses on discourses which increasingly limit, define and normalise the motives and meanings which 'are available in specific sites for making sensible and accountable that which people should do, can do and thus do'" (Clegg 1989, cited in Alvesson 1996: 98). Foucault further maintains that discourses, which are dominating, historically generated ideas, precede and shape the subject and not vice versa (Alvesson 1996: 99/103). Any negotiation between individuals in CBOs therefore needs to be viewed within their particular context and framework of discourses, which determine the value system and construction of meaning. This also relates to the next section, where community relationships are described.

9.3.2 Relationships in the community

Cilliers (2000: 25) points out that "complex organisations are open systems" where boundaries are not clearly defined. He further notes that "A vital organisation interacts with the environment and other organisations" and cannot be understood independently of its context. Situated within the neighbourhoods and social relations they serve, CBOs are naturally connected to their closer environment. However, the degree of embeddedness in the communities and richness of interaction varies; and some CBOs are criticised for not truly representing or serving the interests of their constituencies. Ndlovu (2004: 42) points out that "most CBOs are not accountable to the community at large, they are accountable to their own constituency – the members who are mainly volunteers who participate in the activities of the organisation and who contribute their time and effort and in some cases even donate money and resources. The CBOs are thus accountable to their constituencies as well as to the recipients and beneficiaries of their services."

Uxolo was particularly embedded in its community, in the sense that it was well-known as well as respected for its work. People in the township would come to the houses of Uxolo staff, even at night or during holidays to ask for support, knowing they would not be turned away. Good connections to the health forum, clinic as well as traditional healers proved Uxolo's connectedness on many levels (see chapter 7.8). Such relationships made it difficult to disconnect at times and burdened the organisational members with more responsibility, yet they also were the justification for its existence, and therefore became an obligation. Uxolo managed to be accountable to its community through its services and availability at all times. "CBOs are very accessible to everyone, where they are at the doorstep; everyone can get to them. And also they are trustworthy, which I believe, that there is confidentiality and trust between you and the community. Because the community knows you and you know the community; and it is an advantage of working with those people that are in the same community. And responsible and accountable to your own community, because you know if you are not doing x-y-z people are dying. If you are not doing home visits there is someone who is crying out for help" (Interview Zola 2.06.06: 2).

Also for CRA and Impiliso community-embeddedness was crucial. CRA had become a main support structure for all community members; while Impiliso mainly connected to the community of HIV- & AIDS-affected people. Through its more formal structure with office space and hours, Impiliso's staff was more able to separate work and private life. The other two organisations were regularly visited at home by community members and were expected to have no private life.

This identification helped CBO-members to remain attached to their CBO over long periods, like in the case of Sophie in CRA. The other side of this also meant an inability to disconnect or draw boundaries, which could lead to moments of exhaustion (see section 9.2.4).

Ndlovu (2004: 47) points out that, while NGOs can disengage from communities they work with, CBOs are viewed by community members "with a sense of entitlement", causing community members to be "disgruntled" with the CBO if they try to disconnect; as well as be critical and cynical about their work.

In a Foucauldian sense: the self-consciousness of being a community worker who is expected to sacrifice her own interest "becomes a constraining force tying subjects to their (our) own identities" (Knights & Wilmott 1989, in Alvesson 1996: 99). Resistance to such a relationship by trying to leave the organisation would therefore bring into question one's own identity as a person. It seemed the organisation, as well as community, often was not experienced as a separate entity, but as a part of oneself. In this sense, each individual formed part of a complex (open) system, where a large number of elements interact dynamically (Cilliers 1998: 119-122). Boundaries were fluid, as each individual was embedded not only within her organisation but also her community.

One of the strengths of CBO leaders is their ability to respond to problems and crises in their community, as well as their access to a network of people and organisations that can be drawn on for help. According to a study conducted in four countries in Southern Africa around community philanthropy, in South Africa non-family actors were most prominent givers and receivers of help (38%), with informal associations following second (35%) (Wilkinson-Maposa et al 2005: 64), which includes CBOs. Maintaining this ability, and therefore remaining in a role of community networker, is closely linked to the organisation's (and specifically their leader's) acceptance by the community as their chosen support structure. In other words, once CRA does not have the time to help a community member who is being evicted, the organisation's support- (and power-) base will wither. The organisation's embeddedness, i.e. its community networks and knowledge, is its strength and a core capacity. The expected formalisation (and time required for formal procedures) may lead to a disconnection from the community – and hence bring into question its reason for existence. Embeddedness becomes a necessity or an obligation for an organisation to keep its mandate and constituency, which in turn can lead to collaboration as well as competition between different leaders and networks. The study mentioned above found that in South Africa, giving help was more often seen as an act of duty than of choice (with 60%) (ibid: 70).

Wenger (1998: 103) points out that CoP form boundaries, while remaining connected to their context: "Joining a community of practice involves entering not only its internal configuration but also its relations with the rest of the world." He describes how participation and reification (see section 9.3.1) can both create boundaries from, as well as connections to the outside world. A member can participate in more than one CoP and create forms of continuity between them; and the process of reification can enter different CoP (ibid: 104-105). In CBOs, boundaries are particularly porous, as reification often remains on the level of a relatively flexible purpose. The organisation maintains a strong ability to remain fluid and respond to crises as they arise, but may also battle to change its situation in the community in a more sustainable manner. 'Crisis mode' can therefore become a trap, in which the role of CBOs remains reactive, and hampers more developmental or rights-based strategies in order to address the root causes of problems.

Beyond the immediate community, CBOs are also part of the development sector as a larger complex system of which they form part. The following section will discuss those relationships.

9.3.3 Relationships in the development sector

Another capacity of CBOs is their ability to interface and establish relationships with other stakeholders. Seeing that resources are scarce, many CBOs manage to establish and link into

networks, which strengthens their ability to provide services and connect beneficiaries to services of other providers. In a sense, this kind of networking could lead to real strong communities of organisations, who collaborate rather than compete, and share available resources. In reality, there is still competition for resources and CBOs mainly link to those who are beneficial to them. However, a general understanding persists that networking strengthens the organisation. "We are networking with other organisations. They are supporting us because we can do referrals; because we know who is doing what and where they are" (Interview Nomandla 28.04.06: 3).

Hosking (1997: 308) describes networking as "major organising activity", helping "participants (a) to build up their knowledge bases and other resources; (b) to come to understand the processes through which they can promote their values and interests, and (c) to translate their understanding into action." Networking facilitates social learning and helps to influence the choices and interpretations (social constructions) within the organisation as well as of outsiders (ibid: 309). Some CBOs also share skills needed in the sector, and therefore capacitate each other: "We do help small groups in terms of how to go about registering as NPOs, writing a constitution, and also help them how to manage. All the basic steps for them to be registered and have bank accounts if they need them. We do help and we don't charge" (Interview K. Mbatha 24.06.06: 2).

Uxolo was able to link to other CBOs and NGOs in the area providing similar services through the health forum and other networks or institutions (e.g. the clinic). They were also connected to NGOs who provided services to CBOs or acted as umbrella bodies for particular sectors (CWD, CDRA, Connections). Uxolo was one of the few CBOs of Connections' client base having been able to access donor funding; and having a skilled fundraiser supporting them on a voluntary basis. When reviewing their history at the beginning of the relationship with Connections, Uxolo staff pointed out shifts in their development through their relationships with CWD and CDRA, as well as their fundraiser. They felt they could accelerate as an organisation through the help they received, i.e. in order to develop programmes, manage finances, etc. (Report Impiliso May 05).

However, a dependency relationship prevailed in the NGO-CBO context: "From our experience now, between your CBO and your NGO, we see it as a question of rich and poor. The NGO will access the funding; … The CBO is actually the person who does the work at grassroots level, but the CBO doesn't get the recognition or the funding" (Interview Focus group 12.03.06: 10). Furthermore, even the capacity development relationship may create more dependency rather than eliminating it: "I find it problematic that NGOs would be seen as helping CBOs, to grow to the same level as they are. My experience tells me that to a certain extent you would then end up depending on that NGO. ... Which for me is a bit of a problem because you would sort of operate as a paralysed organisation; you would not be able to think independently or act independently because you have this NGO which shelters you as a CBO and you fall underneath" (ibid: 11/ see also chapter 4.3.3).

CBOs who play a role which forms part of government's responsibility, are more likely to get support, e.g. through government's efforts to outsource home-based care to community organisations. But they need to be capable of complying with government's regulations (Interview M. Williams 31.05.06: 2). However, Uxolo's relationship-building efforts with local government proceeded rather slowly, although in 2006 they managed to source funds for the elderly programme. They also initiated a relationship with the Department of Social Development from local government, and were promised a small amount of funding to implement a home-based care programme for people affected by HIV and AIDS. However, the requirements for managing the fund seemed impossible to meet (see chapter 7.10).

CRA, as an activist CBO, had an ambiguous relationship with government authorities, as they challenged the very same. While CRA was one of the successful organisations in balancing confrontation and engagement, activists from other communities feared that organising against government policy could be understood by local leaders as anti-ANC and therefore "radical and disruptive." Opposing government policy on housing or water issues could be

seen as opposing the government, and "government policy is read as African National Congress (ANC) policy" (Oldfield & Stokke 2004: 13-14).

Affiliation with or opposition to (political) authorities, can provide CBOs with resources, or leave them marginalised: "While political engagement may grant access to material resources for community development, it may also undermine the legitimacy of the movement as an independent representative of struggling people. On the other hand, community mobilisation may empower the movement in dealing with state institutions, but may also lead to branding, as disruptive forces are made into a target for state repression" (ibid: 31).

Favouritism by state officials and councillors was often raised (e.g. Interview Focus group 12.03.06: 10). Several CBO-members who were interviewed even feared their ideas and proposals could get hijacked by government officials: "I know each and every department of the government has some money on the side for the projects like we have, but the problem we are going to have when we produce our things, ... the next thing you see is the same project you are doing is happening in another corner with another name. The government person tells someone at grassroots level, you can run that project" (Interview focus group 13.03.06: 9). In their interpretation this happened because they were not part of the leading party. Similarly, CBOs in Mpumalanga, Gauteng and Kwazulu-Natal reported provincial and local government institutions channelling funding to CBOs closely related to the dominant political party in the province or municipality; and that levels of corruption were high (Ndlovu 2004: 50).

Unfortunately, power relationships in the development sector are neither equal nor fair. Swilling (2006: 9) points out that "welfarist and economistic development paradigms both regard the poor as objects of development rather than subjects of their own development. Both, however, ignore power relations and, in particular, how power relations are interpreted in daily life via the language, images and symbolisms of complex urban cultures."

Fukuda-Parr 2002: 10-11) raises issues regarding the dynamics of donor-recipient relationships in capacity development. Relationships "have tended to be more asymmetric, discontinuous and distorted. In reality, development institutions operate as bureaucracies of different size and complexity that exert power and domination." This asymmetry is clearly linked to the fact that finances are provided by the donor, with all parties aware of the dynamic, "but the old model of technical cooperation conveniently wishes this away and ignores the fact that this can be an obstacle to building partnerships."

Harriss (2002: 12) stresses that the emphasis on social capital and civil society from agencies like the World Bank has in fact been used as a "weapon in the 'anti-politics machine'." While programmes support civil society organisations and their capacity, they may ultimately "have the effect of depoliticising and disarming popular struggles for a more just distribution of resources and opportunities" (ibid: 13). Local organisations may in the end be used to "deliver projects" in a participatory way, while not being democratically representative or democratically accountable to their constituencies. Harriss describes the "possibility of a kind of democracy through popular 'participation', but without the inconveniences of contestational politics and the conflicts of values and ideas which are a necessary part of democratic politics" (ibid: 7-8; see also chapters 2.2.2 & 2.3.2).

Funders of Uxolo and Impiliso often felt free to influence the activities of the CBOs as well as dictate their capacity development needs. In Uxolo, the relationship with Connections began in an environment of insecurity due to the directiveness of their donor. For Impiliso the funder provided an interim management committee, which was involved in decision making for internal processes. This might have helped the organisation substantially in their professionalising efforts, but yet decreased their autonomy.

Similarly, NGOs are generally the stronger member in a CBO-NGO-partnership. In many cases, donors and umbrella-body NGOs have established dependency relationships with CBOs, to

then guide them towards 'autonomy'. This contradictory relationship shows the ignorance of many donors towards their active disempowering in the first place, by setting the terms of the relationship. At the same time many CBOs support this dependency through passivity; expecting to become 'empowered' by the more powerful.

Differences in remuneration or funding allocation also emphasise the power inequality. There seems to be a general assumption that community workers (from CBOs) are by nature volunteers or work on a low stipend (see section 9.2.4).

The CBO cases were the weaker partner in the relationships with donors, local government and NGOs, and struggled to fulfil requirements while not daring to criticise the system as not workable. If they wanted funding, they had to stick to the rules of the game (Foucault 1984, cited in Alvesson 1996: 100), as others did. "Without the assistance of the government, it is going to be difficult for the CBOs; the government has to come to the ground level. And also I feel that when I'm looking at the government, their criteria of CBOs to get to them is still difficult. They don't meet the ground level. They are still using those big bombastic words, whereby the people on the ground, they don't understand those words. So they have to change their system" (Interview Nomandla 28.04.06: 3).

Maintaining their identity while succumbing to the more powerful became an issue. While the three case studies managed to maintain their identity to a large extent, and their purpose seemed to be mainly informed by their constituency, other CBOs Connections worked with changed their programmes and structure for the sake of funding from partnerships with NGOs. In many NGO-CBO 'partnerships', CBOs may remain the "cheap implementation agency for programmes, which finance NGOs while giving them grassroots credibility. And while CBO members question why they only get a fraction of the budget for the work done, they remain in a dependency situation" (Yachkaschi 2006: 1-2).

Relationships remain dependent towards NGOs, donors and even the facilitator (see 9.3.4 below). If CBO capacities were acknowledged by those currently holding the power, more interdependent relationships could be fostered. Fowler (2000b: 26) points out that although it might be comfortable for both the NGDO[80] and CBO to remain in a dependency or "parent-child relationship", real empowerment "must mean CBO freedom from and assertion towards the NGDO…". CBOs need to become autonomous over time in order to be sustainable.

This points to the issues raised in section 9.1.1: although many CBO leaders have the needed capacity to work towards community empowerment and development, they may look incompetent and uneducated when confronted with formal sector requirements. Through their formal knowledge other, more established organisations and donors hold power in the development sector (see Foucault 1980, in Alvesson 1996: 100).

Similarly, the ability to interface or capacity to relate with more powerful stakeholders (in the sense of power over resources) becomes more and more a crucial capacity to CBOs. Wright-Revolledo (2007: 22) points out that if the capacity development process is geared towards civil-society strengthening, "CBOs need to be able to influence decision-making agencies that are external to them." It may thus be more important to strengthen their sense of identity and confidence to interface with more powerful stakeholders, than developing capacity to comply with impossible demands. "And when they are engaging with a business or government they are supposed not to be afraid or shy. They are supposed to assert themselves" (Interview T. Ncgozela 24.05.06: 6).

The ability to negotiate with decision-makers and express the organisation's views and needs therefore are capacities often not given enough attention. Instead of complying with demands, CBO members should learn to engage critically with donors, NGOs and local government. This is however a difficult task as long as power relationships are un-equal, and CBOs remain seen as deficient.

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[80] Non-governmental development organisation

9.3.4 Relationship with the facilitator

In the context of relationships, the power and responsibility of the facilitator supporting a CBO should not be minimised. "It's about people, how we get people to understand what more there is they can do. In a way that in itself is paternalistic … because it is such a powerful position to be in. How do you balance that? Where do you actually facilitate more than push and direct?" (Interview M. Williams 31.05.06: 1).

As observed in all three cases studies, the facilitator was expected to guide the process to a large extent. Requests about what was needed varied, but often were minimal, leaving the responsibility to the facilitator to create a process. Often, the interpretations of the facilitator diverged from the CBO's, e.g. in the case of Impiliso by seeing leadership style and relationships as a source of problems rather than funding. Impiliso usually asked for strategic planning. In the process over time, less and less of what had been asked for was provided directly, and activities like dialogue work were added.

While it is usually part of the 'change agent's' responsibility to diagnose and design processes, in the situation of working with a CBO power is usually more unbalanced than in a relationship with a more established organisation. If CBOs felt overpowered by other 'partners' in the development sector, they may also feel less powerful towards an external facilitator from an NGO. This can partly have to do with the lack of formal education and language skills, and therefore feeling one cannot argue with an educated facilitator. It could also be due to the fact that CBOs paid reduced or no fees for the services and felt they needed to accept what they were being offered.

In the case of Uxolo, there was initially even fear of the facilitator, due to the partly imposed relationship through their donor (see chapter 7.1). The power relationship between the facilitator and the CBO was already 'loaded' through power inequalities with the donor. In this sense, the facilitator became an extension of donor interests, as she also fell into the trap of wanting to support Uxolo in becoming more 'professional' in order to remain 'fundable'. A similar dynamic played itself out in CRA regarding their fundraiser who initiated the relationship (see chapter 8.1); and in Impiliso when the donor demanded that governance systems be included (see chapter 6.5).

While a facilitator may have the benefit of being part of neither CBO nor donor organisation, she becomes part of their complex system of relationships, and may be swayed by internal dynamics as a result. In all three case studies it was mentioned in the after-thoughts (see chapters 6.11.4; 7.11.4; 8.9.3), that the facilitator failed to challenge power dynamics in the system, and therefore subconsciously contributed to those. This was the case for internal conflict based on power-dynamics as well as forces placed upon the CBO from their (current or potential) donors. The facilitator had not completely understood herself as an element of the system, and reinforced the system through her inability to change or question what was placed before her.

Fukuda-Parr (2002: 11) points out that consultants in the aid industry are unlikely to "rock the boat", even if "they may vociferously lament the inadequacies of both donor and government paymasters … they have little incentive to criticise the basic system. If they do, they will soon be replaced by more compliant staff." In this case 'rocking the boat' may have also had implications for CBOs and their donor relationships.

Kaplan (2005: 329) describes how the "coming-into-being of the aid industry" needs to be understood through our own relationship with it. While development practitioners (at a CDRA OD event) tended to see the development sector as the "system … out there", the session enabled an understanding of the living phenomenon and the intention informing it (ibid: 327). Kaplan suggests that "when we are more conscious, we are better able to resist compromise. When we know what we are about, when we are alive to the wisdom or intention that is carrying us, when we make that conscious, we are able to practice 'developmentally',

which we now understand as a practice which is in the service of consciousness itself" (ibid: 329).

9.4 Summary

Chapter 9 described contradictions in the development sector, where CBOs – although declared as central to development interventions and poverty eradication – are expected to comply with demands that can become counterproductive to both development and rights-based work. The need to source material resources has forced many CBOs to change the way they operate in order to be accepted by donor organisations or potential partners. This has in turn led to an artificial development towards a more differentiated way of organising, which may not correspond to each organisation's internal development needs. The organisational culture and phases of development were therefore explored as a means of enabling a more authentic development of CBOs.

The concept of CBO-capacity should be engaged with through a closer understanding of existing CBO capacities; as well as deeper engagement with each individual CBO, e.g. through the Goethean approach. In this way, CBO capacities can be strengthened and supported through development practitioners and other actors in the development sector; and real development needs addressed according to each CBO's phases of development.

The chapter further proposed more engagement with two sets of capacities, which were observed in the case studies and other CBOs the research engaged with: leadership capacity and the capacity to relate.

Leadership capacity in the case CBOs was expressed through strong pioneers, who were the main driving forces of the CBOs, but could also tend to be dominating the organisations. This raised questions about ethical and collective leadership styles. The leaders' personal history, and their sense making of their circumstances with the members of their organisations, provided the collective story, which gave rise to the vision and identity of the organisations. Volunteerism played an important part in CBOs, which was described as strength, but also a threat for leaders and members being relied upon to a degree of burnout and depletion in a context of material poverty.

Relationships and networking formed a core capacity of CBOs, and the knowledge of network connections often were their leaders' main strength. Hence, relationships were examined from a complexity perspective, specifically looking at relationships within CBOs, between CBOs and their communities, as well as with the broader development context. Here, power asymmetries needed particular attention. This also included the relationship with the OD facilitator/ researcher of this study.

From the experiences of this study, supporting the development of ethical, collective leadership as well as constructive relationships and networks, and the capacity to interface with more powerful stakeholders may form important capacity development areas. In this context, power and politics in the sector, and the resulting dependency of CBOs, need to be made more visible in order to work towards a more conscious approach which acknowledges interdependence.

Chapter 10 will provide more specific principles and suggestions of how to work with CBOs as an OD facilitator.
Figure 14 describes the interconnectedness of CBOs with their communities and the development sector within the historical context in South Africa.

Historical context

Poverty

Apartheid legacy & transitional country

Developmental state (RDP, GEAR, AsgiSA)

Neoliberal policies

HIV & AIDS

Low Education levels

Violence & crime

Race, class & gender inequalities

Development sector

NGOs, donors & local government

Material resources

Volunteer s

Relationships & networks

Dependency

Power

Information

Access & marginalisation

Collaboration

Recognition

Community

Volunteers & supporters

Beneficiaries

Mandate & accountability

Relationships & networks (CoP)

Other CBOs

Power

Politics & favouritism

CBO
Leadership
Relationships
Hierarchies
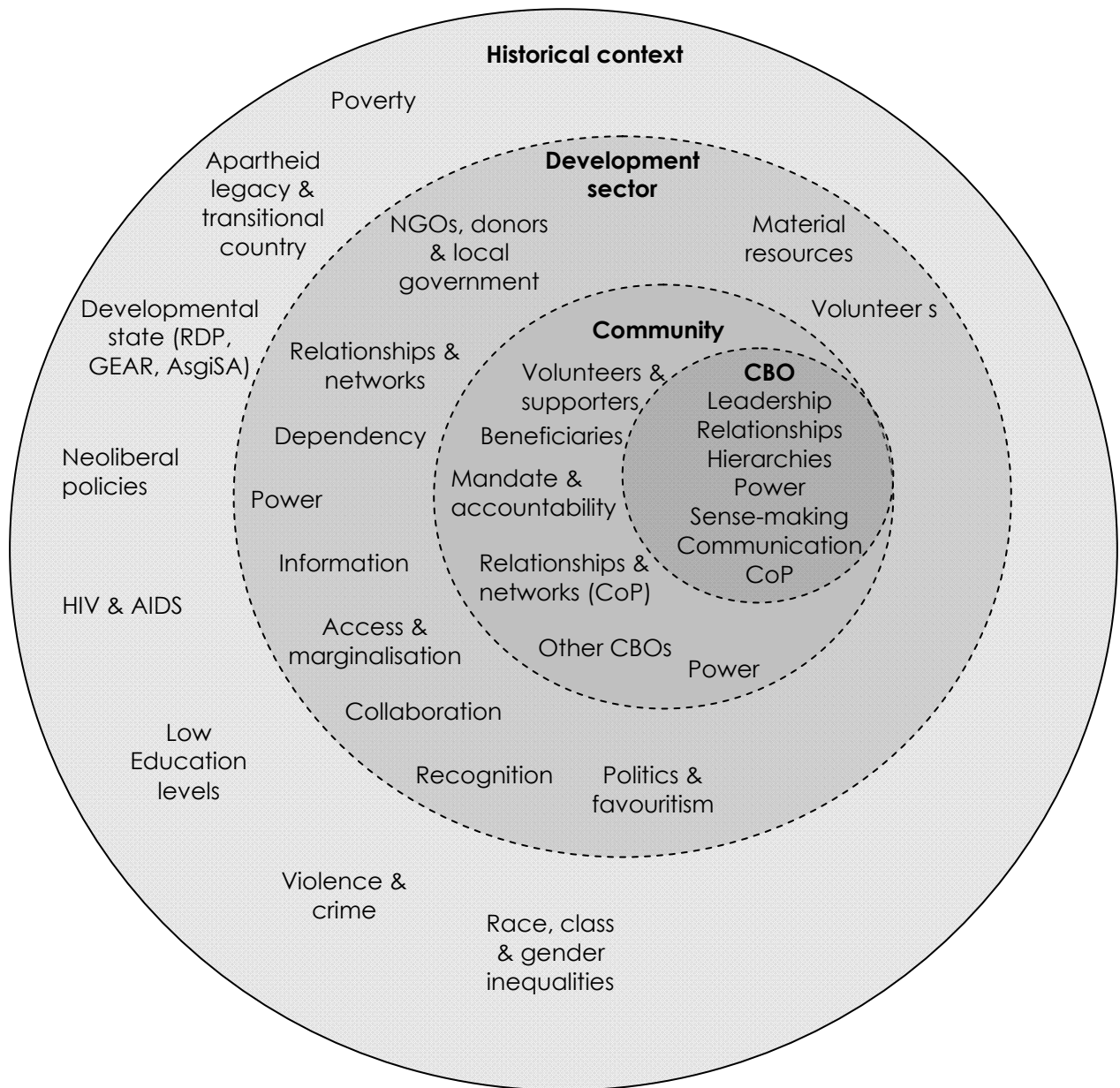Power
Sense-making
Communication
CoP

Figure 14: CBO-Relationships & interconnectedness within the historical context

10

"If we are serious about 'people-centred development', a development approach which genuinely works from the bottom up, which ensures that people themselves are not only at the centre of development efforts but are also encouraged to take responsibility for their own development, then the facilitation of the building of the institutions of civil society becomes the true realm of the development practitioner."

Alan Kaplan (1996: 61)

10 Organisational Development

In the following chapter, principles for CBO-capacity development through OD are presented, which result from the descriptions of capacities in chapter 9, as well as Action Research experiences with CBOs using OD as an approach (chapters 6-8).

While working with the OD approach, limitations and questions arose constantly, which prove that in order to address the CBO-situation in a meaningful way, OD cannot be applied in the same way as with more established NGOs. Some examples for questions are:

* How can one raise interest in OD, when it is not widely known to CBOs?
* How can OD be simplified without losing an understanding of the complexities involved?
* How can one raise awareness about deeper levels of capacity if an organisation mainly seeks support to address a financial crisis, e.g. by requesting fund-raising training?
* How can one shift the paradigm and work developmentally, if the CBO-clients are used to 'receiving' and dependency?
* And how can one shift power imbalances and foster interdependence with partners (NGOs, local government, funders), many of which have so far not encouraged a truly developmental approach?
  (Yachkaschi 2005: 14-15)

The following sections aim to engage with the questions, and also provide suggestions and principles of how to work with CBOs through an OD approach. Impiliso will mainly be used as an example.

10.1 Is OD suitable at CBO level?

Before discussing the OD approach and in what ways it is understood to be suitable and beneficial at CBO level, the question needs to be raised whether it is at all a suitable approach for CBO development. During the case study processes, the approach has been further developed through Action Research reflections. Hence, while each process seemed to have beneficial aspects for the respective CBO[81] (according to their own evaluations and ongoing feedback; see chapters 6-8), the overall approach may have shifted from OD towards a more flexible fieldwork/ Action Learning approach (see below). However, according to OD definitions as listed in chapter 2.5.2, the approach used with CBOs could still be understood as OD, since it is defined as:

* "...the strengthening of those human processes in organisations which improve the functioning of the organic system so as to achieve its objectives" (Lippitt 1969, cited in French et al. 1989: 6);
* "... a long-range effort to improve an organisation's problem-solving and renewal processes, particularly through a more effective and collaborative management of organisation culture – with special emphasis on the culture of formal work teams – with the assistance of a change agent, or catalyst, and the use of the theory and technology of applied behavioural science, including action research" (French & Bell 1978, cited in ibid: 7);
* "the facilitation of an organisation's capacity to self-reflect, self-regulate, and take control of its own processes of improvement and learning" (Kaplan 1996:89).

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[81] Regarding Connections' impact, it will be safest to only claim impact on changes observed that are directly related to the work done, even if secondary impacts may have resulted from the work as well. Generally, one can not claim sole responsibility for any impact, as a combination of various sources has probably supported any changes that occurred.

Similarly, the core characteristics of OD processes were upheld, such as (1) collective awareness of problem(s) and the need for change within the organisation, (2) an OD consultant as a 'change agent' through process consultation and/or action research, (3) participation of all affected members of the organisation, (4) clarification of issues regarding content and relationships/communication, (5) experiential learning through direct confrontation with colleagues and working through issues, (6) process orientated actions towards the intended change – the goal and the path towards it become equally important, (7) systems thinking – individuals, organisation, environment and time and their interdependence have to be viewed holistically (Becker and Langosch 2002: 22; see 2.5.2).

In a broader sense the processes can be termed OD interventions, which were purposefully facilitated in a people-centred way, encouraging collective learning and decision making. A prescriptive approach, where the consultant is seen as expert, was consciously avoided as much as possible (which is in line with current OD approaches; e.g. Schein 1988: 7). The ultimate aim of the interventions was geared to supporting development and growth at organisational, not just individual or programme, level.

It was, however, not easy to raise CBO-interest in the OD approach, as it was not common and many CBO members subsequently called it "OD-training". Whereas within more advantaged organisations, OD is better known and OD facilitators are often used for various processes, it is new in disadvantaged communities. This may be one of the reasons that requests for OD support initially started slowly after Connections began offering it. Impiliso was familiar with it to a level of strategic planning, as Connections had facilitated such processes before; Uxolo had action-learning experience through the work with the CDRA. CRA members were rather acquainted with training of individuals, and OD support was suggested by Connections' facilitator based on their initial request for capacity building. It will probably require more time and success stories before OD becomes better known in the CBO sector and more proactively requested.

While the approach seemed useful to some CBOs, this may not be the case for each organisation. Every CBO approaching Connections would first be screened in an initial meeting. There, the request would be clarified as well as information about the organisation's background and current situation gathered. It remained crucial to only be working with organisations which had already been operating for some time. Screening criteria were set up (see ODS policy, Appendix 2), but since those were rather flexible and not too specific, it remained difficult to turn organisations away. Some groups of people, who would have liked to start an organisation but did not have a clear sense about it, were referred to Connections' training course in Development Practice, as OD would not have been meaningful to them. Others, who had not started operating but were clear about their purpose, would at times be helped through a strategy workshop in order to clarify how to start activities and structure themselves. Long term clients were only encouraged amongst those who had already been operating as organisations, and could be defined as a "group with a significant history" (Schein 1991: 7). Before that level, there was little 'material' to engage with as a facilitator, and often also lacking commitment from the group, since they had not invested enough time and energy into organising yet.

The level of existing structures and processes varied in CBOs, which affected their ability to remain committed to the OD process. OD stems from a corporate background, where organisational boundaries are more clearly defined. Paid employees with fixed working hours, time management, available budgets and clear targets enable a very structured and goal oriented process with a consultant. In a CBO context, organisational boundaries are 'porous' and weak, and they shift with their context. This gives them the flexibility needed to manoeuvre in their context and respond to crises as they arise, but at the same time makes it difficult for them to take control of their situation and act more proactively to change it. In this way it remained difficult to stay committed to agreements with the facilitator, as other issues needed attention as they arose.

The experience of the three case studies suggests that it was easier for Impiliso and Uxolo to stay committed to the process and plan time frames for workshops and mentoring sessions. While Uxolo tended to postpone sessions at least once; Impiliso, who was the most formally established CBO, could also most easily adhere to agreed dates, and would also request such sessions regularly. Hence, with a certain level of structure and organisation, it became easier for these CBOs to access and commit to OD support. CRA struggled immensely with upholding agreed dates, and workshops would be postponed over many months. Hosking (1997: 313) points to the dilemma of maintaining a "flexible social order" in social organisations, where becoming too rigid or too flexible should be avoided. She points out such dilemmas are more strongly pronounced in social movement groups (such as CRA).

Since this was understood during the time of working with CRA, the facilitator tried to enable a more suitable process by engaging less through workshops and encouraging meetings and mentoring of small groups, but even that seemed difficult to uphold. Particularly as an activist organisation, CRA often had to respond to crises and could not operate according to a calendar. The flexible process required by CRA was not due to a lack of organisational capacity, but rather linked to their ad hoc way of operating and the crisis response mode that was required of them by conditions in their area. Their strength – in being able to respond in a timely and disorganised but very successful manner, to issues as they arose in a similarly disorganised, chaotic environment – became an obstacle in a structured OD process. It was therefore important for the OD process to change rather than expecting CRA to function in a different way, and risk losing its ability to act in a contingent way.

Nonetheless, it also needs to be questioned whether the process simply lacked relevance and meaning for the organisation (although stated differently by the leader; see chapter 8.8), as it did not manage to keep all its members engaged nor fully take ownership over it. In the end, the process may have been less useful for CRA than for the other two cases, since its content diverged largely from the organisation's daily struggles.

"Sometimes capacity building organisations do not take into consideration for example simple things like: the unemployment has an impact on CBOs and what gets done, and what gets taken on, and the fact that these structures are dependent on volunteers. So there is this fluidness about CBOs, and … you can't approach them as if they are these stable structures" (Interview N. Dlamini 19.07.06: 8).

CRA's practice of reacting to crises as they arose required a more open and contingent process similar to their way of operating. This process should acknowledge the organisation's contingent approach at community level as part of their organisational effectiveness, instead of seeing it as chaotic or disorganised. The organisational capacity development support could then rather resemble field work and action learning, as described below. In an evaluation of the Oxfam-Canada CBO-capacity building programme in South Africa, Kaplan, Msoki and Soal (1994: 21-25) define various stages of CBO-support depending on the level of capacity of the particular CBO, some of which are listed in the following:

1. *Unstructured accompaniment*
   This is mainly accomplished through a fieldworker from an NGO, who supports the CBO through "unstructured Action Learning", organisation building and skills transfer through emulation. The relationships between CBOs and NGO-fieldworkers are intense and personal, and often are similar to parent-children relationships, with a certain level of "patronage" on the side of the NGO-fieldworker and dependency on the side of the CBO.

2. *Structured Action Learning*
   With growing capacity of the CBO, a shift in the relationship with the NGO towards a more formal facilitation of Action-Learning becomes necessary, which recognises the independence of the CBO. It is mentioned that this intervention strategy requires OD consultancy to be incorporated into the NGO approach to capacity building, which is often not part of the repertoire of the traditional fieldworker.

3. *Training*
   Training in organisational skills and other "hard skills" is seen to be useful, when the organisation has enough capacity to make use of the learning. It is suggested that training could be combined with OD processes, as training in isolation could even have destabilising effects on the organisation. Furthermore training cannot build organisational capacity, as it impacts mainly at an individual level.

All in all, this study advocates that OD can be useful for developing the capacities of operational CBOs, as long as there is a sense of will and commitment to this approach. It is relevant to understand the organisation's internal way of functioning in order to design a suitable process that will correspond with the organisational culture and purpose. Since – like in CRA's case – organisational effectiveness can mean upholding a contingent way of operating that enables the organisation to react flexibly to crises, this core capacity should not be threatened by forcing an overly structured process (and way of operating) on the organisation. Less structured organisations may need a less structured process, resembling more action learning or even fieldwork. Training and imparting skills prove to be useful additions, and may form part of the OD intervention; or be offered separately. The following sections propose guiding principles suitable at CBO-level, with useful approaches listed in section 10.5. Specific methods may vary with each CBO and particular context. Samples of methods and how they were applied in this study are listed in Appendix 3.

10.2 Ways of seeing CBOs

In chapter 4.3.2, Galvin (2005: 8) was quoted pointing out that "when observing CBOs in South Africa, there is enormous potential to 'see what you want to see'." The same counts for an understanding of CBO-capacity. Hence, when starting to work with a CBO, one needs to ask oneself the questions: What are my assumptions about what CBO-capacity is? What lens do I use when assessing a CBO? If we try setting standards comparable to more established NGOs (i.e. organisations with a high level of formality and differentiation), then most CBOs will look deficient and underdeveloped. Furthermore, the 'NGO-lens' may inhibit a seeing of what is really there, including the inherent strengths and assets that have enabled the CBO to run and survive so far. Particularly in a context such as South Africa (and other developing countries), where people in poor communities have been undermined for centuries, and local strengths and abilities were not valued, it is not helpful to take this further by demonstrating to a CBO's members that their organisation is not 'up to standard'.

A more appreciative approach, enabling the facilitator and organisational members to really understand the organisation and its driving forces, may in turn lead to more self-empowerment of the CBO. This includes enabling the CBO to see and diagnose itself, which forms one of the most difficult tasks (for guided self-assessments see also Gubbels & Koss 2000).

A Goethean view of organisations (see chapter 3.3) enabled the facilitator to connect with their coming into being, their unfolding on a different level that appreciates their aliveness. More specifically, what enables this approach is appreciating the full context that the organisation is working within and seeing it not as just a system in and of itself distantiated from this context, but in many ways a product of it, including the crises, the unemployment, the under-resourced nature, etc. Understanding CBOs as a product of their context enables an appreciation of their appropriate response to it, and that they are mostly better equipped to operate in their context than for example more formal NGOs (that come from another context). It also raises awareness that many issues exist at a larger, systemic level in the context, and cannot be resolved by CBOs alone. An example was given by Kotzé (2003: 23; see 4.3.4, p. 59) by pointing out the danger of shifting societal and political responsibility onto survivalist organisations, which may be "a variation on the 'blaming the victim' theme."

There is, however, a trap in this viewpoint, as it may lead to a conclusion of needing to change the context alone, while working with CBOs – who are a product of that context – becomes futile. In a complexity understanding this argument does not hold, as in complex systems the elements interact with each other dynamically and cause-effect relationships are non-linear, where small causes can have bigger impacts (see chapter 2.1). Therefore, one cannot argue that only if the larger system changes can CBOs operate meaningfully. Although an enabling environment is needed in the long run, CBOs can have an impact on the creation of that environment by advocating for it. One may therefore rather ask how CBOs can be strengthened to influence the context, and grow beyond their ability of operating in crisis mode (see chapter 9.3.2).

Cilliers (2000: 27-30) points out that no specific predictions are possible in complex systems. Thus we need to understand that decisions taken for how to work with an organisation entail an ethical dimension, as "the nature of the system or organisation in question is determined by the collection of choices made in it" (ibid: 29); which are in turn driven by values.

The OD approach recommended in the following sections therefore promotes a sense of humility in the face of unpredictable futures that can neither be fully understood through analyses nor resolved through strategic plans; where "an awareness of the contingency and provisionality of things is far better than a false sense of security" (ibid).

10.3 A developmental approach

In this context one needs to investigate the values and goals promoted by those engaged in capacity development. Are they aiming to strengthen organisations in order to help them 'professionalise', or are they trying to enhance the CBOs' impact (towards a stronger civil society and/or community development)? While the first may be a means to the latter, this is not always the case. Capacity development towards management and formalising may distract the CBO from its actual purpose and distance it further from its constituency (see chapter 9.1), as expressed by one interviewee: "Sometimes although they start off very well, being embedded within the community, with time they become detached, and they become these entities that no longer serve the needs of communities. So, I guess a challenge to them would be: how do you achieve to remain embedded in community? In other words there is this ongoing dialogue with community they need to sustain. Another challenge is this illusion of professionalising, or formalising. For it's an illusion. … What is that level of minimal formalisation that … would … sustain the level of informality that is required to keep them vibrant?" (Interview N. Dlamini 19.07.06: 7-8).

Swilling (2005: 22) further explains advantages of informality: "The strength does not lie in the formalities and rituals of formal accountability via vertical lines of command and reporting, but rather in the immense flexibility that makes it possible to respond and change to new circumstances instantaneously because there is nothing that needs to be 'undone' before it is 're-established' (which is the conventional definition of change management)." The resilience of CBOs may therefore lie in their ability to react to crises and their contingent way of operating.

This does not mean it cannot be beneficial for CBOs to look inwards and work on their organisation's development. The question becomes rather: What is the focus of such a process? An awareness about one's own values and principles as a facilitator/service provider may enable a more conscious process.

One needs to be aware that even strengthening CBOs towards development and rights-based work is instrumentalist, and can similarly deter from the CBO's actual strengths and capacities. Therefore, any support needs to see and appreciate existing capacities, and respond to the request of the CBO. The problem with this is, unfortunately, that many CBOs may request a type of support due to requirements from the development sector or limited by what they are accustomed to. It is therefore relevant to engage deeply with the

organisation and collectively establish where their will and energy is, what should be worked on and what kind of capacity would be beneficial to further develop. A deeper look will enhance the meaning of the process, as inherent strengths as well as root causes of issues can be seen beyond what might first seem to be the theme.

In a sense, the OD approach may enable CBOs to gain more control in an 'out-of-control' environment. While acknowledging their strength in their flexibility and embeddedness, the approach can raise awareness through inquiry about root causes of issues (internally and externally), and therefore strengthen the organisations' informed decisions about adequate responses. In this way, the CBO's reactiveness may be guided towards a more conscious 'response-ability' to issues.

Due to a history of disempowerment and oppression in South Africa, it is of utmost importance to work developmentally, by not imposing a process or doing the work for the CBO. Organisations need to understand they do not need to be empowered (as in given power by a seemingly more powerful person or organisation), but can empower themselves and become more resourceful (with or without support from an outside facilitator). To a certain degree this understanding can be supported within CBOs through the attitude of the facilitator towards them. Instead of acting as an expert, and bringing advice to the organisation, one should rather work in a collaborative way and foster collective learning (where the learning process includes the facilitator). This learning should also include a deeper collective analysis of the context within which the organisation is operating, to then take more informed decisions on how to act upon it. The authority over the process and decisions taken should always remain with the CBO.

As OD facilitator, there is a strong need to uphold principles like people-centred development, participation, democracy and respect for the people one works with, as well as the belief that transformation can happen. Traditional OD does emphasise the notions of participation in problem analysis and solution finding (e.g. Schein 1988: 6-7). When combined with a people-centred, developmental approach, it however goes beyond and seeks to develop "capacity to exert authority over their own lives and futures" (CDRA 1998/9: 3); and promotes a "strongly developed civil society … in which the power of the state, of capital and of transnational capital and transnational 'aid' organisations, is held in balance by a plethora of competent, independent and self-reflective community-based and non-governmental organisations" (Kaplan 1996: 59).

At times it is difficult not to take too much responsibility or do things for the CBO, but the respect for each organisation's own path of development helps one to step back in such moments. In order to not 'lead' the development process as a facilitator, it becomes increasingly important to encourage collective, democratic and transparent leadership. Leadership and relationship work becomes relevant in order to enhance a developmental and democratic practice within CBOs, encouraging community workers to move beyond the concept of hierarchical or even autocratic leadership, where strong leaders have to provide the answers; towards shared leadership and responsibility, and an emphasis on collective reflection and learning, which can more adequately respond to the multiple crises at township level.

10.4 Ownership

Ownership forms one of the main aspects of upholding a developmental process. Fukuda-Parr et al (2002: 14) raise the issue of ownership of recipients of development processes over those, including "self-confidence … leadership, commitment and self-determination." The asymmetry of donor-recipient relationships (see chapter 9.3.3) has implications for the capacity development intervention, as it often leads to a lack of ownership over the development process, hence inhibiting it from happening.

In all OD processes conducted by Connections, the CBO had approached Connections for support and a way forward was collectively agreed upon. The approach was clarified beforehand and a working agreement formulated, so that expectations from both sides were clear. Long-term relationships were recommended as vital, as development is a slow process. However, in many of the CBOs, as was also the case with the three case studies, there was a lack of ownership of the process, and more reliance on the facilitator to 'deliver' was common. This can obviously mean the process lacked relevance; but often members of the CBO would insist on the importance and their need for this kind of support, but yet not take full responsibility for it, nor take many of the decisions forward. In all case studies, there was a general expectation that the role of the facilitator is to 'bring' knowledge to the group, as well as carry much responsibility for their process. The case study CBOs, which had often been exposed to a welfare approach in the past, initially remained dependent in a process which was meant to encourage independence and more responsibility on the side of the CBO to implement changes. The lack of ownership may have prolonged change processes within the CBOs, as many decisions were initially not taken forward and had to be repeated in subsequent sessions, until some of them were finally implemented.

In such a situation it is tempting for the facilitator to take ownership and drive the process. It may be particularly difficult to remain developmental, and accept the CBO's own pace of growth. A facilitator-driven process may go beyond what the CBO is ready to engage with, and (re-)create dependency. Furthermore, a process would only be transformative[82], if it was driven and self-organised by internal forces.

A contradiction within the approach was the application of OD in a context where it was largely unknown, which meant that the facilitator was introducing a new practice and language. CBO-members were expected to understand the approach, and at the same time take full ownership of it. Such expectations may have been too high to begin with, although the facilitator increasingly tried to deconstruct the OD language into simple questions that would make sense in the local context.

In the beginning stages of working with Impiliso, the amount of feedback and input given by the facilitators may have reduced the level of ownership, as the amount of information overwhelmed the people in the organisation at first. It might have been more helpful to reflect back some of the learning, to then work with what the group concluded from it. In this way less might have been dealt with, but the group would have chosen relevant aspects. Less (input) could have been more (developmental).

In CRA, the facilitator at some stage drove the process herself, as little initiative came from the leader, although she and her organisational members confirmed the importance of the support. While it was important to uphold positive relationships, the facilitator could have been more firm about principles and ways of working together, or even let go of the process until the organisation was ready to drive it. Especially in this fully subsidised process, the facilitator could find herself 'running after participants', as they might forget its importance due to the lack of monetary value attached to it.

When re-telling the story of our working together over 1½ years, the leader of Uxolo described the following: "We were expecting you to come and do the work for us, hands on in our office. But every time you would say: 'No, this is not capacity building. I will assist you to do it yourself.'"

Often, time frames given by donors or other time commitments become a trap for the facilitator, which make it difficult to allow for a CBO-driven process. The acknowledgement that development takes place in its own time then becomes a farce. This is often augmented by the facilitator's personal need to be 'successful' and able to show results in order to feel that she has contributed meaningfully to the CBO's development. The contradiction here lies

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[82] Transformative development/learning is understood as a process leading to not only tangible results, but also involving shifts on mental and/or emotional levels.

in the fact that the facilitator begins to serve her own ego rather than respecting the CBO's developmental needs. In all three cases, the facilitator struggled with the fact that processes were slowed down by the CBO. She subsequently questioned their usefulness, but at times also felt under pressure to achieve the agreed outcomes, as this was part of her understanding of a good OD process.

Processes should remain flexible to respond to CBOs' changing needs. Facilitators therefore need to question their own agenda in the process, and rather clarify and adapt agreements made with CBOs than forcing a process that has lost its relevance for the CBO. Any OD process should be owned by the CBO and foster independence of the organisation. This will enable the CBO to take ownership of its own development process and develop the confidence to request whatever support seems relevant. It will also enhance the CBO's ability to take a more confident stance in the development sector, and grow towards interdependence with other actors.

10.5 Approaches

The following sections provide suggestions for approaches of working with CBOs, by promoting the values and principles guiding this research. The different approaches were presented in chapter 2.5.4 and are discussed in relation to the research experience in the sections to come. The approaches are ultimately related through their view of organisations as complex social systems and their emphasis on a developmental approach and learning.

10.5.1   Appreciative Inquiry

AI can enable CBOs to reflect on existing strengths, assets and energising forces; and what areas they would like to enhance. However, after years of needs- and problem-driven work in the development sector (as well as feelings of inferiority instilled by past colonial and apartheid systems), many CBO members find it incredibly difficult to think about their own strengths. Even when asked about strengths and assets, CBO members in all three case studies would often respond with naming weaknesses and problems.

Magruder Watkins & Mohr define AI as an approach in itself, a "philosophy and orientation to change" (ibid: 21), and not simply a method or tool to be used within other approaches. It however remained difficult to not engage with issues or challenges, as there was usually a strong need in CBOs to resolve them and the facilitator may have appeared ignorant when trying to bypass issues. It therefore seemed more realistic to work with AI principles within a process that also allows for problems and issues to surface and be engaged with (which may contradict its positive philosophy).

However, a process remains more empowering when aiming to highlight and enhance strengths and assets in the organisation instead of engaging from a needs and deficiency perspective; which also relates to Goethe's way of seeing (and appreciating). As a facilitator, one may need to stay with repeating questions about strengths, until the group is able to re-think and re-focus. Once this happens, CBO-members can feel truly energised from seeing their own achievements and abilities. For CRA, a biography exercise felt energising as members saw their achievements over time; Uxolo appreciated looking at their best practices (see Appendix 3C). For CRA members it seemed relevant to acknowledge, that although activities had been implemented in their own improvised way, they were often successful. In this case, appreciating such abilities may recognise the CBO's capacity, and therefore affirm their own approach. Both Uxolo and Impiliso also appreciated and knew about their own strengths, and it seemed important that the facilitator would not discourage them by lessening their achievements and making them feel deficient. The role of the facilitator needs to be less of an expert, and more of an enabler to collaboratively explore strengths in the organisation.

In the three CBO case studies, poverty consciousness at times may have hindered individuals from thinking beyond the current situation and believing that positive change can happen

(see chapter 9.2.2) and using an appreciative approach may have helped in focussing on the positive, life-giving forces (see also mental models in chapter 10.5.2 below).

10.5.2 Learning organisations

When viewing CBOs as complex social systems, the way of understanding and engaging with their dynamics shifts. Senge introduces the laws of the 5th discipline (systems thinking) in organisations (1990: 57, 375; see also chapters 2.5.4).

In Impiliso's situation of constant crisis and feeling stuck, the ability to reflect and learn seemed particularly relevant in assessing what was stuck and why. When working with Impiliso, engaging with mental models and practising dialogue seemed appropriate in order to address underlying issues. Taking responsibility and seeing one's own role in contributing to difficult situations was relevant (see also Senge 1990: 160). As there was a sense of disempowerment amongst the staff, they tended to blame others rather than taking responsibility. It needed repeated encouragement from the facilitator before participants in the process understood their own capacity to shift situations towards the positive, as it seemed incredibly difficult for Impiliso staff to name and engage with problems. Fears were stronger than the need to resolve issues.

Shaw (2002) describes "conversing" as the actual transformative activity within organisations, strengthening relationships and self-organising principles within organisations (based on chaos and complexity theory). In this context, it is not formal structure, but rather good communication and relationships that enable organisations to perform at their best. Information sharing and a truly participatory approach may furthermore enable an organisation to challenge power-dynamics within.

Communication and dialogue seemed relevant in order to support a culture of learning and understanding; collaboration rather than competitiveness. In Impiliso, dialogue work, focussing on effective advocacy, inquiry, listening and feedback, enhanced the organisation's capacity to engage with difficult issues and conflict (see Appendix 3F).

Shiel (2005: 182) emphasises that leaders or facilitators should have the "skills of noticing and drawing attention to what is emerging in interaction; that is, to emerging meaning". Developing leaders should therefore include enhancing their "capacity to pay attention to communicative processes, to be fully present to the changing patterning of interactions as they emerge, as well as being fully present to the changing patterning of the silent conversation within oneself", involving "learning to learn in a new way". He furthermore points out that the facilitator's "practice is not the transmission of static reified knowledge to individual contained minds; it is the participation in a continuous and active process of knowledge creation" (ibid: 198). In this way, skilful conversations can aide the development of knowledge and foster collective learning in CBOs. This approach in itself is based on the fact that the most important information and knowledge is to be found within the group itself and does not need to be instilled by an outside facilitator, and is thus emphasising the notion of self-empowerment.

Visioning exercises and guided meditations allowed the case CBOs to connect to their ideal situation, and create energy to work towards it (see Appendices 3G & 3H & 3P). However, there was varying openness towards the guided meditations. While in Impiliso it was appreciated and highlighted as helpful in the evaluation, some of the Uxolo staff did not embrace the practice in the same way. A repeated approach over time may be necessary to test its usefulness and enable people to get more accustomed to it.

While there is a tendency in the development sector to first address capacity gaps through skills training when working at a CBO level, experience of this study showed personal dynamics and mental models to be much more inhibiting than the lack of skills. Holding a space, having positive relationships and being able to give support and affirmation on an emotional level proved important for the facilitator. The technical aspects or the methods

and tools used were only of secondary relevance. This was particularly visible with Impiliso, where the facilitator repeatedly had to redraw attention to conflicts, while trying to stick to a workshop programme became impossible. This contradicts the general understanding of CBO capacity development, which emphasises skills development through training. While skills are necessary in a context where the majority of people did not receive much formal education, those do not address underlying issues which inhibit CBO members to move forward. They also may not support an organisation in analysing their situation and taking more informed decisions about how to respond to it.

Capacity development approaches for CBOs should therefore take into account that CBOs and communities do not necessarily get capacitated to develop themselves through imparting skills. Working with the 'intangible', like identity, mental models and organisational culture seemed more relevant than supporting the organisation with the 'tangible' matters, like policies and systems (see Appendices 3B for Action Planning, 3J for Policies, and & 3O for Systems). While skills were relevant, they seem to be only useful in enhancing the organisations' capacity after other levels have been addressed (see also Kaplan 1999: 23).

Understanding and analysing one's context, and reflecting on and learning from experience could enable CBO-members over time to conduct their own Action-Learning reflections, and thus be able to develop a more conscious practice. In the case of Impiliso, it took time and repeated review experiences to move beyond simply listing achievements and outstanding matters, to engaging in a deeper reflection which could qualitatively enhance their activities. Reconnecting with exercises that encouraged reflection, learning and personal growth helped to slowly shift the organisational culture. With Impiliso the Action-Learning-Cycle was introduced for every review, to reflect on why one needs to learn from experience instead of only looking forward. Creative, artistic methods using drawing and story telling have also proven useful in order to allow people to express issues in a less direct way (see Appendices 3I for an overall Organisational Inquiry; 3K for Programme Reviews; 3M for Structure Review; 3N for assessing Organisational Sustainability).

10.5.3   Culture change

One can view organisational capacity development by assisting the organisation's members to surface their basic assumptions which inform their organisational culture (this also relates to mental models as explored above). Helping to shift some of those assumptions, as well as resulting values and behaviours, can enable the organisation to more consciously respond to environmental changes and internal dynamics (Schein 1991); and become a learning organisation (Senge 1990).

Schein (1991: 278-282; see also chapter 2.5.4) describes culture change in a pioneering organisation according to various change mechanisms, such as natural evolution, self-guided evolution, managed evolution or managed revolution through outsiders. Those relate to Schein's theoretical assumptions about change (1991: 303-309; see chapter 2.5.4).

In CBOs, a change process cannot be compared to the corporate sector, where top management can decide to plan for a culture change through an intervention. Furthermore, culture change may not be viable through such decision-making, as deeply entrenched assumptions are at play which cannot simply be exchanged.

In a CBO context, where power inequalities and leadership/relationship issues (within the CBOs and with its environment) prevail, culture change is required to a much greater extent to be a learning process, in which the organisation moves through its own evolutionary phases; where facilitation through an external person can play the role of surfacing and making learning conscious. In the same sense, Impiliso's need for change could not be forced or fast tracked by the facilitator, but the organisation's members needed to reach a stage of readiness to face and express tough issues (see Appendices 3A for Leadership Archetype work & 3D for Bus Activity).

The role of facilitator is not as a "manager of meaning" in the process, but she can "influence the emergence of novel thought as a participant in communicative interaction" …, by "paying attention to the constantly emerging patterns of meaning" (Shiel 2005: 195). The facilitator's role with CBOs is then enabling the reflection on what meaning emerges, as well as at times naming and engaging with issues in the room, in order to help surfacing tough issues (such as in the process with Impiliso; see chapter 6.11.3).

10.5.4   Communities of Practice

Chapter 9.1.1 raised tensions between sector requirements vs. existing CBO capacities. In chapter 9.3.1 CBOs were compared to Communities of Practice (CoP). Discussing CoP within organisational design processes, Wenger (1998: 229) emphasises: "Communities of practice are about content – about learning as living experience of negotiating meaning – not about form. In this sense, they cannot be legislated into existence or defined by decree. … In other words, one can articulate patterns or define procedures but neither the patterns nor the procedures produce the practice as it unfolds." Practice is understood as an emergent property, which also enables learning among the members. Learning in organisations should not be seen as the responsibility of training institutions, but rather as a "process of participation" in the practice; where training is understood as complementary aspect (ibid: 249). Reflections on practice, as they were facilitated in the Action Learning sessions with the case CBOs, can contribute to organisational learning at a level that is more immediate to the CBO's reality than training courses.

In order to balance emergent practice with institutionalisation, organisational design should not be understood as an overarching structure on top, but rather "as a method by which a set of practices manages itself as a constellation" (ibid: 247). Organisational design becomes a boundary object which enables communication across CoP (Ibid). The fluidity of CBOs can in this sense be understood as a strength, as it enables organisations to act and react to changes in their environment flexibly. The purpose and practice of the CBO defines it and gives it reason for existence, which does not require formalisation. Yet, an organisational identity will clarify the purpose, and enable it to define an organisational boundary necessary to interact with others.

"Communities of practice are organisational assets because they are the social fabric of the learning of organisations" (ibid: 253). The same can be said about CBOs. On the one hand their ongoing engagement in the community can lead to continuous learning and practice development, and many CBO members would mention their experience to be of value (vs. the lack of formal education). On the other hand CBOs can become assets for the learning of communities through their embeddedness and constant exchange: "So, if CBOs can begin to become the facilities through which the communities learn, I think we stand a much better chance of moving … towards CBOs playing a much more meaningful role. There has to be investment in learning from our experiences. I think there's a world of experiences at the level of community-based organisations. But not enough is done to reflect on those experiences and even to say what are we learning from these experiences and let those learnings inform the way we move forward. ... I mean if they can become the facilities through which communities learn. If they could even become the facilities through which local government authorities learn" (Interview N. Dlamini 19.07.06: 6).

Carefully managed boundaries between CoP can be assets for learning and communication across CoP (ibid: 256). Many CBO members already have various organisational memberships; and some CBOs are affiliated within larger cross-community structures, like CRA's membership in the AEC. "CBOs need capacity development, but it doesn't always happen formally. So there is a lot of informal learning, just people sharing ideas and so on. So it is about facilitating that, as a network it would be about facilitating networking" (Interview M. Williams 31.05.06: 4).

For many CBOs, their knowledge about a given set of networks in their community, and where to access support, is their 'trade', i.e. their embeddedness which gives them their mandate. All three case study CBOs, and particularly their leaders, were strong in networking. They knew how their ever-changing network worked, and had capacities to improvise, remain flexible and change quickly, while remaining loyal and committed to their community. Their weak organisational boundaries and contingent way of operating therefore were an asset in their chaotic environment.

Simultaneously, this capacity could also lead to competition between leaders and CBOs, who may have different networks and views of the situation, and who may prefer to compete rather than collaborate in order to keep their power base (and possible access to funding). In a context where resources are available for community development projects from donors and local government, competition can increase as the CBO can become a vehicle for income generation. The advantage of achieving more for the community through collective action can become secondary to one's own resource needs. Networks are then used in order to access resources, e.g. through affiliations with power bases (such as political parties) (see chapter 9.3.3).

OD in this context cannot intervene into community dynamics such as competing networks. It can only aim to foster networks where they seem beneficial, and raise awareness about the advantages of collectivity. OD therefore could go beyond working with individual organisations only, but also facilitate the exchange between organisations working in the same fields or physical areas. Here, one could encourage a dialogue about what people know, and develop a language that enables people to share their experiences and knowledge in a non-threatening way. This includes raising awareness about the benefits of shared leadership and strong relationships, which can strengthen the CBOs and enable them to act beyond crisis mode to have a bigger impact on their situation. Competitiveness between CBOs and leaders needs to be countered by the advantages of collectivity, namely the ability to learn collectively, integrate activities and achieve more for the benefit of the community. The individual power that comes with knowledge needs to be given up for the benefit of collective power. Shared leadership can be understood as a way of moving beyond sometimes autocratic pioneer leadership styles, which work with the assumption of needing to stay in control. This can obviously only happen within CBOs and networks who are willing to move towards shared leadership, where members have begun questioning the centralised power of leaders; and cannot be pushed by the facilitator.

The more the networks can be shared and overlap, the more learning can take place across CoP. This includes the ability to read and analyse the environment towards more responsive approaches. As an example, stakeholder or environmental analyses[83] need to go beyond naming the formal NGOs and donors that the CBOs know, and include people and structures at community level that provide the resources and support as part of their network. Community assets, if well understood, can then be taken at face value and further developed.

CoP are emergent. "Note that, since they are by nature self-organising, communities of practice usually have rather modest organisational needs. Encouraging and nurturing them does not require very much in terms of institutional apparatus and organisational resources..." (ibid: 250). Similarly, CBOs are emergent organisations in their communities and do not need to be made 'sustainable' or 'autonomous' by an external agent. What may be needed are further possibilities to relate and learn across communities; encouraging a self-reflective and conscious practice; and accessing resources to enable their activities in a meaningful way while not depleting individuals within.

An aspect not tested during this research, which should be given further attention in the future, is peer learning between CBOs. As CBOs learn to develop their own practice by

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[83] In such an exercise CBOs would list all the institutions and stakeholders that are relevant to them in their closer as well as wider context, to see which relationships need to be strengthened or re-established.

learning from their experience, an opening could develop towards learning from others. While this takes place in sectoral meetings like the health forum, little is being exchanged about the way CBOs are running their organisations and other networks they are connected to. Through encouraged exchanges, stronger communities of CBOs could emerge. However, overwhelming workloads CBOs have to deal with may inhibit them from taking time for such meetings. Hence, meetings need to address relevant themes CBOs are engaged with to be of interest[84].

10.5.5   Presencing

An approach including many elements of the above listed approaches is called Presencing (Senge et al 2004; see also chapter 2.5.4). It is also closely related to complexity theory and Goethe's way of seeing.

The CBO processes in this research did not fully apply the Presencing approach, as the researcher only learnt about the methodology in April 2006. However, elements of it were used with Impiliso, when the internal crisis required a deeper reflection. In the process the organisational members' views of the problem were encouraged to shift towards a systems perspective; where the whole needed to be understood rather than individuals blamed. This also included a more intuitive approach by the facilitator. To enable this, she needed to allow an open-ended process where matters could emerge, as well as staying closely connected to the group, in order to be able to sense such emergence. This was further enhanced by a more intuitive and open relationship which had developed between Impiliso and the facilitator over time; enabling a more responsive process, as well as shifting from politeness to becoming more honest and challenging. The facilitator had let go of the agenda of the workshop, and rather allowed the process to guide her.

In the crisis workshop in May 2006, the aliveness of the process was palpable, as there was a high level of focus and participation in the group. Further research is necessary to implement and assess the Presencing approach at a CBO level, which was not possible in this study due to time constraints.

10.6 Power & In(ter)dependence

The principles and approaches listed in 10.5 (above) are suggesting a guideline of how to engage with CBO-capacity in a developmental way. However, since CBO-development does not take place within a neutral setting, the above-mentioned approaches may not sufficiently address power imbalances in the development sector. For CBOs to fully reach their potential and contribute to meaningful community development, preconditions and changes are needed. Instead of CBOs remaining at the bottom of the aid chain, the development industry needs to be turned on its head; or the periphery needs to move to the centre.

"I don't see any way around trying to restructure and redesign development around and from and by and for the people who are meant to benefit from it" (Interview D. Bonbright 23.06.06: 2).

"In any case if we are going to achieve anything in development. I think it's the community based organisations sector that needs to be strengthened, that needs to be expanded; that can be helped to clarify its own role. That can be helped to strengthen its relationships or its relationship to communities. ... The CBOs need to be helped to really genuinely embed themselves within communities and become the carriers and the aspirations and the hopes and the dreams of communities" (Interview N. Dlamini 19.07.06: 5).

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[84] Connections Advocacy Programme addressing CBOs' acknowledgement and financial sustainability has become a platform for CBOs to meet and engage since 2006; but due to time constraints was not included in this research.

Such changes can be fearsome for those who benefit from the current system, such as the capacity development industry mentioned in chapter 9.1. In an INTRAC-conference[85] in 2006 Alan Fowler pointed out how capacity building service providers and NGOs avoided being political in the sense of challenging power (see also chapter 9.3.4). In an Interview conducted earlier, Fowler (23.06.06: 3) further referred to the field of capacity development: "And when we do capacity building, we seldom think about the capacity to contest" which includes "critical self-reflection" and conscientisation in the sense of Steve Biko and Paolo Freire (ibid). In a context marked by power inequality, development cannot remain an apolitical act, assuming that all parties involved strive for a more equal society. Lund (1998: 4) emphasises the importance of participatory development in post apartheid South Africa as a "process of democratisation."

However, the involvement of grassroots people through participatory processes can also turn into a Foucauldian exercise that adds to the anti-politics machine (Ferguson 1994 in Williams 2004: 93, see chapter 2.7). Spaces for alternative discourses therefore need to be forstered, which can enable a re-politicisation (Williams 2004: 94). Here, the capacity to negotiate and interact with more powerful stakeholders becomes relevant (see 9.3.3). Cornwall (2004: 85) states that "transformative participation calls for processes that strengthen the possibilities of active citizen engagement both with those institutions into which the powerful extend invitations to participate, and those through which citizens make and shape their own conditions of engagement and find and use their own voice." The strategies needed to achieve this are "contextual and contingent, conditional on a host of complexities."

In the context of this research, strategies were not directly applied to increase the political engagement of the case CBOs. But the relationships with powerful stakeholders such as donors and local government were questioned on an ongoing basis in the course of the OD support. The needs to engage with the more powerful, and express the CBOs' positions were clearly seen by the CBO members and interviewees. At the same time the limitations were understood through dependence on donor money, as well as oppressive factors such as language use. This finally led to the creation of the advocacy programme within Community Connections (which is however also donor-funded, and therefore not free from their influence).

Changes should not simply lead to a turning around of power imbalances; enabling new leaders to exert power over others. The shift needs to rather acknowledge interdependence and relationships; an understanding of which may enable addressing development challenges in a more holistic and sustainable way than has so far been possible in a disconnected; and often polarised context[86].

"Because of the fractures in our world, because of the degree of disjunction and the degree of difference, relationships need tremendous care and attention. And dialogue across stakeholders is something you cannot take for granted; understanding across stakeholders is not something you can take for granted. It needs to be … tended with real care …, with conscious practice. But that to me is the heart of what real development is in today's world. But if we're going to bring people from government, business and civil society and class and language and race into real understanding, we have to pay a lot of attention to how you do that. And that's to me what real development work is. That's the work" (Interview D. Bonbright 23.06.06: 2-3).

Dialogue therefore does not only play an important role within organisations, but can also serve in a facilitated process where CBOs can engage with other stakeholders: "We need more dialogue processes that will help to provide a platform where … some of the issues, some of the challenges can be engaged with. There is more need for dialogue, particularly dialogue between the different role players in the development sector. … Through dialogue I think we'll all be able to identify kind of a common purpose and move in unity towards that

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[85] INTRAC conference on Civil Society and Capacity Building held in Oxford, UK in December 2006
[86] The Presencing approach (10.5.5) supports this notion through multi-stakeholder dialogue processes.

common purpose. Because sometimes when I look at the sector it feels like we are working at cross purposes" (Interview N. Dlamini 19.07.06: 6). Dlamini (ibid: 4) further suggests that CBOs' role should also entail "facilitating … engagement between local government authorities and communities."

Bringing stakeholders together will not level power imbalances or create a sense of interdependence per se, hence it is necessary for CBOs to develop capacities to relate to and network with stakeholders who currently appear as more powerful. Dialogue in the sense of fostering a deeper understanding of interdependence and the need for collaboration may be a powerful way of overcoming polarisations and power asymmetries in society. However, where the genuine will to open up to each other and risk one's own power base is not there, contestation may be the only means for change to happen. Hence, all the above mentioned approaches need to entail a political understanding, enabling each organisation to analyse the context in which it operates and therefore decide where to position itself and whether and how to act upon contextual dynamics (see Appendices 3E for analysing the context; & 3L for the development/review of purpose). Pieterse & Donk (2002: 27; cited in chapter 2.4) emphasise that for an organisation "capacity building cannot be de-linked from the question of 'purpose' … to effectively position itself in relation to the external environment…"

This also leads back to the argument made by Brews (1994: 7; chapter 2.4), that "capacity building has to do with the democratising of development in the sense that it makes real participation and power over development processes possible for marginalised people". This entails that capacity building "does not merely apply to activities in relation to traditionally disadvantaged communities, but recognises that all stakeholders in development processes require additional capacities if effectiveness is to be ensured. This strips capacity building of WE – THEY language and establishes the complementarity of capacity building processes" (ibid: 8). It also moves away from an understanding that disadvantaged communities and CBOs are deficient or underdeveloped, while actors from privileged backgrounds do not need further development.

It may also mean that CBOs need to create "alternative narratives, or story lines" through "sites for radical possibility" (Williams 2004: 87). These are spaces that are not created or funded by external donors, and therefore not forcing a particular discourse onto CBOs, from where CBO members can develop needed capacities and strategies for engagement. These, however, are self-organised systems initiated and run by CBOs, like many of the existing social movements. Once they decide to formalise to a level of being able to raise funds, they enter a degree of dependency, and – if not sufficiently prepared - risk loosing their identity in the process.

CBOs seem to live in a different world from other development actors, and they are usually the ones expected to cross the threshold towards the other side. If they do not speak the language of donors and government structures, they cannot be heard easily. Since CBOs are acknowledged for their relevance in development, the question remains whether the crossing of borders cannot be reversed – and provide a source of learning about real grassroots development.

10.7 Linking back to the research questions

In relation to the propositions and research question raised in chapter 1.2, the embeddedness of CBOs in their own networks and relations plays an important role in their ability to support the communities they serve (proposition 1). Their embeddedness makes them the most useful organisations to facilitate their communities' development (in collaboration with other stakeholders), as this thesis advocates that development should enable self-determination and self-empowerment (question 1). Therefore understanding them as complex systems within larger complex systems such as the community or development sector, where boundaries are permeable, points towards a capacity development approach that

recognises the characteristics of complexity, such as connectivity, non-linear relationships, emergence and unpredictability.

OD as a process-oriented, organisational approach could be adapted to a grassroots level, and needed to pay particular attention to a developmental approach, which sees and appreciates existing strengths and capacities. Flexibility in the approach was crucial, and needed to take into account the dynamics and crisis-mode of CBO work at community level. Although the approach remained within the broad definitions of OD, in the long run a different terminology may be chosen to describe the emerging approach (proposition 2 & question 2).

CBOs were open to the long-term OD approach, even if requests were few at the time the research began (question 3). However, power asymmetries in the development sector expressed themselves even in the relationship with the facilitator, and made a truly people-centred approach difficult. Any approach at community level therefore needs to encompass a political dimension, which addresses power imbalances towards a more equitable society, and acknowledges interdependence (question 4).

Whether the OD approach will ultimately enhance the impact of CBOs in their own communities and therefore contribute to a strong civil society and community development, could not be directly proven within the time frames of the study. OD, however, promises to be a pathway towards developing organisations, if the development process acknowledges their capacities and strengths and aims to build on those. Attention needs to be given to their capacity to relate and network, towards building stronger communities able to support as well as learn from each other; and able to negotiate with those currently more powerful. This will be further enhanced through developing leadership capacities towards more collective and democratic principles, acknowledging the benefits of collaboration rather than competition (proposition 3 & main research question).

Figure 15 proposes elements of CBO capacity development, by combining the capacity development approach with a consciousness of and engagement with power asymmetries.
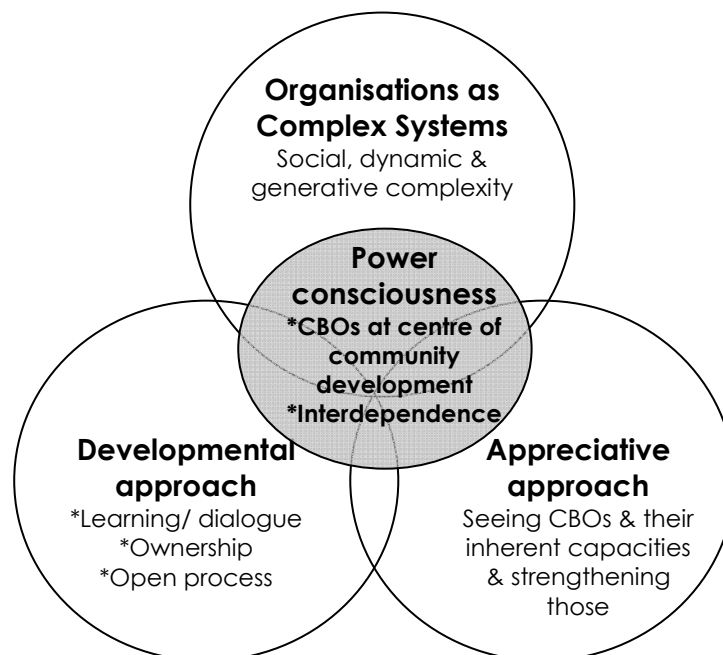

Figure 15: Elements of CBO capacity development

10.8 After thoughts – seeing is beholding

The chapter discussed the usefulness of OD as an approach for CBO development; and promoted core principles regarding ways of seeing CBOs, a developmental practice and promoting ownership. Various approaches were explored, namely Appreciative Inquiry, Learning Organisations, Organisational Culture, Communities of Practice and the Presencing approach. All those are connected through a view of organisations (and their context) as complex systems; as well as a constructivist, cognitive and learning-orientated theoretical background. It is pointed out that all those approaches need to include a political dimension, by supporting organisations analysing the context in which they operate and position themselves accordingly; as power asymmetries may otherwise contradict or inhibit development processes.

The principles and approaches for working with CBOs provided in this chapter were derived from two and a half years of action research with CBOs. Many of the propositions only developed during the research period and were therefore not tested on a long-term level but rather crystallised as useful for further exploration (such as the Presencing approach or fostering learning exchanges/ CoP between CBOs). Other approaches, like AI, action-learning and dialogue, were implemented over longer periods and evolved over time.
It remained a challenge to encourage a more developmental, learning orientated approach in a context which is driven by professionalisation. It therefore remains up to each facilitator to stay highly conscious in order to promote a meaningful process, which has community and civil society development at its heart, and not only the development of formalities such as policies and systems.

In the research process, the reflective consciousness of the researcher/facilitator in understanding her work and staying in touch with the emerging process remained particularly important. Her journaling using the action-learning-cycle helped immensely to keep her conscious and develop an approach over time (see chapter 8.11).

Remaining conscious of the double role of researcher and facilitator required more rigour and self-critical observations, which were often only possible in retrospect during the writing process. Processes could not only be analysed by examining the interaction of CBOs with the implemented approach; but also had to include the facilitator's abilities and cognitive interpretations at a given time. The detailed descriptions in chapters 5-8 meant to enable a more reflexive approach, by revealing the process and journal reflections in detail, which informed the interpretations given in chapters 9 and 10.

The action research was participative in its nature by involving CBO members in the planning of process-contents; and getting their opinions/ evaluations after each stage. It was assumed that outcomes regarding an OD approach would be less interesting to CBO members, who are not themselves OD practitioners. However, seven months after the end of the action research phase, CBO members who had been involved in the research as case studies or interviewees, as well as other CBO-associates of Connections, were invited to a feedback session, where emerging themes discussed in chapter 9 (CBO-capacity, leadership, relationships) and OD-principles as presented in chapter 10 were presented and dialogue facilitated about participants' responses to each topic. There was high participation and questions were raised about the research.

Some core points raised included a general agreement with the research outcomes as a true reflection of participants' reality. Particularly the need for bottom-up, grassroots oriented development was re-emphasised. There was much engagement around the relationships between government/donors/NGOs and CBOs. The inequalities were stressed, but positive changes were also acknowledged, such as where local government has become more accessible. Challenges were discussed around volunteerism of CBO members, which was both seen as beneficial and necessary, while also exploitative. Leadership- and CBO-ethics were raised, and emphasis put on the need to serve one's community. Finally, the tension between activism and development work was discussed, with participants having varying

views on whether both can be combined or whether this may be problematic (Gxabela & Yachkaschi 2007: 6-7).

While the CBO-feedback needs to be understood as a non-representative view of 13 CBO members, it did reveal a keen interest to participate in conversations about how capacity development needs to be facilitated.

appen
dices

"… so why do you wonder
when my freedom only sings me an
Internationale
because maybe,
just maybe,
that,
this,
is my distance from home."

Sandile Dikeni (2000: 15; excerpt from 'Way back home')

Appendix 1: Research sources & bibliography

APPENDIX 1A: INTERVIEWEES

Case CBOs (names changed):
Nomandla, coordinator Impiliso, 28.04.06 and 16.01.07
Zola, coordinator Uxolo, 2.06.06 and 16.01.07
Lindiwe, former coordinator Uxolo, 16.01.07
Sophie, coordinator (secretary) CRA, 18.05.06 and 16.01.07

Focus group CBO members & leaders, 12.03.06:

Morning session:
Theresa Antonie, Concerned Residents of Delft
Ashley Louw, Concerned Residents of Delft
Anele Nunu, Youth Emancipation Movement
Nomycobo Stemele, Youth Emancipation Movement
Leonora Stemele, Youth Emancipation Movement
Joe Mthimka, TOMECY
Tiny Skefile, Phakama Community Health Project
Pam Ndinisa, Khumbulani
Senza Kula, Ilitha Lomso Child and Youth Organisation
Siya Nyoba, Nyanga Youth Development Council
Nozuko Kashe, Nyanga Youth Development Council

Afternoon session:
Alicia Mhluzi, Phakama Community Health Project
Nomonde Ngqaka, Yizani Sakhe
Nonkululeko File-August, Yizani Sakhe

Community leaders:

*Faizel Brown, Ant-Eviction Campaign/ Resource Action Group, 17.05.06
(http://www.ukzn.ac.za/ccs/default.asp?6,20,14,7)*
Faizel Brown has been an activist since he was a student in the 1980s, where he was involved in the Students Representative Council (SRC) and affiliated to the United Democratic Front (UDF). At that time he became involved in community activism in Crossroads and in civic structures, and also participated in a local government transformation forum. Since 2000 Faizel Brown has been a community organiser for the Ant-Eviction Campaign in the Cape Town area, and was elected on their management committee. He was also involved with the Resource Action Group, where he was acting director at the time of the interview (Interview F. Brown 17.05.06).

Thozama Gcememe, Ikamva Labantu, 16.05.06 (www.ikamva.com)
Thozama 'Tutu' Gcememe is currently working for Ikamva Labantu, a Cape Town based NGO, in their programme supporting elderly people. She has been involved in community work since the 1970s, where she formed an adult literacy organisation. From then on she has been involved at community level on various levels. She organised literacy programmes under an organisation called Masifundise. At the time of strikes and boycotts, where meetings were prohibited, she started a sewing group. In the 1980s she became increasingly involved in working with elderly people, and was employed by the Red Cross Society in 1986, where she trained volunteers in home-based care, first aid and literacy. She also became involved with the Cape Peninsula Organisation for the Aged (CPOA), where she met the future director of Ikamva Labantu. When the NGO was formed in 1994, Tutu Gcememe began

running the elderly programme, which she is still doing today. Her long work experience since the anti-apartheid struggle through the transition until today has given her an overview over changes in the development context over time, particularly with community organisations/ CBOs and NGOs (Interview T. Gcememe 16.05.06).

Nocawe Mankayi, Nonceba Child and Family Trust, 24.05.06
(http://www.volunteerchildnetwork.org.za/home.php3?org=N&item=organisations#)
Nocawe Mankayi is pioneer and director of the Nonceba Child and Family Trust in Khayelitsha, Cape Town. While she is a CBO pioneer comparable to the case CBOs, she has managed to grow her organisation through extensive networking over the past seven years and has raised funds to build a centre and safe house for children and women. She managed to build strong relationships within her community as well as with people from the outside who could assist her with fundraising internationally, and has feminist views on development in South Africa (Interview N. Mankayi 24.05.06).

Khethekile Mbatha, Doornkop Environmental Organisation, 24.06.06
Khethekile Mbatha is founder of the Doornkop Environmental Organisation, a CBO based in Doornkop, Johannesburg. She has extended her organisation in various areas of work, such as environment, income generating activities, women and children. She has managed to source various training courses for herself and other volunteers in order to professionalise her organisation, and was able to assist other CBOs in her community with such skills, i.e. by helping them to register as a non-profit organisation. Hence, her role grew beyond her own organisation into capacity development for other CBOs (Interview K. Mbatha, 24.06.06).

Thabang Ngcozela, Environmental Monitoring Group, 24.05.06 (www.emg.org.za)
Thabang Ngcozela is currently working for the Environmental Monitoring Group (EMG) in Cape Town. He has extensive experience in community work and political organising. During high school in the Eastern Cape he became involved with the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) and the African National Congress (ANC). Living in Cape Town since 1992, he has worked with KATRIC, where he facilitated a children and youth programme, and co-founded a Khayelitsha and Nyanga based children and youth organisation in 1996, called Ilitha Lomso. From 1999 he worked with the Youth Programme from Ikamva Labantu, a Cape Town based NGO, and from 2001 with the Environmental Justice Networking Forum (EJNF) as Western Cape coordinator. Courses he attended in community development at the University of the Western Cape encouraged his interest to work in both political and developmental activism (Interview N. Ngcozela 24.05.06).

Practitioners/academics:

David Bonbright, Keystone, 23.06.06 (www.keystonereporting.org)
David Bonbright has a background in law and is founder and chief executive of Keystone (formerly ACCESS), an initiative to transform the fields of social investing and sustainable development through accountability for learning in social change processes. Before that he directed the Aga Khan Development Network's Civil Society Programme in areas of state-civil society relations; management and leadership capabilities in civil society organisations; and indigenous philanthropy. In the 1990s, he founded and led two South African resource centers in Johannesburg: the Development Resources Centre and SANGONeT. He also contributed to the Southern African Grantmakers Association (SAGA) and the South African NGO Coalition (SANGOCO) and led the first Africa program of Ashoka: Innovators for the Public. He has written a number of reports and publications around philanthropy and legal environment for nonprofit organisations. He is on the boards, advisory councils and knowledge networks of The Constant Gardener Trust, AccountAbility Forum, Alliance magazine, Allavida, Goldman Foundation Environmental Awards, the Johns Hopkins University Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project, and the CIVICUS Civil Society Index (http://www.synergos.org/bios/dbonbright.htm).

Nomvula Dlamini, Community Development Resource Association, 19.07.06 (www.cdra.org.za)
Nomvula Dlamini has a background in education, and has been working for the Cape Town based Community Development Resource Association (CDRA) for more than 10 years as a development practitioner, where she has also written articles and other publications for the CDRA. The CDRA, as well as their founder Alan Kaplan, have been thought leaders and written numerous publications about a developmental practice and a specific understanding of alternative, people-centred development. Further than that the CDRA have worked with organisations in the non-profit sector and have in-depth knowledge about OD with development organisations. Hence, this research has drawn on CDRA's knowledge and experience. Nomvula Dlamini is part of CDRA's leadership and is involved in fundraising and networking with other stakeholders in the sector, and has gained an extensive insight in those relationships and dynamics (Interview N. Dlamini 19.07.06).

Alan Fowler, Honorary Professor at Centre for Civil Society; University of KwaZulu-Natal, 23.06.06 (www.ukzn.ac.za/ccs)
Prof. Alan Fowler is Honorary Professor at the Centre for Civil Society in the School of Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, and has recently also become affiliated Professor at the Institute for Social Studies (ISS) in The Hague. He works as an independent development adviser and analyst and has researched about civil society behaviour and organisational development, civic leadership, international aid, democratisation and public policy reform. Professor Fowler holds a DPhil in development studies from the University of Sussex, England. He has published extensively on civil society, non-governmental organisations and the international aid system. In addition to numerous consultancy assignments with international and national development organisations in Africa, Asia, North America and Europe, he has been a Visiting Fellow at the World Bank in Washington, DC, and with the Society for Participatory Research in Asia. Professor Fowler is currently President of the International Society for Third Sector Research and a board member of CIVICUS, the Global Alliance for Citizen Participation. He is co-founder of the International NGO Training and Research Centre in Oxford, Great Britain (http://www.ukzn.ac.za/ccs/default.asp?10,24,8,39).

Gerald Kraak, Atlantic Philanthropies, 6.06.06 (www.atlanticphilanthropies.org)
Gerald Kraak has lived in South Africa since 1994 and is currently working for Atlantic Philanthropies, an American donor organisation with offices in Johannesburg. He works as a Programme Executive and is involved in two programme areas, namely Reconciliation and Human Rights, and Population and Health. Prior to that he worked for a Scandinavian foundation based in South Africa. Gerald Kraak has written several publications about the South African non-profit sector, especially in the fields of human rights and education, which were published by the Development Update series by Interfund, the Centre for Civil Society at the University of KwaZulu Natal and others. He has also written novels and directed a documentary (Interview G. Kraak 6.06.06; http://atlanticphilanthropies.org/ about/management/staff_listing).

Christa Kuljian, Centre for Policy Studies, 24.05.06 (www.cps.org.za)
Christa Kuljian is currently working as an independent development consultant and writer with a range of NGOs and donors. She has Masters Degrees in Writing and Public Policy. From 2004-06, Christa Kuljian was a visiting research fellow at the Johannesburg-based Centre for Policy Studies, where she focused on and published about civil society and development funding patterns in South Africa. Christa Kuljian has spent time in South Africa since 1984, where she worked at the South African Council of Churches, the Woodmead School and a law office. From 1992 she became director of the CS Mott Foundation in South Africa, where she worked in sectoral areas such as strengthening civil society, democracy, participation, and advancing socio-economic and racial equality, justice and reconciliation. Christa Kuljian has served on several boards, including the Southern Africa Grant makers Association, the US-South Africa Fulbright Commission, the advisory committee of the Southern African and African Grant makers Affinity Group of the Council on Foundations in Washington (Interview C. Kuljian 23.05.06; www.synergos.org/bios/ckuljian.htm).

Mariette Williams, NACOSA, 31.05.06 (www.wc-nacosa.co.za)
Mariette Williams studied social work and was employed as a social worker doing case work for several years until she followed her passion and moved into community work in 1994. She has since gained vast experience as a community worker, trainer and programme manager, mainly in the health and HIV sector. At the time of the interview she worked for the Western Cape Networking AIDS Community of South Africa (WC NACOSA), a Cape Town based NGO, as a Programme Manager. Since 2007 she has worked at the Sustainability Institute in Stellenbosch, on the development of a curriculum for development practice at community level (Interview M. Williams 31.05.06).

Community Connections:
Ninnette Eliasov, Director, 9.09.2007 (www.connectionsafrica.org.za)
Toto Sakhiwo Gxabela, OD Practitioner, 14.09.2007 (www.connectionsafrica.org.za)

APPENDIX 1B: FORUM PARTICIPANTS

April & August 2006:
Ayanda Mpono, Community Connections
Denise Damon, Community Connections
Ines Meyer, Community Connections
Ninnette Eliasov, Community Connections
Rebecca Freeth, Independent Development Practitioner
Sue Soal, CDRA
Thamie Nama, Community Connections
Toto Gxabela, Community Connections

Note: a number of invited academics and development practitioners could not attend, although they had initially expressed interest. Hence, most of the participants were from Community Connections.

APPENDIX 1C: OTHER MATERIALS USED FOR CASE DESCRIPTIONS

Organisational Profile questionnaires and diagnosis interviews:
CRA: June 2005;
Impiliso: April 2004
Uxolo: May 2005

OD process Reports:
CRA: June 05 x 2; April 06; October 06
Impiliso: April 04; September 04; January 05; July 05; May 06; September 06
Uxolo: May 05; July 05; August 05; September 05; October 05; January 06; March 06; May 06; September 06

Impact self-assessments:
CRA: 10.10.06
Impiliso: 14.09.06
Uxolo: 12.09.06

Journal from researcher:
CRA, March 05 to October 06
Impiliso: March 04 to September 07
Uxolo: March 05 to September 07

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APPENDIX 1E: GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Appendix 2: Organisational Development Support (ODS) Policy of Community Connections

INTRODUCTION

The ODS programme aims to enable development processes within CBOs by facilitating change/ transformation processes. We see ourselves as facilitators, who will observe, gather information, analyse, give advise/propose change, work through resistances, facilitate transformation and give ongoing support. However, we acknowledge that we are only supporting the development of other people and their organisations, so they must take full ownership of their own development. We understand that personal development and relationships are crucial within Organisation Development (OD), and therefore focus on individuals as well as how they relate to the whole. We also understand that the process of gaining understanding/ diagnosis is most important when wanting to truly address an organisation's needs and respect its uniqueness. On an ongoing basis, we will conduct research and use all learnings from our consultancy services to improve our practice and further specialise on CBO needs and promote their sustainability.

The ODS programme operates upon requests from potential client organisations. Each organisation will be screened before contracting to ensure that our services will be of benefit for the community. We aim to work with appropriately 10-15 organisations per year, and strive to be accessible to CBOs regardless of their financial situation.

We generally encourage long-term interventions with each client-CBO, as we understand that real change needs time and a process oriented approach. We however also engage in short-term interventions to promote our services and create OD-awareness amongst CBOs.

Each ODS service will be implemented according to this policy and the procedure.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES

Contracts will be negotiated according to the following guiding principles:

- All ODS services should further Connections mission of CBO capacity building/community development.
- Services will predominantly be provided to CBOs.
- Commissions from government, NGOs, donors and corporate will be considered only if there is a direct benefit to CBOs and / or community development.
- Connections operates on a request-basis from potential clients based on a need for services.
- There must be sufficient capacity within Connections to deliver quality services and a genuine will/motivation from the client to receive such services.
- Contracts should not overshadow / compromise existing operational targets.
- Contracts must not compromise Connections principles and values.

CBO-SELECTION CRITERIA

The criteria for ODS services are a guide by which potential clients could be assessed to determine, whether they would be suitable for Connections services and be able to make full use of the service to further develop their organisation. Clients should ideally meet the following criteria:

- Be a community based organisation (i.e. group or structure made up of more than 3 individuals).
- The organisation is providing services which are beneficial to others beyond those directly involved in the organisation (community benefit),
- The services are based on identified need(s) in a community (i.e. needs driven),
- The organisation has a clear idea of what they want to achieve and how they intend doing so (i.e. vision & mission)
- The organisation demonstrates commitment to fulfilling what it has set out to do (through the time invested, ideas, structure & programmes)
- There is a certain level of consciousness about general development issues (development context exposure),
- The organisation is committed to practicing a developmental approach (people centred, equality, transparency, accountability, etc),

- The organisation articulates the need for acquiring OD intervention and has a sense of how it could help them,
- The organisation is ideally committed to a long-term holistic intervention process (not just once off workshops but gradual growth),
- The organisation is prepared to commit some of the resources to further such a process (people, time, finance etc),
- The organisation is committed to taking forward the outcomes of an OD process and developing their organisation.

NGO/Government/donor/corporate-SELECTION Criteria

- Work or support CBOs / or community development.
- Work in the not for profit sector.
- Our work would either be with their target CBOs directly; or with the commissioning agency in order to enhance their work in the communities.
- Services for CBOs are driven by the needs/requests of CBOs/community members, and not 'prescribed' by the commissioning body.
- Connections will then be able to interact directly and build a relationship with the actual client, which will inform the design of the programme.
- The commissioning agency needs to have sufficient finances for the intervention, as this aspect will also serve for Connections' income generation (discounts are negotiable).
- All commissions need to further Connections' mission and values/principles and therefore no commission should be undertaken if the process/ethics are questionable.

CORE PROCESS

- Once Connections has been approached for support, a request form should be completed immediately to assess needs / motivation and the support needed and taken to the team meeting, where responsibility will be allocated to one facilitator.
- Allocations will consider time frames, availability, accessibility, language, level of complexity of the case and level/area of expertise of the facilitator. If needed, re-allocation can happen after the first meeting, when details have been clarified. Co-facilitation from the training team should also be considered.
- The responsible facilitator will then contact the organisation within 1 week and set up a meeting with the leadership (preferably at Connections offices).
- All potential clients will be screened and must meet the above criteria. CBOs will also be profiled with our profile-tool, while NGOs/LG/Donors will be screened through a conversation.
- The facilitator will prepare a proposal, outlining the intervention including planning, implementation/ monitoring, evaluation, documentation, payment as well as roles, accountability and budget. The proposal will be negotiated with the client.
- CBOs can apply for a bursary if they are unable to pay the fee. Clients can pay 50% in Talents if possible.
- Once accepted, the proposal will be used as a working agreement, which will be signed by the leadership of the CBO and/or the commissioning agency and connections facilitator. Any changes which are made will be negotiated with the client.
- The facilitator will then start the process of gaining understanding through a detailed organisational diagnosis.
- The findings of the diagnosis will be presented to the client organisation and discussed, leading into a collective way forward.
- A proposal for the way forward and a budget might then be developed and negotiated with the client.
- If the initial proposal/working agreement covered a long-term process, each step of the intervention might include a new working agreement, outlining the content and payment of the particular step.
- Connections ODS staff will be accountable to the client as well as the Connections Director and Executive Committee and will ensure the efficient/ effective delivery of services.
- Any issues/difficulties, which arise, should be immediately addressed by the responsible facilitator. The Director of Connections should be called to intervene should the issue/ problem persist and threaten the credibility of Connections in any way. The contract might then be terminated.
- Should the client have a problem with Connections services, the OD facilitator should be contacted immediately. Should the problem persist, the Director or chairperson of the Executive Committee should be called to intervene and the contract might be terminated.
- After an ODS service has been successfully implemented, a written evaluation should take place and the contract can be renewed. A new relationship with the client should however be negotiated and a new contract established. All outstanding payments and outputs must have been delivered before a new contract can be considered.

In the following the Core process of the ODS is explained. Each individual process will need to be developed to suit specific needs/requests and might not cover the full process.

ODS phases	Action
Initial Request	❑ Contact made through phone, in person etc ❑ Request form filled ❑ Allocation of facilitator to meet (and potentially take on process) ❑ Appointment set for 'Screening Meeting'
Screening meeting and contracting	❑ Interview with leadership regarding request & intervention strategy (What, why, how do you think…?) ❑ Elaborate on how we work and why. ❑ Organisational profile done using questions guideline (if client is a CBO). ❑ Check our criteria whether we should work with them ❑ Take back to team meeting, check availability (and if needed re-allocate responsibility to the best suitable facilitator) ❑ Develop a proposal for the intervention, negotiate with client ❑ Sign working agreement ❑ Client file is opened and maintained throughout the following process
Deeper diagnosis	❑ Facilitate diagnosis (e.g. meetings/ review workshops/ interviews with leadership and individual staff/members or beneficiaries) with the aim to: 1. Establish a relationship of trust 2. Get a holistic picture of the organisation 3. Get to the root of the issue/ need
Analysis	❑ The OD facilitator then tries to analyse the situation and will develop a way of presenting and discussing the findings ❑ The process, findings and recommendations are documented
Presenting results and negotiating proposal	❑ The findings of the diagnosis phase will be presented to the organisation and verified ❑ Feedback and potential resistances will be engaged with ❑ A way forward for the OD-process will be decided upon collectively ❑ Aspects might be prioritised and an action plan developed for the way forward, potentially leading into a new proposal/ working agreement ❑ If needed create a core group with a clear mandate to take process forward
Facilitating transformation process	❑ Programme implemented as agreed ❑ Flexibility within programme to allow for organic development ❑ Research on topics needed in the process ❑ Monitoring/evaluation systems in use ❑ Reports to be submitted to client within 3 weeks after each intervention ❑ Personal journaling / reflection of the facilitator (e.g. using the action-learning cycle) ❑ The team & facilitators' group serves as a sounding board and support
Supporting implementation of transformation	❑ Helping to ground the outcomes of the process within the organisation ❑ Visits, mentoring / coaching, phone calls and further information / support with implementation; provide information/research as required
Evaluation & the future```	❑ Evaluation done ❑ Contract reviewed and terminated or renewed ❑ Impact assessments periodically

METHODOLOGY

- Personal or group interviews / conversations
- Workshops
- Coaching/Mentoring groups or individuals
- Focus group discussions
- Follow-up visits/calls/meetings
- Information dissemination (sectoral networks, IDPs)
- Referrals to relevant organisations, resources or literature/materials

Appendix 3: OD Methods

APPENDIX 3A: 4 PLAYERS & LEADERSHIP ARCHETYPES

Topic: Organisational Culture, Leadership style, Relationships, Communication

Phase(s) in ODS process
- o   Establishing relationship
- **X** Gaining understanding/Diagnosis
- o   Feedback session / working with resistance
- **X** Facilitating transformation
- o   Evaluations / Impact assessments
- o   Energisers/ ice breakers

Objectives: Participants reflect on their leadership style and ways of communication.

Possible outcomes
Participants get a better understanding of their own leadership and communication style and therefore are more able to improve it.

Process
1. If relevant, present or recap the Ladder of Inference, Ways of Listening, Effective Advocacy and Inquiry.
2. Present the 4 Player system, which explains how each individual can play particular roles in terms of communication. Allow participants to reflect on their own major roles, and which ones should be more developed:
- Mover – Supporter – Challenger – Observer
3. In relation to the 4 Players, reflect upon the 4 Leadership Archetypes and their shadow-areas (Collaborative Change Works, LCLA course manual).
- Queen – Lover – Warrior – Magician
After explaining each archetype, put up the 4 Archetypes on 4 different walls. Let participants choose which archetype each individual represents most, by standing next to it. Allow them to explain why. Then ask each person to stand next to the Archetype, where they feel they need to develop more. Debrief and make the link to the 4 Players.

Experience/knowledge required
Dialogue & Archetypes (Leadership for Collective Learning and Action materials (B. Jandernoa & G. Gillespie; Peter Senge & others)

Time needed: 1h or more depending on number of people and need for depth.

Resources needed: Charts with the Archetypes; room with wall space.

Type of organisation/CBO this has been used with?
- X Formal/registered
- X Small (up to 10 people)
- X Has a developed strategy & structure
- X Prior experience with OD
- X Most people literate

Original method/ references: The method is based on Leadership for Collective Learning and Action (LCLA) materials; Peter Senge & others

APPENDIX 3B: ACTION PLANNING

Topic
Programme planning

Phase(s) in ODS process
- o Establishing relationship
- o Gaining understanding/Diagnosis
- o Feedback session / working with resistance
X Facilitating transformation
- o Evaluations / Impact assessments
- o Energisers/ ice breakers

Objectives
Develop workable action/programme plans that can help the organisation structure its activities.

Possible outcomes
Action Plans are developed and supporting the implementation of programmes.

Process
First the group needs to agree on a useful format for action-planning. Ask in plenary, which questions an action plan should answer in order to be a useful tool and ensure a smooth implementation. A simple Action Plan would only involve 3 columns:
Activity – By when? – Who is responsible?

The organisation may decide to use more columns that will increase the specificity of the action and its expected outcomes (see below). Once the group has agreed on a format, test it collectively with one programme. If it works well and each participant seems to understand the tool, ask each Programme-facilitator/group to draw up the Action Plan for the year (or any needed time frame). It will be useful to take the previous programme review, to take the learning from the review into account when planning for new activities.
The tool can be used for programme as well as for management/admin activities.

Afterwards ask each group to present. You may want to insert every planned activity into a year planner while people are presenting. Through that there will be a complete year planner by the end of the presentations, which will also highlight if any activities will interfere with each other. Check the year planner in order to finalise dates and make sure that operations can happen smoothly, and some time remains for internal processes such as staff meetings, OD processes, training courses, etc.

Example:

Programme: HIV/AIDS and Nutrition
Objectives:
1. To promote information and knowledge to the underprivileged community about HIV/AIDS and Nutrition through briefings, workshops and trainings
2. To promote good nutrition and food gardening.
3. To promote voluntary HIV-counselling and testing.
4. To promote treatment literacy, especially ABCD of HIV.
5. To educate mothers how to breastfeed.

Activities	By when?	Who is responsible? Who else is involved?	Expected Outcomes What will have changed as a result?	Indicators How will you measure?	Resources What will you need?

Experience/knowledge required
Facilitation experience and knowledge about planning.

Time needed
Depending on the number of plans, activities and time frame, this can take the full day.

Resources needed
Flipchart paper, marker pens, breakaway spaces.

Type of organisation/CBO this has been used with?
X Formal/registered
o   Informal/not registered
X Small (up to 10 people)
X Medium (10-25 people)
o   Large (over 25)
X Has a developed strategy & structure?
o   Operating randomly without strategy
X Prior experience with OD
o   Less OD experienced
X Most people literate
o   High illiteracy
o   Other comments:

Original method/ references
Various planning tools in the development sector, such as Logical Framework.

Any other comments?
This tool is only useful if an organisation has programmes that need planning according to months and days. The more informally/randomly the organisation operates, the higher the likelihood that such plans will not be applied. The tool can also be intimidating if people have not been exposed to the planning jargon so far.
One needs to be clear whether it is worth the time and effort, and the organisation will actually use the tools. Some might also request it because of funders' requirements.

APPENDIX 3C: BEST PRACTICE INQUIRY

Topic
Strategy/Practice Review

Phase(s) in ODS process
- o   Establishing relationship
- X Gaining understanding/Diagnosis
- o   Feedback session / working with resistance
- X Facilitating transformation
- o   Evaluations / Impact assessments
- o   Energisers/ ice breakers

Objectives
Identify the core practices of the organisation, as well as prioritise where improvement needs to happen.

Possible outcomes
More clarity about the own activities and best practices.

Process
Facilitate an organisational inquiry with groups of 2 discussing the following questions:

* Describe an experience that made you feel most alive, excited and fulfilled about your work / participation in the organisation.
 – What made it exciting?
 – What was your role in it?
* What are the energising factors that you feel give life and meaning to the organisation?
* In your view, what are the 3 key best practices of the organisation? =the things it does well
* If you had 3 things to transform/improve about the organisation, what would they be?

After the group work, the groups present their 3 best practices and 3 things to improve. Use the plenary to have a dialogue to make meaning of the presentations.

Experience/knowledge required
Good facilitation experience to help the meaning making process in the group.

Time needed
Instructions: 10 min
Group work: 30 min
Feedback & dialogue: depending on number of people. Possibly 2h for the whole exercise.

Resources needed
Flip chart, marker pens, colour cards/paper, tape or prestick; possibly break-away venues.

Type of organisation/CBO this has been used with?
   X Informal/not registered
   X Large (over 25)
   X Has a developed strategy & structure?
   X Prior experience with OD
   X Most people literate

Original method/ references
Adapted from AI methodology and experiences with CDRA.

APPENDIX 3D: BUS ACTIVITY

Topic
Review of Structure, Relationships, Organisational Culture, Group Dynamics

Phase(s) in ODS process
- o Establishing relationship
- X Gaining understanding/Diagnosis
- o Feedback session / working with resistance
- X Facilitating transformation
- o Evaluations / Impact assessments
- o Energisers/ ice breakers

Objectives
- ❖ Surface the team-dynamics, relationships, leadership in an organisation
- ❖ Point out strengths and gaps
- ❖ Make the conversation about the above easier through using a metaphor

Possible outcomes
Participants will have deeper insight into their own organizational team-dynamics, relationships, leadership, etc. and can point out more easily where the strengths and challenges lie.

Process
1. Ask participants to imagine their organisation to be a bus, and to then think what part of the bus they themselves would represent. Then ask them to each take their chair and form the bus without much discussion. Each participant should decide her/himself where what to represent and not be told by others.
2. Ask each individual what he/she is and why she/he chose that (how does it represent you?). Also ask how the person is feeling in that position, and whether it is easy/difficult, etc to do the work. Relate to other parts of the bus, too. Continue using metaphors, so that people don't have to directly refer to each other, i.e. ask the driver how the bus is rolling, whether the engine works well, etc. (usually people come up with these metaphors themselves).
3. When each person has spoken, ask the group about the state of the whole bus. What impression does the bus give? Is it in a good condition? What stands out?
4. If you like, you can debrief the activity by asking people how they felt about it.

Experience/knowledge required
Understanding of organisations and their dynamics.

Time needed
1. 5 min.
2. 30-60 min (depending on the size of the group)
3. 5-15 min.
4. 5 min.

Resources needed
Flipchart paper, marker pens, chairs.

Type of organisation/CBO this has been used with?
All types of CBOs.

Original method/ references
Connections' Director was exposed to the method at UCT. Not clear about original reference.

APPENDIX 3E: CHANGES IN THE CONTEXT

Topic: Understanding the context/environment

Phase(s) in ODS process
- o   Establishing relationship
- X Gaining understanding/Diagnosis
- o   Feedback session / working with resistance
- X Facilitating transformation
- o   Evaluations / Impact assessments
- o   Energisers/ ice breakers

Objectives: Explore & understand changes in the environment.

Possible outcomes
Participants have a better understanding of changes that occurred in the context, and how those impact on the organisation.

Process
Version 1:
Ask small groups to think about the current environment/context, in which the organisation is operating. The groups could look at the Political, Economical, Social, Environmental and Legal context (depending on which are relevant to the organisation), as well as changes that have occurred since the inception of the organisation.
Present the group work in plenary, and discuss with participants, how the context is affecting their purpose.
Also try to determine challenges that this poses on the organisation, and whether the purpose and activities are proper responses to the current context.

Version 2:
Ask the small groups to reflect on their organisation in relation to the environment, e.g.:
1. What is the current situation in the organisation? How are things going?
2. What is the situation in the community, city, and country (politically, socially, economically)?
Draw an image that represents your organisation (including elements of it and the organisation as a whole). Also draw the context (community…country) you are experiencing.

Experience/knowledge required: Facilitation experience and a broad understanding of the context.

Time needed
Depending on group size and complexity of the situation. Could take 2h (30 min group work; 30 min presentations; 1h dialogue).

Resources needed: Flip chart paper, marker pens, crayons, break away spaces for small groups.

Type of organisation/CBO this has been used with?
- X Informal/not registered
- X Large (over 25)
- X Operating randomly without strategy
- X Less OD experienced
- X Most people literate
- X High illiteracy
- o   Other comments: Version 2 was used with less literate people, as they could draw.

Original method/ references: Version 1 came from CDRA

APPENDIX 3F: DIALOGUE PRACTICE

Topic
Communication; collective learning; group dynamics; organizational culture.

Phase(s) in ODS process
- o   Establishing relationship
- o   Gaining understanding/Diagnosis
- o   Feedback session / working with resistance
- **X** Facilitating transformation
- o   Evaluations / Impact assessments
- o   Energisers/ ice breakers

Objectives
- ⇨   Improve the communication style in the organisation towards learning conversations;
- ⇨   Enable collective learning;
- ⇨   Improve group dynamics by overcoming communication breakdowns.

Possible outcomes
Participants see that through effective dialogue, there can be a better understanding of each other, and problems can be resolved in a healthier way.
It has also lightened up heavy and problematic relationships, as they saw that things can be easier when communicating properly or checking the ladder of inference.

Process
1. Introduce the topic through some input, and engage participant with it, e.g.:

QUALITY OF OUR RELATIONSHIPS
Characterised by:
- -   Open, honest communication
- -   Ability to raise tough issues with each other
- -   Capacity to give feedback cleanly and receive non-defensively

          +

QUALITY OF OUR THINKING
Characterised by:
- -   Capacity to reveal the reasoning/insight which led to a particular view
- -   Ability to set aside preconceived views and ideas and inquire into others' thinking
- -   The capacity to suspend judgement and listen
- -   The ability to surface and test our own and other's assumptions and beliefs
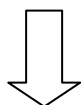
QUALITY OF OUR RESULTS

2. Then, you can also use other inputs, such as the ***Ladder of inference*** together with a story from a work situation, to illustrate the way people make assumptions about each other without confirming them, which can turn into beliefs, etc. Let the group reflect on examples of their own circumstances. Mention that it is really important to gather more data (information) before we make judgements about what others think about us.

3. Now, the different skills of dialogue can be introduced and practiced:

Listening skills
One way of understanding each other better is to try and listen attentively. Introduce a listening exercise (from CDRA or LCLA), and allow pairs of participants to take turns in talking about a theme (e.g. the strategy of the year/one's own role in the organisation, etc.) while the partner listens attentively. The partner gives feedback afterwards to verify what was 'heard'.

Debrief the exercise.

Effective Advocacy & Inquiry

Give an input was on advocacy, and introduce a model for effective advocacy (from CollaborativeChangeWorks 2004: 19). Give examples and let others try it out, until the method is clear.
Then introduce inquiry was and provide questions to ask (from CollaborativeChangeWorks 2004: 21).
The group then chooses a theme and starts a dialogue by using advocacy, inquiry and listening. Debrief.

4. If the process is enjoyed by the team, ask the group whether they would want to continue using it for the rest of the workshop. Appoint an observer and leave the examples visible for all.

Experience/knowledge required
Dialogue (Peter Senge; LCLA or others)

Time needed
+/-2h, depending how long you practice it and how big the group is.

Resources needed
Charts with guidelines for effective advocacy, inquiry, listening, …
A room with chairs in a circle to practice dialogue.

Type of organisation/CBO this has been used with?
    X Formal/registered
    o   Informal/not registered
    X Small (up to 10 people)
    o   Medium (10-25 people)
    o   Large (over 25)
    X Has a developed strategy & structure?
    o   Operating randomly without strategy
    X Prior experience with OD
    o   Less OD experienced
    X Most people literate
    o   High illiteracy
    o   Other comments:

Original method/ references
The method is based on the LCLA course/materials, which draw from Peter Senge.

Any other comments?
It seems very helpful and people enjoy it once they get the idea.

APPENDIX 3G: EXTERNAL VISION

Topic
Vision for the world/country/community/…

Phase(s) in ODS process
- o Establishing relationship
- o Gaining understanding/Diagnosis
- o Feedback session / working with resistance
- **X** Facilitating transformation
- o Evaluations / Impact assessments
- o Energisers/ ice breakers

Objectives: The organisation develops a Vision for how they would like to see the world in future.

Possible outcomes: The members of an organisation are clear about what they are working towards.

Process
Talk about Vision in relation to Current Reality, or even facilitate a Visioning meditation as an introduction (see Visioning Method). You can also introduce in any other way if appropriate (e.g. if the group has already got an idea of visioning, no explanatory intro is needed).

2. A Vision should give the organisation inspiration and clarity as to what it is working towards. Even if the organisation cannot achieve the Vision alone, it can inspire others to support it and collectively work towards a better society.
Discuss what scope the Vision would have in terms of space (world/country/community) and time frames (e.g. 20 years).

In plenary, brainstorm words that should be part of the Vision-statement. These words should be positive, and capture qualities of the kind of country/society that the organisation wishes to contribute to.
Then divide into groups and ask each group to write a draft Vision-statement, and add an image which represents the Vision.

Ask the groups to present back in plenary. Then ask what they see, what stands out, what strikes people; where are commonalities and differences? What kind of Vision do they all agree upon? Make sure there is consensus and participants are happy/ excited about this vision. Try to formulate *one* statement collectively, or by giving the task to a small group. Refine the final statement in plenary.

Experience/knowledge required
Visioning / Vision vs. Current Reality; Peter Senge materials and others

Time needed
2h or more, depending on the size of the group

Resources needed
Flip chart, marker pens, crayons; main venue and breakaway rooms

Type of organisation/CBO this has been used with?
X Formal/registered
X Informal/not registered
X Small (up to 10 people)
X Large (over 25)
X Has a developed strategy & structure?
X Operating randomly without strategy
X Prior experience with OD
X Less OD experienced
X Most people literate
X High illiteracy

APPENDIX 3H: INTERNAL VISION

Topic: Vision for the organisation

Phase(s) in ODS process
- o   Establishing relationship
- o   Gaining understanding/Diagnosis
- o   Feedback session / working with resistance
- **X** Facilitating transformation
- o   Evaluations / Impact assessments
- o   Energisers/ ice breakers

Objectives: The organisation develops a Vision for themselves, e.g. how do they as an organisation want to look like in 3 years.

Possible outcomes: The members of an organisation are clear about how they want to develop their organisation and can therefore develop a strategy to get there.

Process

1. Talk about Vision in relation to Current Reality, or even facilitate a Visioning meditation as an introduction (see Visioning Method). You can also introduce in any other way if appropriate (e.g. if the group has already got an idea of visioning, no explanatory intro is needed).

2. Divide the participants into groups of 2-5, and ask them to work with the following questions:
* Share/ talk about the kind of organisation that you like to build over the next 3 years.
What are the elements of this organisation?
How do you feel being part of it?
* Draw an Image/symbol to represent this 'ideal' organisation. The image should inspire you.
* Add in writing:
- What are the Values/Principles that we are practicing in our ideal organisation?
- What activities/programmes are we running?
- How do the structure/relationships look like?

Allow the groups to present their results and ask questions of clarity. Then ask the group what they see, what stands out, what strikes people; where are commonalities and differences? What kind of Vision do they all agree upon? Make sure there is consensus and participants are happy/excited about this vision.

Experience/knowledge required: Visioning / Vision vs. Current Reality; Peter Senge materials and others

Time needed
1.   Depending on content up to 30 min.
2.   1h or more, depending on the size of the group

Resources needed: Flip chart, marker pens, crayons; main venue and breakaway rooms

Type of organisation/CBO this has been used with?
A&B Formal/registered
C Informal/not registered
A&B Small (up to 10 people)
C Large (over 25)
ABC Has a developed strategy & structure?
ABC Prior experience with OD
ABC Most people literate

Original method/ references: The method is based on Appreciative Inquiry; Peter Senge; CDRA

APPENDIX 3I: ORGANISATIONAL INQUIRY / LEVELS OF COMPLEXITY

Topic
Overall Assessment; can be used for Strategy Review or Development, Structure, Organisational Culture, Group Dynamics, etc.

Phase(s) in ODS process
- o   Establishing relationship
- X Gaining understanding/Diagnosis
- o   Feedback session / working with resistance
- X Facilitating transformation
- X Evaluations / Impact assessments
- o   Energisers/ ice breakers

Objectives
Members of an organisation become aware of the overall organisation/bigger picture as well as the elements within.

Possible outcomes
Through increased awareness of the organisation, participants can clarify their strengths, weaknesses and where they are located.

Process
1. Divide participants into groups of 4-5. If useful, the groups can represent different sections of the organisation, e.g. the ManCom, admin/co-ordination and programme staff level. Each group looks at the following questions:
- ❖   Think of your organisation as it is at present; think of the bigger picture/ overall organisation; also think of the various elements/aspects; what do you like/not like? How do you feel about it?
- ❖   Draw an image of your organisation that symbolises the above. Don't use words. Use colours and as many symbols/images as you like.

2. The groups present their images and explain all the details. Major points are scribed on cards by the facilitator during the presentation. After each presentation give time for questions for clarity. After the last presentation, ask the plenary what stands out for them/ what strikes them? Continue scribing those points.

3. Present the Levels of Complexity chart and explain its elements (see appendix). When everybody is clear, ask the plenary to help you place the cards to each level they belong to. Again ask the plenary what they see and what they can learn from the exercise. Scribe the learning, interpretations from the group about their organisation.

Experience/knowledge required
Understanding organisations and the Levels of Complexity Chart.

Time needed
1. 30-45 min.
2. 30 min. (or more depending on number of groups)
3. 30 min.

Resources needed
Flipchart, marker pens, crayons, colour cards, Levels of Complexity Chart prepared on flipchart; workshop venue.

Type of organisation/CBO this has been used with?
- X Formal/registered
- o   Informal/not registered
- o   Small (up to 10 people)
- X Medium (10-25 people)

X Large (over 25)
X Has a developed strategy & structure?
X Operating randomly without strategy
X Prior experience with OD
X Less OD experienced
X Most people literate
o   High illiteracy

Original method/ references

CDRA Manual of Readings & Nomvula's input

Any other comments?

The levels of complexity seem confusing at first, but as soon as I ask where to place the cards, people are very quick in understanding the chart, placing the cards where they belong and interpreting what they see. It therefore seems like a useful tool even at CBO level.

LEVELS OF COMPLEXITY	
6. ENVIRONMENTAL social, economic and political environment	• Difficult conditions of HIV-work are worse in Khayelitsha: - no cure - denial - discrimination • Are we loosing the battle against those conditions?
5. IDENTITY purpose, spirit of the organisation	• Organisation stable and visible • we build the: - family, - community, - society, - country • FP and HIV programme: happy beneficiaries, people get information and training
4. VALUES policies, principles, guidelines	• Strong values of openness, help & support • We have an open door, our services are available to all
3. RELATIONSHIPS co-operation, how we work together	• Brilliant Board: transparent, honest & good communication with staff • Need to improve dialogue and communication amongst staff • Need more openness • Information needs to be shared more so that decision can be taken collectively/ in a democratic way • Ideas from staff need to be taken seriously by coordinators
2. STRUCTURES/ PROCEDURES formal processes, systems	• Communication systems to be improved: e.g. staff meetings, one-on-one meetings, listening; • Pressure/ stress on social worker due to delays by external SW • Internal management and coordination needs to be improved
1. PHYSICAL LEVEL Resources, equipment, skills, (wo-)manpower	• Quality staff / high level of integrity • Funding until April-July 2007 • *Why are Community and Social worker drawn in a box?*

APPENDIX 3J: POLICY DEVELOPMENT

Topic
Policies & Systems

Phase(s) in ODS process
- o   Establishing relationship
- o   Gaining understanding/Diagnosis
- o   Feedback session / working with resistance
X Facilitating transformation
- o   Evaluations / Impact assessments
- o   Energisers/ ice breakers

Objectives
Developing relevant organisational policies, e.g. when a need for more regulations arises.

Possible outcomes
Policies are developed that are relevant and user-friendly.

Process
The following is an example, which can be implemented in many other ways. The answers are also examples, which may come from the group or which the facilitator can ad. It is important to work with what the group comes up with and not be too stringent about these contents. However it forms a mix of input/training and process work:

1.   Brainstorm: **What are organisational policies?** Ensure that everyone is clear what they mean.

2. As a second step locate policies within the organisational framework and how they link to the conceptual framework, values, principles, procedures/systems and the practice (see below). You can use one of the existing values of the organisation to develop an example of how the value can shape or influence the development of principles, staffing policy and staff systems.
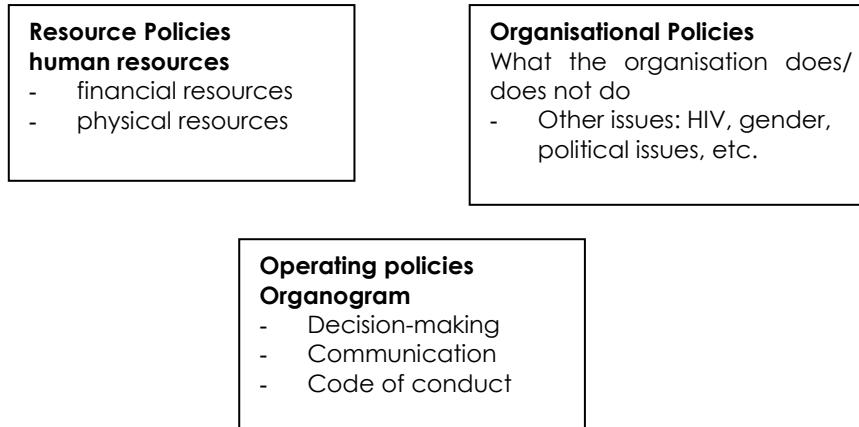

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

SHARED VALUES

PRINCIPLES
(ORGANISATIONAL & OPERATIONAL)

POLICIES

PROCEDURES/SYSTEMS

PRACTICE
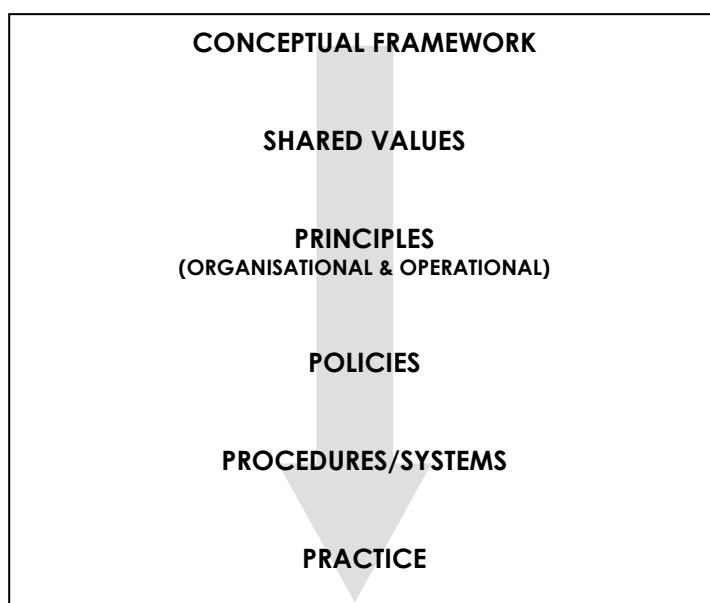
3. Brainstorm **Principles** for policy development, e.g.:
- •   Fairest way of dealing with an issue / how things should be ideally
- •   Broad application / reflect the interest beyond those of the group developing it
- •   Take a range of interests into account
- •   Should be long-term but also reviewed and amended regularly (Olive, Ideas for a Change 5: 10)
- •   Policies must be linked to the mission and strategy of the organisation (ibid: 11).

4. Ask: **Why develop policy?**
Examples:
1. Stage of organisations life (life cycle); e.g. move from pioneering to differentiated phase
2. Due to a particular experience the need for a specific policy arises
⇨ Policy eases & de-centralises decision-making (not all decisions need to me taken by the leader)
⇨ Ensures more coherent and shared practice
⇨ Higher level of fairness & consistency in decision-making
⇨ Keeps the organisation legal
⇨ Ensures smooth running of organisation and enables everyone to work effectively

5. Brainstorm different policies, and cluster them into **Types**, e.g.:

Resource Policies **human resources** - financial resources - physical resources	**Organisational Policies** What the organisation does/ does not do - Other issues: HIV, gender, political issues, etc.

Operating policies
Organogram
- Decision-making
- Communication
- Code of conduct

6. Brainstorm what policies are needed in the organisation (currently and in future). Prioritise the ones that the organisation needs now.

7. Cycle of policy development
In order to understand the bigger picture, introduce and discuss the Cycle of Policy Development[87]:
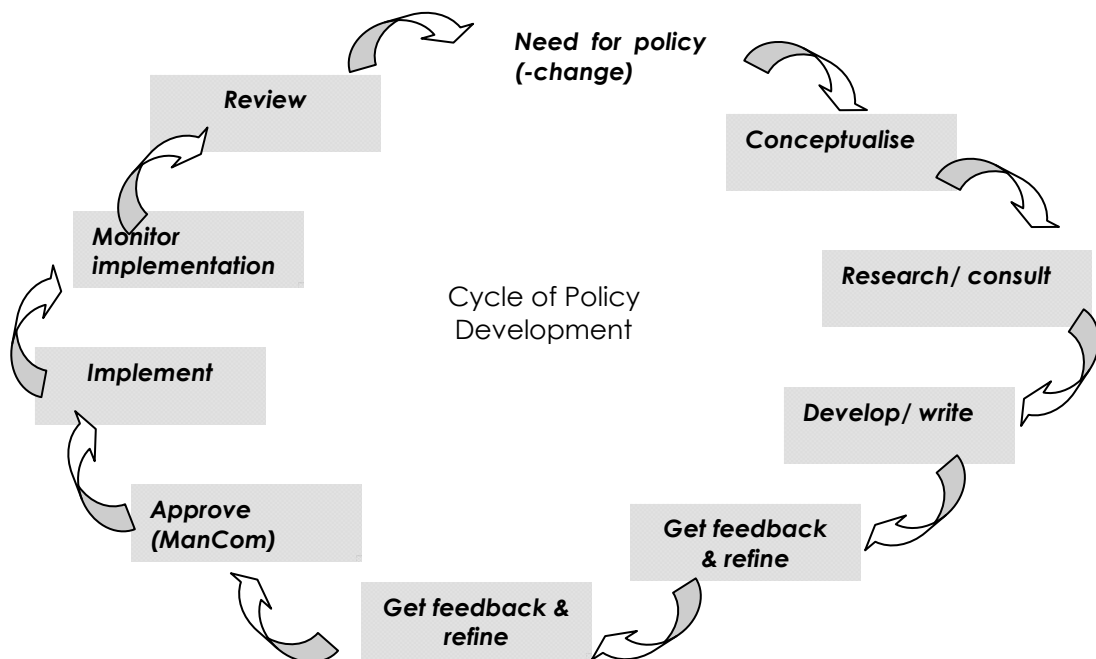
8. Get ready to start developing policies. Ask participants to form small groups, who brainstorm questions that each particular policy should address. With this the groups can clarify: **What questions does each policy need to answer?**

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[87] Adapted from Olive, Ideas for a Change 5, page 21

9. Introduce an **exercise for policy development**, which will help the groups collect the content for each section of the policy:

Step 1: Rationale
Why do we need this policy now? What is the current situation? (1 paragraph)

Step 2: Objectives
What should the policy achieve/ ensure?

Step 3: Scope
Who does it apply to?

Step 4: Principles
What are the values/principles that guide this policy?

Step 5: Content
Answer all the questions that you have brainstormed for this policy to answer.

(Adapted from Olive, Ideas for a Change 5, page 24)

The groups then started working on each policy. The activity can be given as a task to be finalised before the next session.

10. The next session can then be used to **present each policy-draft** in plenary, clarify questions and agree on points of discussion. It is important to make sure the policies are in line with the legislative framework of South Africa, e.g. Labour Relations Act. Allow people to really engage with the policies and their meaning, even if the decision-making process turns into heated discussions.
Agree on who will type up the drafts, and who will compile all the policies into one document, which can be circulated and edited again. Set time frames for who will read and comment on policies by when, and when the Management Committee will be able to adopt them.

11. Provide **follow-up support**, e.g. through **mentoring** for the editing and finalising of the policies.
Suggest to **Monitor and review/ adapt regularly.**

Experience/knowledge required
Knowledge about organisational policies and legislative requirements.

Time needed
Ideally about 2-3 days for the first draft if the group wants to work on several policies; it helps to have breaks in-between for tasks. Mentoring afterwards over time.

Resources needed
Flipchart, marker pens, examples of simple policies, legislation documents.

Type of organisation/CBO this has been used with?
X Formal/registered
o   Informal/not registered
X Small (up to 10 people)
o   Medium (10-25 people)
o   Large (over 25)
X Has a developed strategy & structure?
o   Operating randomly without strategy
X Prior experience with OD
o   Less OD experienced
X Most people literate
o   High illiteracy

Original method/ references
Adapted from Olive: Ideas for a Change 5.

APPENDIX 3K: REVIEW OF PROGRAMMES/ACTIVITIES

Topic: Strategic Review

Phase(s) in ODS process
- o   Establishing relationship
- X Gaining understanding/Diagnosis
- o   Feedback session / working with resistance
- o   Facilitating transformation
- o   Evaluations / Impact assessments
- o   Energisers/ ice breakers

Objectives: Review current programmes or activities the organisation is running.

Possible outcomes: Participants have reflected on their activities and drawn learning for the way forward.

Process

Version 1 (for organisations with existing programme plans):
Ask each person/group who is responsible for a programme reflect on the following questions and prepare a presentation (which could also be prepared in advance of the session). Possible questions are:

1. Programme Name
2. Objectives of the programme (of the year 200x)
3. What activities were implemented this year?
4. What are the strengths of the programme?
5. What are challenges / weaknesses?
6. What can we learn & recommend for this programme?

Version 2 (for organisations who run activities, which are less formal/not planned):
Ask groups to review the activities of the organisation in a creative way. E.g. each group draws a fire on flipchart, and then draws those activities, that are working/burning well at the heart of the fire, while those not working well are placed at the margins. Activities that should take place but are not happening at all can be placed outside the fire. The drawings are presented in plenary, and a dialogue held to identify the core activities and how they are currently working. This activity can also be used to stimulate a conversation around good practices and the purpose of the organisation.

Experience/knowledge required
Facilitation experience & an understanding about reviewing organisational programmes/activities.

Time needed: Depending on group size and number of activities. Approximately 2h.

Resources needed: Flipchart, crayons, marker pens, breakaway spaces.

Type of organisation/CBO this has been used with?
- X Formal/registered
- x Informal/not registered
- x Small (up to 10 people)
- x Medium (10-25 people)
- x Large (over 25)
- x Has a developed strategy & structure?
- X Operating randomly without strategy
- X Prior experience with OD
- X Less OD experienced
- X Most people literate
- X High illiteracy

Original method/ references: various planning tools

APPENDIX 3L: PURPOSE/MISSION DEVELOPMENT

Topic
Mission & Strategy

Phase(s) in ODS process
- o   Establishing relationship
- X Gaining understanding/Diagnosis
- o   Feedback session / working with resistance
- X Facilitating transformation
- o   Evaluations / Impact assessments
- o   Energisers/ ice breakers

Objectives
Gain clarity about the purpose of the organisation and its relevance.

Possible outcomes
Participants have re-connected with their purpose and potentially adapted it.

Process
There are many variations depending on whether the purpose needs to be clarified or reviewed, and what has come before (e.g. understanding the environment). The following is an example:

Ask groups to work on the following:
* Talk about the purpose/mission of the organisation. Try to find a Leading Image that describes this purpose and draw it. Then look at the following questions:
- ξ   What are the broad goals relating to the leading image: what is the purpose of the organisation?
- ξ   How will the goals be achieved?
- ξ   What are the values / guiding principles that come out of the (Vision &) Purpose of the organisation?
- ξ   What is the unique contribution that your organisation is making to the context/community? => What would be missing if the organisation did not exist? What needs are we addressing?

Present in plenary and talk about the responses. Find commonalities and differences in the various presentations and work towards a collective purpose.
The formulation of the purpose/mission statement could become a task for a small number of people, who would present it back in plenary for it to be finalised (if the statements needs to be formulated).

Experience/knowledge required: Facilitation experience.

Time needed: Depending on group size and depth of the activity. Could take about 2h.

Resources needed: Flipchart paper, marker pens, crayons, breakaway spaces.

Type of organisation/CBO this has been used with?
- o   Formal/registered
- X Informal/not registered
- o   Small (up to 10 people)
- X Medium (10-25 people)
- X Large (over 25)
- X Has a developed strategy & structure?
- o   Operating randomly without strategy
- X Prior experience with OD
- X Less OD experienced
- X Most people literate
- o   High illiteracy

Original method/ references
Adapted from CDRA

APPENDIX 3M: STRUCTURE REVIEW/ ORGANOGRAM

Topic: Organisational Structure

Phase(s) in ODS process
- o   Establishing relationship
- X Gaining understanding/Diagnosis
- o   Feedback session / working with resistance
- X Facilitating transformation
- o   Evaluations / Impact assessments
- o   Energisers/ ice breakers

Objectives: Review the current structure.

Possible outcomes
Participants have a clear sense of their organisational structure including processes and practices to make it work, and have addressed concerns.

Process
Both variations can well be combined. They both assume that there is an existing structure/organogram.

Variation 1:
Put the organogram up by sticking all peoples' roles and names up on a flipchart. Ask the group to review the organogram and make changes where necessary; e.g. where the structure is not relevant or has changed, or where they feel that change is needed.
Then ask the group, where and how the structure could promote particular principles, such as good relationships, democracy, good communication, information flow and accountability (depending on which of those principles are currently relevant to the organisation or have been difficult to uphold).
Use different colour pens to ad lines or circles which symbolise existing practices/processes, and add collectively what else is needed to make things work better, improve communication, etc.
Variation 2:
Collectively draw the current organisational structure. Ask each individual or pairs to write what he/she perceives to be strengths and challenges on colour-coded cards. Those are placed on the structure and explanations given by each person.
Facilitate a dialogue about what came out, the strengths & challenges; and what needs to be understood and strengthened or ultimately changed.

Experience/knowledge required
Facilitation experience and understanding of organisational structure, relationships, roles, etc.

Time needed: The whole exercise can take 1h or longer, depending on what needs to be addressed.

Resources needed: Flipchart, marker pens, colour cards (2 colours), prestick, cut colour cards/paper with names of org. members.

Type of organisation/CBO this has been used with?
- X Formal/registered
- X Small (up to 10 people)
- X Has a developed strategy & structure?
- X Prior experience with OD
- X Most people literate

Original method/ references: various

APPENDIX 3N: SUSTAINABILITY BRAINSTORM

Topic: Overall Organisational Assessment, Strategy Review or Development, Governance

Phase(s) in ODS process
- o Establishing relationship
- o Gaining understanding/Diagnosis
- **X** Feedback session / working with resistance
- **X** Facilitating transformation
- o Evaluations / Impact assessments
- o Energisers/ ice breakers

Objectives
- ❖ engagement with the term sustainability & clarifying organizational sustainability,
- ❖ brainstorming what needs to be in place for the (own) organisation to be sustainable.

Possible outcomes: Participants understand the term and are clear what they need to achieve in order for their organisation to become more sustainable.

Process
1. Ask participants to brainstorm in pairs what they understand the term "sustainability" to mean. Collect & scribe feedback in plenary and explain more, give examples.
2. In relation to the general term, ask whether they can explain "organizational sustainability". Collect and scribe in plenary.
3. Take newsprint and write the 'Sustainable' with the organizational name in the centre of the sheet. Then ask the group what needs to be in place for the organisation to be sustainable. Collect feedback by creating a mind map, and add points relating to each other to the same branch of the map. Also ask how certain 'branches' are connected to others (e.g. 'quality services' might be linked to 'clear vision & mission' or 'PME'; but it also contributes to 'support from the community').
4. Finally a mind map will be completed, which represents major aspects of the organisations sustainability. The facilitator can summarise linking points and how they connect to others.
5. Then he/she can ask the participants which of the aspects they would like to prioritise/address first, especially if the image seems daunting. It can then be clarified that one step can be addressed at a time, so that the CBO can grow organically.

Experience/knowledge required
The facilitator needs to understand the term sustainability and where it comes from; as well as mind-mapping. Knowledge about CBOs is required to help make the mind-map meaningful.

Time needed
1. 15 min. / 2. 5 min. / 3. 30 min. / 4. 5. min. / 5. 10 min.

Resources needed: Newsprint, marker pens, venue/hall to accommodate whole organisation.

Type of organisation/CBO this has been used with?
A&B Informal/not registered
A Small (up to 10 people)
B Large (over 25)
A Has a developed strategy & structure?
B Operating randomly without strategy
A Prior experience with OD
B Less OD experienced
A Most people literate
B High illiteracy

Original method/ references: The method was developed by the researcher.

APPENDIX 3O: SYSTEMS DEVELOPMENT & REPORTING

Topic: Systems

Phase(s) in ODS process
- o   Establishing relationship
- o   Gaining understanding/Diagnosis
- o   Feedback session / working with resistance
- X Facilitating transformation
- o   Evaluations / Impact assessments
- o   Energisers/ ice breakers

Objectives: The organisation develops useful systems.

Possible outcomes: Relevant Systems are in place and being applied.

Process

This is an example for report writing:
Brainstorm why report writing is relevant, what type of reports should be written and who is responsible for it:
1. Why do we need reports in our organisation?
2. What type of reports do we need and who will write them?
E.g.:

Type of report	Who will write them?
Monthly staff report	All staff
Minutes of meetings	Administrator
Quarterly and annual funders and ManCom report	Coordinator
Annual report	Coordinator with staff and ManCom
Social Development report (annual)	Coordinator
Financial report	Bookkeeper/administrator

Formats can then be developed for the Monthly Report, Annual Report and Minute taking (see Appendix). The funders report has to follow the outline given by each funder.
Mention that it will remain up to the staff to take up responsibility in actually writing the reports and following the given outlines. It is important to plan in the time needed for report writing to avoid a last-minute report that might lack in quality. Finally report writing can be seen as a learning exercise both in developing the skill as well as learning from the own action in a more structured way (by following the Action-Learning steps).
In the same way systems/formats can be developed to allow for the smooth implementation of programmes and policies. E.g.: Minute taking format, Leave application form, Evaluation formats that don't require literacy, Case documentation for Programme work

Experience/knowledge required: Facilitation experience and knowledge of useful systems.

Time needed: Depends on the number of systems.

Resources needed: Flipchart, marker pens, systems examples.

Type of organisation/CBO this has been used with?
   X Formal/registered
   X Small (up to 10 people)
   X Has a developed strategy & structure?
   X Prior experience with OD
   X Most people literate

Original method/ references: various

Appendix 3P: Visioning

Topic
Personal, group or organisational visioning; Strategy development; internal vision

Phase(s) in ODS process
- o Establishing relationship
- o Gaining understanding/Diagnosis
- o Feedback session / working with resistance
- X Facilitating transformation
- o Evaluations / Impact assessments
- o Energisers/ ice breakers

Objectives
- ❖ Participants get in touch with their own personal vision for themselves, their surroundings and their organisation/work situation.
- ❖ They understand the relationship between vision and current reality and the creative tension in-between

Possible outcomes
Participants see their own vision and understand that they can influence their reality by focussing on /giving energy to the vision, instead of focussing on harsh realities.

Process
1. Explain to the group what you want to do and ask for permission for the meditation. Facilitate a visioning meditation: "sit comfortably and close your eyes, breathe deeply several times, and as you breathe in pull up tensions in your body, as you breathe out let them go. Become more and more comfortable and relaxed. If thoughts come into your mind, you can let them pass by like a cloud in the sky, without holding on to it (pause and give time).

See yourself at home in your normal life, observe how things are, how they feel, etc. Then you walk out and go to your office. How do you get there? Car, public transport, walking? See yourself arrive in the office. How is it there? How does it feel? (Pause and give time).

Now step outside. There is a ladder that leads high up. Climb up this ladder. The higher you climb, the more you distance yourself from your current reality. At the end of the ladder you find a platform. Step on the platform, it is perfectly safe. There is nothing around you except white light. This is the space for you to create your own vision. Fill the space with a picture of how you would like to see your life. Give it as much colour and light as you whish. Look at how it makes you feel to be in your ideal life situation. How does your home look like? Who is there? How is your organisation/work? How is your community? (pause and give time).

When you are ready, you can take this vision and minimise its' size, so that you can carry it with you. Go back to the ladder, come down slowly and take your vision with into your current reality. Know that by carrying your vision close to you, you will be able to give energy to it and with that, materialise it in your reality. (pause and give time).

When you feel ready, take some more deep breaths and open your eyes.

2. Debrief the exercise and ask participants to share some of the visions and feelings they had during the meditation.

3. Introduce the concept of Creative Visioning, and explain the Creative Tension between the Vision and the Current reality:
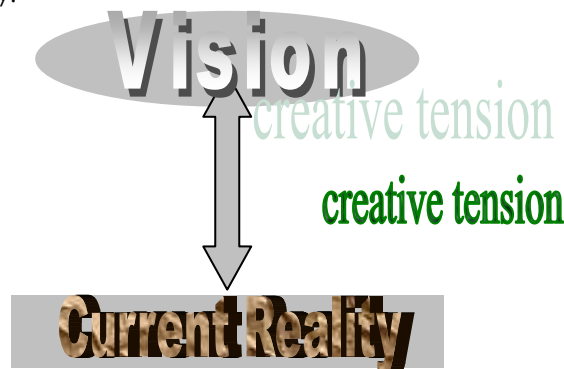
Facilitate a dialogue about how important it is to have a Vision personally as well as for the organisation, and to be able to hold that Vision, while working with the constraints of the Current Reality. Explain the creative tension like a rubber band that can pull us towards our Vision or draw us back towards the reality, depending on where our mind is focussed on.

The ability to achieve one's vision is also linked to each persons' personal belief in how much she/he can change or influence her/his life / the organisation / family / or even society.

Also elaborate on how every person has his or her own Vision, and that it is important to look, in how far the organisation can support that Vision through enabling personal growth/staff development. At the same time an organisation needs to be clear about what the organisational Vision is and how every person can work towards it.

It is also important to test one's own Vision and ask: "What do I really want or care about? What will be different, when I achieve my Vision?" to ensure, that we are driven by our own inner needs and wants and not by outer/materialistic influences.

Experience/knowledge required

Peter Senge's 'Fifth Discipline' gives background information to vision vs. creative tension; personal meditation helps to guide one.

Time needed

1. 15 min.
2. 15 min.
3. 15 min

Resources needed

Quiet venue & chairs, flipchart, marker pens.

Type of organisation/CBO this has been used with?

A Formal/registered
B Informal/not registered
o   Small (up to 10 people)
A&B Medium (10-25 people)
o   Large (over 25)
A&B Has a developed strategy & structure?
o   Operating randomly without strategy
A&B Prior experience with OD
o   Less OD experienced
o   Most people literate
A&B High illiteracy

Original method/ references

Literature background: Peter Senge 1990: The Fifth Discipline; training course: LCLA 1 (Glennifer Gillespie & Bev Jandernoa); Meditation: various meditation exercises from own experience

Any other comments?

The exercise shifts participants to a personal level.

Appendix 4: Interview guidelines

APPENDIX 4A: INTERVIEWS CBOS & COMMUNITY LEADERS:

Purpose: Explore what CBO-members & community leaders think about CBO-capacity, the context CBOs operate in, capacity building, their needs and their role. Questions will relate to their own organisation (if they have one) and also be abstracted into general thoughts about CBOs.

Process:
CBOs: Conduct focus group interview with 3-4 CBOs at a time. Invite about 2 people from each CBO to participate. In each group the research and purpose of this interview will be explained; questions answered and a way of working together agreed upon to create a container for the session. Through signing on a register participants will also agree to that the information gathered will be used for a research publication.
Community Leaders: Individual Interviews (also clarifying the purpose and getting agreement as above).
Both interviews will strive for depth, and further questions may be asked to follow a thread of thought. The questions below serve as a guideline, and may be changed if needed.

Question Guideline:

A: Own background

1. Talk about yourself in relation to your CBO: why did you start working in community development?

2. What is your CBO doing? What is your role in it? What are you trying to achieve?

B: S.A. Development context

3. How would you describe the current situation in SA regarding the development of the country? What is currently happening (politically/socially/economically/environmentally)?

4. What do you think are the roles that CBOs are playing within that?

5. What role does your CBO play?

6. What do other role-players do?

7. What is your relationship to funders / NGOs and other institutions or organisations? Is your CBO connected to or supported by any?

8. What kind of development-context would you like to see in SA (political/social/economical/environmental)?

9. What role should CBOs – ideally – play within that?

C: CBO Capacity

10. When people talk about building the capacity of CBOs, what do you think they are referring to?

11. What do you see as the core capacity/strengths your CBO has?

12. What are the capacities/ strengths of CBOs in general?

13. What is your organisation struggling with? What are challenges or weaknesses?

14. What is challenging CBOs in general? What are weaknesses?

15. How is your organisation structured/organized? What are the strengths and weaknesses of this

structure?

16. What is strong / weak about ways CBOs are organized in general? Do you have an example of a CBO that is well-structured and organized? Explain.

17. If there were no government regulations/ donor requirements, etc.: how would you be organised/structured?

D: Relationships with capacity-development agencies

18. Which capacity building agencies have supported you so far? What kind of capacity-development support have you received from them? (from Connections and/or elsewhere)

19. How would you describe the experience and the relationship with the agencies?

20. Who defined what the goals of capacity-development were? Why?

21. What kind of (capacity-development-) support has benefited you so far? How?

22. How else would you like to be supported? What kind of support would your organisation benefit from?

23. What is your motivation for capacity-development of yourself & your organisation?

APPENDIX 4B: ACADEMICS, DONORS AND OD/DEVELOPMENT-PRACTITIONERS:

Purpose: to interview around the current development context, their thoughts about the sector, the role of CBOs, CBO-capacity-building, power relations and what should change.

Process: Individual in-depth interviews (question guideline may change).
Question Guideline:

A: Own background

1. What are your background and your current role in the development sector?

2. What is your motivation for working in the way you do?

B: S.A. Development context

3. How do you see the current situation in the SA-development sector?

4. What are the strengths / positive areas currently? What are the challenges / weaknesses?

5. What kind of development are mainstream development interventions working towards? Whose agenda are those following?

6. What kind of development is needed in your view? Development for what?

7. What is the role of the different stakeholders in the development sector (NGOs, government, donors)?

8. What role do CBOs play in SA today? Why?

9. What role do you think they should play? Why?

10. How should roles ideally be divided in the development sector? Who should do what?

11. How do you see power-relations in the sector between the different stakeholders?

12. How should the development sector ideally look like?

13. What are your recommendations in order to achieve this? What needs to be done?

14. Which texts/literature have in the past 10 years been influential in shaping the nature of the debate?

C: CBO Capacity

15. What is a CBO with capacity? What are CBO-weaknesses / challenges?

16. Do CBOs need capacity-development support? Why?

17. If yes: In what form should it happen? What kind of capacity should be developed and for what?

18. Do you know of any good practices of CBO-capacity development? What were the outcomes of those interventions?

19. What are some of the challenges you see in relation to CBO capacity development?

20. What literature can you refer to in relation to CBO-development?

D: Relationship with CBOs
19. Have you worked with CBOs so far? How? When? What happened? (Elaborate)

APPENDIX 4C: INTERVIEWS WITH CBO-CASE STUDIES

Purpose: to get a deeper understanding of the case CBOs, and what their leaders think about CBO-capacity, the context CBOs operate in, capacity building, their needs and their role.

Process: Individual in-depth interviews with leaders

Question Guideline:

A: Own background

1. Talk about yourself in relation to your CBO: why did you start working in community development? What is you personal background?

B: S.A. Development context

2. How would you describe the current situation in SA regarding the development of the country? What is currently happening (politically/socially/economically/environmentally)?

3. What do you think are the roles that CBOs are playing within that? What role does your CBO play?

4. What do other role-players do? What is your relationship to funders / NGOs and other institutions or organisations?

5. What kind of development-context would you like to see in SA (political/social/economical/environmental)? What role should CBOs – ideally – play within that?

C: CBO Capacity

6. When people talk about building the capacity of CBOs, what do you think they are referring to?

7. What do you see as the core capacity/strengths your CBO has? What are the capacities/ strengths of CBOs in general?

8. What is your organisation struggling with? What are challenges or weaknesses? What is challenging CBOs in general? What are weaknesses?

9. How is your organisation structured/organized? What are the strengths and weaknesses of this structure? What is strong / weak about ways CBOs are organized in general? Do you have an example of a CBO that is well-structured and organized? Explain.

10. What is the role of leadership in CBOs?

D: Relationships with capacity-development agencies

11. Which capacity building agencies have supported you so far? What kind of capacity-development support have you received from them? (from Connections and/or elsewhere)

12. How would you describe the experience and the relationship with the agencies? Who defined what the goals of capacity-development were? Why?

13. What kind of (capacity-development-) support has benefited you so far? How? How else would you like to be supported? What kind of support would your organisation benefit from?

14. What is your motivation for capacity-development of yourself & your organisation?

APPENDIX 4D: INTERVIEW GUIDELINE CBO & CONNECTIONS' LEADERS – PERSONAL QUESTIONS

Purpose: to understand the historical context and personal story of the pioneers of the organisation.

Process: Individual in-depth interviews (question guideline may change).

Question Guideline:

1. When and where were you born? Where and how did you grow up? What kind of schooling did you get?

2. What were your parents doing?

3. What was happening in that area at the time?

4. How did your life go on until you started/joined this organisation? Did you marry/ have children, etc.?

5. What kind of situations/events/ people/ trainings/ etc. influenced / shaped you as a person in your view?

Appendix 5: Final Assessment Questionnaire

Impact Assessment Questions with CBO case studies:

Name of Organisation:

Participants in this interview:

Date:

Interviewer:

1. You have been working with Community Connections' ODS programme since …………, what were the initial themes/goals/needs that you came to Connections for (why did you approach Connections? What were your hopes?)?

2. In the process following that initial request, what areas were identified as priority areas? What other areas were identified over time?

3. How were they addressed? What was done by Connections facilitator (list some of the different sessions, meetings, etc. and the kind of support that was provided)?

4. Do you think this support was useful to your organisation at all?

5. If yes, what of it were the most useful aspects? Why?

6. What was less useful to your organisation or what should be changed?

7. If no, explain.

8. When you think back to where your organisation was at when you started working with Connections ODS programme, are there any things that have changed in your organisation since then? Did the programme have any impact on
   (a) your development?
   (b) how you see things or do things?
   (c) the general well-being of your organisation?
   (d) specific outputs, e.g. policies, systems, strategic plan, etc.?
   Explain your answer.

9. What do you think: which aspects of the programme had those impacts above?

10. Were there other things that changed through other interventions (e.g. Connections training, advocacy, other service providers)?

11. If there was some advice that you could give to Connections to improve their support, what would that be?