

Community Development in Kayamandi

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Declaration

I the undersigned, hereby declare that this thesis is my own original work and that it has not been submitted previously in its entirety or in part to any other University for a degree.

Signed:.....

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ABSTRACT

This study is about community development in Kayamandi. The aim of the study was to describe the socio-economic conditions in Kayamandi and to investigate the ways in which the local community could be involved in creating change. In order to reach this aim four objectives were formulated. The study was an attempt to find answers to a number of research questions which were related to the aim and objectives of the study.

The research method used was participatory action research. For the purpose of the research specific groups operating in Kayamandi were involved in focus group discussions. Case studies as examples of community projects existing in Kayamandi were also presented. The empirical findings were analysed and, based on the conclusions, recommendations were made. The most important recommendations are related to the future development of Kayamandi and how to involve the local community.

OPSOMMING

Die studie handel oor gemeenskapsontwikkeling in Kayamandi. Die doel van die studie was om die sosio-ekonomiese omstandighede in Kayamandi te beskryf en om ondersoek in te stel na die maniere waarop die plaaslike gemeenskap betrek kan word om verandering teweeg te bring. Die studie was 'n poging om antwoorde te vind vir 'n aantal navorsingsvrae wat verband hou met die doel en doelwitte van die studie.

Die navorsingsmetode wat gebruik is was deelnemende aksie navorsing. Vir die doel van die navorsing is spesifieke groepe wat in Kayamandi funksioneer by fokusgroep-besprekings betrek. Gevallestudies as voorbeelde van bestaande gemeenskapsprojekte in Kayamandi is ook aangebied. Die empiriese bevindinge is ontleed en aanbevelings, wat gebaseer is op die gevolgtrekkings, is gemaak. Die vernaamste aanbevelings hou verband met die toekomstige ontwikkeling van Kayamandi en hoe die plaaslike gemeenskap daarby betrek kan word.

Dedication

To the community of Kayamandi.

Acknowledgement

Special thanks must go to Prof. Sulina Green at the University of the Stellenbosch, social workers at the Stellenbosch Child and Family Welfare Society and particularly to women and youth from Kayamandi. I have been so privileged to share hundreds of hours to be with their activities and have discussions and dialogue with them. Together with them I have learnt a lot about the art of participatory action research. Sincere thanks are also due to Alf Ronnby who shared his knowledge on community development work and helped me to structure this thesis.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study is about community development in Kayamandi. In studying the community of Kayamandi, the unmet needs and the resources of the community have been assessed. This chapter presents the motivation for the study and gives a brief profile of the Kayamandi community. The aims and objectives of the study are explained, followed by a statement of the research problem and questions. The limitations to the study are also discussed. Finally, the methodology, method elements, literature and concepts used in this study are described.

1.1 MOTIVATION FOR THE STUDY

1.1.1 Personal orientation

During the researcher's first visit to South Africa in 1999, the researcher did fieldwork as part of her course in social work. Every Friday the researcher was involved in an activity day with children at the Ikhaya Primary School in Kayamandi. After school time, activities such as drawing, painting and playing games with the children were organised by the international students from Stellenbosch University. During this time, the researcher noticed the physical conditions of Kayamandi: the township appeared generally unstructured, overcrowded and unhygienic. The researcher became interested in finding out how this community came to look that way, and thought that something needed to be done in order to understand and create change in the community. The fieldwork period ended in June 1999, whereupon the researcher went back to Sweden her home country.

Before leaving for South Africa in 2000, the researcher attended a lecture by Alf Ronnby at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden about studies on community development work. The researcher then decided to study the historical path of social development in Africa, which is different to that of Europe, as a way of understanding the notion of development. The researcher also wanted to investigate African and European perspectives on social and

economic development strategies implemented in Africa since independence in Africa in 1950, in 2000 and beyond.

The researcher studied the history of social development in Europe after World War II. After the war, most countries in Europe were in ruins. Many researchers from different schools of thought worked together and struggled to define and seek solutions for the social, economic, political and structural problems prevailing in their societies. Questions were asked about when social development work first appeared on the scene, as a specific field, a way of work and approach, with a specific "attention to humanity", an action where people from different professions and professional fields contribute in a conscious and methodological way. It is assumed that many African countries/societies are in a similar position today and need to pool their resources to solve their problems by their own means. As an African, the researcher wished to investigate the contribution of the African Renaissance to social development and make a contribution to the knowledge about the development of African communities.

Against this background, the researcher decided to investigate and describe the living situation of women, the youth and children in Kayamandi because the situation of these groups in the community encouraged the researcher to return to Stellenbosch. A second, short visit to Stellenbosch in May 2000 enabled the researcher to familiarise herself with Kayamandi and to build relationships with some people from the community (women, youth and men who are active in community development work). A perspective was gained on the functioning of Kayamandi, and the status quo regarding community development, community participation, awareness and ownership, and how community development projects in Kayamandi were controlled.

During 2001, the researcher enrolled in a Master's programme in Social Work at Stellenbosch University, choosing the Kayamandi community for her research project.

1.1.2 Preliminary assessment

During a third visit in January 2001 the researcher started this research. The unmet needs of the people of Kayamandi soon became evident, and were identified as the main problem to investigate. The researcher was looking for answers to the following questions: What

are the social problems in the community? How did Kayamandi come to look the way it does?

These questions motivated the researcher to seek answers from the community itself and from people who had either written something about Kayamandi or had worked in the community. The researcher found through informal discussions, interviews, observations and case studies that the people in Kayamandi felt that Kayamandi as a community had been disadvantaged since 1948, but that the situation had worsened since the abolishment of apartheid in 1994. The following is the preliminary information found about Kayamandi.

1.1.2.1 Unmet needs in the community

To illustrate the experience of the people of Kayamandi, a respondent who had lived in Kayamandi but moved away from it was asked to give a personal perception on Kayamandi, its needs and assets. The following statement was obtained:

Kayamandi is an unstructured community. It is an unhealthy community. It is not peaceful to live there. The schools are not properly maintained and are overcrowded. The clinic does not have adequate equipment to meet the needs of the community. The community is not clean. Many unemployed people need to use their hands for creating jobs for themselves. Kayamandi people have an informal support system. This support system cannot meet all provided services that are not provided.

About the assets, the respondent had this to say:

I lived in Kayamandi for 15 years. I moved away from Kayamandi five years ago, because I felt that I needed peace of mind. I could not rest in the community. On top of that I realised that it was unhealthy to be part of it. However, concerning security, I never felt insecure in Kayamandi. I value the Ubuntu spirit in the community. This spirit is a community asset, which meets many needs in the community. For instance, there are many children who are living with their relatives in order to get an education. Every person who earns a salary takes care of two or three unemployed people in his/her household.

Yes, there is a need for taking action. People in Kayamandi need to use their hands for doing things, such as carpentry work, promoting the culture, etc. I know that there are young people, who are capable of making music, act in the theatre, etc.

The community groups such as Simanyisizwe, Greater Stellenbosch Development Trust and the Community Mobilisation Project described Kayamandi and the situation in Kayamandi as follows:

Squalor is in the mind; squalor is to think like the oppressor, it is to be internalised to live with the aftermath of the colony. It is the shebeen. Kayamandi is a crowded community, crowded with discriminated, forced and oppressed people. The first impressions of Kayamandi can be described as helplessness, a do-not-care feeling, depression, and the inability of a community to act on unacceptable conditions for human beings. The biggest problem in Kayamandi is to change the mindset of the people.

These statements suggest that the unmet needs in the community commonly include the following:

- infrastructure
- adequate medical equipment in the clinic
- adequate educational equipment in schools and pre- schools
- recreational facilities
- administration of population growth
- employment
- peaceful and healthy community life

The above statements suggest that there is a need for designing development action programmes for women, youth and children's activities. It is also indicated from the interview that there are community assets in Kayamandi that could be explored to meet some aspects of the unmet needs in Kayamandi.

1.1.2.2 Access to recreational facilities and cultural activities

In order to familiarise herself with both Stellenbosch and Kayamandi and to personally assess possibilities of promoting development, the researcher participated in the following activities/visited the following facilities in Stellenbosch. It was found that, for various reasons, the people from Kayamandi lack access to most of these activities:

- Recreation clubs (hiking, bird-watching, dances, movies, wine-tasting, safari tours)
- Coffee shops, restaurants, shops, guest houses, museums, theatres and libraries

Kayamandi lacks recreational and sports facilities. There is one soccer field next to the informal settlement, but because of its location not all the residents are using it. Sports activities at schools are not being promoted, also due to a shortage of appropriate space and facilities.

Over weekends the residents keep themselves busy with visiting friends and watching television. The men sit outside their homes and drink beer or visit the many shebeens in the area. The women do washing, shopping and visit one another. There is a general tendency amongst the youth to also frequent shebeens. According to a municipal survey in 1995, 26,6% of the children living in Kayamandi are under the age five, yet there are no recreational facilities for children – the children play in the streets. The councillors and street committees are mainly concerned with basic infrastructure and services (water, electricity, etc.). "They are more concerned about infrastructure and services, rather than welfare" (Profile study: Kayamandi, 1995).

1.1.2.3 Resources

As part of the preliminary investigation the researcher made contact with churches, clinics, AIDS Action Groups, the Child and Family Welfare Society, Stellenbosch Gemeente, community development associations in Stellenbosch and at Stellenbosch University, and Maties Community Service.

Personal contact was also made with students at Stellenbosch University, business managers and owners, people working in shops, restaurants and coffee shops, landlords, jewellery makers, clothing designers and producers, performing artists (music and drama), politicians, and local people and social workers.

The researcher exchanged ideas, thoughts, experiences and knowledge with these people before and after becoming involved in Kayamandi. This also led to introductions to people living in Kayamandi. The researcher went to Kayamandi to gather information, associate with people living in Kayamandi, observe and participate in community activities, such as job creation activities for unemployed women and youth, community awareness and mobilisation activities and HIV/AIDS prevention activities. This is how the second stage of the field research came into being (for more details about the empirical work see Chapter 4).

1.1.2.4 Geographical situation and infrastructure

Kayamandi is situated to the west of Stellenbosch, along the R304, approximately 6 km from the centre of Stellenbosch.

The contrast between Kayamandi and the beauty and development of Stellenbosch is striking. Stellenbosch is often called "the little Europe in Africa". The township lies in stark contrast against the hillside, consisting of shacks, some permanent structures, several churches, a high school, primary school and a clinic.

Turning into Kayamandi, one would notice people on the side of the road, mostly women, and selling of grilled meat and sheep's heads. On the one side of the road is the police station; on the other side there are shebeens (traditional pubs). To the left there is a shantytown, where people live in shacks. The main road into Kayamandi (to the left upon turning into the township) leads to the shacks. Continuing to the right leads to a brick house area, where more established families reside.

About a two minutes' drive from the police station, there is a crossroads. In front lies an abandoned building, which is the former beer hall. Behind that building there is a small brick house, which is the office of the social workers. One auxiliary social worker from the Child and Family Welfare Society is stationed there to serve the community. Another social worker from Kayamandi was also employed at the time of the survey study. The main welfare office is located in Stellenbosch. Apart from these two social workers, there was one other social worker who worked in Kayamandi, but lived elsewhere. At the back of the social welfare office in Kayamandi, there is a big kindergarten. There are both formal and informal shops in Kayamandi.

1.1.2.5 History and demographics

Kayamandi actually means "a pleasant home" in Xhosa (Ikhaya elimnandi). The history of Kayamandi is important as it explains the current atmosphere and sense of community of the residents. Many people, especially those in the informal settlements (approximately 60% of the population) view Kayamandi as a temporary home. Those people who are employed would rather invest their capital in the Eastern Cape, from where their families originate. People flocked to this community for economic reasons. The new settlers in Kayamandi are usually called the poorest people in the community living in squalor. They

are living in shacks and have no access to jobs, health care and recreation. There are several feeding points for children and parents. In Kayamandi there are different zones. The old settlements belong to people who settled in Kayamandi in 1948. They are living in houses built from brick. The newcomers arrived in the 1980s and onwards. They live in squalid areas or zones. Most people in this community are labourers who lack access to land in the Western Cape. They must survive by working for others as hired labourers. This is particularly true of women. More information required here would be found in chapter 4 and 5 that will be answered by the research questions.

1.1.2.6 Job creation projects

Many young people in Kayamandi are active church members. The young people enjoy singing and many of them sing in choirs. The churches in Kayamandi recently initiated a new Youth and Women's Movement called Simanyisizwe, which means uniting the nation in Xhosa. Simanyisizwe is involved in locally organised community development work. They worked out a community development plan for the women and youth of Kayamandi, organised workshops and identified the needs of the children, youth and women. They also organised cleaning campaigns. They have a women's desk, a youth desk and a children's desk. Every desk has an action group, which plans social actions. For instance, the women and youth action groups together created an annual workshop programme on children and community development issues. These groups elected a specialised local support group for HIV-affected people in the community.

There is also a group of young women who are involved in a small business project, which is called Siyazaka (we are building ourselves). They sew, design and sell clothes. They are in need of support in order to promote their business and management skills.

1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM

The children, women and youth in the Kayamandi community are the most vulnerable groups because their basic human needs are not met because of a lack of community resources. The children are growing up in an environment that is unhealthy for their social, psychological, physical and emotional life. According to the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) unemployment has been severe among women, especially those in rural areas, as well as among young people under the age of 24. It is known that large numbers of children in South Africa are living in difficult circumstances and the youth are faced with increasing obstacles to integrating into political, social and economic life.

Discrimination against women has contributed to their marginalisation from all social processes.

These groups need to be empowered, uplifted, strengthened and supported to ensure that their basic human needs are met. Educational and empowerment projects for these groups are highly needed in Kayamandi. A community development project, which concerns the improvement of children's life by empowering youth and women, is also needed. More details of the situation of these groups are presented in Chapter 4.

The three central questions of this study are: How does the socio-economic situation of Kayamandi look like? Why are women, the youth and children living in this kind of environment and what is being done to improve their quality of life in Kayamandi?

1.2.1 Research questions

The point of departure of this study is that the problems of the poor cannot be solved without the involvement of the people themselves. All joint efforts must therefore be aimed at strengthening the local capacity of the people to enable them for independent action. The researcher therefore does not expect that an educational or political action programme in a specific community will be successful unless it respects the particular perceptions held by the people of that community.

Furthermore, the researcher believes that Kayamandi does not look the way it does purely because of the absence of economic resources. This study therefore aims to investigate other possible reasons for the status quo, such as the role played by unemployment, living in shacks, living amongst uncollected refuse. It is postulated that the underlying problem could be an absence of belonging, an inability to mobilise existing resources as well as the absence of an alternative vision which can mobilise them.

Thus this study attempted to find answers to the following research questions, which are divided into three parts. The first part is descriptive. The second part is analytical and the third part is explorative:

- How do the residents perceive Kayamandi?
- What kind of community is Kayamandi?
 - When was Kayamandi established?

- When did the black people come here? Why did they come?
- Why do they live in shacks instead of permanent housing?
- What were the economic reasons?
- How many people live in Kayamandi?
- Was the situation ever different to what it is now, i.e. did facilities deteriorate?
- What is the average income per person in Kayamandi?
- Are there community leaders?
- Who are the councillors representing Kayamandi. on the Municipal Council?
- Why are people of Kayamandi living in this kind of situation?
- What is happening with regards to changing the conditions in Kayamandi?
 - How does community development work function in Kayamandi?
 - How is it organised?
 - Who are the role-players involved in the community development working in Kayamandi?
 - What are the living conditions?
 - What factors in the community are causing these living conditions?
 - Which strategies and methodologies are used to achieve this?
 - How is community development work mobilised and implemented?
 - What have the results been so far?
 - Why is the mobilisation of resources needed in Kayamandi?
 - How can resources be mobilised in this community to improve living conditions?
 - Who should mobilise these resources?
 - Can this community be mobilised to change its conditions?
 - How can they be helped to organise work for themselves in self-help initiatives?

These questions are examined from a community development theory perspective. The researcher will look at the perceptions of families, organisations, individuals, groups and the community environment (see Chapter 4 and 5 for empirical study).

1.3 AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The main aim of this study is to describe the socio-economic conditions in Kayamandi and to investigate the ways in which the local community could be involved in creating change. In order to reach this aim, the following will be the objectives of the study:

- To gain an understanding of the functioning of the Kayamandi community.
- To explore the human resources and support systems that can help this community to build itself up and start community-based development programmes that consider the welfare of the young generation and the future of the community as a whole.
- To investigate by means of participatory action research, the nature and extent of existing social work practice and community development work from grassroots level in the community
- To explore the approaches, strategies and perspectives that are used for developing and transforming Kayamandi and present new ideas and new ways of looking at and solving social problems in the community.

1.4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Participatory action research and symbolic interactionism are the methodologies used in this study. A short introduction to participatory action research and symbolic interactionism is presented below.

1.4.1 Participatory action research methodology

The methodology used in this study is participatory action research, which combines and considers the theories of local participation in community development. The words of an Indian farmer, quoted by Bhasin (1979), illustrates the way in which this kind of study can collect data directly from the people of the community, as they are the ones who know most about their community, its needs and assets:

The people do know their problems. After all, they are their problems, they live with them.

How can it be that they do not know them? If they do not express their views openly it is because they have no power of an organisation behind them. They know they are weak and their frankness will mean further exploitation.

The chosen research design for this study is not the traditional, almost obligatory approach, i.e. to use a team of social workers or researchers, often from the University or

perhaps a consultancy firm, and sometimes even a team with a strong representation of white, European development experts from various disciplines. An expert on women in development is obligatory these days, and the social anthropologist is becoming a required fixture. These teams stay maybe a month, sometimes two months in the community. They hire interpreters and University students or young graduates who can speak the local language. They bring with them their well-tested questionnaires. They move around in their Land Rovers. If they stay in the area overnight, they usually stay with the well-to-do, the elite. They collect their data and retire to their offices. They tabulate and analyse their data, and write reports and proposals (Burkey, 1993). This kind of research methodology does not involve the poor and disadvantaged in research about their own development because they (the poor) remain ignorant and invisible. Neither does it provide an in-depth understanding of the local people's situation. Everything is filtered through the local elite, the interpreters, the urban university middle-class and the expatriates. It most certainly establishes an image: an image of powerful outsiders who at best will come back and make things better for the elite, at worst come back and work with the elite to make the poor people's situation even worse.

This is initially how the researcher of this study felt when this survey study started in co-operation with Child and Family Welfare Society in Stellenbosch, who then in consultation with the supervisor went directly to the community. The development literature cites many instances where projects either failed or produced untoward results because of a lack of in-depth understanding and knowledge about the research area. Some of the cases are quoted from Burkey's book, *People First* (1993). Useful questions for in-depth interviews, which have been significant in this research, were also found in the above-mentioned book.

The first step to involve the population being studied in the investigation of their own perceptions about their world and the development of their community is what is called Participatory Action Research or PAR, which is a process of conscientisation of people.

According to Burkey (1993) the preliminary objectives of PAR should be:

- to increase the development worker's understanding of the local situation; and
- to increase the insight of the local people, especially the poor, into what factors and relationships are the root causes of and contributing factors to poverty.

Participatory action research starts from the principle that it is not possible to separate facts from values and social relationships. Instead of looking at human beings in the abstract, it tries to set them in a social and historical context.

In this study baseline data and theories are presented which the researcher collected and checked and re-checked with the people of the community through the participatory action research process. Most of the collected information is of a qualitative nature. The problem was not how to collect reliable data but rather answering for what and for whom. To get an in-depth understanding of the community, to find out if there is independent thinking, community conscientisation on the conditions and assets of the community, as well as promotion to self-reliant participatory economic development. All these data are related to the improvement of the quality of life of the community of Kayamandi.

The data was collected through discussions, interviews and case studies with individuals, families and focus groups. These discussions were held with different socio-economic groups, but especially with the most disadvantaged groups such as unemployed women and youths. Discussions and in-depth interviews were also held with officials, teachers and medical personnel as well as with other external organisations and businessmen, both within and outside Kayamandi. The researcher tried to construct a comprehensive picture of the local situation. This construction was formed on the basis of an in-depth understanding of the conditions of the people in the study community. How the community reacted and responded to the presence of the researcher was also observed and discussed with several community members and the focus groups.

According to Burkey (1993) preparatory studies, if they are to be useful and also promote the development process, must be participatory and be carried out over a substantial length of time – a minimum of six months. The initial period of the participatory action research process will normally create awareness among the poor leading to a process of conscientisation which generates action and development activities based on their own understanding of their needs, problems and potential. This rather than the traditional baseline data questionnaires will provide a true basis for development.

The researcher was involved in this community for five months. The initial period of this

research was concerned with collecting data about Kayamandi through getting to know the people living in Kayamandi. The second and third periods focused on the activities of Kayamandi people that addressed the unmet needs and the potential of the community to meet these needs.

1.4.2 Symbolic interactionism

A number of theoretical schools have influenced qualitative methods. The most important of these include symbolic interactionism, ethno methodology, phenomenology, constructivism and critical theory. The focus of this discussion is on symbolic interactionism.

According to Henriksson (1998), one of the most dominant theories in qualitative methods has been symbolic interactionism. While Mead (1977) lay the foundation for symbolic interactionism, it was mainly Blumer, Mead's student, who coined the concept "symbolic interactionism". Social interaction means that people interpret and anticipate one another's actions and behaviour in a consistent attempt to co-ordinate with one another (Henriksson, 1998. Mead (1997) refers to Blumer (1969) who claimed, in his canonical work on symbolic interactionism, that the theory rests on three basic premises:

- Human beings act toward the physical objects and other beings in their environment on the basis of the meanings that these things have for them.
- These meanings derive from social interaction (communication, broadly understood) between and among individuals. Communication is symbolic because people communicate via languages and other symbols that we create or produce or that we adapt from others.
- These meanings are established and modified through an interpretative process.

Henriksson (1998) says that people are conscious of their social surroundings and of themselves as individual. It is this capacity of self-reflection that makes human beings unique. According to this view, it was important to investigate how the people of Kayamandi perceive their community and also to find out how conscious they are of their social surroundings and themselves. The researcher therefore believed that it was important to focus in this study on the people of Kayamandi's capacity for self-reflection. Henriksson (1998) agrees with Freire (1996) when he says the key to this self-

consciousness is language, which is the means by which knowledge is mediated, making human development possible. Human communication deals with the exchange of symbols, both verbal and non-verbal and that is the core of the research conducted in this study. Freire (1996) emphasises the importance of the language of the oppressed. People who are dehumanised and alienated have to be enabled by the researchers and social workers that have chosen the role of enablers, organisers and activists to explain their world and situation. This is where the theories of community development are connected to the qualitative research methodology.

According to Henriksson (1998) the primary unit in all social interaction, and in all societal formations and organisations, is the relation between two social actors who stand in a face-to-face-relationship to each other. All societies, cultures and social structures can be derived from this unit. The social actions of actors, patterns of behaviour, norms, sets of values and myths create cultures. Social structures are shaped from human relations that arise in everyday life. It is always human beings who, through their social actions, create social reality.

According to the views of Mead (1977), symbolic interactionism has created a picture of social life as both stable and changeable. The stability is maintained by social norms, which are internalised by individuals in society and which lead people to develop expected and accepted behaviour. The people of Kayamandi have internalised the oppression of apartheid, which leads or keeps them to an expected and accepted behaviour of people living in a township. That is why the researcher fully agrees with Henriksson (1998) when he discusses the differences between Denzin (1992) and Mead (1977). Henriksson (1998) says that Denzin (1992) emphasises the great importance of Blumer's (see Mead, 1977) respect for the empirical world and the need for qualitative research to accomplish a "full familiarity with the life under study". This must, according to Denzin (1992), remain the principal foundation of future symbolic interactionism. Denzin (1992), who is influenced by post-modern thinking, believes that a "post-modern" symbolic interactionism needs to incorporate experiences from other theoretical fields, particularly contemporary work in cultural and feminist studies. One of his most important arguments is that symbolic interactionism must learn from feminist theory that language and action, both "within" the researcher himself/herself and the groups he/she is studying; should be perceived from the point of view of gender, class, race/ethnicity, biographical, existential and other factors.

This research will be perceived from the viewpoint of the community.

In order to understand the social life of Kayamandi's people, it is necessary that the researcher uses the same point of departure as the acting individuals' view of the objects towards which their actions are directed and the situations in which these actions arise. It is also necessary that the researcher analyses the process in which human action is formed or constructed and explain human action in terms of antecedent conditions or causes.

Concerning the activity of organisations or community groups, symbolic interactionism seeks explanations for the way in which the participants define, interpret and meet the situation as their respective points. It was anticipated that in order to understand the situation that the people of Kayamandi are living in and see the processes in which their actions are formed will take most of the time of this study. This way of doing research is supported by the particular theories of community development namely the theory of praxis (pedagogy of the oppressed) which the researcher has decided to use for this thesis. This means that what a researcher must do is to interact with the actors, observe and participate in their activities, conduct formal interviews, do case studies and try to reconstruct the reality. Always it is imperative to understand from their particular point of view what it was that influenced them to act as they did. It is in this way this research is obtained.

1.4.3 Research strategies

This research is of a qualitative nature, involving participant observation, case studies and interviews.

The researcher wanted to participate in and observe the social development work that is going on in the community of Kayamandi, how it is functioning and if projects are community-based. As a participant observer, the researcher intended to share the knowledge and experiences of the people in Kayamandi, listen to the oral history of the people and keep a diary. The researcher also planned to do case studies and in-depth interviews with parents, youths (15-18 years), adults (18-34), leaders in churches, people working with non-government organisations (NGOs) and other individuals. At the end of this study the researcher, together with the community people and identified community developers would recommend and design a community-based project proposal for Kayamandi.

As indicated in the motivation for the study, the research would rely on the existing participatory action research methodologies and find a way to investigate the community development, which is appropriate to the life situation, culture, values and experiences of the study population.

An important reason for choosing qualitative methods in this study is the lack of a deeper understanding by non-African researchers of African social life, culture and the values of sharing, caring and being collective societies. It is assumed that the development of African communities would seem very complicated to anyone who does not have his/her roots in an African world-view. That is why the researcher thinks that Africans need to create a way of reaching African communities and their environment.

Furthermore, it is time for Africans to come up with appropriate solutions to African problems. Africa cannot always depend on imported knowledge in all aspects of its existence in the world. Africa is part of the global village. Africans have to be responsible participants and creative human beings, interacting and integrating with the rest of the world. It is time for Africa and Africans to graduate from being recipients to participants.

As the researcher could not know in advance who would have the time, inclination, resources and connections needed to initiate this research project, the researcher continually made and remade contact at all levels in a systematic way. The researcher contacted with a lot of people from Kayamandi. Ideas, opinions and dreams of making changes in Kayamandi were collected through interviews and daily conversations. The researcher put community groups together as focus groups and organised them as a network group working in Kayamandi. The descriptive nature of this kind of research on community development is characterised by permanent innovation and exploration. This creative process is supported by Twelvetrees (1991:25) when he says:

This creative process occurs principally when one is in regular contact with a wide range of people. Then it is possible to pick up different ideas, see how they fit with one's own, try them out on third parties, and put these people, as appropriate, into contact with each other.

The researcher gathered both hard and soft information during February – August 1999,

May – July 2000, January – May 2001 and July – September 2002. According to Twelvetrees (1991) it is useful to know the size and age structure of the population and other demographic data about the community. Some of this information was gathered before going to the community and the time of the study or survey (see 1.2.4 and chapter 4).

The researcher also came into contact with both formal and informal organisations, local people (children, youths and women) in Kayamandi and finally, met individuals and groups who were students, local people, knowledgeable people (local activists), lecturers and politicians. The contacts were made through knowing people from the community who introduced the researcher to others. This is how the hard and soft information about Kayamandi was gathered.

1.4.4 Sample selection

The researcher had in mind to select two sample groups: an expressive local group, which would be used as a focus group and described the living conditions of Kayamandi and an instrumental group from Kayamandi and Stellenbosch who helped the researcher with feedback and to make the research questions more clear to understand. The reason for these two different groups was simply to find a way to meet and involve the community groups in issues that concern them and their community, and at the same time, do this study. In describing this process, Twelvetrees (1991) identifies the following stages, which were used when the researcher set up the community groups used as focus groups:

- contacting people and establishing an analysis of needs
- bringing people together, helping them identify specific needs and assisting them to develop the will to see that those needs are met
- helping them understand what will need to be done if those needs are to be met
- helping them identify objectives
- helping them form and maintain an organisation suitable for meeting those objectives
- helping them choose priorities, evaluate alternative lines of approach and design a plan of action, thus turning strategic objectives into a series of smaller objectives and tasks
- helping them divide these tasks among themselves and carry them out
- helping the members of the group feed back the results of their actions to the whole group, which then has to evaluate those actions and adopt altered objectives.

The role of the researcher was some times to act as catalyst. The focus group was both an expressive and an action group, its purpose being to define their community, identify its needs and investigate their shared experiences while learning in the process. Groups existing in the community and working for the betterment of the community and the welfare of the children (Simanyisiswe, Greater Stellenbosch Development Trust and the Community Mobilisation Project) were included, as well as other groups such as sewing women groups, youth groups and professionals.

The main purpose of the instrumental group was to organise some collective action in- and outside the local groups. They collected essential knowledge on issues concerning the needs of this particular community and identified its social problems. The social interaction of both groups was highly necessary and recommended. This intention is also supported by Twelvetrees (1991).

1.5 LITERATURE STUDY

Literature such as community development theories, theories of development and the theory of the pedagogy of the oppressed (Freire, 1996) encouraged the researcher strongly to believe in the possibility of community development. As a social liberal activist, the researcher drew on useful insights from two approaches to community work, namely professional community work and radical community work. The selected theories and approaches complement one another and help us to find an in-depth understanding and better intervention to sustainable community-based development.

1.6 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

The following concepts are constantly and frequently used in this study, and warrant definition.

1.6.1 Community

Local community refers to a small unit or the microstructure of material, cultural and social conditions (Ronby, 1995). In the first place it refers to a small community, such as Kayamandi in this study. Primarily, a small limited community is considered for instance

to be the village in the countryside where the people in the local community have a more face-to-face relationship to one another (Ronny, 1995). The local community of Kayamandi is a geographically limited unit.

Social scientists and development researchers question the perception Westerners and the urban, educated elite in Third World countries have of community. They usually romanticise and harmonise the life of poor societies. This became a model that is often found in literature and history books.

Wignaraja (1984a) has called the "classic" definition of local community made by ethnologists and anthropologists for the demystification of community. Poor communities in the Third World are not homogeneous entities. Every community has some form of socio-economic class structure. Development researchers and social scientists would therefore be wise to analyse the structure in the community where they will be researching or working before they try to promote development activities or researchers. Applying this approach to Kayamandi, raises questions as to how the class structure of Kayamandi looks like, who are the poorest of the poor?

1.6.2 Community work

Twelvetrees (1991) defines community work as being a process of assisting ordinary people to improve their own communities by undertaking collective action. However, community workers, whose job is to promote this collective action, undertake many other activities besides offering support to community groups.

1.6.3 Community development

The United Nations (1995) define community development as follows: Community development can tentatively be defined as a process designed to create conditions of economic and social progress for the whole community with its active participation and the fullest possible reliance on the community's initiative. This definition is the one used for this study.

1.6.4 Participation

What does the concept of participation mean in the field of development? Participation is an essential part of human growth, i.e. the development of self-confidence, pride,

initiative, creativity, responsibility and co-operation. Without this kind of development within the people themselves, all efforts to alleviate their poverty will be much more difficult, if not impossible (Burkey, 1993). Participation is a process whereby people learn how to take charge of their own lives and learn to solve their own problems. Participation is the essence and power behind human development. These days the concept of participation has become part of the rhetoric used in political speeches, in scholarly papers and conversations on development theory and policy.

Burkey (1993:57) refers to Freire (1996) who writes the following about participation: Attempting to liberate the oppressed without their reflective participation in the act of liberation is to treat them as objects which must be saved from a burning building, it is to lead them into the populist pitfall and transform them into masses which can be manipulated.

Participation is a matter of people being aware of their own situation, of the socio-economic reality around them, of their real problems, the causes of the problems and what strategies they themselves can employ to begin to change their situation. It is a process of awakening, raising levels of consciousness, or conscientisation, which constitutes a process of self-transformation through which people grow and mature as human beings – as subjects, not as objects.

1.6.5 Conscientisation

Developers, teachers, social workers, politicians and researchers must avoid attitudes and comments, which reinforce feelings of inferiority.

Burkey (1993:54) refers to Freire (1996) who has pointed out that one cannot expect positive results from an educational or political action programme which fails to respect the particular world-view held by the people "... it is not our role to speak to the people about our own view of the world, nor to attempt to impose the view on them, but rather to dialogue with the people about their view and ours. We must realise that their view of the world, manifested variously in their action, reflects their situation in the world". In practical terms, this means to take account of the effects and results of peoples' attitudes and views.

Burkey (1993:55) states that the process of problem-solving education is often called conscientisation. Conscientisation as formulated by Paulo Freire (1996) means the stimulation of self-reflected critical awareness in people of their social reality and of their ability to transform that reality by their conscious collective action. Conscientisation is a process in which people try to understand their present situation in terms of the prevailing social, economic and political relationships in which they find themselves. The people who can decide what their important needs and experiences are must undertake this analysis of reality, and not by experts ... This involves the breakdown of the relationship between subject and object, and constitutes the essence of true participation.

1.7 LIMITATIONS TO THE STUDY

This research was limited to Kayamandi, as this community is the most disadvantaged community surrounding Stellenbosch. Problems with the research project included the following:

- Collecting reliable data relating to production and income proved to be difficult.
- Connecting community groups proved also difficult although few people came together.
- To have one local organisation for community development work seemed also difficult.
- The researcher found it difficult to keep distance and the same time participate in activities.
- It was also difficult for the researcher to get satisfactory answers for some of the research questions.

1.8 PRESENTATION OF THE STUDY

This study on community development in Kayamandi is specifically intended to investigate community development from grassroots level. Chapter 2 discusses and analyses the South African approaches to community and social development policies. Chapter 3 elaborates, discusses and analyses community development theories, development theories and systems theory. An empirical study on Kayamandi is presented in Chapter 4. The empirical findings, theoretical and field studies are analysed in Chapter

5. Chapter 6 presents the findings of the study and gives some recommendations for further development in Kayamandi.

1.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter focused on the preliminary assessment on Kayamandi. In the preliminary assessment, the unmet needs, geographical situation, the history and demarcation of Kayamandi as well as the job creation projects in Kayamandi were assessed. The research problem, research questions, literature review, definition of concepts and methodology and the aim and objectives of the study were then formulated out of the preliminary assessment on Kayamandi.

CHAPTER 2

SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The researcher found it necessary to conduct a review of the South African social welfare policy in order to gain an understanding of how the government intervenes to foster socio-economic equity. This chapter will describe the conditions, problems and national plans of action for social welfare. This chapter is therefore a review of the government's policy on this subject from 1910 to 1997.

The White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) states that there is great racial inequity in child and family-care benefits. Poor black women have been particularly disadvantaged. It is from this group that the greatest demand for social assistance is felt in the future. Women can claim support for themselves and their children through the courts of law. The system, however, is complex and unreliable. There is a high rate of defaulting by fathers. Where the judicial system fails, mothers may apply for State maintenance grants. These have comprised only a small part (about 15%) of the overall social assistance budget, while as many as 2,8 million women qualify for these grants under the present rules of eligibility. Some other approaches and strategies such as communitarian approaches and strategies in community development in social work practice may solve these problems. Because of this belief the community under review will be looked at from this point of departure. Firstly the historical background (from 1910 to 1997) of social and development welfare policies of South Africa will be discussed. Secondly, the communitarian approaches and strategies in community development theories will follow.

According to one of the speeches by the then vice president (1998) of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki says that the state intervention, for instance to foster socio-economic equity, effecting redistribution, is not regarded as unacceptable. In fact, it is seen as necessary. Equality represents the core of values, what is commonly called an egalitarian society. In Mbeki's view, growth, employment, redistribution, reconstruction and development programmes are not mutually exclusive. They form a holistic strategy, with each

complementing each other. The following section will discuss the historical background of social welfare in South Africa.

2.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF SOCIAL WELFARE IN SOUTH AFRICA

The welfare function of the South African government before and after apartheid has been discussed and analysed by Van Eeden, Ryke and De Necker (2000). Their analysis is used as a source for the description of the historical background of South African social and developmental welfare policies in this section.

According to Van Eeden *et al.* (2000) for the first five decades of the twentieth century, the predominant focus of government was to follow a residual welfare approach. According to the residual welfare approach the individual level has responsibility to uplift him/her self.

The South African Government before the apartheid namely the British administration 1902 – 1910, had the political ideology of a wish for peace, conciliation and unity amongst the white English and Afrikaans-speaking groups. Van Eeden *et al.* (2000) state that compensation in the post war state was part of this political ideological process, and also part of the policy paradigm with regard to welfare service structures, called the institutional model. The various organised and collective schemes to establish groups of whites as relief camp workers in previously determined areas or simply to make agricultural allocations in the rebuilding process is evidence of this.

The government's institutional approach mainly focused on intervention to deliver dividends in the long term. These types of services were meant to support the poor whites to eventually help themselves, as well as to create job opportunities through innovation. The only stage where the handout approach was practised by the British administration was directly after the war (1902-1903).

Van Eeden *et al.* (2000) indicate that the increasing focus on the poor white problem was to the detriment of the coloured community. Some of the coloureds in the Cape Colony lost their jobs or were reduced to unschooled labour. Another smaller group namely the Indians, were confined to Natal and the Cape in 1902. Their social, economic and political

positions were no better than those of the coloureds. In fact, they were regarded as an immigrant to be repatriated to India as soon as possible.

Colonialisation of other people's mind, culture and social lives followed by industrialisation and urbanisation that caused poverty, housing needs and other socio-economic problems in all invaded societies such as South Africa. Social care among families, communities and groups had existed in all societies around the world. What came with nation building is that social welfare became part of the government's responsibilities for its citizens who were in need and could not meet their needs by other means.

In the South African context, the welfare amongst whites was carried out in the spirit of Afrikaner Nationalism ideology although according to Van Eeden *et al.* (2000) the South African governments before 1994 reflected the ideology of white reunification and conciliation. Van Eeden *et al.* (2000) state welfare services catered mainly for the white population. Van Eeden *et al.* (2000) conclude that the welfare function for other population groups in South Africa was not totally absent, but the governments starting with the British administration to Afrikaner Nationalist Party in 1948 were clearly reluctant to promote the welfare function for these groups. The reconciliation policy of the British government put white interest first and the Afrikaner Nationalist government legalised it.

The legal system of apartheid from 1948 ruled that social welfare services among others were divided between several government departments. A distinction was made between departments for whites, blacks, coloureds and Indians. There was not one welfare department that was responsible for all four groups. Fewer resources were available for certain groups such as blacks who benefited least than the other three groups.

The South African government's homeland policy, which was part of Afrikaner Nationalism ideology and its motive of segregation was seen as the ultimate attempt to amongst other things manage black South Africans' welfare interests in a separate and inferior way.

In the early eighties the coloured and Indian people were accommodated within a new constitutional dispensation. Indians and coloureds got the opportunity to manage the welfare

function of the government for their own people. A new government vision regarding welfare policy took a new approach to the social welfare function after the constitutional transformation in 1984. This constitutional transformation lasted for a period of over ten years.

The democratic government of 1994 and its acknowledgement of all South African people's rights to participate in government and the overwhelming positive association with freedom and human rights set a new ideological approach of thinking about welfare, along social developmental lines. It is on this new ideological approach to social development that the main discussion of the chapter is based.

2.2.1 1902 - 1910

In the reunification and reconciliation policy of the British government in 1902 – 1910 the interest of whites was the first priority. Because of this policy dissatisfaction among black people was raised as black people recognised that the welfare assistance was less entitled for them. In the article used as source information for this chapter (Van Eeden *et al.* 2000), it seems that the British administration instituted some legislation between 1902 – 1910 and also established some commissions in order to familiarise themselves with regard to the nature of the South African community. It also appears from the legislation that white requirements indeed enjoyed precedence. Especially English speaking as well as white women in the Cape Colony played a leading role in the upliftment schemes and in social welfare.

Because of the deprivation and withholding of political rights to the black people, coloureds and Indians - these groups were put in a worse economic and social position. The creation of social prosperity for these groups was not a high priority in the British welfare service structure of the institutional model. A possible reason can also be that the model itself was not well developed and also that people in the power were aware that they were only serving on an interim government basis.

2.2.2 1910 - 1936

After the British administration, which ended in 1910, a period of 38 years followed during the Union Cabinet which started in 1910 under the leadership of the South African Party (SAP) where the government's awareness of its social duty was increased. This

awareness increased and occurred within the framework of an establishment of a political ideological view, in which the political principles were adapted over the years. The Union Cabinet in 1910 had the same policy of the British administration, which was the unity and conciliation of the whites. The new leadership of the SAP accepted this political ideology. Internal quarrels in the Party over the interpretation and realisation of the political ideological paradigm in bond with the British Crown, soon led to the foundation of the National Party (NP) in 1914. There were other external influences such as the Second World War, industrialisation and unstructured urbanisation and poverty that enhanced the white discord. It seems that there was not much difference between the British administration social policy and the policy of the Union Cabinet from 1911 – 1948. They both worked for the social and economic upliftment of the whites. The latter emphasised and favoured the Afrikaans speaking people more although the British administration did the same for the white English-speaking people.

Arguably, the Cabinet developed further a system, which was founded by the British administration: for instance, economical structures for the whites, which included the availability and opportunity to obtain employment were applied by the Union Cabinet. Under the NP administration of 1914 these ideals became more evident. Support to this vision of that government's welfare policy was the stamp satisfaction, which was approved and given to its accomplishment: for instance, voluntary welfare assistance. Several government departments such as Education, Forestry, Native Affairs and Health initiated various schemes in the years after 1910 in order to improve social conditions. Church welfare efforts, the *Helpmekeer Beweging*, the *National Joint Council* and the *Vroue Landbou-Unie* were according to Van Eeden *et al.* (2000) amongst the supporters.

Van Eeden *et al.* (2000) also indicate that *Federasie van Afrikaaner Kulturverenigings* (FAK) also followed, as well as the intervention of especially white academics to the white uplifting problem. Carnegie of the United States of America also made funds available for researching white poverty. In the early thirties these funds were eagerly accepted. Particularly the Carnegie Commission's report of 1932 was important. Among other scholars, sociologists, psychologists and economists made decisions during congress about welfare policies in South Africa. The government was therefore according to Van Eeden *et al.* (2000) made increasingly aware that welfare in South Africa needed attention, and of the request of direct government involvement. During this period the role the

private welfare initiative played was to make the government aware of the role it should play in the welfare policy.

Although there was political discordance between the NP and SAP the economical depression of 1933 and drought made the two parties to go in partnership and the call for white Unity and Conciliation was once again enhanced further. An era of a coalition of government with the name of the United Party arrived under the leadership of J.C. Smuts. A structural selective focus by the government in 1937 and the rendering of welfare services to other groups in South Africa became more evident. This structural selective welfare service was based on racial differences. It was not a general or universal social welfare service.

2.2.3 1937 - 1948

From 1937 up to the government of *Herenigde Nasionale Party* in 1948, several welfare structures were put in place, whilst others were consolidated. These historical developments of social welfare gave momentum to an ideological paradigm, which was drawing closer to the realisation of white Afrikaner Nationalism, which became real in 1948.

However, welfare provision was made to other communities although it was not comparable to the quota provided to the whites. In addition to this state of affairs, the discovery of more gold deposits in the interior and the Second World War (1939 – 1945) were not economically advantageous. Politically, it enhanced territorial division and gave rise to racial conflict.

Nevertheless, by 1948 inspite of the gaps between groups there was considerable progress in the Government's social welfare function, which was based on the residual model (personal responsibility for personal development) in the rendering of social welfare services. The social welfare policy then moved from the institutional model and the political ideological paradigm of white conciliation and Unity to a residual model. Personal responsibility for instance for social and economical upliftment of the white Afrikaner, was discussed in the first economic People's Congress in 1939 followed by a second conference in 1950. Some developmental and ground level of white upliftment was then realised.

2.2.4 1948 - 1994

The white voters mandated a new government in 1948. This government is known as the Re- united National Party (NP) government. This government established further welfare services as well as the planning and development of diversified services that was based on racial differences. This racial diversification was the government's ideologically initiated philosophy of Afrikaner Nationalism. According to the framework of an overseas welfare paradigm the political ideology that was followed after the NP – takeover in 1948 was related to racism. Van Eeden *et al.* (2000) refer to George and Page (1995:311-312) who reasoned racism as follows: *In the worst cases ... are compounded by religion, nationality or colour, and they are sometimes sanctioned by the legal system of the country ... There is no doubt that, in white society, black people suffer more from racism than other ethnic groups ... There is abundant evidence that employment opportunities and earning levels of many immigrant groups are below those of the rest of society, even when educational standards are taken into account. It is well documented that the educational achievement of children from some ethnic background are lower than those of other children for a variety of reasons: socio-economic conditions of the family, neighbourhood values towards education, and school factors relating to teacher's attitudes and curriculum content. Housing conditions are inferior, health conditions worse and mortality rates higher.*

Van Eeden *et al.* (2000) indicate that George and Page (1995) spelled out the exclusive white Afrikaner nationalistic ideology as maintained by the government reflects some of these typical tendencies. The thought, among other things, was conveyed that the white people were superior and blacks were inferior. Concerns such as the whites' national capitalism, national culture, guardianship and supremacy over other communities in South Africa was inherently part of the ideological paradigm of the NP government, which also according to Van Eeden *et al.* (2000) filtered through to the Government's role in welfare service.

The NP Government in 1948 maintained a total political diversion of social, residential, industrial (economical) and political ideologies. A political idea of total segregation became real and legal. The practised apartheid ideology of total segregation was characterised as a moral defence of white supremacy and black communities as inferior. A

thought of the government's ideological policy was that Africans and whites would enjoy 'equal rights' in separate territories. This ideology resulted that each of the main four South African groups was placed under the management of its own government welfare department, although the policy-making department remained in the hands of the white central government.

The South African government initially ordered its Department of Social Welfare to render services to white, coloured and Indian communities, while the Department of Native Affairs that had handled the social welfare issues of the black community in SA since 1910, continued with this work. In 1951 the separation of services commenced when a section for coloured affairs was established within the department of Interior Affairs. An independent Department for Coloured Affairs was formed in 1951. A Department for Indians followed two years later. Welfare responsibility for their communities on governmental level was mainly omitted up to 1984, when the new constitution was accepted. Irrespective of these facts that are drawn into this chapter one can assume that there was no sign of equal and integrated welfare services in South Africa from 1902 – 1984.

However the issue of integrated welfare services intensified in the eighties. During this period more attention was paid to child, youth and family welfare services though still in separate departments. The association between the government and voluntary initiative however, directly influenced the government's attention to social welfare services. The government kept the role for policy-making, planning and co-ordinating whilst the private voluntary based organisations, that would have been in direct contact with community destitute, were the obvious bodies to assist. These divided responsibilities of social welfare services were based on racial differences and operated through different departments that were controlled by the Government up to 1984.

In the new three Chamber Parliament from 1984, coloured and Indian communities received representation in the government. The coloured and Indians got a bigger say in the position of welfare services to their communities, whilst the welfare of the black community continued in divided government, homelands and the Department of Development of Co-operation Development. The political ideology of total segregation that was based on the ideology of Afrikaner Nationalism ended in 1994.

A new ideological policy based on liberalisation and selective group integration *for all South Africans* regardless of colour, religion and sex replaced the Afrikaner nationalism ideology. The first policy welfare service in 1902- 1994 was a dominant government approach that favoured the white people in South Africa. The new policy from 1994 up today is still a dominant government approach, which seems to be characterised as a residual model. The idea of the new policy, with its provision of welfare is still, according to the new government that the individual should be helped in order to help himself.

The democratic election of April 1994 and the take-over by the African National Congress (ANC) established a Department of Welfare where the needs of all South Africans could be served on equal basis for the first time in South African history. But attention should be drawn to it that the new policy is based on liberalisation and selective group integration *for all South African*.

2.2.5 1994 - 1997

In order to adjust the imbalances between all the main groups the current government according to Van Eeden *et al.* (2002) explain that George and Page (1995:132–133) calls for a client and citizen participatory development model of social services. However, according to the constitution of South Africa, social welfare is located in national and provincial departments of welfare. It appears that the local governments have a limited welfare function.

According to Van Eeden *et al.* (2000) the constitution of South Africa indicates that the power and welfare functions at the national and provincial levels of government are concurrent. The national department is responsible for national norms and standards, for the rendering of services and to ensure that uniformity in the implementation of specific functions is maintained. Provincial departments are responsible, in conjunction with the national department for planning, development and rendering services. The powers are allocated at national and provincial level and are also concurrent. However, a mutual co-operation between the national and provincial departments is indicated to be essential.

The White Paper for Social Welfare of 1997 proposes that effective mechanisms should be developed between national and provincial departments in order to reach consensus on

concurrent powers. It is expected that these mechanisms should facilitate a co-operative spirit between national and provincial levels of government, unify commitment to the broad goals of developmental social welfare and promote a needs-sensitive and consensus approach to decision-making in provinces. Furthermore, the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) and the Social Welfare Action Plan (SWAP) stress participation in decision-making. The White Paper for Social Welfare and SWAP expect that organisations in civil society should deliver social services and developmental programmes to ensure that the decision-making of the organisations are representative of consumers of services, members of communities being served and other relevant role players.

The mechanisms that the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) proposes to be developed between the national and provincial levels have the value of good and effective co-operation goals towards further development in the structural levels. The White Paper for Social welfare (1997) also indicates that it is important to promote a needs-sensitive and consensus decision-making approach in national and provincial levels as well as community level.

However, the new Constitution of South Africa (1996) provides for a Bill of Rights. The Bill of Rights introduces a new paradigm for social welfare. Government cannot exercise absolute power and control anymore, because democratic principles apply in the new dispensation. The Bill of Rights places an obligation on the Government not only to protect rights but also somehow to provide for rights. This Bill of Rights would mean that the government is obliged to put in place new policies and programmes to realise the equal Rights of all South Africans and development approach towards democratisation of social welfare in South Africa.

Citizens and lobbying groups started increasingly weighing up what they are receiving from the government as opposed to what they are offered by the Constitution. The calls of the White Paper, SWAP, civil societies and lobbying group led to the improvement of ANC's manifesto namely the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) which was drafted before 1994. The RDP of 1993 is a National political development programme for social welfare services, education, training, health services, electrification, telecommunication and environmental management. It appears to have a holistic

framework for development. Politically, this holistic framework appears to join all South African communities and resources in the purpose of dismantling the apartheid and also with regard to separate welfare services and the reconstruction of the country.

Finally, one can say that South Africa had never been a social welfare state. Both the previous government and the current ANC Government reject the institutional approach to welfare. On an overt level there is very clear consensus between the two government's policy viewpoints. As elements of a democratic socialist ideology are present in Government thinking, a welfare state is in fact seen as the ideal. The ANC government, however, chooses a third welfare approach, namely a social developmental approach. This social developmental approach is regarded as a desirable alternative to address poverty effectively in South Africa.

The current government however, seems to be unwilling to support remedial services because of an opinion that the government has a limited economic growth and that the country is now experiencing a declining economy. This means that the country is not in a position of being a social welfare state, it cannot afford and cannot make miracles. Because of this opinion the current government applies the elements of the residual approach. According to Van Eeden *et al.* (2000) both the previous and current government regard the rendering of services as a partnership between the government and the voluntary private sector and the community. The underlying principle of this approach is that self-help is the central theme for social development. Self-help is seen as the ultimate aim of man, and in order to achieve this, external factors such as resources in the bigger societal system together with the internal factors such as the individual potential have to be developed.

Therefore the assumption is made that man will be enabled to function independently as soon as his inherent potential as well as his social environment develop. That is why the government approach and strategy with regard to social welfare chooses terms such as people development and economic empowerment. The social welfare policy of the ANC government seems to have the opinion that social and economic policy is interdependent and that poverty is primarily an economic problem. That is also why the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) states empathetically that welfare is an instrument of reconstruction and development. The current government's' policy for development is so to say that in

order to achieve economic development, people must be empowered through social security, education and skills to previously disadvantaged people.

The focus of the welfare of South African policy is therefore not on personal defects, but on the development of the potential of the individual, as well as economic empowerment. Van Eeden *et al.* (2000) indicates that the new government is presently following a dualistic approach to welfare. On the one hand previously disadvantaged groups are targeted through the social security system as a way to redistribute wealth. On the other hand a developmental approach is envisioned through which the capacity building of individuals to meet their own needs and assistance in equipping and preparing people for employment is the focus. As a result welfare services to white people are declining, while services to the Coloured, Indian and especially the black people are escalating. The current Social Welfare Policy in South Africa acknowledges the importance of involving the disadvantaged groups into developmental Social Welfare Strategies, which will be discussed below. The following sections investigate the current government's developmental social welfare policy and strategy and how they are applied in the community under study.

2.3 CURRENT NATIONAL DEVELOPMENTAL SOCIAL WELFARE STRATEGY

The current social welfare strategy of South Africa has a vision, which has an implicit definition of the concept "developmental social welfare". As Weyers (2001:60) states the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997:71,78) contains no explicit definition of the concept developmental social welfare. It merely states that it refers to the vision, mission, goals, principles and agenda of the document and refers that it is one of the dimensions of social development. However the government's vision and mission are according to the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997:5-6) as follows:

The government's welfare related vision is to create a welfare system, which facilitates the development of human capacity and self-reliance within a caring and enabling socio-economic environment. The accompanying mission is formulated as follows: The mission is to serve and build a self-reliant nation in partnership with all stakeholders through an integrated social welfare system which maximises its existing potential, and which is equitable, sustainable, accessible, people-centred and developmental.

According to the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997:5-6) there are 17 principles that would be used to fulfil its mission. These are the guidelines: equity, securing basic welfare rights, non-discrimination, democracy, improved quality of life, human rights, people-centred policies, investment in human capital, sustainability, partnership, intersectoral collaboration, decentralisation of service delivery, quality services, transparency and accountability, accessibility, appropriateness and ubuntu.

Weyers (2001) has analysed and drawn a comparison between the nature of community work and the government's vision and mission for a social welfare policy. He explained that it is clear that the nature of community work and the government's vision and mission are directly in line with each other. Especially the development of human capacity, self-reliance, collective action and sustainability could also be seen as core values in community work. Weyers (2001) concludes that community work would be one of the important mechanisms that could be used to attain the stated vision.

Moreover, Weyers (2001) indicates that more in-depth analysis of the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) as well as the preliminary Social Welfare Action Plan (SWAP) (1998) has concluded that the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) contains various specific elements that would be of importance for local community work and community development services. These elements of community work will not be described in this study but the implications for community development will be looked at. Before describing community development and its implications the concepts of social development and social welfare will briefly be described.

2.4 SOCIAL WELFARE AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

As far as social development is concerned, the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997:71) subscribes to one of Midgley's (1995) definitions of the concept of social development, which states that it is "... a process of planned social change designed to promote people's welfare in conjunction with a comprehensive process of economic development". It is necessary here to indicate that the definition of Midgley (1995) emphasises the importance of combining the effort of the government and local communities, which means that local community needs to be connected with local government. The efforts of local government and the community must be combined. However, the community under study is facing

problems with the development efforts initiated by community groups to be approved by all local councillors. For instance tourism projects such as Home Stays have difficulties to collaborate with the local tourism development office in Stellenbosch. This was observed in different meetings that Greater Stellenbosch Development Trust had with the Dreamcatcher, which is an organisation, which works for the development and empowerment of community groups that are trying to establish enterprises. The Trustees had a meeting with the mayor of Stellenbosch. In this meeting they appealed to the mayor to intervene in the issue of collaborating with the local tourism development office.

Social welfare refers to an integrated and comprehensive system of social services, facilities, programmes and social security to promote social development, social justice and the social functioning of people. Social welfare services and programmes are therefore part of a range of mechanisms to achieve social development, such as health, nutrition, education, housing, employment, recreation and economic, rural and urban development and land reform. One of the core concepts that were used in the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) to describe its new paradigm, was developmental social welfare. The content of this concept is described in section 2.7.

2.5 ECONOMIC GROWTH

This section describes the economic growth and social development policy of South Africa. It gives a brief discussion of the political direction that the current national government takes in order to promote people development and economic growth and how it links the economic growth with social development. In Chapter 3 different theories on development are discussed. Some concepts such as development, social, economic as well as political development are described in international perspectives and are used here in order to put them in a national developmental perspective.

The welfare of a population will not automatically be enhanced by macro-economic growth. Economic development has to be accompanied by the equitable allocation and distribution of resources if it is to support social development. Social development and economic development are therefore interdependent and mutually reinforced. Inequality, unemployment and poverty keep communities such as Kayamandi in underdeveloped situations. As a way to tackle the underdevelopment of communities, the current

government of South Africa constructed a Programme called, “Reconstruction and Development Programme” (RDP:1993). The question is: How does one think, that the people of Kayamandi could use their collective resources in ways which can improve the basic services to the community, create jobs and increase both the economy of the families and the community? The community has to consult with the local resources, be active, participate and contribute to the development of its community through the local government.

According to Mbeki (1998:138) one of the fundamental approaches of the Government of National Unity (GNU) was to ensure that development takes place in a way that empowers people and communities and enables them to take control of their own development. The society is the front-line worker for change. This statement means that development starts at the community level. Mbeki adds that people have to get insights into how the situation really is. This also means the community must be able to have a critical thinking. Freire (1996) proposes that people must have critical reflection and act on their situations. The community's perception of the situation is the real one. Development can take a place via the involvement of the community in their lives. This means the community must participate in all structures. Because of this statement one has to find out what are the requirements, participation and the perceptions of the people in Kayamandi.

Mbeki (1998:138) states that communities must shape their own destinies through their democratic institutions of local government: government cannot create miracles. This means that the community of Kayamandi must shape its own development through its participation and engagement in its local governance. Are the people of Kayamandi involved in the local political structure? Mbeki (1998:138) continues saying that “the process of democratization imposes certain responsibilities on people in the community. It demands that ordinary citizens take part in stabilizing communities, in driving out crimes and violence, in maintaining proper community facilities, in getting all the children into decent schools and in contributing towards municipal services”. He ends by saying, “South Africa cannot afford to carry those who are not paying for services despite adequate incomes. Non-payment of service charges is unacceptable”. This is characterised as a residual welfare model. In order to understand the community according to this policy, the community groups’ connection to other groups and to the power structures will be investigated.

According to Mbeki's (1998:138) statements the South African government's policy of economic growth and development appears to stand on three principles. Firstly, the people have and must take responsibility, secondly the government is not proactively responsible instead the community must be proactive, and thirdly, those who have adequate resources must pay their own way. This approach to government is only marginably acceptable in a highly developed and wealthy country, where the population is well fed and highly educated in the ability to shape their own destinies through their democratic institutions of local government. It is naive, in a country where 80% of the population has only recently had the opportunity to taste freedom, much less accept its responsibilities, for a newly formed government, to simply to declare that it "cannot create miracles" and that democracy, "demands that ordinary citizens to take part in stabilising communities ...". This becomes almost a cruel policy of abandonment when the only democracy experienced by that 80% of the population has been an instrument of political and economic oppression.

The basic needs of a community will not be met if it is merely linked to the government's policy of economic growth and development. In the researcher's view, this creates a selective social welfare system. One, that does not favour the development of disadvantaged communities, which do not have the required physical, human, financial and democratic resources for "...maintaining proper community facilities, in getting all children into decent schools and in contributing towards municipal services" (Mbeki, 1998:138).

The researcher's interpretation of South Africa's social development policy is a capitalistic one. Those who are not part of the economic growth are seen like impairing the economic growth. It is agreeable that the human resources are the heart of the economy and people are to participate in the development of the country, but the basic needs of those who are unemployed and the needs of their children have to be met.

To understand the conditions of the people, and effectively support them in their efforts to become self-reliant and develop sustainable economic growth at the community level, one has to invest at the community level. A country having a global macro-economic policy as South Africa today which is trying to adapt, is not a people-centred one. The RDP is a

programme that is for a responsible international citizen and an example of what a people-centred society should be.

Unfortunately the study population is not at that stage of life yet. This community is the product of the past oppressive history of South Africa. The challenge of South African people within Government, NGOs, the private sector and the informal organisations is to invest and empower people who are living with the aftermath of oppression, alienation and dehumanisation. People must have their rights of getting education, shelter, water and health care and choosing an ideology in order to develop and involve themselves into the political structures. This means that they have to be respected, enabled, invested in, and perhaps carried financially until those pre-conditions are met. That is where a responsible collectivity and democracy comes in. It is because of this approach to development that the strategies and approaches of employment and job creation are part of community development.

The next section describes how the situation of unemployment looks like among the disadvantaged groups such as women and youth in South Africa.

2.6 EMPLOYMENT AND JOB CREATION

According to the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) South Africa is characterised by large-scale unemployment in the formal sector of the economy. Unemployment has been severe among women, especially those in rural areas, as well as among young people under the age of 24. Nearly a third of black people in this group were unemployed, as were just fewer than 20% of those aged 25 to 34.

A purpose and objective of this study are to understand why people of Kayamandi are living in the way they are living. It is also to ask the question “What can the community itself do in order to improve the quality of life of the community?”

The White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) states that it is the matter of fact, that of the 7,1 million of people between the ages of 16 and 24 years, 2,1 million have not matriculated and do not attend schools. For more than a third, this lack of education is due either to a lack of money or to family responsibilities. The lack of education, employment

opportunities and access to services has deprived many people of their dignity and the ability to look after themselves. These factors necessitate the need for additional support mechanisms to allow people to live in some degree of comfort and security. In this study community, 60% of people of the above age category, are unemployed and do not attend schools (Profile of Kayamandi, 1995).

What do people in local, structural and organisational positions do for the welfare of the children, women, youth and communities? What, kind of services are directed to them? What possibilities do people at community level have to improve the living situation of their community? These are the questions that have to be answered in this research.

2.7 DEVELOPMENTAL SOCIAL WELFARE

Weyers (2001) indicates that there is lack of a clearly stated definition of developmental social welfare in the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) which has contributed to what could be described as a state of conceptual chaos on the subject. The Poverty and Inequality Report (1998: 20) have expressed such different views on the issue of the concept and its content. This report stated that there is a “ ... lack of general agreement or understanding on the definition of developmental social welfare”. Even Midgley (1998:96) stated that “... the term has been loosely employed” within the South African context. He however, also admits that “.... social development remains an elusive concept”, asks the question “... how can the definitions employed in South Africa elucidate its meaning” and describes South Africa's official adoption of the social development model as an “experiment”.

Gray (1998:58) calls for more clarification and describes the concept of developmental social welfare as follows:

Developmental social welfare refers to a welfare system based on the philosophy and policy of social development, and developmental social work refers to the way in which... social work ought to be practised within the social development policy model.

The social welfare system that Gray (1998) applies to the concept of developmental social welfare is based on the macro philosophy and policy to social development in which social

work has to follow and be practised within the development policy. This means that the intervention and all other actions of social work to social problems including the development of human/community resources, capacity building and empowerment must be linked to the enhancement of macro economic development. Although it is not the purpose here to do a critique on the implications of the developmental social welfare concept, it should be mentioned that there is a danger that certain views of this concept could be analysed more deeply. Especially when it is utilised for policy formulation purposes for community development. This especially applies to the way in which development is linked to economic growth policy, which is based on modernisation theory. In this regard the example that Van Eeden *et al.* (2000:17) concluded from an analysis of the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) states the truth of the current South African social policy which presupposes that (economic) development would take place through welfare and not the other way round. This kind of policy is designed to enhance economic development and not to directly fulfil a community's economic development needs.

The White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) certainly initiated an understanding of the developmental paradigm for social welfare, which is gaining support in South Africa. The acceptance of the RDP by the Government of National Unity illustrates the interest of social security in the country. According to Lombard (1996:162) in South Africa, and in the rest of the world Midgley (1995:7), social welfare is being discussed as it has never been before. The international acceptance of a developmental paradigm for social welfare is now getting support in South Africa.

The theoretical framework for developmental social welfare requires one to fully understand the developmental context of social and economic development. This agrees with what Lombard (1996:162) says about the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) and the developmental social welfare policy in South Africa which state according to Lombard (1996:162) as follows:

This implies a reconceptualisation of concepts such as social welfare, social work and social development as well as shifting to a developmental paradigm regarding existing social welfare services.

The theories of development and its learning from the experiences of other African countries can be linked to the South African White Paper for Social Welfare (1997). This paper provides a reliable policy framework for developmental social welfare in South Africa but it is not linked to the theories and experiences of development paradigm. It is agreed with Lombard (1996) that the focus of developmental social welfare should be on social development. Strategies for implementing social development, which is linked in the residual model of social welfare to a developmental model, can be questioned. These strategies combined in a residual approach to social development provide a theoretical framework to understand the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997).

The basic understanding that a development approach requires, is that one has to promote the capacities of individuals, communities and groups as well as facilitating, strengthening human resources (including capacity building and empowerment) and enhancing their economic development. It is important to understand that South Africa has chosen a residual model of social welfare to social development. Strategies for social development through a residual model of social welfare intertwined with economic growth and provide a theoretical framework, which has to be understood in the aspects of political ideologies and strategies behind the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997). This theoretical framework does not promote the strategies for community development. It does not enable individuals, groups and communities in the meaning of community or locality participation for development. As Zastrow (1993:12) views below:

The residual view holds that causes and solutions for problems lie within the individual.

Alternative models such as the social/community action model (Cox, Erlich, Rothman & Tropman, 1978) which promotes a developmental perspective in social and economic development, are apparently well known for South Africa. A relevant question is then, how can other alternatives to development gain an ear in the debates existing and dominating the political arena? It is very clear from the literature of social and community development that when development is the topic, many debates for and against specific strategies exist in the country and that is why the phrase social development replaced the phrase social welfare.

During the national and provincial restructuring of social welfare, a lively debate centred on the question of eliminating the word "welfare" in social services. Some pleas, including

that of Lombard's, have put forward for the replacement of social welfare with social development. This plea is justified, since the word "welfare" has gained many negative connotations over the years, Lombard (1996:163) and Midgley (1995:13) confirm that the term 'welfare is a very confusing, and a stigmatised concept which is widely misused.

It is realistic to think that social welfare cannot accommodate and serve the existing social problems in South Africa today. A model, which promotes a developmental perspective in South Africa, is therefore necessary.

Midgley (1995:21) defines social development as follows: "social development can be defined as a process of planned social change designed to promote the well-being of the population as a whole in conjunction with a dynamic process of social services". It is based on the ideas that governments are responsible for the development and the well being of their citizens and that the governments should provide a range of services, e.g. education, social security, health care, housing, employment, recreation and rural and urban development. This can be possible through a genuine commitment to encourage participation in all aspects and at all levels of development work.

The residual model, which is very individualistic, contradicts this definition of social development. Burkey (1993) indicates that one of the leading researchers in the field, Professor Orlando Fals-Borda (1981), refers to participation as a philosophical approach to development rather than a policy. He points out that even General Pinochet of Chile believed that his government was participatory and warns that we should not deceive ourselves by the official or common definition of the concept of participation. The same warning can be applied concerning the definition to development.

Social development through the social action model (Cox *et al.*, 1978) or a locality participatory action model should be generally appropriate in South Africa and specifically in Kayamandi. It seems that there are political forces against the later one. There is a conflict between the strategies for national economic growth policy and the strategies for community development.

Midgley (1995:25) clarifies that although other approaches to welfare generally do not address economic issues, it is important to note that social development does not negate

the other approaches or minimise their efforts to enhance people's well-being. There are however, exceptions to the approaches to enhance social development, since many philanthropists and social workers have promoted the developmental approach. In addition, with regard to the social administration approach, few efforts have been made to harmonise social and economic policies. Shifting these approaches towards a developmental perspective for social welfare implies a reorientation to social development, as Midgley (1995:1) confirms: the social development approach transcends the residualist-institutionalist debate by linking social welfare directly to economic development policies and programmes.

The belief exists that social governments, their specialised agencies, policy-makers, planners and administrators can best promote development. Strategies achieving this approach are summarised below:

- Redistribution of resources as a basic requirement for social development.
- Meeting basic needs. Governments are charged with the responsibility of ensuring that the basic needs of all citizens are met.
- Sustainable development, which calls for governments to promote policies that protect the environment and safeguard the interest of future generations.

This approach is basically impossible for the current government of South Africa to fulfil it. As Mbeki (1998) indicated the government cannot make miracles. However, the social development by governments contradicts the communitarian approach, which its belief is that people can best promote social development. The strategies for achieving the communitarian approach to social development have a social justice perspective and provide the ground vision of an equal future community. The communitarian approach and its strategies will be described below.

According to the communitarian approach it is believed that people who are working harmoniously within their local communities can best promote social development. Co-operation and sharing a common purpose are important. This study emphasises more of this approach.

Strategies for achieving a communitarian approach are as follows:

- Community development, as it offers an effective means for promoting social development within the context of economic growth.
- Community action, participation and development, which rejects government sponsorship of local development and calls instead for the empowerment of local people, taking full control over community development activities and relying on their own initiatives. It represents a more politicised and activist approach and targets the poorest and most powerless groups.
- Women, gender and social development, which seeks to enhance the status of women and to foster productive self-employment among low-income women.

These are the strategies, approach and targets of this study. This study also investigates the conscientisation, participation and action, which call for community empowerment development. There are community groups that take responsibility, initiatives and control over community development activities. These groups are the focus groups of the study and mainly consist of women and youth who are trying to foster productive self-employment such as sewing and establishing home stays, which is a kind of guesthouse for tourist.

2.8 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The discussions of economic development and social development policy in South Africa raise two questions as to what is the actual road South Africa has to take towards the goal to social development. These can be put as follows:

- Is it a direction, which is based on global macro-economic policy that is based on modernisation theory and driven by those who have, or
- will it be micro-economic development based on alternative community development theories that are based on the voices of the communities and driven by the communities developing its human resources, contributing to the economic growth and development strategy, as a self-determined and sustained community, which is democratic, a community where the holistic approach of human, social, economic, political and environment is integrated?

One of the goals of RDP policy is to strengthen exposed and disadvantaged people, in order to liberate and develop the potential of their human resources and improve the

conditions of their lives and environment. This goal states the heart of alternative development theories, which opposes to modernisation theory. However, critical thinkers need to always remember that African leaders who cannot trust the masses with community capacity building strategies have no reason for development and liberation. If African leaders such as Mbeki mobilise the masses and say that they fight for democracy, liberation and development without the critical voices, reflection, participation and praxis of the people, than such leaders are not up to developing and carrying out the liberation and development with the people, but by the people for the leaders. Burkey (1993) and Freire (1996) state the importance of people's critical reflection and participation in development and capacity building. Therefore, one needs to understand the concepts, methods and policies in developmental paradigms. The following definition of participation is in the line with the approach, which this research applies to community development.

Burkey (1993) defines participation as follows:

"Participation, if it is to really release the people's own creative energies for development, must be much more than the mere mobilisation of labour forces or the coming together about pre-determined plans. Participation must be more than a policy statement – there must be a genuine commitment to encourage participation in all aspects and at all levels of development work."

Freire (1996) demonstrated against the manipulative ways that leaders can use the masses and has written that:

Attempting to liberate the oppressed without their reflective participation in the act of liberation is to treat them as objects which must be saved from a burning building, it is to lead them into the populist pitfall and transform them into masses which can be manipulated.

The following facts tell about the living situation of the majority of South African communities and what a non-manipulative government should be concerned with.

According to the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) South Africa has experienced declining economic growth rates over the past two decades, with the average annual growth rate of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) falling below the annual population growth. This situation has resulted in a decrease in per capita income, increasing poverty

and increasing pressure on the welfare system to meet basic human needs. Inflation has affected the capacity of poor families to meet their needs, low levels of economic growth and income are also associated with low levels of savings. This means that when individuals and families become vulnerable, they have limited resources on which to draw. Extreme inequality in the distribution of income exists among racial groups and households.

According to the White Paper of Social Welfare (1997) the poorest 40% of households in South Africa earn less than 6% of total national income, whilst the richest 10% earn more than half of the national income. Great poverty exists alongside extreme wealth. About a third (35,2%) of all South African households, amounting 18 million people, are living in poverty. African households, households in rural areas, especially those headed by women in rural areas and in townships, are the most affected. Over half (54%) of all South Africa's children live in poverty. Great poverty exists alongside extreme wealth. This can simply be seen between Stellenbosch and Kayamandi. The majority, 60% of 20.000 people who are staying in Kayamandi are living in poverty (Profile of Kayamandi, 1995). Job creation for unemployed people is what many communities such as Kayamandi are trying to solve social problems. The following chapter will explore and offer more details about the Kayamandi community, its needs and resources. How people of Kayamandi perceive Kayamandi community, how they are mobilised and what they are involved in are explored and presented. This study also investigated if there are active community groups who work for self-help or self-employment.

2.9 CONCLUSION

In this chapter a review of South African social welfare policy was offered in order to understand the role of government in policy formulation. Therefore the history of social welfare in South Africa was discussed and analysed.

CHAPTER 3

THEORIES ON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Theories on development and community development will be discussed in this chapter. It was realised in the literature review that there are different theories, approaches and concepts on community development. Therefore it is important for practitioners to understand these theories and their approaches before undertaking development work in communities. Because of this, it is necessary to explain what these theories and their approaches to development mean.

Five development theories are presented and discussed here. The researcher felt that it is necessary to distinguish between development theories through economic growth and development from below. The first theory will be on development through economic growth, which is also called Modernisation Theory. The second theory is Dependency Theory, which opposes the Modernisation Theory. The third will be on the Normative Theories, which is an alternative theory to both Modernisation and Dependency Theory. The fourth theory is Development From Below, the fifth theory is called Praxiology Collective Action Theory, which is actually the first theory to development from below theory.

3.2 DESCRIPTION OF DEVELOPMENT

It is necessary to describe the concept of development before discussing theories and approaches.

The word development will first be clarified. Ronnby (1995) describes the word 'development' in this way; it is associated with success, that something grows, expands, cultivates or deepens and becomes more diversified, complex and versatile. It is also thought of as something that sprouts, shoots forth, grows and becomes green. Development is easily connected with some mind of cultivating, maturing and refinement, with a model from the animal and vegetable kingdom, just as the growth and maturity of

mankind. Development of sparsely inhabited areas could mean that societies are headed towards a new spring where the entirety in different ways sprouts, grows and becomes green. Ronnby's (1995) picture is that different activities take speed and people become involved and develop their ability and competence. The activities and the social life become more differentiated and compiled.

Galtung (1980:10) indicates that the word 'development' is the increasingly autonomous satisfaction of the basic human needs with priority given to those most in need, in harmony with nature. MacDonald (1981) quotes Teddy Bret who has noted that: 'Development is a change process characterised by increased productivity, equalisation in the distribution of the social product, and the emergence of indigenous institutions whose relations with the outside world are characterised by equality rather than by dependence or subordination.

The definitions of the word 'development' that have been described here have similarities. Ronnby (1995) gives a picture of the meaning of the word itself. Galtung (1980) connects the word with the basic human needs and gives priority to the most disadvantaged people in a community and their environment. MacDonald (1981) refers to Bret who takes the definition of development into a changing process, concerned with production and equality of social issues in local settings and the local relations with other people outside the community. He emphasises that the relationships must not lead the community into dependence or subordination.

The intention of development is, that the poor people must have access to resources, services and research facilities. They have to be enabled to participate in the design, implementation and evaluation of community development programmes. The structural transformation should be adjusted to facilitate the implementation of poverty-eradication through community development strategies, which must be related to the needs, the priorities and the resources of the community.

3.3 DEVELOPMENT THEORIES

It is a jungle of ideas, and studies, inhabited by theories, counter-theories, approaches and programmes of all sizes, forms, normatives and colours. This discussion is not intended to

construct something new; its intention is to give a brief introduction to how development theories started from the 1950s to date. Moreover, practitioners who wish to increase their understanding of the many components of past and present-day development theories are recommended to read the book by Stan Burkey (1993), *People First* and the book by Magnus Blomstrom and Björn Hettne (1992), *Development Theory in Transition*.

The following sections will discuss the following theories, namely, the process of growth, dependence theory, and alternative theories.

3.3.1 Development through economic growth

Development through economic growth, which developed from modernisation theory, is the first theory of development. Till the late 1990s, development theory has been dominated by theories and models derived from the experience of Western economic history-modernisation economic growth to development. Developmental thinking by the West has its roots in capitalism and is focused on the advance of the industrial revolution. Development and economic growth became synonymous with progress and higher levels of civilisation. However, when the negative effects of economic growth was realised, the question on population growth was the blame. The following section explains the process of growth.

3.3.1.1 The process of growth

According to Burkey (1993:27) the modernisation development theory has seen economic growth as a natural process, which could be nourished through the application of correct and timely inputs. Likewise it could be impeded by bad conditions, but once these constraints were removed, the process would continue. Development in the Third World was expected to be an imitative process in which the less developed countries gradually assumed the qualities of the industrialised nations. Development was seen essentially as a question of increasing gross levels of savings and investment (both internal and external, private and state) until the economy reaches a take-off point into self-sustaining development. Economic growth was a simple matter of applying appropriate levels of investment after taking into consideration the rate of population growth, the capital: output ratio and the desired rate of growth. A combination of domestic savings, international investment and international aid would provide the fuel to drive the process through stages

of growth, which would ultimately bring the benefits of modernisation to the entire population.

When the majority of people are living in an underdeveloped country where basic needs cannot be met locally and nationally, how is it possible to think that domestic savings will take place? How can a nation of this nature increase the gross levels of savings and investment when the majority of its population are unemployed and are living in communities like Kayamandi in South Africa?

Burkey (1993) states that the dualistic nature of underdeveloped economies soon became apparent: the co-existence of a relatively advanced or modern sector with a backward or traditional sector. It was felt that various traps, vicious circles and barriers to development were to be found in the traditional or backward sector. It then became necessary only to reduce population growth, improve health, introduce new seed varieties, and then growth and development would occur as long as investment was sufficient.

It was found then that modernisation economic growth theory of Western countries could not be transferred to all societies, especially where traditional ways of living were present or dominant. And so the optimism of the 1950s and 1960s could not be sustained. Burkey (1993:28) points out that the empirical evidence of modernisation theory could not be denied. More and more information accumulated which pointed towards a growing poverty complex: marginalisation, mass unemployment and recurrent starvation crises. The 'green revolution' was only one experience which confirmed the universal observation that what was taking place in many countries during the development decade was growth without development but with poverty, which in the 1980s has led to negative development and the debt crises.

Not much has been changed since then. The economic situation in many developing countries is still the same and that is why many movement organisations such as ATTAC (Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions for the Aid of Citizens) are claiming for debt release. Many researchers such as Burkey (1993) came with an alternative development theory (development from below theory). There are paradigms in development theories, which should be known to practitioners. There are so many theories on why development did not take a place in the Third World. Dependency theory is one of

the theories that opposes the modernisation theory and will be discussed in the next section.

3.3.2 Dependency theory

According to Burkey (1993) the Dependency Theory was formulated and maintained by a number of Latin American economists and social scientists. This theory questioned the assumed mutual benefits of international trade and development asserted by European and American proponents of modernisation and growth theories. They undoubtedly reacted to North American economic dominance in Latin American countries, which was strongly involved in the development of the so-called neo-Marxist thinking. The dependency theory maintained that in the modernisation model of economic development, the central communities benefited from trade whereas the peripheral communities suffered.

Burkey (1993:28) indicates that Latin American nations were dualistic societies consisting of a proportionally large traditional agrarian society and a small modern, urbanised society. The former was in many ways feudalistic, and the latter capitalistic. The urbanised centres were themselves developing at the expense of the rural peripheries. The unequal relationships between the centres and the peripheries led to the development of the former and to the underdevelopment of the latter.

The situation was and is the same for post-independent and newly independent African countries such as South Africa. For instance, Kayamandi is a peripheral community to Stellenbosch. It can be argued that the unequal relationship between Stellenbosch and Kayamandi can lead to the development of Stellenbosch and the underdevelopment of Kayamandi. Though Kayamandi is not defined as a traditional agrarian community but a disadvantaged community while Stellenbosch is understood as a modern and small industrialised community.

Burkey (1993) says that the central argument of dependency theory is that the Third World countries were caught in a socio-economic dependency (neo-colonialism) and mainly became the peripheries of the industrialised countries and the theories of modernisation and economic growth. The Third World's socio-economic dependency (neo-colonialism) generates underdevelopment. The developing countries trade with the industrialised countries favoured the centres: the balance of economic and political power was at the

centres, and the centres controlled the finance and technology. In order to reverse this situation, the dependency theory stressed industrialisation by import substitution, planning and state interventions in general and regional integration.

Several governments emerged which were deeply influenced by dependency theory such as Allende's in Chile, Manley's in Jamaica and Nyerere's in Tanzania. Only Nyerere's survived, and it has obviously been economically unsuccessful.

3.3.2.1 Difficulties encountered with dependency theory

Burkey (1993) points out that dependency theory had failed to construct its own theory of development. It also had difficulties to reverse the situation by industrialisation through import substitution because of the small size of internal markets and the need to import technology and other factors of production, especially petroleum products, which required large amounts of foreign exchange. Planning and state intervention created, in many cases, paralysing bottlenecks and inefficiencies. Regional integration has been agonisingly slow or non-existent.

However, it has substantial credits for the following results:

- It led to a critical examination of the modernisation theory and undermined the idea of progress as a more or less automatic and linear process.
- It led to the replacement of the idealised and mechanical vision of development by a more historical method.
- It stimulated dependency analysis in other areas of the Third World as well as the debates on the New International Economic Order (NIEO).
- It led to a necessary analysis of the particular conditions affecting the development process in the Third World and the many unforeseen contradictions that characterise this process.

3.3.2.2 Global interdependence

According to Burkey (1993) the dependency theory also made an essential point: it caused the industrialised countries to think and analyse the classical modernisation and development through economic growth. It forced them to think towards attempts to define a more universal approach to development incorporating the complex relationships between both central and peripheral development. In other words, the dependency theory

stresses global interdependence. The following can serve as examples to understand global interdependence: the oil crisis of 1973, the subsequent price increases of the late 1970s. The American debacle in South-east Asia, the sub-Saharan droughts and the wave of right-wing coups in Latin America also played a role in development theories. At the same time the industrialised countries were experiencing high inflation together with continued unemployment. Theoreticians and leaders in industrialised countries as well as in the Third World realised the vulnerability of the World economy, of Western industrialism, the unsustainability of natural resources (especially cheap energy), the power of Transnational companies and the decreasing capacity of states to control their own economies.

Throughout the 1970s, global interdependence became more and more obvious and useful, of course, as a proliferation of new development strategies. Two of the more publicised ones, arising out of the debates on global reform of the late 1970s and early 1980s, were the demands for a New International Economic Order favouring the development of Third World nations, and the Brandt Commission Report, North-South. A Programme for Survival proposing a massive transfer of financial resources to the poor countries. This study will not go deep into these debates though.

In the 1980s the world has seen the results of a massive resource transfer of petro-dollars to selected Third World countries through Western commercial banks, bilateral and international lending institutions. Rather than leading to a balanced economic development in these countries, this transfer has developed into the world debt crisis, which has yet to be solved.

This part of the section was about the macro-economic development theories and the following section will discuss the local economic development theories.

In order to understand the theories on local economic development in Third World countries, as part of this research study, an in-depth study of the modernisation and dependency theories of development from 1970s to 1990s was conducted. It was found that the failure of development in developing countries was due to both social scientists, mostly anthropologists who dominated in the community research field together with local practitioners and policy makers. These people could be blamed for the failure of community development work because there was/is no genuine local participation in the

development project designs and management. Local people did not participate in the field studies. Local and national politicians were not strong enough at the negotiation table to assess the quality and practical value of data collected by outsiders (anthropologists or/and Aid givers) who Margaret Mead (1977:7) cited correctly:

There is presently no preparation for anthropologists to understand their own cultures or the versions of an emerging planetary bureaucratic culture, represented by the specialised UN agencies, the multinationals, the World Bank, or a new coalition like the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).

Even when community or national development organisations attempt to narrow the gap between staff/researchers and beneficiaries (local people) through the simultaneous involvement of external and indigenous communities, it is still necessary to ask further questions and to ascertain how far one will need to go in 'narrowing the gap' before participative initiatives become genuinely successful at the local level.

According to Pottier (1993:19) it would help if anthropologists restrained the tendency to find unique social configuration in (even) the most ordinary places and to concentrate more on grasping the 'structural regularities' shared by development projects. Pottier (1993:19) illustrates one example for structural regularities by referring to the design and operation of rural water supplies in Botswana. Pottier (1993) concludes that to be able to influence project planning at the design stage, the practising anthropologist needs to be able to advise, for instance, which forms of local organisation, including new ones, can be used to facilitate the introduction and acceptance of technically sound interventions. As viewed in the early 1980s, the anthropologist's special challenge in development situations lay in the art of prediction. This implied an ability to transcend the particularities of any data collected in specific social settings.

What is very important to concern here is why social scientists accepted to be called in as a researcher or worker to sort out the mess constructed by politicians. Most politicians in Africa after the independence of 1950s did not have knowledge of and insight into the essence of the social life of the communities, but had one-sided concentration on economic development growth. It is a sad truth to mention here that anthropologists in 1950s, 60s, 70s 80s and 90s have been remote by policy makers in the West. These experiences are brought in here in the regard to avoid this kind of research or work

approach into communities such as Kayamandi. Homan (1999) suggests the way to go in order to avoid the typical anthropological development research approach which has been used in 60s, 70s, 80s and 90s in the research field. Homan (1999) states that whether one is talking about a broad community or a close community, there are three groups of people whose ideas one can solicit, namely people from the leadership group who are opinion leaders, action leaders and representative leaders who represent the community to the outside world. The second group is the knowledgeable group: people who are likely to have either general or specific knowledge about the community. The third and final group is the ordinary people from the community. The latter way is the one used for this study. The three community groups that Homan (1999) suggests are the focus groups for this research.

Burkey (1993) explains that the dearth of ethnographic data on the political and economical development contexts of policymaking and implementation had two sources. Firstly, the anthropological 'field' was originally defined as remote, that is, located as far away as possible from direct exposure to colonial administrators. Secondly, development anthropologists who rely on the development industry for their bread and butter are not so eager to publish.

The following section discusses other alternative theories of development because it is important for practitioners to understand what development is and the political aspirations that are behind different kinds of development theories, approaches and methods.

3.3.3 Normative theories

The Cocoyoc Declaration adopted at a symposium in Cocoyoc, Mexico, in 1974 is an important example of the normative approach. The subject of this meeting was resources and development and the majority opinion of the participants was that mankind's predicament is rooted primarily in economic and social structures, and behaviour within and between countries. It was declared that a process of growth that did not lead to the fulfilment of basic human needs was a travesty of development.

Although normative theories risk being labelled unrealistically Utopian, in the belief of this research, they are nonetheless valuable if one accepts that policies and actions to development are influenced by ideas as to what one would like to see happen. These

trends in development theory have been actively promoted by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Sweden, and the International Foundation for Development Alternatives (Da Silva, Metha, Wignaraja & Sena, 1979:2) which stated as follows:

Another development theory such as normative theory believe that development should be: *need-oriented*, geared to meeting both material and non-material human needs; *endogenous*, stemming from the heart of each society; *self-reliant*, implying that each society relies primarily on its own strength and resources; *ecologically sound*, utilising rationally the resources of the biosphere, and based on *structural transformation* as an integrated whole. The direction of this structural transformation is indicated by the normative content of the other four points. This implies that there is no universal path to development. Every society must find its own strategy.

If it is so that every community, society or nation must find its own strategy to development, then this research will obtain information on the needs of Kayamandi. It will also obtain information on if there is a local development strategy that is geared to meeting both the material and non-material needs of Kayamandi as well as resources stemming from the community and that can lead Kayamandi to be self-reliant. If Kayamandi as a peripheral community to Stellenbosch chooses or has a local development strategy that realises the importance of structural transformation as an integrated whole to Stellenbosch will also be investigated.

3.3.3.1 Normative approach

The developmental theoretical debate of the early 1970s led to an increasing concern among some observers with the question of how development should take place rather than limiting discussions to theories on development about how it actually took/takes place. This was termed a normative approach in contrast to the positivist approaches exemplified in the modernisation and dependency theories. However, this research investigates how community development takes place in Kayamandi.

According to Burkey (1993:30) the significance of normative approaches is that they focus on the content of development rather than the form. Such approaches are concerned with the purpose and meaning of development rather than limiting discussion to questions relating to the mobilisation of the productive forces of development such as labour, capital and trade. This research also investigates if development takes place in Kayamandi, how it is mobilised and which community forces are utilised for the purposes of development.

3.3.3.2 Basic human needs approach

There have been considerable discussions on what the basic human needs are. Supporters to the modernisation economic growth models were attracted to the idea of meeting basic material needs and later included various social indicators in their growth models. Other discussions on meeting basic needs have been useful in creating awareness of the fact that growth models do not necessarily benefit the poor, if the question of how these needs can be met has to be solved.

According to Streeten (1979) a basic needs program of the modernisation theory does not build on the self-reliance and self-help of communities, governments and countries. This approach is in danger of degenerating into a global charity program. Streeten adds on that a New International Economic Order (NIEO) that is not committed to meeting basic human needs is liable to transfer resources from the poor in the rich countries to the rich in the poor countries.

3.3.3.3 Modern theories of development

The previous section on development theories has briefly looked at some of the conflicting theories and schools of thought relating to development. It is unfortunate to realise that few theories and strategies, such as dependency theory and normative theories, die when new thoughts and strategies expose their weaknesses and deficiencies.

In recent years the questions of equity and equality in the distribution of the benefits from development programmes have become key elements in the ongoing debate on development theories and practices. Edouard Saouma, who was the Director-General of the FAO, has expressed this concern in his foreword to *The Peasants' charter* (1981) as follows:

The rural poor must be given access to land and water resources, agricultural inputs and services, extension and research facilities, they must be permitted to participate in the design, implementation and evaluation of rural development programmes; the structure and pattern of international trade and external investment must be adjusted to facilitate the implementation of poverty-oriented rural development strategies. Growth is necessary but not sufficient; it must be buttressed by equity and, above all, by people's participation in designing, implementing and evaluating rural development programmes and policies.

a) Development and social transformation

Another area of increasing interest is the relationship between development and social transformation. Local activists such as the focus groups of this study, scholars and practitioners of development are beginning to see a need for changes or transformations in existing economic, social and political structures and relationships if development is to genuinely benefit the poor and disadvantaged.

Another area of increasing concern, also as put by Burkey (1993) is the difficult relationship between autonomy and interdependence. Autonomy is the capacity of individuals, communities and nation-states to make independent decisions. Working against autonomy is the increasing levels of social, economic and political interdependence at all levels of global society. The difficulties of relationships between autonomous community groups, organisations and the needs for interdependence or interconnectedness were also investigated. This was investigated so that the researcher could see if resources were linked and co-ordinated.

There are two terms that are frequently used in the discussions of development and therefore an explanation follows. It is important to understand and not be confused by the differences between self-reliance and self-sufficiency.

b) Self-reliance

The term self-reliance in an economic sense is according to Burkey (1993) the ability of the family, community or nation to produce to meet some or all of its basic needs as well as producing surpluses with which to trade for those commodities and services which it does not produce efficiently itself. The development of self-reliance begins within individuals through a process of human development or conscientisation. Attempts to promote self-reliance, which ignore the processes of human development or conscientisation, will ultimately fail.

c) Self-sufficiency

Burkey (1993) defines self-sufficiency as the ability to manage completely on one's own without interaction with others. However, no individual can, over time, be completely self-sufficient and there are no such nation-states in the world that can completely be self-sufficient. Therefore, interdependence or what Homan (1999) calls interconnectedness between people and communities is essential.

d) Implementing the theories

Other alternative theories to development entered the discussions. For instance, Freire (1996) and many other important development researchers came in the field with useful results. Freire (1996) indicates that in order to determine whether a society is developing, one must go beyond criteria based on indices of per capita income (which, expressed in statistical form, are misleading) as well as those, which concentrate on the study of gross income. The elementary criterion is whether or not the society is a 'being of itself' i.e. its political, economic, and cultural decision-making power is located within.

Owing to the historical background of development theories, many researchers, students, politicians and development workers still may believe that development means building schools, clinics and sinking wells rather than supporting and strengthening development processes of human, social economic and political changes and self-reliance at grassroots level.

The view of this research is that the greatest contribution to development work is to enable the poor regain their self-confidence and their ability to fight for themselves the way up from being destitute. Many development workers and aid givers did and still do exactly the opposite, maybe because of the historical background of the development theories. They teach the people that they are helpless, that foreigners and strangers (experts) are needed to do things for them, that they are ignorant and backward. Unless these attitudes, approaches, theories, models and methods at all levels are reversed or abandoned, development work will continue to be harmful and will ultimately fail. Unfortunately, self-confidence, and self-reliance cannot be taught, but it must be acquired and strengthened. Bhasin (1980) suggests that development workers should constantly ask themselves whether they are increasing the confidence of the poor, their faith in themselves and their self-reliance, or simply making them instruments for their own plans of action and imposing their own ideas on them? In this research a tendency to do the latter was observed and clearly could be seen in the meetings between the "Eye on the child project" members from Kayamandi and the social worker who worked with them. The social worker was a newly graduated and was well-spoken in English and used standardised terms. This made the group who did not fully understand English feel small and inadequate to follow up the situation of the children they observed in their areas. They handed in the cases to the social workers, instead of having confidence to act.

Kayamandi, which is the community under study cannot look the way it does only because of an absence of economical development. There is high unemployment - there are many shacks and uncollected garbage. There must be other factors. The real problem can be an absence of ways of mobilising the existing resources as well as the absence of an alternative vision of how and what they can be mobilised for. So the question then becomes: how can this community be mobilised to change its conditions? How can they be helped to organise work for themselves in self-help initiatives? Mobilisation through community development and empowerment theory is highly needed in Kayamandi. The living situation of the community needs to be improved. How can mobilisations of this purpose take a place in such a community?

It is the researcher's belief that a community development project should have a strong element of democracy in it. It is a way of making it possible for people who have not been part of the political life in the country to take a part in it. There is also the conviction that it would be dangerous for the society of South Africa not to let the poor people be part of it and not to let all people of the society take part in the building of democracy. An alternative vision such as community development and empowerment (Lee, 1994) emphasises this way of thinking and searches the other ways of people or community-centred development. This perspective of community centred development will from this angle look at what community means and how community development work or research is possible to happen in Kayamandi. The following sections will discuss praxiology and then community development work.

3.4 PRAXIOLOGY AND COLLECTIVE ACTION THEORY

The Praxiology and Collective Action Theory is another theory originated by Freire (1996) and developed by other scholars such as Ronnby (1996) and Galtung (1980). This theory describes the reflective mind of human beings who in action analyse and act on their situations as a part of themselves.

According to Ronnby (1996:72) the theory around praxis tries to express or describe a perspective which views human action as creating the object and thoughts and ideas surrounding this object and all are parts of one and the same indivisible process. One develops his thoughts concerning his actions at the same time as he develops the action, and vice versa. The process itself includes the conditions for both intellectual and practical

action. This means, for example, the ideas concerning democracy, humanity and equality must develop and find meaning for human beings precisely within the processes in which the persons themselves actively try to create these conditions. Galtung (1980:22) who paraphrases Ghandi, expresses the same idea as follows: "There is no road to self-reliance – self-reliance is the road". The title of a book about the work and pedagogy of Myles Horton and Paulo Freire (1990) has the same connotation when they explain how poor people can achieve development: "We Make the Road by Walking".

The following figure illustrates how praxiology action theory can be used in the practical work to development. It shows what is important to know about the community, namely the history, background, experience, competence and material, social and cultural resources of the community connected with the dreams, theories, perspectives of the world and the intention and expectations of the community to work together towards development. These factors lead the practitioners, politicians, scholars and the community to take action on the prevailing situations.

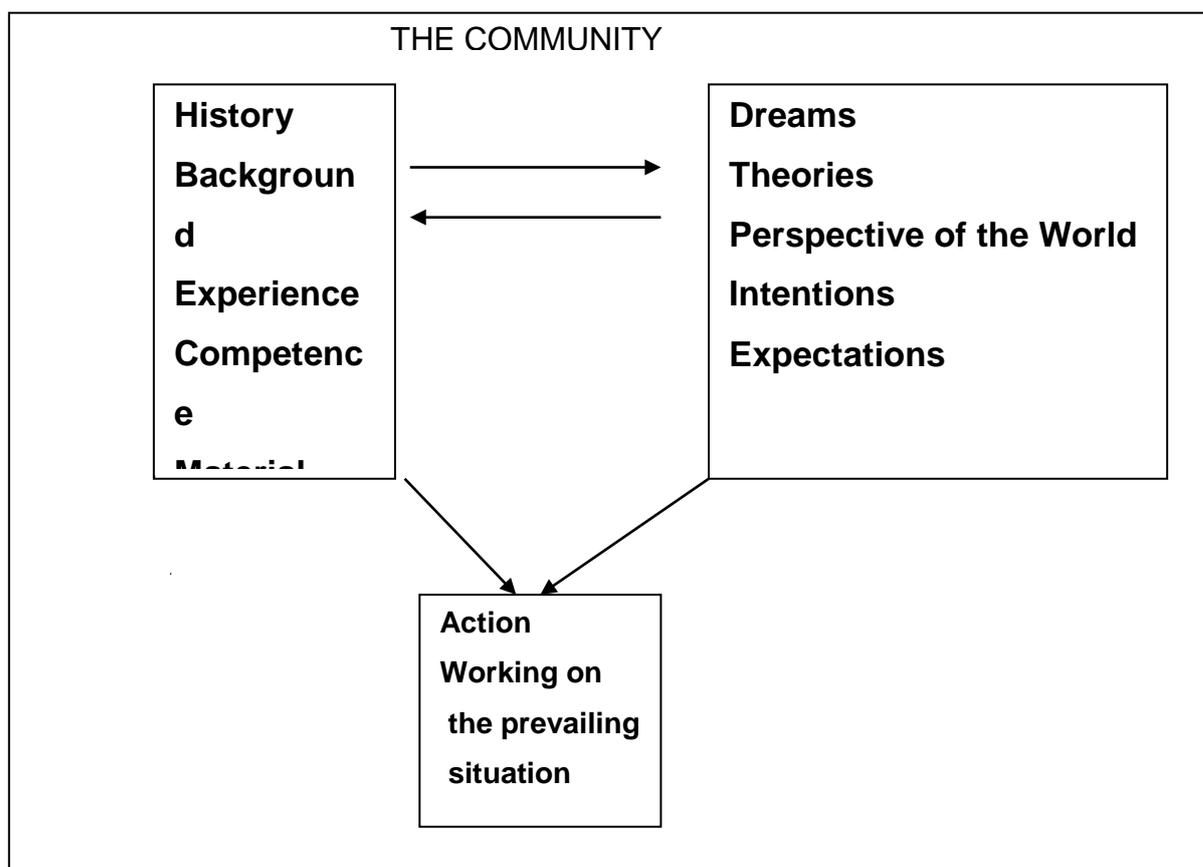


Figure 3.1: Praxiological action theory

Adjusted from Freire and Horton (1990).

The factors indicated above are essential for community development work, especially for creating social interaction and co-operation among the local groups and between the local groups and community social workers or practitioners.

Authors such as Aubert (1974) and Heap (1975) have studied these factors, which foster social interaction, and co-operation in community groups. Ronnby (1995:73) summarised these factors and said: "the determinants for group co-operation increase if people feel close to each other, both physically and mentally. If they find themselves in a similar or common situation so that they have needs or common interests, then the prerequisites are there for co-operation". This particular paragraph has been used in the field study where the researcher investigates three local groups from Kayamandi and investigates if they feel close to each other, if they have the same interests in community development work, and if they co-operate.

If not, according to Ronnby (1995) there are other conditions, which contribute to co-operation, such as certain common interests or values, or the realisation that it is necessary to cooperate in order to tackle problems and achieve success. People, who are on a similar level, either social or economic or through their interests and experiences, find it easier to cooperate. A threat to the group or local community from outside can also be a strong pull for co-operation.

Concerning the strategy for community/local economic development (the definition of local economic development, see chapter 2, p.7), Blakely (1980:58) points out that communities must use their human, social, institutional and physical resources and take advantage of their competitive advantages in order to build a self-supporting economic system. However, it is necessary to co-operate both with the local authorities or municipality and the private sector. According to Blakely (1980) local economic development is a process in which the community and the municipality use their resources, and through partnership with the private sector stimulate economic activity, create new job opportunities and wealth. This particular way of developing the economy of the community and creating job opportunities is fundamental in community development practices. Therefore, this way will be investigated in the case of Kayamandi. It starts from the necessary factors such as history and background of the community, which reflects on the prevailing situation, creates awareness and co-operation among the

people of the community and enables them to take action on the reality. This particular perspective of the local economic development strategy was indicated by Blakley (1980) is a strategy of connecting the available community resources to local government through partnership between the community and its local government. This study will also investigate if this happens or is possible to be created through the following strategy called “the necessary triangle”.

The strategy of local economic development stated by Blakley (1980) agrees and goes along with Ronnby's (1996:75) "necessary triangle" (Figure 3.2). Blakely's strategy for local economic development consists of the following: community institutions, the local government and the private sector.

Blakely (1980:58) and Ronnby (1996:75) mean that people should take the initiative in the local community. However, the local government can play an important role as "public policy is the base for local development".

Moreover, it can be said that the local community has a lot to do in order to make their community attractive; secure; ensure favourable conditions for development; living; working and carrying out business. The community should do this in order to attract capital, investment, co-operation and social interaction. In this study it will be investigated in Kayamandi if local groups or local organisations are aware of this. The following figure shows how the theory of local economic development can link different resources from different levels, in other words from micro level to mezzo and macro levels.

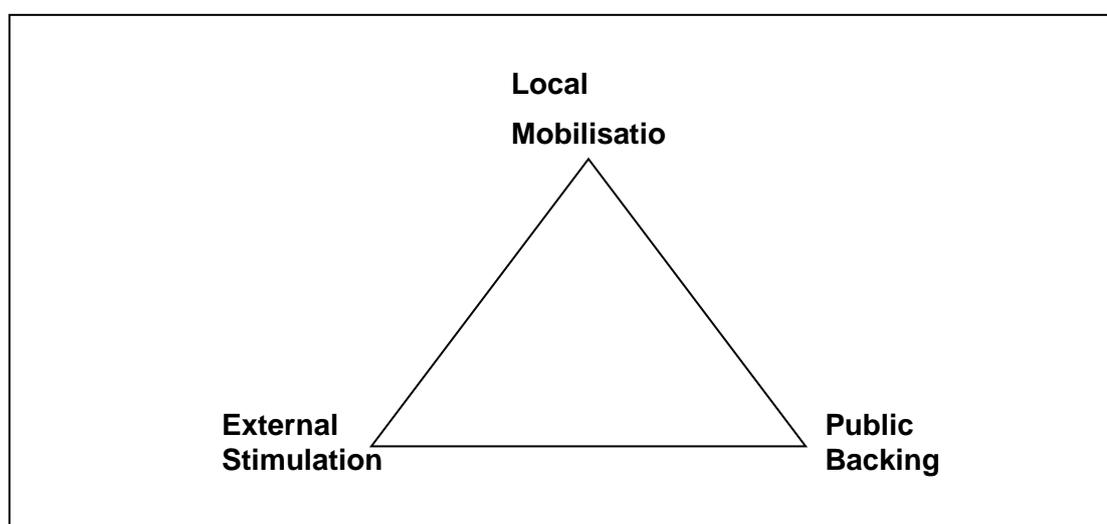


Figure 3.2: The necessary triangle

The quality of the community life says Blakely (1980:63), can be something, which pulls businesses and entrepreneurs to it. Ronnby (1996 :73) adds to this regard that: "This is good strategy for attracting civic entrepreneurs and educated people, since these people are more likely to start businesses. The industries which export their product is of interest to the local market, since in turn will get an addition of capital and, in turn, will generate more work". In a way to fit the theoretical framework to the economical and social realities of the community, the strategy of the necessary triangle tries to capture the mobilisation factors and combine them with the resources existing within and without the community.

3.4.1 A grassroots approach

This is the first approach of community development work. According to the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) the South African government has the strategy of economic growth in its social development policy. When it comes to the work that external organisations do for development it says that the local perspective is essential for the work in the field, but when designing, planning and evaluating they ignore the local community's starting point.

According to Ronnby (1996:69) social work or community development work are a certain kind of development of people, communities and society. This study, however, proposes that development should be a question of involving human resources and not a one-sided concentration on economic development and expansion of government policy. Another basic idea is that development work must have its starting point in local conditions, among the local people. It is called the local perspective or a grassroots approach. This means that the world is seen from the local community's current starting point. The practitioners and researchers must ask themselves: what are the local community's tradition, social and economic structures, resources, problems and common concern?

Ronnby (1996) says if researchers as well as practitioners agree that the development work or a research of communities should have its point of departure in the local community, then, practitioners or researchers must have knowledge of and an insight into the essence of social life there. They must take into consideration traditions, cultural understanding,

social harmony and antagonism. Such insight is essential if the community is characterised by, among other things, stronger social bands and living traditions, more closely-knit social networks and family cohesiveness. However, Ronnby's (1996:71) "conviction in this regard is that community development should entail an effort to create a more differentiated, self-aware and competent "blossoming" community. It should have the ambitions that as many as possible of its inhabitants take an active part in the development task. This should be coupled with a due respect for their vital interests and needs, for the ecological balance and for coming generations' prospects". The point is that development or research progress and improvements should embrace both the individual members with their activities and the total environment. According to the plans and activities observed, this was exactly what the community group and activists proposed to achieve. However, no funds and recognition were given to them, neither from organisations or local and national governance.

In the community these activities happen more or less spontaneously or at least without any intervention by professional organisers and community social workers coming from outside. But as Taylor (1992:5) states that while some communities may already have within them people with the experience, confidence and skills to set up successful organisations, many do not. And it is those with the least confidence and resources, often those seen by outsiders as problem areas or apathetic, which most need to develop the strength that community organisations can provide. Here, community development or community research can help the people of Kayamandi develop the confidence and skills to get community activities going and to build the networks that will give them more control over the quality of their life and environment. In the researcher's opinion Taylor (1992:5) states exactly how the outsiders see the situation in Kayamandi. However, community members invited several agencies and the researcher for information meetings and workshops. The people from Kayamandi presented the local views on Kayamandi as a community, its needs and priorities. The presentation was both oral and written information gathered by members from the community. The members of the community had programmes for childcare, local economic development, gardening and job creation.

One of the invited agencies got a copy of the community's project proposal. The group from Kayamandi namely Simanyisizwe had several meetings with this particular church organisation from Stellenbosch. The group wanted to co-operate with this church.

However, the sad story is that the church used the community's information for its own project proposal for Kayamandi. This church had a good relation with the municipality and other international organisations, which funds the church to have activities in Kayamandi.

This way of hijacking projects from the poor communities is discussed by the Pan African Institute for Development (PAID). This is a game usually played by well established organisations coming to poor communities and getting information in order to design and plan their own projects for the communities. The game, which the Pan African Institute for Development found in their research (1981:10), says that national organisations learn to play the rules of the international game in order to get finance from Aid givers, the game is even present in the local agencies.

3.5 COMMUNITY AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The following section describes what community means and what development work is all about. The term community will be described first and community development work is presented here as a way to understand if the community activities in Kayamandi are in line with the social action approach or in line with the community development approach as described by Homan (1999) and by Ronnby (1995, 1996).

3.5.1 Community

According to Ronnby (1995) the "classic" definition of local community made by ethnologists and anthropologists is that it is a geographic area where the inhabitants objectively have and subjectively feel a solidarity/community within the area of the local community most of the inhabitants are working or living. They also spend their leisure time there. Kayamandi is a geographic area. The inhabitants of Kayamandi subjectively feel solidarity. Most of the inhabitants are living in Kayamandi.

Brox (1971:50) says that in a local community people among others, are siblings or brother-in-laws and religious brothers and sisters. People concern each other in many sectors at the same time. This definition also applies in Kayamandi. There are many different religious, political, cultural and social sub communities.

Ronnby (1995:195) considers that the local community is described as a more geographical limited unit. People in the local community have a more face-to-face relation to each other. Kayamandi can be thought of as a little limited community where people in the community have a face-to-face relationship.

Redfield (1967:4) discusses a "little" community and highlights the sense of group consciousness as acknowledgement, to say that a community is a group of people who experience that they are a group in relation to each other. An acknowledgement is also that there is a "we" feeling. His definition is the classical social anthropology one. Other acknowledgments of little community are namely that there is a social unit, that it is homogeneous, understandable and self-reliant. It should be understood as one whole unit with its special character. Kayamandi is a little community compared to Stellenbosch. It is one whole unit with its special black township characteristics.

In the strategy of development discussed in this study, called community development, Milson (1974:11) refers to community as a social group where there is a relatively strong feeling of company. Community refers to a group of people that have something that ties them together and makes them feel that they are a group. There are different social groups in Kayamandi, such as new settlers who are the poorest people in Kayamandi. There is a Rastafarian group as well, and other religious groups and there are other social groups too. Every group has a relatively strong feeling of solidarity. The whole community of Kayamandi has ties that bind them together. The majority of the community vote for one political party: ANC, they speak the same home language: Xhosa, they share the same culture and most of them are from the Eastern Cape.

In this connection the community of Kayamandi is defined in a way that is almost similar to the meaning Ronnby (1995:198) puts into the conception. At the same time it is especially noted when one talks about community development that in the community there is a group consciousness or at least that it can be created through community work. For the purpose of this study this community is understood as a geographically limited area where people living in that area have ties that bind them together and at the same time that they consider themselves as a community.

3.5.2 Community work and development

According to Twelvetrees (1991:12), community work is predicated on the central idea, that product goals which have been described in this chapter are brought about by a process which ensures that the participants in the action have as much control as possible over all its aspects and that they acquire an enduring capacity to act themselves as a result. However, this educational process usually only works if social goals (see chapter 1) are also met, since group members lose heart if they fail to achieve their objectives. Therefore, in most situations, community development workers have to give attention to both kinds of goals. Professional community development workers tend to be primarily concerned about skill development and practice theory and to emphasise the need to deal pragmatically in what they would see as the "real world". Writers such as Henderson and Thomas (1987) are good examples of the "professional" tradition in community development work, which was the main tradition from about 1945 until 1970. This tradition is what the researcher found in the professional approach of community social workers in this community. What is missing is to involve people who are from the community and are eager to introduce and implement changes in their community.

Other people whom Twelvetrees (1991) for simplicity has called "radical" community workers, are passionately concerned to move from our present world to a radically different world, and, if possible, to use community development work as a means of doing so. Radical community workers tend to believe that it is the task of the community members to seek to create radical change in society.

As stated by Twelvetrees (1991:5) community workers whose roots are in the "radical" tradition now tend to place great emphasis on anti-racist and anti-sexist work. They often also emphasise the "social" construction" of reality. Radical community workers emphasise that the present social and economic order operates by systematically oppressing certain groups, for instance the working class, women and ethnic groups and that this oppression is intrinsically tied up with the historical development of private property, the family, the class system and the state. The radical community work has the same tendency as the modern trend of development theory. They both emphasise the importance of community involvement to create change in the community.

Twelvetrees (1991;2) indicates that a progressive and healthy society needs the active participation by the citizens in a wide variety of ways. The research here assumes that this is the case of this community and what is needed in Kayamandi is an active community group or organisation, which practically and radically work for the changes needed here and now.

3.5.3 Empowerment approach

This is the second approach to community development work. According to Gray (1998:16) developmental social work is aimed at empowering people. This aim can only truly be realised by making clients (individual, groups, families and communities) aware of their rights, through consciousness raising and empowerment. According to Gray (1998:16) empowerment is a process which begins with making people aware of their own subjective experience in relation to the experience of others and to the context within which their experience occurs. Empowerment leads to capacity-building and communities organising as people are enabled to take control of their lives and to make decisions for themselves.

Alternative development models suggested by the global activists, NGOs, scholars, and social liberals are available. Chambers (1983) and Rahman (1983) state that certain non-governmental agencies working from an explicit analysis of Third World oppression, such as community Aid Abroad have proposed alternative development models that have specifically aimed to develop and support community level structures which enhance empowerment and which challenge the oppressive structures of the existing order.

Freire's (1996) pioneering work in literacy programmes in Brazil has implications way beyond his own particular experience and has been a source of inspiration to many people involved with community development. The two important elements of Freire's (1996) work are the use of consciousness raising as a key component of self-development or empowerment and that education and development must link the personal and the political awareness of the oppressed.

According to the above-mentioned authors' work and in addition to the researcher's experience, a fundamental principle of concepts of community, development, empowerment and what Freire (1996) called the knowledge of living experience, which

comes bottom-up rather than upper-down are suitable to the community under study. This principle is emphasised in Freire's work and in other consciousness-raising approaches. In these theories, the core of development is that people have to be empowered to articulate their own needs, to perceive and formulate their world. By using their own words, they form their own strategies of action and meet their needs. It is this way that this study is obtained.

In an Australian context of empowerment based on the poverty program of the brotherhood of St Laurence, Liffmann (1979) piloted an approach, where the consumers were given complete control of the program, and the professionals such as social workers were answerable to them, and had a re-sourcing role (empowerment role) rather than a directive role (disempowerment role). Therefore, this research has the community as the starting point. The community groups were given complete opportunities to describe the living conditions of their community, its needs and assets.

Also according to Ife (1999) the re-sourcing role is a reversal of the traditional professional relationship of the so-called helping professions, and represents an important move towards empowerment rather than disempowerment of the consumers of human services.

Ife (1999) explains that structures of domination and oppression have resulted in the legitimisation of the 'wisdom' of the dominant groups, while the alternative wisdoms of oppressed groups are unrecognised. An empowerment approach, such as that of Freire (1996), will, by contrast, value the wisdom of the powerless: the victims of structural oppression, who are rendered inarticulate by the dominant forms of expression and communication. Ife (1999) continues his interpretation of the component of Freire's community development approach and says: it is not only, the acknowledgement of the wisdom of the oppressed and their right to define their own needs and aspirations in their own way, which can make change. The expression of the oppressed has to be facilitated within the wider society as an essential contribution to the welfare of the human race. Ife's (1999) conclusion is that the contribution must incorporate strategies of consciousness raising and of ensuring that the voices of the oppressed or disadvantaged are heard, acknowledged and valued.

The indigenous people such as black people in South Africa, the Aborigines of Australia, The Maori of Aotearoa and the first Nations people of North America are able to meet their basic needs through essentially community-based social, economic and political structures. They have thus incorporated the major components of community development as the researcher understood in accordance to Ife's (1999) explanation and it has been proven that the world has much to learn from them. Because of this the researcher has chosen to learn more about Kayamandi from the people of Kayamandi.

The above-indicated groups have been able to maintain their organic links with the natural environment, with their subcultures, support systems and socially based human resources. Ife (1999) indicates that this way of valuing the community has been increasingly recognised within the ecological movement. It is beginning to be acknowledged that in many cases indigenous people's spiritual and social values form a more solid basis for tackling social problems than the conventional mechanisms of the welfare state. The situation of the community under study was investigated according to these theories.

According to many authors such as Freire (1996) and Ife (1999), the traditional Western model of development (modernisation model) has not been the only one applied in nations of the Third World. The approaches and models that develop and support community level structures which enhance empowerment, and which challenge the oppressive structures of the existing orders, should be the one in the front line of community development. That is why the researcher of this study has chosen the praxiology collective action theory as a part of the literature review. Ife (1999) states that such approaches to development characteristically involve the following: little if any reliance on government structures; local level development; grounding in the local culture rather than imposing a model from outside; indigenous leadership; specifically addressing the structures of dis-empowerment; and high levels of participation by local people. Such alternative models of development rely on the analysis of writers such as Freire (1996) and Ife (1999).

According to Ife (1999:94) in the Third World, the word 'development' has negative connotations such as corruption and mismanagement, owing to the devastating consequences of the dominant form of global economic development on the nations of the south. Space also does not permit a full analysis of the global economic development processes. Such a model (modernisation model of development) has resulted in profits for

trans-national capital and for the elites of the South, while at the same time resulting in hunger and starvation for many of the poor, the breakdown of village communities, the creation of urban fringe dwellers, and the decline of basic health, education and social services. Therefore, the modernisation model of development is understood here as a Western theory against the development of the Third World communities.

Community based projects in the South are therefore essential for people-centred thinkers to reject such models and find other alternatives. The economies of the world are today subject to the force of globalisation, an agenda basically set by the demands of trans-national capital. Ife (1999) notes that the force of economic globalisation is now affecting the economies of many industrialised countries of the North, such that they are likely to end up as those so-called South.

While the so-called neo-conservatives in Western countries are dismantling the welfare states because of maintenance costs, many African countries such as South Africa are now trying to take the old road (development through economic growth) that was previously used by countries of the North.

Latouche (1991) states that if the current trends in the Western countries continue, it will be those countries in the North which will take on the characteristic of the Third World nations with wealth elites and an increasingly powerless and under-serviced group in poverty. Therefore, the oppressed people within those Western countries and in the South, communities like Kayamandi should be empowered as a source of learning and inspiration for better development alternatives.

3.6 DEVELOPMENT FROM BELOW – PEOPLE FIRST

The previous sections have briefly presented some of the prevailing theories and approaches relating to macro-development, i.e. development at the regional, national or international levels. This study attempts to understand and establish how international and national development policies and theories affect the development of local communities, how communities are affected by national policies and by international economic and political conditions over which they have limited ownership and control. What does development mean at the micro – level of the village, township, district or country?

Micro-development will necessarily involve the use of physical, financial and human resources on community level. The use of resources will depend on who controls the available resources in the community and how decisions are made affecting their use. Some resources may come from external sources; this implies a degree of control by outsiders. This raises questions of self-reliance. Can resources be mobilised internally and be linked to external actors?

Community development theory and Praxiology Collective Action Theory that have been discussed in the previous sections have described how internally mobilised resources can be linked with external resources. These theories focus on two concepts, namely conscientisation and mobilisation that have to happen at the local level. This micro movement needs to define itself, its needs and assets. It also needs to have its own definitions on the following terms: Human, social, economic, ecological and political development. Therefore, according to Burkey (1993:35) the following definitions of human, political, economic and social development are, to some extent, universal but they are included here to illustrate the kind of thinking that community development workers should have before they intervene in a situation of community, poverty and stagnation. One group of rural development workers in Uganda developed the following definition of human development, which according to the researcher's understanding is a community-based definition:

Human development is a process by which an individual develops self – respect, and becomes more self-confident, self-reliant, co-operative and tolerant of others through becoming aware of his/her shortcomings as well as his/her potential for positive change. This takes place through working with others, acquiring new skills and knowledge, and active participation in the economic, social and political development of their community.

A second group of development workers in Uganda also defined the definition of economic development as follows:

Economic development is a process by which people through their own individual and/or joint efforts boost production for direct consumption and have a surplus to sell for cash. This requires that the people themselves analyse the problems, identify the causes, set their priorities and acquire new knowledge. It also requires them to organise themselves in order to co-ordinate and mobilise the effective application of

all the factors of production at their disposal. This means that they must plan, implement and manage their own economic activities. The higher income that accrues through increased savings and investment can be used to satisfy a wider range of the people's wants enabling them to realise greater well-being.

A third group, also Ugandan development workers defined the term of political development in the following manner:

Political development is a process of gradual change over time in which the people increase their awareness of their own capabilities, their rights and their responsibilities, and use this knowledge to organise themselves so as to acquire real political power in order (1) to participate in decision-making at local level and to choose their own leaders and representatives at higher levels of government who are accountable to the people; (2) to plan and share power democratically, and (3) to create and allocate communal resources equitably (fairly) and efficiently among individual groups. Hence it may be possible to avoid corruption and exploitation, realise social and economic development, political stability and peace, and create a politicised population within the context of their own culture and their own political system.

According to Burkey (1993:37) social development refers to those investments and services carried out or provided by a community for the mutual benefit of the people of that community whether as a village, township, district or a nation.

However, the fourth Ugandan group development workers formulated the definition of social development as follows:

Social development is a process of gradual change in which people increase their awareness of their own capabilities and common interests, and use this knowledge to analyse their needs, decide on solutions; organise themselves for co-operative efforts, and mobilise their own culture and their own political system.

The above examples of definitions of human, economic, political and social development illustrate the Ugandan way of defining development. The importance of raising these definitions here is that the community of Kayamandi should also formulate its own views on development.

According to Burkey (1993:32-39) the relationship between social, economic and political development can be illustrated as two columns representing economic and political development a girder representing social development where the girder is dependent upon the support of the two columns which in turn rest upon a foundation of human development (Figure 3.3).

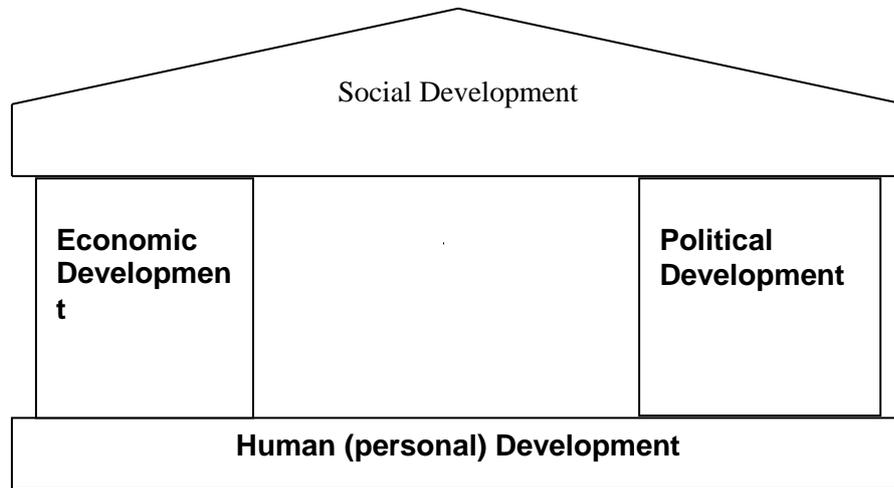


Figure 3.3: Building development

3.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter is about the literature used for this study. The researcher studied first the general and international development theories as a research strategy of gaining an understanding on development and community development theories and approaches. Then the researcher focused on development and community development theories such as Development from below, Praxiology and Collective Action Theory and approaches such as grassroots and empowerment approaches were chosen for this study as they might be applicable to the living conditions of the community under study. These theories are brought in this study, as they have been proven beneficial to individuals, groups and communities. The way communities in the Third World are affected by theories such as development through economic growth and a lack of grassroots involvement make them a special target for empowerment development policies and processes. The community under study was investigated with a help of understanding the processes of top-down theories and bottom-up theories, approaches and strategies to development.

CHAPTER 4

COMMUNITY PROFILE OF KAYAMANDI

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In order to do community research in a community, a community profile is needed. This chapter presents both quantitative secondary and qualitative primary data on the study of Kayamandi community and therefore offers a community profile. The researcher visited the library and also collected secondary data from organisations, and groups that had particular knowledge on Kayamandi. Kayamandi is part of Stellenbosch Municipality, which is in the Western Cape Province of South Africa. The quantitative secondary data discussed here can be found in the work conducted by Muller (2001) and Van Aswegen and Kritzinger (1997) in the Department of Sociology at the University of Stellenbosch. Reports from community groups such as Simanyisizwe, Community Mobilisation Project and Greater Stellenbosch Development Trust also provided further information on the subject. However, the researcher felt unsatisfied and went on to gather more qualitative information and knowledge directly from individuals who lived or are still living in Kayamandi. In order to gain an understanding of how Kayamandi looks and of the functioning of the community people of Kayamandi were asked to describe Kayamandi in terms of its needs and assets so as to meet the questions objectives of the study set out in section 1.4. Background information as history of Kayamandi, has been gathered through the people of Kayamandi through oral renditions of their personal narratives. The following section gives an explanation of why one needs to compile a community profile.

4.2 NEED FOR A COMMUNITY PROFILE

The reasons for doing a community profile are many, but to mention a few, it is important to collect as much information as possible about the community of Kayamandi in order to understand the structures, characteristics, systems, energies and efforts of the community under discussion. An understanding of how all these aspects are connected, organised, utilised and balanced within the community and how they are operating in relationships with other systems, energies, efforts and influences is also important to analyse.

In order to understand a community Homan (1999:29) explains that within the neighbourhood (the community) itself there are several streets, and on each street lives a number of households, and within each household are individuals. Even individuals are made up of various smaller systems, such as a respiratory system, a skeletal system and so on. All these systems can be understood to be essential community assets, which have to be investigated. In a community development perspective, a number of authors such as Burkey (1993) and Ronnby (1995) held the same view as Homan's (1999) view, of the importance of understanding the interconnectedness of the community systems among the people living in the community.

Homan (1999) states that because of the interconnectedness of systems, one part of the system affects the entire system, meaning that all its parts, and what occurs outside the system can also affect the system as a whole. Homan (1999) holds a similar view to Ronnby (1995:73) who says that people who are on a similar level, either socially or economically or through their interests and experiences, find it easier to cooperate. A threat to the group or local community from outside can also be a strong pull for co-operation.

All these factors that are addressed in systems theory are also promoted in community development theories as community assets. Homan (1999:37) indicates further on that community development promotes the acquisition, maturation, and connection of community assets to benefit the whole community. Fundamental to this approach, is the belief that members of the community itself have the primary responsibility for decision-making and action. Community development produces a self-reliant and self-sustaining community that mobilises its resources for the benefit of its members.

Homan (1999: 109) also indicates that the community is a contributor of resources and allies and is a provider of pitfalls and opponents. Therefore, it is important to know where these resources are and where to find them. The people in the community are, after all, where the need for change, the effort to make that change, and the resources for the change is found.

The views of other authors on this issue has been discussed in Chapter 3, for instance, Paulo Freire (1996) states that problem-posing theory and practice take the people's

historicity as its starting point. Hence, historicity is one part of their developmental futurity: it corresponds to the historical nature of themselves and their community. It affirms the community as beings who transcend themselves, who move forward and look ahead, for whom immobility represents a fatal threat; for whom looking at the past must only be a means of understanding more clearly what and who they are so that they can more wisely build the future. The point of departure for community change lies in the people themselves.

Since both theories, that is, systems theory and problem-posing theory and practice or praxiology action theory agree that people do not exist apart from the world, apart from reality, the community must begin with the human – world or people – environment/community relationship. According to these two theories as well as the theory of community development, the point of departure must always be the people in the "here and now", which constitutes the situation under review within which the people in the community are submerged, from which they emerge and in which they intervene.

Freire (1996) puts this understanding very clearly. Only by starting from this situation – which determines their perception of it – can they begin to move. To do this authentically they must perceive their state not as fated and unalterable, but merely as limiting – and therefore challenging". Homan (1999:171) concurs with this position and adds that one should not define the community according to its unmet needs or its problems. Every community has unmet needs. It is also true that no matter how poor or frightened or lacking in immediate power, each community has resources to meet many of these needs, including the most important resource, people.

Therefore, it is a crucial element for this research to investigate the community's views about the community, the problems and the potential capabilities and the limitations that exist in the community of Kayamandi. The limitations that undermine the community's attempts to empowerment and colour the community people's problem solving in shades of inadequacy and dependence are also very crucial to be investigated.

However, what one needs to know about the community under review depends on the nature of the problems that this research focuses on, namely about Kayamandi as a community, the unmet needs of Kayamandi, the community resources that can meet the

needs and the limitations that undermine the community's attempts to empowerment. Methods for community data gathering applied to investigating the unmet needs of the community and discovering the community resources and limitations are explained in the following sections. However, Homan (1999) proposes three ways of looking at the community, and they are as follows:

- The first involves perceiving the community as a community
- The second examines the component parts of the community, acknowledging that it is made up of several smaller "sub-communities"
- The third focuses on those groups drawn into the arena of action.

The first perspective assumes that the community occupies a geographical area with defined boundaries. The kind of shared interests, activities, interactions or affection among the people in this community are defined by it. Ronnby (1995:195-198) as well as Homan (1999) share the view that community members have an interest in their own community. The above-mentioned studies presuppose what Homan calls "interconnectedness" or bonds existing among the people who live in a community.

The secondary data and the primary data can be used to understand whether the people of Kayamandi perceive Kayamandi as a geographic community in line with the first point presented above. The fundamental factors, which were raised by women and youth who were interviewed, are that there are physical boundaries between Stellenbosch and Kayamandi and between Kayamandi and other communities. That in Kayamandi, there are places of residents and streets that people are familiar with. And that Kayamandi is therefore a geographic residential area, because one finds only black people living there.

The second perspective recognizes the existence of sub-communities within the broader community. People living in Kayamandi are members of Kayamandi community as well as societal members in Church, football club, and music club in Kayamandi. They are members of smaller interest "sub-systems." The sub-system's theory assumes that in a geographically limited community, there are smaller groups that consist of people who, with a choice of interests join small groups within the broader community. These sub-groups or sub-communities have a common interest within their own community. Though they are distinct sub-groups they can be affiliated to each other as sub-communities residing in the same community.

Community groups drawn into the arena of this study are members living and acting in Kayamandi. These community groups are defined and used in this study as focus groups. The focus groups of this study fall under the definitions of community referred by many authors in systems theory and, community empowerment and development theories, among the systems theory there are Lofquist (1993).

According to Lofquist (1993:8) community or "a sense of community" exists when two or more people work together toward the accomplishment of mutually desirable goals (conditions). Bernard (1972:163) completes the overall notion of community and clarifies it as follows:

A community is a territorially bounded social system or set of interlocking or integrated functional sub-systems (economic, political, religious, ethical, educational, legal, socialising, reproductive, etc) serving a resident population, plus the material culture or physical plant through which the sub-systems operate.

4.3 COMMUNITY PROFILE OF KAYAMANDI

The following information is presented as a community profile of Kayamandi and constitutes the quantitative data. This information was obtained by studying both generally and specifically available secondary data on Kayamandi. An unpublished report of Muller (2001), Department of Sociology at the University of Stellenbosch and Sociological survey of Van Aswegen and Kritzinger (1997) were the main sources of this data. The focus of the later study was however on standard 7 and 10 pupils in Stellenbosch. This data was collected and reviewed in relation to the first objective of the study, which is to gain an understanding of the community.

4.3.1 History

Kayamandi was established some 40 years ago for migrant labourers coming from the former Transkei and Ciskei. The migration growth started in the 1980s mainly due to urbanisation and also with the abolishment of apartheid.

4.3.2 Kayamandi in a period of transition

The legendary "home sweet home" Kayamandi with a population of 17 000 to 20 000 lies to the west of Stellenbosch, a traditional "location" township dominated by Xhosa

speaking people. From 1948 to 1989 the population of Kayamandi was controlled and administered by the Municipality of Stellenbosch. After the abolishment of apartheid the population of Kayamandi rose to approximately 20 000. This noted population growth caused a problem of space and accommodation. With unplanned urbanisation, unhealthy communities emerged with a severe unhealthy environment with serious repercussions for the local population. For the people living in Kayamandi, the negative repercussions of urbanisation are becoming increasingly acute such as lack of accommodation, the breakdown of the physical infrastructure and lack of public services. According to Muller (2001) the current official unemployment figures for Kayamandi stands at 34%.

4.3.3 Population

Approximately twenty five thousand people live in Kayamandi. The 1995 census estimates the population of Kayamandi 18 000. The number fluctuates from year to year. It is assumed that the population grows. The majority of the population has been part of Kayamandi since the 1980s.

4.3.4 Age and sex composition

Muller (2001) indicates that the residents of Kayamandi are composed of 50.7% women and 49.3% men. The community of Kayamandi is characterised by a youthful age structure, with more than half (56.6%) of the residents being younger than 25 years old, and almost 70% younger than 30 years old. About one third (33.9%) of the population are between 0 and 15 years of age and about 2.8% are 60 years and older, while less than one percent are 70 years and older. The mean age of residents is 23 years. This study corresponds with the survey of Van Aswegen and Kritzing (1997) who found that in the case of standard 10 pupils in Stellenbosch, black pupils have the highest mean age and especially males exhibit a very wide age distribution.

4.3.5 Marital status

At the time of the survey (2001), half of the population was 16 years and older while 50.0% were single and had never been married and a further 4.5% were living together with their partners. Only 1.3% were respectively divorced and widowed, while 0.6% was separated from their partner. This study shows that the community of Kayamandi is youthful and that half of its members are single and unmarried.

4.3.6 Family circumstances/women with children

At the time of the survey (2001), 42.5% of women 12 years and older did not (yet) have any children. From the total number of women who had children, more than one third (34.5%) had one child, a quarter (25.5%) had two children and a further fifth (21.7%) had three children. The rest (18.3%) have four or more children. It seems that the community has more women than men and that the majority of women in Kayamandi do not have children of their own. It also shows that the majority of women who have children have less than three children.

Information about the age of women with the birth of their first child shows that one half (50.7%) of the women with children were younger than 20 years old with the birth of their first child. Only 5% of the women with children were 30 years and older with the birth of their first child. The ages of the women's youngest child were also established. One fifth (21.7%) were three years and younger, while one half (50%) were children of 6 years and younger. This study means that there are many young women who got their children before they turned 20 years old. This study shows that there is a pattern of family structure, which states that women under the age of 30 are more likely to build a family before the age of 30, which also foretells a population growth in Kayamandi. Especially when 42,5% of women 12 years and older did not have any child now and half of the population 16 years and older (50%) were single and had never been married.

4.3.6.1 Single parents

In Kayamandi 28.7% of the households contained one or more single parents, in a further 9% of these households there are two single parents. About 13% of the adult (older than 17 years) population of Kayamandi are single parents. More than half (55.7%) of the single parents are younger than 30 years and 73.3% are between 20 and 34 years old. Only 2.8% are 50 years and older. Almost 70% of the single parents are economically active and just less than one quarter (24.5%) are/is unemployed. Only 14.3% are beneficiaries of the child support grant from the state. The majority of single parents in Kayamandi are young people who are between 20 and 34 years old. The majority are economically active although a significant percentage (24.5%) of them are unemployed.

4.3.7 Housing

Kayamandi has a clear distinction between the so-called "old location" and the informal settlement, commonly known as the "zones". There are several types of "houses" in existence in Kayamandi. Before 1989 housing in Kayamandi had been administrated and controlled by the Municipality of Stellenbosch. The following questions are relevant when investigating the housing situation in Kayamandi. Who provides houses now? Who supplies water and electricity now? Who is responsible for roads and sanitation? Officially, the Municipality is still supposed to provide these services.

The residents of the two above-mentioned types of residences seem, not to share a sense of community. Interviewed respondents expressed that they have different concerns and interests about what the actual problems of Kayamandi are. The informal settlement is more overcrowded and unhygienic. Most of them have to share communal toilets and water taps. Though, the majority of people living in Kayamandi have access to electricity.

4.3.8 Language

Almost all people living in Kayamandi speak Xhosa. The people from the informal settlement are generally mostly illiterate and do not speak either English or Afrikaans.

4.3.9 Infrastructure and services

Concerning recreation space for the children, there is none at the moment and there are no plans of having it in the near future. There is one soccer field in Kayamandi. There are two community halls, one located in the old location and, the other one in Zone O. There is also one small library.

Kayamandi has no infrastructure, parks, and descent eating-places, shops, butchers and service offices operating in Kayamandi. The majority of people in Kayamandi live in shacks filled with bad smell from rubbish heaps. This area lacks roads, service and is inaccessible to service vehicles. This leads to unhygienic and dirty conditions. Waste and sewage removal vans, fire engines and ambulances usually have difficulties getting access to these overcrowded Zones.

Concerning the issue of transport, Taxi services, buses and the train are the main means of transport to Kayamandi. Mini buses are used from Stellenbosch to Kayamandi or verse

vice. The train is available as means of transport from Cape Town to Kayamandi and the other way round. A bus also operates between Stellenbosch and Kayamandi.

4.3.10 Churches

The residents of Kayamandi are generally religious. There are a few denominations being represented in Kayamandi, of which the most popular are the Anglican Church, Zion Church of Christ, Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist and United Reformed Church. There are many churches in Kayamandi. It is estimated that there are more than 25 churches. Most people attend churches and prayer meetings more than once a week. Churches render spiritual services to the people. People in Kayamandi have strong faith in their churches. Most churches in Kayamandi are also involved in community development projects such as feeding schemes for families and children.

There are many young people who are religious and are active church members. All the churches in Kayamandi recently initiated a new youth movement. This youth movement is called Simanyisizwe, which means uniting the nation. Simanyisizwe is also involved in community development.

Van Aswegen and Kritzinger (1997) indicated when regarding church affiliation, that black standard 10 pupils exhibit a wider range of affiliation. The frequency of church attendance varies among the different groupings (white, coloured and black pupils in standard 7 and 10 in Stellenbosch). It was found in this study that more than half of black females attend church more than once a week while 30% (of sample) of coloured pupils in standard 7 and 10 attend church more than once a week. The percentage of pupils never attending church appears to be higher in the case of white pupils. Though it is not clear in the survey, it is assumed that black males attend church less than black females.

Van Aswegen and Kritzinger (1997) also looked at the pattern of praying sometimes or often and it appeared that in the case of black pupils in standard 10 was more than others. All blacks report that they either pray sometimes or often. Again, black pupils report that they read religious literature while other groupings report that they read such literature sometimes.

The standard 10 black male pupils report that they are religious. Approximately half of black females view themselves as atheists. A high percentage of standard 10 black pupils claim to believe in a soul compared to other groups (white and coloured). Significantly a lower percentage of standard 10 black male and female pupils believe in sin, compared with the vast majority of all standard 7 pupils, both whites and coloured. An outright majority of all pupils say that they believe in the existence of heaven.

Less than half of black males and females believe in life after death. Approximately half of black respondents do not believe in hell. A quarter of black male pupils and approximately a third of black female pupils of standard 10 believe that the devil exists while the vast majority of white and coloured of standard 7 and 10 pupils report that they believe that the devil exists.

On the question of reincarnation, white pupils are surer that they do not believe it while black and coloured pupils say that they are unsure. With the exception of black females, most pupils in the various groupings do not believe in witchcraft. While just less than half of black standard 10 males believe in spiritual health, the majority of pupils in other groups report that they do believe in such healing.

4.3.11 Economic activity

It is not an easy task to reveal the economic activities of the informal sector in Kayamandi. There are several handcraft stalls operating as projects. Many home shops and/or backyard enterprises also do exist in Kayamandi. According to Muller (2001) from the total number of inhabitants of Kayamandi, 31% is economically active, 13% is unemployed and 55% non-economically active. The most economically active are those who work for a salary. Van Aswegwn and Kritzinger (1997) found that when concerning family circumstance – occupation and economic activity, the proportion of pupil's with fathers and mothers (guardians) who obtained a standard 10 or higher educational qualification is less for the black pupils compared to the white pupils. Regarding the occupation of the white pupil's fathers or guardians the categories of professions/semi-professional/technical, management/executive/administrative, and clerical/sales is much less a proportion of black pupil's fathers or guardians but the categories they occupy are also more wide ranging. The categories of housewife remain an important one in the case of all pupils' mothers/guardians. Apart from housewife, the three most prominent occupational

categories in the case of blacks are that of service, production/foreman/supervisor and professional/semi-professional/technical.

4.3.12 Unemployment

It is necessary to define unemployed and non-economically active people before going further. Unemployed refers to persons who do not work and are seeking employment. Non-economically active people, refers to persons who do not work and are not seeking employment.

The situation changes somewhat when the scholars and toddlers are removed and the percentages are calculated from those who already left school. Now about 58% of adults are employed and 23% are unemployed. If the definition of the unemployed is extended to include the housewives without work, it rises to about 34%.

Muller (2001) indicates that a much bigger percentage of the men in Kayamandi (67%) as opposed to women (49%) are employed, while with regards to the unemployed there seems to be no difference between the sexes. Women are however, more likely to be non-economically active than men (25% vs 11%).

At the time of this study, 13% of the whole population and 23% of the people who had completed school were unemployed (not working and looking for work). Of these, 43% were men and 57% women. The majority (70%) of the unemployed is younger than 30 years, with only about 55% of the population older than 44 years. Fourteen percent of the unemployed have a primary school education (up to Standard 5/Grade 7) or less, while 22% have completed Standard 9, and 10% have completed matriculation. About 5% have an after school qualification. In Kayamandi more men than women are employed. More women are non economically active than men, and the unemployment rate among women is higher than men when housewives are included in the number of non–economically active persons.

4.3.13 Schools

One senior secondary school, one primary school and eight crèches are found in Kayamandi. Six of the crèches are private. Respondents have expressed that the schools and crèches are ill equipped with basic recreational facilities and other resources lacking.

Informal educational services such as sex education, skill training, information, entrepreneurship and resource development are provided by local and external organisations such as Child and Family Welfare, Simanyisizwe and several churches.

4.3.14 Sexuality

The majority of black males and females in standard 10 reported that they have had sexual relations. The major source of information on sexuality was in the case of black standard 10 pupils; parents seem to play an insignificant role while television and books appear to be important sources of information. Other groupings reported that the parents, schools or friends are sources of information. This is alarming given the spread of HIV/AIDS and especially when engaging in unprotected sexual activities.

A large proportion of pupils in all groupings feel that both school and parents should take joint responsibility for sex education of children, while many of the white standard 10 males feel that parents should play the most significant role regarding sex education. Only a third of black pupils in standard 10 reported that their schools provide sex education. Nearly all pupils, irrespective of race and gender seem to be informed on how AIDS is transmitted. The vast majority of all groups are of the opinion that virgins are in fact "wise" people.

More than half of the black males in standard 10 and approximately 40% of black females in the same standard feel that girls should be responsible in preventing pregnancy. This confirms the above-mentioned concern on the alarming spread of HIV. If the responsibility of preventing pregnancy lies only in the hands of girls, then the risk of HIV spreading will indeed be high if male partners do not think it is also their responsibility to avoid cases of pregnancy and HIV.

In the report it appears that black males in standard 10 are less likely to marry their girlfriends if they fall pregnant, but would provide the necessary support. Black female's respondents, about a fifth of the sample group, report that they would not marry the father but would keep the child. Nearly 60% of black males in standard 10 approve that partners should live together before marriage while only a fifth of black females share this view.

The following section addresses the second and third objectives of the study pointed in Chapter 1.

4.4 COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVES ON KAYAMANDI

A qualitative needs and resource assessment survey will be presented in this section and also community perspectives on Kayamandi as a community. The quantitative data presented in the previous section identified the respondents by age, sex, marital, employment status and family circumstances. The findings of the survey will be presented qualitatively to identify the social needs, their effect on the community and the problem-solving approaches and methods suggested by the community or the participants of this study.

If the mission of this study is to write a reliable academic work based on different disciplines and school of thoughts through structured, tested and approved methodologies and theories, then the study has to be done with the people living in the objected and analysed situation. People in the community are subjects while the condition is the study object. The researcher has to find out theories and methods that can be appropriate ground for the empirical work. The necessary starting point of this study is the people.

The researcher attempted to observe, understand and analyse the processes of the community while the focus groups were identifying, prioritising, planning and taking actions to address the problems. How they perceived their situation, how they organised and form their actions were observed. The following were their motivations to community work.

- Strengthening people's faith, religious and ideological believes
- Strengthening the economy of the community
- Supporting victimised women and children
- Supporting HIV effected and affected people in the community
- Initiating and developing a self-reliant participatory development project

The facts are that the focus groups believed that people in Kayamandi know about their situation, problems and resources. They could perceive their community in their own way. They had plans and actions for the development of Kayamandi.

4.4.1 Nature of focus groups

The focus groups drawn into this study belongs to different social, religious and productive sub-systems in Kayamandi. One of the focus groups is a very expressive group who operates under the name of *Simanyisizwe*, which means uniting the nation. Another one is a small community group, which concentrates on the issue of HIV/AIDS and calls itself *Kayamandi Community Mobilisation Project*. The third one is an organisation that recently started in Kayamandi and is called *The Greater Stellenbosch Development Trust* (GSDT). Case studies on these community groups will be presented, but before that, the quantitative secondary data on Kayamandi will be discussed in the following sections.

The final group is the ordinary folks who have information, living knowledge, ideas and opinions on the community, its needs and assets. This group is the focus group of the study. Information was collected through face-to-face discussions with groups of 5–8 people. There were 8 topics chosen by the researcher (see annexure A). The time frame was between 45 minutes to one hour for every meeting. The focus group consisted of local counsellors, sub-community leaders, professionals and the community at large. Questions on topics were prepared in advance (see annexure A). A facilitator was chosen among the focus group members.

The outcome of every meeting was written and taken back to the group at the next meeting for clarification. The instrumental group, which was a supportive group for the researcher also got copies of the questions and the outcomes. They gave the researcher feedback before every meeting. The members of the focus group were and still are anonymous to the instrumental group and for others who were not part of the survey. There were 12 formal focus group meetings, during each meeting the original 5–8 people and other new community members who were recruited by the group and the researcher attended. The total number then reached 120 for both sexes and ages of 17–45. This then constellated the set up of the group. The majority of the group in attendance was between the ages of 18–34. There were also another 12 formal meetings with leaders and community workers from organisations, community groups and businessmen. These meetings were attempts to investigate the collaboration between organisations and representatives from community groups.

4.4.2 Use of local groups as focus groups

For the purposes of this research project the researcher became involved in the groups such as Simanyisizwe women and youth groups operating in Kayamandi. Some of these groups were used as focus groups.

Focusing on the local groups such as Simanyisizwe women and youth groups gave the researcher a clear and distinct (community picture) picture of Kayamandi as a territorial community as well as the groups as sub-communities. These groups are connected, interact and integrate with each other. Their interconnectedness identifies the potential they have, how they utilise it and what they opt to use it for. Groups drawn into this study are looked at through these definitions. They act, operate, serve and belong to different functional sub-systems such as religious, developmental, productive/economical and cultural local political and non- governmental organisations but they also belong to the broader community of Kayamandi; they share the same culture and speak the same language. Although they live in different zones in Kayamandi, most of them feel that they have to do something about the conditions of Kayamandi. They may differ in the processes of accomplishing mutually desirable goals, but they definitely have the same goal, which is, working for positive changes in Kayamandi. The case studies that will be presented later in this chapter will describe the identified groups, their aims, objectives and results. The following topics were discussed with the focus group and below are their views.

4.4.3 Basic characteristics of Kayamandi

The following information consists of facts about Kayamandi and has a descriptive nature. Any researcher, who has not been in Kayamandi, needs to familiarise himself/herself with the community. If one is there and wants to do research, the first thing one may think of is the community resource centre or a place where one can find information about the community. At the time of this survey there was no such facility, the "resource centre" of Kayamandi is its members. People from Kayamandi have the African character of being open and they express hospitality to guests. They invite guests to their homes (shacks) where they mostly gather.

As people of Kayamandi are religious, the researcher also went to the churches where they pray, get spiritual supports and discuss all kinds of issues. Other than the churches there are several traditional pubs where people coincidentally or purposely meet. There are

neither monumental landmarks nor parks in Kayamandi, which would rekindle fond memories of the place. Kayamandi looks like what Homan (1999) calls an unhealthy community or distressed and depressed community. As one walks around feelings of helplessness and hopelessness abound. Hidden behind all these feelings are people, with skills, hope, involvement, commitment; people with vision and most importantly people who by combination of conscientisation and mobilising energies, can reveal a picture of what, once again to echo Homan (1999), is a healthy community.

The following is a description of what ordinarily would guide the researcher to identify the needs of Kayamandi and its healthy assets.

a) Kayamandi as a community

This picture of Kayamandi as a community and its identified members fall into the definition that Homan (1999) gives of a community when he says:

A community is a number of people who share a distinct location, belief, interest, activity or other characteristic that clearly identifies their commonality and differentiates them from those not sharing it. This common distinction is sufficiently evident that members of the community are able to recognise it. Even though they may not currently have this recognition. Effectively acting on their recognition may lead members to more complete personal and mutual development.

Ronnby (1995) emphasises the above definition and say " in the strategy of development discussed here, called community development, community refers to a social group where there is a relatively strong feeling of company. Consequently it refers to a group of people that have something that ties them together and makes them feel that they are a group. At the same time Ronnby (1995) says, it is especially noted when one talks about community that there is a group consciousness or at least that it can be created through community work.

What Ronnby (1995) and others call a group consciousness is what Homan (1999) calls recognition and all of them agree with one thing that community is the recognition or conscientisation of its members and their unity after that. These definitions pinpoint the definition of Kayamandi as a community and the recognition its action-orientated and expressive community groups give to it. It is also noted that there are service recipient

residents who are less likely passive in the participation development process that is present in Kayamandi. The complexity of this community is not its size but rather the co-ordination of its resources and the influences of external resources. Kayamandi as a peripheral community is caught in a political, economical, social and developmental game that does not have a managerial system that co-ordinate all the resources.

b) Perspectives of the focus groups

The focus groups said the followings about Kayamandi.

One group said:

"Kayamandi is a community with no hope but also a community with many overlooked potentials such as human, culture and social support resources"

Another group said:

Kayamandi is a crowded community, crowded with imbutho, that is mystified crowds who remain stunned at their entanglement in precarious conditions. Similar sentiments were expressed in the interviews about Women and Squalor in Kayamandi. A woman living in zone O in Kayamandi said that the "squalor is in the mind, it is to think like the oppressor, - it is the sign of shebeens and the stench from the community."

"Imbutho [...] is a situation where there is no direction, a place where people with no direction come together", explained another women in Kayamandi.

The word mystified was also repeated in the group interviews. One of the interviewed women explained "that ideology is partial; it mystifies because it presents itself as serving the interest of all. It is false and misleading because in instances where it offers the facts, it places the disadvantaged people in an unconscious state of mind. For this reason, the painfully legitimising tendency of this kind of ideology could be read in people whose Self-image is distorted and thus the deterioration of very basic principles of human relation characteristics where there are no directions of the squalors in Kayamandi. There is no direction; there is no complete consensus in the community, no harmony of existence."

The notion of imbutho describes the helplessness of the community of Kayamandi. It explains the depression and inability of the community to act without being triggered into action.

The focus group said:

Kayamandi community is housed in hostels [which have been converted into houses] accommodating families, and shacks which, are so overwhelmingly congested.

Kayamandi community has its origins in the hostels that were created for migrant labourers coming from the former Transkei. Like many other townships or locations the population growth increased because of the influx of blacks into the city. This is mainly due to urbanisation, but also to the abolishment of apartheid laws and to economic reason. In fact it never grew. Townships that were created in those years are twice the size of Kayamandi today, comparatively speaking. Khayelitsha, created in the 1980s just a few kilometres away from Kayamandi is a good example.

One can safely conjecture at a glance that the flow of black people into Kayamandi was rigidly controlled and consequentially contracted before the historical change in South Africa, 1989 (Simanyisizwe).

Virtually all interviewed people said that the conditions, which, people in squalors are living in, are deplorable. They conceptualised the conditions of the community. This was how they described Kayamandi: "The Community of Kayamandi presents one of the vestiges of the legacy of the past, the squalor and sordid conditions of township life"

c) Needs assessment

The objective of this section is not only to assess the felt needs and problems of Kayamandi at grass-roots level, but more so to describe the attempts of the community to meet the unmet needs.

A number of scholars in systems theory provide some important key concepts that the researcher find to be important in understanding needs to know or be aware of in order to understand the systems of the community. Scholars such as Cowan and Egan (1979), Senge, Kleiner, Roberts, Ross and Smith (1994), Dubois and Krogsrud-Miley (1996), Johnson and Schwartz (1997), Kirst-Ashman and Hull (1997), Lumsden and Lumsden (1997) and Schmolling, Youkeles, Berger (1997) and Brill (1998), have contributed to Homan's (1999) views of systems. All these concepts and ideas have informed the researcher's understanding of the needs of the community, and also to recognise the

healthy assets of a community and its systems. It is in the light of the foregoing discussion on systems of community that Kayamandi's needs assessment is analysed.

The knowledge and understanding of the significant characteristics of Kayamandi, its history and its current needs for further development helped the researcher to get a vivid picture of what Kayamandi more or less looks like and its component parts, which has been presented in the previous sections. It is also an absolute to see how these components function. Homan (1999:116) supports this idea when he comments that: "How a community functions is in a way very essence. One way to look at functioning is to examine how the community endeavours to meet its needs".

In the perspective of the community development purposes according to (Homan 1999:116), it is important to understand that needs are those things a community requires to meet its goals and to sustain itself while problems are needs that have not been properly addressed. That is why it is important for this study to assess the needs of the community first, as a way of understanding the unmet needs of the community. The unmet needs that were addressed by community focus groups in Kayamandi are:

(i) The main problems in Kayamandi

Community issues such as job creation (unemployment), HIV/AIDS prevention, cleaning unhygienic zones, promoting the culture of the community, mobilising the community resources, were viewed. The focus groups of this study came together to identify priority needs of concern. The following was the result of those discussions compiled with what was also prioritised, as community unmet needs by the individual interviewers and the focus groups:

The identified broader views of needs/problems are summarised to be: Poverty, AIDS epidemic, child neglect, women and child abuse, congestion, alcohol abuse, high unemployment rate among young people, lack of shelter, education, recreation, health care, water, sanitation, and more were identified by the people living in Kayamandi.

(ii) Unmet needs

The views of the focus groups above about unmet needs are the following:

Kayamandi has no infrastructure, parks, formal shops, restaurants, etc. The majority of people in Kayamandi live in shacks in a sea of rubbish. The inequality between

Kayamandi and Stellenbosch communities is visible and problematic if transformation and sustainable development do not take a place.

The following were identified by the focus groups as unmet needs:

- Unemployment
- Lack of opportunities and training where people can develop life skills and run their own businesses
- Hunger amongst poorer families
- Lack of facilities, shops and leisure centres
- Inadequate services which cause environmental and health problems
- Poor housing
- Overcrowded schools

To summarise, the prioritised problems of Kayamandi according to the focus groups, individuals and case studies are the following:

- Unemployment -[Umsebenzi]
- Crime -[Ubundhlobongela]
- Lack of education -[Imfundo]
- Squalor, congestion -[Ubumdaka, Ubugxwayiba]

This community is particularly critical of the lacks of educational and jobs opportunities for women and young people and the deleterious effects of poverty. The community actions on the above mentioned unmet needs reflect the methodology used by the researcher, which combines a local interpretation of the community situation, the awareness of the community as well as the use of the local resources co-ordinated with the public and private sector. The community development approach used here begins according to Ronnby (1996:76) with the unity of the community, the cornerstone of the community's confidence and the source of the community's strength and vitality.

(iii) Physical needs

The views of the focus groups about the physical needs of Kayamandi are as follows. Pollution is a big problem in Kayamandi. The waste and drainage systems are also inadequate to protect the health of the people living in Kayamandi. A number of people in Kayamandi cannot afford to buy food, however, several organisations have put up feeding

points for those people. They also lack shelter and clothing. There is only one clinic, which is not enough to give services needed by the community members. The transportation system is also not adequate for getting people to and from their destinations safely. There is no infrastructure in Kayamandi that would attract one to this place. People in Kayamandi however, feel safe and secure in their community.

iv) Social and emotional needs of youth, women and children living in squalors

Members of the community who were interviewed as well as members of the focus group revealed that they are proud to be members of the community. They elicit confidence of their own ability to recognise and resolve problems. There are different feelings though, of being part of the community or not. Some say that they are here temporarily; others see Kayamandi as their only home. The support social systems existing among community members show that it is traditional to be cared for by other members, or a feeling of "we can do for ourselves". Many different groups engage themselves in their own development project goals that encourage community members to feel free to contribute to the community and make changes. Groupings that occur within the community are as follows: theatre and music groups, development groups, service groups and mobilising groups.

v) Educational and communication needs

Paulo Freire (1996), Ronnby (1995) and Homan (1999) talk about the necessity of the community knowing about itself and the world in which it is a part of. Homan (1999:118) states that a community needs to know about itself and the world in which it operates. The community has to have information and methods for developing, transmitting, and receiving that information. This set of needs can be called the community's educational and communication (information) needs.

The views of the focus groups, individuals and case studies on Kayamandi, its needs have been described in the previous sections. Community assets, the engagements of community groups in plans of actions and how they tackle the problems they identified are described below.

d) Main resources in the community

This section presents information on available community resources. Different development projects for unemployed people, after-school activities for children, tourist

and culture promotion activities for community enterprise and HIV/AIDS awareness project were participated in and observed. People who participated in the projects were interviewed. The researcher also had daily conversations with the participants and organisers. These projects were initiated and organised by the community members who were used as focus groups for this study. Simanyisizwe Christian Community Project was one of the groups that was closely studied and observed.

The data for this section was obtained according to the second objective of this study. The objective related to the purpose of collecting this data was to explore the human resources and support systems that can help the community to build itself up and start community based development programmes that consider the welfare of the young generation and the future of the community as a whole.

The disciplines or approaches by, which the members of this informal community group could be, recognised range from religion (Christian), health, tourism, business, education, music and culture to public service and general community development. They indicated that they wanted to get the community to unite, stand up and get involved in the issues of child security, women and youth employment, and community ecology and culture promotion. As mentioned above Simanyisizwe rendered numerous community services. These services met some of the community's needs. This group came in line with the aims and objectives of this study and was chosen to be one of the focus groups in the respect of finding the resources of the community and what the community groups were doing for the community as whole.

Kayamandi, as a broad community, has been described above. Here more about specific groups or organisations functioning in Kayamandi will be presented; their desire, ability to work together and the issues they focus on. The focus groups came together to work on specific community issues such as job creation (unemployment), HIV/AIDS prevention, cleaning unhygienic zones, promoting the culture of the community, mobilising the community resources, etc.

Each group or organisation will be described separately as a way of mapping out their functioning, interconnectedness, co-ordinations as a way of understanding their differences. The participation of group members in the process of informal and formal

decision and policymaking will also be looked at. How do things really work in Kayamandi? How does the relationship between the groups' look like?

However, the focus of the study is to assess the assets of the community – and carry out a community resource assessment. The following case studies are intended to show how the groups in the community are responding to the unmet needs against the resources available within the community.

4.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter focused on the community profile based on the available sources about the community under study. The researcher had an objective, which was to examine the perceptions that the people of the community had about the community, its needs and assets. This chapter focused on local perspective of the living conditions of Kayamandi and what the people of the community do in order to make change.

CHAPTER 5

CASE STUDIES

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The following case studies are examples of community projects existing in Kayamandi. Community members initiated these projects. The data about these projects were collected through interviews and daily conversations with the people and participant observation in project activities. These projects were chosen for case studies because of the second and third objectives of the study which are as follows:

- To explore the human resources and support systems that can help this community to build itself up and start community-based development programmes that consider the welfare of the young generation and the future of the community as a whole.
- To investigate by means of participatory action research, the nature and extent of existing social work practice and community development work from grassroots level in the community.

The three case studies are presented according to some criteria, which were applicable to the case studies. The presentation starts with the background, aims and objectives of the projects, activities follow and conclude with an evaluation of the projects.

5.2 CASE STUDY 1 - SIMANYISIZWE

5.2.1 Background of the project

Simanyisizwe was initially an umbrella youth organisation, but later included women and children into its membership. Kayamandi Youth church members started it in 1998. Its philosophical objectives are to address and act on issues facing the youth, women and children such as child and women abuse, and unemployment affecting women and the youth.

Information based on reviews of existing documents on Simanyisizwe shows how Simanyisizwe addresses community needs, determines the goals that their task groups set up for mobilisation and action for further action development. The theoretical

understanding of the structure and the goals of this organisation show a sense of community consciousness building on community needs, and attempts of enabling community groups to mobilise themselves towards action.

5.2.2 Aims and objectives

Simanyisizwe youth and women task groups are determined to use and be strengthened by Xhosa traditions and culture assets. Simanyisizwe is an established community group though it is not organisationally well structured. This group seems to have aims and objectives for identifying problems and potentials of changing attitudes of the community.

5.2.3 Actions

Workshops tackling several community issues such as HIV/AIDS; women and children in squalor zones, unemployment among women and youth were organised by Simanyisizwe in 2001. The researcher participated in these participatory workshops and observed the impressive response of the participants; the facilitator's skills enabled the members of the community to get actively involved in the open discussions. A follow up on consequent workshops and informal discussions indicated the need to take action to address unmet needs identified during the workshops. From this experience, it can be deduced that the people of Kayamandi must be actively involved if any transformation is to be achieved. A way to understand, know and gather information about Kayamandi and its members is to be involved with it, get associated with the people and to participate in activities mobilised by the people. In a community study, it is an essential step to know the community, gather information about it, its needs and resources. This way of gathering information about a community is supported by Homan (1999:121) when he states that:

Gathering information about your community and its needs is an essential step in community change ... as you answer questions about community needs, recognise that the community has many resources to meet these needs. The facts that needs are not adequately met do not necessarily mean that resources do not exist to do the job. Part of the problem have to do with decision on how resources are allocated. Another part of the problem involves our ability to recognise and develop resources ... a needs assessment provides valuable information but yields only a limited view of the community. To complete your work you need to do a resource assessment. Gather extant data, get information directly from community members and make and record observations. The information gathering process for community resource assessment

has the same technical approaches as for needs assessment.

In one workshop that was organised by Simanyisizwe, participants were interviewed. They expressed that they were well aware of the needs and problems of the community. What most of them wanted to know was how to move from the needs assessment phase to the action phase. In the same workshop, they implicitly discussed some characteristics of some people or groups functioning in Kayamandi. The discussions gave an impression of group conflicts in Kayamandi and a need of collaboration and co-ordination between the community groups. The respondents made the following answers where more clarification on the impression was required.

" It is very complicated to grasp the existing community functions that say, they function to meet the unmet needs of the community"

More clarification on the "they" was again asked. Simanyisizwe women and youth focus groups clarified "they" as follows:

" There are many other local groups and external actors that are functioning here and it is difficult for us to know and grasp what they do".

The statements gave indications of co-ordination problems that are severe and widespread among the community people and between community groups and external actors. As this study was not to focus on such problems, the discussions and interviews narrowed down on the resources the group had on hands as well as the ones they could investigate in order to work toward action. The result of this part of the study is presented below.

Another action was the Kayamandi against HIV/AIDS day which was an "Open day" for taking action on the issue of HIV/AIDS. The day was planned by Simanyisizwe women and youth focus groups. The event was documented and observed by the researcher. The focus groups started identifying and deciding one issue to take action on. The following narrates about the process of the event from the planning stage to the end of the day which was 25/05/01.

Concerning the participation of identifying/defining, interpreting and meeting the needs of the community was well represented by the community, but when the process reached the point of forming, managing and directing actions, the participation seemed to be

problematic. At this stage of the plan, the work process became slow. The researcher acted as catalyst in order to help the focus groups to take action on one of the identified problems. The focus groups have chosen the problem of HIV/AIDS.

The groups started a new process of defining, prioritising and facing the new problem. The problem was then how to form and organise an action on one of the previously identified problems. The members have chosen the problem of the AIDS epidemic in the community. They formed a supportive team for HIV/AIDS infected and affected families and individuals. They formed an annual Kayamandi AIDS action day. They started organising the first action. They built two task groups: an informative mobile task group which had to go to schools, churches and community centres and talk about the issue openly. The purpose of this group was to break the silence and the taboo on HIV/AIDS. The other task group was a kind of an instrumental group, collecting information – interpreting it into local languages – printing materials such as T-shirts, caps, pamphlets, stickers, books and make the use of condoms acceptable and accessible. The programme of the action day was formulated. Sports and other activities were organised: four football teams, four netball teams, local orchestras, food, drinks, speeches and other entertainment. Prizes were given to the participants.

The researcher chose to attend meetings and participate in discussions on how to find the ways of raising funds, but the work would merely remain for the local task groups. The task groups had to tackle this concrete problem. They started identifying interest organisations, companies, and individuals. They were consulted how to present the idea, writing and sending letters, phoning, using Internet and making appointments. They have chosen a co-ordinator among themselves. They made a budget and time schedule for the event. They looked for co-operation with others who worked on the same issue nationally and internationally. They identified facilities needed for the practical work.

Local counsellors, politicians, organisations, students, teachers, doctors, nurses, social workers, custom personnel and business owners were contacted, informed and invited to attend the event.

The decision of this action was made in the beginning of April 2001 and the day of the

action was decided to be on 26th May 2001. The budget was R20 000. They received 40000 condoms from a German church organisation. The group produced thousands of pamphlets, stickers and flying letters. A hundred and fifty T-shirts were donated by a Swedish organisation. A local company printed 200 caps and another 50 T-shirts. Another local private company contributed drinks. Another German church organisation donated DM 7000. Stellenbosch University, Department of Social Work supported the group to have access to two of the University's minibuses for the purpose of the day activities.

The process of activities started early in the morning and ended late in the night all according to what the community planned and how they wanted to perform it. People who organised and participated were from the community. The way they acted from the beginning of the process to the end was traditional. They prayed, made speeches in their mother language. They danced to music, made comedies, theatre and sang traditionally on the issues of HIV/AIDS. They cooked and served their food. The local football teams played among themselves. T-shirts, condoms, caps and other materials were distributed during the day and the evening to the people who came to watch the matches.

5.2.4 Evaluation

Simanyisizwe has showed an alive, conscious and fascinating dimension of Kayamandi. Young people who are active in Simanyisizwe were expressive. They expressed themselves in religious and very traditional terms. When it comes to action, one needs to be patient with them. They are community resources. They have gathered information about Kayamandi, its needs and its resources. Their aim is to unite Kayamandi people and get the people to be involved in the community development process. They are very important to be recognised as community assets. They have talents, skills and capacities: artistic talents, textile, carpentry skills. These can be amplified and enhanced for economic development especially for women and youths.

5.3 CASE STUDY 2-GREATER STELLENBOSCH DEVELOPMENT TRUST (GSDT)

5.3.1 Background

The extremes of wealth, beauty, development and poverty between Stellenbosch and the

squalor of Kayamandi are huge and visible. The picturesque town of Stellenbosch with its wealth of history, culture, gardens, museums, restaurants and shops contrasts sharply with the neighbouring township of Kayamandi. Because of these glaring differences an organisation GSDT was started in mid 2001 in order to make some change in Kayamandi.

The Greater Stellenbosch Development Trust (GSDT) was the brainchild of one of the community members who was born in and who grew up in Kayamandi but also lived in exile. When she returned to Kayamandi, she saw the desolate living conditions in her home, and she arranged meetings with several groupings in Kayamandi to find ways of assessing needs, resources and community unity and mobilisation to effect positive changes in Kayamandi. The community groups that were identified had ideas, vision and energies similar to what this outstanding, a "soul of fire" (translation from a Swedish descriptive word for a person who is burning for the positive change of his/her community "eldsjälla") woman had. All of them agreed that something had to be done and changes must take a place. The ("soul of fire") community woman, met another "soul of fire", committed woman from Stellenbosch. The engagement of these two strong and enthusiastic women was linked with other local people who also saw the plight and poverty of people in Kayamandi. That is how GSDT was born. This way of participatory development is shared by Wignaraja (1984) when he notes that a truly participatory development process cannot be generated spontaneously given the existing power relations at all levels and the deep-rooted dependency relations.

According to Wignaraja (1984) it requires a catalyst. The catalyst (in this case, the catalyst is the community woman who initiated GSDT), or change agent who can break this vicious circle, a new type of activist, who will work with the poor and who has faith in the people. The Greater Stellenbosch Development Trust was founded with the objective of making positive change and to bring the Kayamandi and Stellenbosch people in the development process for transformation and sustainable development.

This organisation functions as a Trust, which is aimed at addressing key issues mentioned earlier in the problem paragraph.

5.3.2 Aims and objectives

The main aim of the Trust is to recreate a world of trust, co-operation and prosperity/development. The co-ordinator of the Trust explained it in the following way:

The aim of this organisation is that a sustainable development has to take a place within the framework of integrity, accountability, harmony and transparency inclusive of all people.

According to the Trust deed, the objectives of GSĐT are to:

- Initiate, promote and implement development projects designed to encourage self-reliance within Kayamandi through sustainable development.
- Facilitate the development of entrepreneurial skills amongst the beneficiary community - Kayamandi.
- Create access to funding for development projects facilitated by the Trust for the benefit of the beneficiary community
- Contribute towards the reconstruction and development of a non-racial, non-sexist transparent and democratic urban and rural environment and to strengthen the institutional capacity available in the greater Stellenbosch region in relation to racially and gender disadvantaged communities for servicing local government and the transformation process.
- Acquire from time to time immovable property in the Stellenbosch Municipality to provide thereon certain social welfare and general community facilities for the benefit of the greater community of Stellenbosch and further the furtherance of the aims and objectives of the Trust deed.

The mission of GSĐT is to facilitate and encourage self – reliance through sustainable community development.

5.3.3 Actions

For the Trust to be viable the Trustees formulated a community business plan, which will create a conducive environment for sustainability. According to the Trust document, every project that the Trust undertakes must be designed for long – term sustainability. Projects of the Trust are outlined below.

- tourism within Kayamandi
- life skills training
- sport
- education
- culture promotion by youth
- infrastructure in Kayamandi

Practical work by the Trust is to fund a new training/commercial/Tourism Centre in Kayamandi and support existing and new development projects that will improve the quality of life and the well being of the people of Kayamandi.

5.3.4 Evaluation

The Trust has realised that members of Kayamandi and Stellenbosch have a fundamental role to play in facilitating positive change in both communities by acting hand in hand with all the relevant authorities. The essence of the Trust is to show that the social and economical transformation of Kayamandi depend on how the community, authorities and public sector pull their resources together and become part of the solutions in improvement and development. In the case of the Trust, the ideal is being realised that the goal can be reached through co-operation across racial and class lines, an ethos of the new South Africa is found between Stellenbosch – Kayamandi "here and now". In an international perspective one can say, "South meets North". Bridge the divide is the motto of the Trust.

5.4 CASE STUDY 3 - COMMUNITY MOBILISATION PROJECT IN KAYAMANDI

5.4.1 Background

The Community Mobilisation Project is also a new group that is in the developing phase. Activists at the mobilisation project provided the following information.

The mobilisation project was started in 2001. At the moment, there are four people involved in this project. They are two activists from Kayamandi and two people from the

University of Stellenbosch. This project is part of Stellenbosch AIDS Action Group. At the time of the survey they had a plan to set up a recreational, information and skills development youth centre in Kayamandi. They work from an office space donated to them in Kayamandi.

5.4.2 Aims and objectives

Their main objective is to incorporate other social issues.

This project is attempting to win the hearts of young kids who are more at risk of contracting HIV/AIDS. During an interview the project co-ordinator said:

The main line, which we want to do, is, to set up a recreational, information and skill development centre in Kayamandi, We are not focusing only on HIV/AIDS information specifically but we look at other social concerns and incorporate them as part of our programmes. As far as information is concerned, we are looking to establish ongoing relationship with the welfare office because HIV is not the only problem affecting the people in Kayamandi. The issues such as child abuse, neglect, rape, etc are some of the issues the people need to be made aware of. The centre will take a holistic approach to information.

5.4.3 Actions

The following is an interview with one of the people working in the community mobilisation project. The respondent was asked to describe Kayamandi, its needs and resources and also about the respondent's view on community development work going on in Kayamandi.

"Basically, one can say that Kayamandi is a hopeless and helplessness community".

"There is a lack of infrastructure of development in Kayamandi. There is nothing of the following: no recreational, community centre and any kind of youth centre".

"We at the community mobilisation centre, are in a position of getting somewhere. It is now started that people are going but there are also external people coming to Kayamandi to create a community centre for Kayamandi. These are recent development because there was nothing between 1995 – 2000 like this. There has not been a community centre. Only in 2001 it has been active drive from Stellenbosch community wanted to say, let us do something for Kayamandi. So

now things are in a position to be initiated. In one instance, there has been consultation with people within Kayamandi ... look, what do you need?"

" I know a man in the Legacy project. There was a process where people from the Legacy project went to the community people and asked the people what they needed and the community people said a community centre. This is one-way outsiders come to the community and consult."

"But there are other services where the community was not consulted. I do not know if you know about the Greater Stellenbosch Development Trust. People thought that GSDT was not transparent. That project just sprang up and people said either you are with us or against us. So people thought in that kind of attitude/situation there was no proper consultation because if it is meant to be a community centre in a community initiative, to say, not only how it should be run but also who should run it. In the terms of GSDT they did no do that. They just came and said this is who we are and we already said, this is what we gonna do so come on board."

The respondent explains that there is a conflict, dispute or even disagreement that is associated with the planning phase of GSDT. The respondent compares GSDT with the Legacy project, which is also in the phase of starting in Kayamandi..

The respondent continued talking about how he found information about the legacy and other organisations.

"Yesterday, I had a meeting with the Legacy people and they told me that they were running a feeding scheme with someone from Kayamandi. They spoke to that person and through him they found out that there were other community needs such as a community centre. Then they had consultation with community leaders and structures... through that process they came up with the need which was to build a community centre. They could initiate it and the community wanted it. They had a vision to join these two and let the community centre come up"(Yeki) The view of the respondent supports Abatena's (1997, p. 23) theory that involvement in a form of consultation in planning increases the "prospects of successful program implementation", because people tend to support decisions they made themselves or were part of.

The respondent continued saying that *"I think it is important that external actors come in to Kayamandi with a plan but they need to realise that, they need to consult the community, so I do not think that, that necessarily meant to take initiative to saying to someone be something. Some of*

us can come up with something and say, look, I am thinking of doing this, what are your views. So at least people can work together"(Yeki).

The view of the respondent is consistent with Abatena's (1997:29) theory that people and communities are capable of helping themselves at grassroots level if right support is provided on technical aspects. Therefore members' capabilities towards self-respect, empowerment and independence stand a better chance to develop.

The respondent continued saying the following:

"If the community decides what they want, my promise is that if you let the community decide what they want, the community can take ten years deciding on what they want because we might have kept on deciding on what we all want to happen in Kayamandi. So I would rather be happy to see someone, an outsider, who wants to do something and, say this is also what I want to give, but I need your input. Yes, consultation with the community and its participation is very important so that, again when the people of the community introduce what they produce they will say - we have developed. People will have sense of ownership of the project or the centre and will say that is our centre so we should be careful, that we should not allow the kids to break windows".

The respondent considered that it is important that community people must be involved in the project in order to encourage participation and to engender a feeling of ownership, in order to prolong the lifetime of projects/centres.

The respondent added on *"but if an outsider without consultation just put up a building the people can be careless if things are broken or the place being vandalised because they will tell you that I was not consulted so why should I care because it does not mean anything to me anyway. So external actors should come, but they need to consult and in consultation they need to get the community have an active role in deciding the events or activities taking place in the centre. The stimulants of external actors are needed, but the sense of ownership ultimately needs to be the community. The community has the ultimate control and ownership of its projects".*

The respondent concluded as follows: *"The external agencies need to realise that people from disadvantaged communities are not looking for handouts. Though they might be poor, they do understand what they want. There are people within Kayamandi who can initiate action. It is just that at the moment lack of resources is a major hindrance for one to initiate a process. The main*

resources that lack in Kayamandi are capital and possibilities for networking, here, networking according to the respondent means all about to knowing the right people".

The respondent explains and visualizes the problems of the community, the resources and the possibilities for networking in order to make changes in Kayamandi.

5.5 EVALUATION

The results of the focus group discussions, interviews and case studies are evaluated in this section.

Results shown in case studies indicate the valuable knowledge about Kayamandi community expressed by respondents (n = 50) and about the importance of the community doing something about the infrastructure of Kayamandi. There was a general consensus amongst the case studies and focus groups that Kayamandi is a community with no hope but also with potential that needed to be utilised. All respondents agreed that they have to make a change, get involved and participate in different processes of development projects. Their aims and objectives as well as their strategies for further development in Kayamandi indicate that there are slight differences of how to get involved, initiate, plan, design and implement projects.

Regarding the unmet needs several community groups such as Simanyisizwe, The Community Mobilisation Group and Greater Stellenbosch Development Trust listed the most unmet needs of Kayamandi to be the unstructured community, which concerns the health, and sanitation of the community. A need for constructing the drainage system, building a multipurpose community centre was also identified. The most needed projects to meet the unmet needs were identified to be:

- Construction of the community infrastructure (e.g. community halls)
- Community markets,
- Multipurpose centre (information and reading space),
- Drainage system (waste disposal, garbage disposals, compost kit, sanitary inspection, disease control, etc)
- Public utilities (e.g. water supplies, concrete laundries, playground facilities, rest house, and construction of local streets and pathways).

Generally, at the local political level the task of carrying out community development activities rests with the local council and the community development workers. In principle, the local council decides on the projects (initiated, planned and designed by the local people) after discussions with the local people in an open forum in terms of priorities and local contribution and sees to it that the projects are implemented. The key agents to mobilise and activate the local resources are the local community development activists/groups together with other community development workers such as social workers who might be responsible for:

- a) stimulating and promoting self-help local activities
- b) obtaining technical services when needed, and
- c) assisting the local council in the implementation and administration of the local community development programme.

These principles are clear and should be helpful for practitioners. However, the belief of the researcher remains that all agents for community development work are to mobilise, activate and utilize the local resources, which is the community.

5.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has a practical point of view. The people of the community described the aims and objectives of community development projects and evaluated projects initiated by the community. Three case studies on three community projects were investigated and evaluated. The results of the case studies were presented.

CHAPTER 6

APPROACHES, PERSPECTIVES AND STRATEGIES FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter addresses the fourth objective of the study. To explore the approaches, strategies and perspectives that are used for developing and transforming projects in Kayamandi and present new ideas and new ways of looking at and solving social problems in the community. Essentially, this chapter addresses the following questions, which were asked to the focus groups and the social workers rendering services in Kayamandi.

What type of community work was taking place in Kayamandi? Which methods and strategies did the community groups and the social workers in the context of community development work use?

6.2 THE TYPE OF COMMUNITY WORK

In order to ascertain the type of community work that was going on in Kayamandi, the researcher observed the type of approaches that were being practised in the projects initiated by the social workers namely, the "Eye on the Child Project" and "Women Sewing Project". The first approach that was investigated was the traditional approach.

6.2.1 Traditional approach (top-down)

The researcher observed that the structures that existed in Kayamandi at the time of this research were using the top-down approach and methods of the social planning model (Cox *et al.*, 1978) for community work. These structures comprised of social workers and community members involved in the activities of the Child and Family Welfare Society. The following project is an example of the many projects initiated by the Child and Family Welfare Society in Kayamandi. The "Eye on the Child Project" was selected for analysis because its objectives were community oriented.

6.2.2 Eye on the child project: Isolabantwana

Firstly, the social workers were met by the researcher and interviewed, and also observed at their place of work (office), as well as in the field. Social workers organised meetings with groups from the community. One of the groups is called the "Eye of the Child Project" (ECP). The relevance of this group is that people who are living within the community are involved in the project. The ECP group attended meetings organised by the social workers. They inform the social workers about the living conditions of the children which the ECP members had observed in the areas they live in.

6.2.2.1 Background

In South Africa there has been an alarming increase in child abuse, neglect and abandonment. Formal resources such as child protection, social work agencies, the police, medical services and courts of law are stretched; their capacity to assist vulnerable children was inadequate. Because of this background the social workers initiated Isolabantwana project as a way to involve the communities to protect children. The Eye of the child: Isolabantwana project is a community based child protection project that was initiated by the Cape Town Child Welfare Society (Doran, 1999). With this project the social workers had grappled the ever-increasing problem of children who are victims of abuse, neglect and abandonment. Task teams from communities were elected, trained and recruited for the purpose of protecting children. The task teams could also identify and recruit community members who in their opinion showed a capacity to act as "eyes" or community-based caregivers. The task teams worked on a voluntary basis and got comprehensive training in the area of child abuse and neglect before they could be actively involved in rendering a service to vulnerable children in their communities.

6.2.2.2 Aims and objectives

According to Doran (1999) the aim of "Eye on the Child Project" is to involve communities in providing protective intervention to abused, neglected and abandoned children.

The objectives of the project are to have task teams who are elected within the community. The task teams are given responsibility for:

- Planning, in consultation with the social workers, a comprehensive community based child protection service within their community.

- Identifying and recruiting community- based volunteers.
- Co-ordinating the programme.
- Liaising with the Cape Town Child Welfare Society social workers with regard to service delivery.

6.2.2.3 Actions

According to Doran (1999) the programme is designed that the task teams from the community and social workers attached to the programme should form the Child Protection programme for the community. The Cape Town Child Welfare Society identify the need for:

- Community-based men and women “Eyes” to be available to identify children at high-risk of or exposed to abuse, neglect and abandonment. The “eyes” would be responsible for assessing the care of high-risk children and deciding on whether these children could remain in the care of their parents/caregivers or whether they would need to be placed in protective care. If protective care is indicated “eyes” would need to be able to place the child(ren) concerned in the short-term care of:
 - Community-based caregivers – who would provide short-term emergency care to abused, neglected and abandoned children until the medium – long-term protection of the child(ren) placed could be effected.
 - Social workers attached to the programmes that would need to be available to “eyes” to discuss and evaluate action that was taken on cases and plan the future management and care of children serviced by the programme. Practical support would also need to be made available to the community-based caregivers when children are placed in their care.

Cape Town Child and Family Welfare Society trained social workers at Stellenbosch Child and Family Society who then initiated the "Eye on the Child" programme in Kayamandi.

6.2.2.4 Evaluation

Despite the fact that these members of ECP are trained and educated to work with child issues in their communities including intervening by talking to the parents and their children, they are only characterised as gatherers of information. They pass on this

information to the social workers who act on it and carry out the intervention work. This method was understood and by the researcher as that the volunteers (EPS) did not get involved intervention activities.

On the contrary, it seemed as if the community members who were elected to work with the social workers were not empowered enough to act on the problems they observed. The researcher's feeling is that the project is not in line with the principle of community development work which is a value system concerned with enabling, empowering and involving the community members, facilitating the growth of both parts and modifying or changing the system from below.

A relevant question coming from a community member was directed at the social workers. How do the social workers go about their work and what problems do they face, if their only interest is using the community to extend and improve their social work practices? In response, a community member answered this question as follows:

At the moment in Kayamandi, projects are mainly channelled through the social services that are offered and subsidised by the government. Most projects, which deal with some of the issues such as child protection in Kayamandi, are from outside the community of Kayamandi. This does not necessarily mean that we are not aware of and cannot tackle the problems. Our weakest point at the moment is that we have no funds to run the locally initiated projects efficiently and professionally. This makes our progress to be slower as from time to time, we continue to fail to tap talent and capacities because of lack of incentives.

While social workers and ECP's main concern is for the immediate well being of children and families, voluntary community development workers who have been interviewed had a different development approach than the social workers. Voluntary community workers, who represented the community committee, church committee and school committee were concerned to develop new ways of dealing with social problems. In the interviews and workshops, people from the community were emphasising the importance of using the existing support system in their culture that can meet some of the community needs.

6.2.3 Job creation project

Another project that was selected to investigate was the job creation-sewing project.

6.2.3.1 Background

From the late 1970s community groups began to seek ways of creating employment, often using central government job creation or youth training funds. As such monies have been less available, community groups and community workers have tried to set up community businesses, which create "real" jobs for the members of disadvantaged communities. The evidence suggests that people who might not otherwise have found jobs or set up their own businesses can sometimes be helped to do so.

If a social worker is concerned to empower a group to run a community job creation project they need to do a great deal of homework first and to learn about the criteria for success in business, which are well known. For instance, effective projects require, good management, project plans, appropriate marketing techniques, adequate capitalisation and a skilled workforce. It also needs to make a profit unless it is to go under. The particular danger with community- led projects is that social training goals can be confused with economic generating goals as Twelvetrees (1991) indicated. Employing people who need jobs rather than people with the skills to do the particular jobs can result in a product that will be of inferior quality and that can lead to bankruptcy. Employing people who need jobs rather than people with appropriate skills is not a problem if the loss in profit can be made up in another way, by grants or by a considerable amount of voluntary work. This is the situation upon which some community projects survive. But these kinds of support are not usually there for long.

One example of the job creation projects is the Women sewing Project, which is described in the following sections.

The first time the researcher met the Women Sewing Group was 2001. The women involved in this project were in a church venue at Zone O. These women were in the church during the daytime. They had four or five machines and they were 15 – 20 women. All they had as materials was small pieces of cloth collected by social workers. The women sew the pieces together and made dresses out of the pieces. There were children clothes,

women dresses and jackets. They call themselves – Siyazaka, meaning – we are building ourselves.

The researcher met this group through the Child and family Welfare Society. There was a wonderful social worker that introduced the researcher to this group. The group was productive. They talked for themselves. The social worker did not say much about the group. The group could manage the work they were doing and wanted to achieve more in a way of generating income for them. They owned the idea, designed the project and made it simple and concrete. The Child and Family Welfare Society helped the group with machines and collected materials. The group was responsible for the form of the products and the money they made. They said that they needed support to manage the economy (for the management of the accountability of the economy). Concerning the simple bookkeeping and money management in development projects Burkey (1993:187) states as follows:

Informal training in simple bookkeeping and money management is essential if the group is to avoid the, all too frequent, disaster of mismanagement and fraud.

As the writer Twelvetrees (1991) mentioned, these community groups lack some of the criteria for success in projects. The focus groups announced that they lack knowledge of good management. There are unemployed women with skills. The women from Kayamandi set up project plans for instances sewing groups in Kayamandi. These women lack capital. When it comes to marketing techniques, the sewing groups identified a traditional way of spreading their products in the community and home villages. It is obvious that these groups and the social workers are confused about the distinction between social training goals and economic generating goals of the projects.

6.2.3.2 Aim and objectives

The goals for this project were to meet the social and economical needs of the community members. When skilled women in Kayamandi got involved in the project, they designed and produced clothes to sell.

6.2.3.3 Actions

By observing and interviewing women who were involved in the plans and the project, the researcher could see that two things go alongside. The social workers were concerned to

help women groups to run a community-led project to do what Twelvetrees (1991) called social employment, while the women wanted to run an economic generating project.

The groups represented by the community said:

That there is a grant for self-reliance in community development projects such as a sewing project.

A skilled woman who was the leader of the sewing women group said in an interview:

The sewing women project was going well when we had sight of our social economic objectives. We came together, initiated our project and got support from child and family welfare society. We had ownership and control over what we wanted to achieve. Then the social worker resigned and other groups came with changes. The new social workers wanted then to have control over the project. They mixed us with other groups who are not skilled. The project became a skill-training project instead of economic generating project. This means that the project is now a social training project. Some of the mothers who were involved in this project lost the focus, motivation and ambition. They looked for other jobs. They were upset because they felt that certain groups/people are manipulating the original idea. The group then dissolved.

Nevertheless, respect for to community people's wisdom and capacity play an important part in the community and capacity-building projects. These components and other important tools and methods of community development work are observed to be missing in the social worker's plan for community work.

The researcher had the opportunity to compare how the sewing project for women operated a year ago and again observe it during the research which was done for this study. It was observed that the group felt hopeless, lacked engagement and ambition to do something. The statement of one of the members in the group illustrates it.

She said:

Many times I offer my life and my rights as a woman for my children. I choose to stay in situations where I feel inferior and discriminated as a woman. I do so, for the sake of my children. Like in this sewing project I do stay although I feel that I do not deserve to be treated in the way the social workers treat me. The social worker that

was with us at the beginning gave us support, she never ruled us, today, and we are directed and ruled by people whom we do not have communication with. We are skilled to develop this project on our own, what we lack is good management and funds. We know the needs of our children and young people in the community. We have moved from our homelands, seeking better opportunities in cities and ended up in this township. We have knowledge of our background, problem identification and do have plans for better future for us as families and as community. What we need is not social services in social planning rather than economic empowerment.

To investigate by means of participatory action research, the researcher met with the social workers several times and discussed with them the work they were doing in the community. One of the workers who was young, newly graduated had plans of going abroad and explained her position as follows:

I am not related to this community but the two other social workers are. They are living in this community and may have personal contacts and experiences of our historical oppression, which I think this community is suffering of. I work here everyday with both casework and community work such as “Eyes of the Child”. In the matter of community work, we actually do not know how to go about it. This community has a special character and it is very difficult to do a community work here. First of all the needs are huge, people are not organised. There is a conflict between former settlers and new comers. I enjoy working here but I have other plans. We need to get into contact with people in need, like women groups through their representatives or through teachers when concerned youth in school and the whole community when concerning child protection but the problem is to get the volunteers to come to meetings. There are two groups we mostly work with, namely, sewing women group and “eyes of the child – Isolabantwana.

The above-indicated social worker continued saying that the purpose of her work is to identify needs and meet them. She put it in this way

We motivate and involve people of the community into the problem solving process. What we lack is knowledge of this community, lack of trust, language barriers, cultural differences and lack of funds. Women of this community do everything they can for their children. Another purpose of our

community social work is to improve the life quality of the people and ensure the rights, protection and the future of the children through empowering community groups such as Isolabantwana and sewing women group.

The social worker explained that the social workers motivate the community to be involved in the problem solving processes. She added that that the social workers lack knowledge about the community of Kayamandi, that there is mistrust between the community and the social workers, that there is a language barrier and that there is a lack of fund.

One of the social workers said the following when asked how they work in the community.

I am a new social worker and the worker before me has started trying to carry on the work, which I am involved in now. There are groups from the community who started projects, but it seems that they are not functioning any more. They are not motivated, so we have to motivate, organise and build them up. We have to get all forces together and make them effective. We analyse the needs and assist them to develop their will and help them to understand our roles as social workers helping them to identify objectives, form and maintain them. For instance, ECPs help us to identify the needs of the children. Together we design a plan of intervention; we give them feedback and evaluate our work.

The social worker referred to projects such as the sewing group and the "Eye on the Child Project". She explained that the social workers usually assess and analyse the needs of the community and assist the community to form and maintain projects. She added that the social workers also assist the community to understand the role of the social workers.

6.2.4 Evaluation

Many organisations that are active in the community are both implementing service strategies and influencing strategies, for instance, the Child and Family Welfare Society is involved in establishing projects such as the "Eye of the Child" and the sewing project. These projects are not only implementing a service providing strategy but also are an attempt to initiate community- based projects for development. The Child and Family Welfare Society also attempts to influence the local and governmental policies with regard

to meeting the needs of elderly people, children, women and the youth. It is understood from the social workers' point of view that co-operation and partnership with the community is an essential but a hard task to undertake.

Oakley and Winder (1981) discovered a characteristic common to all the participatory projects that they studied in India and Latin America. They found that the social development work is based upon group (as opposed to community or village) development. Group work and group development is basic to the educational process. Oakley and Winder (1981) believe that this emphasis upon the formation and development of clearly identified peasant groups reflects the current dissatisfaction in rural development practice with the aggregate community or village as the object of any development initiative.

Burkey (1993: 44) confirms what has been indicated above is that the poor themselves are very often disunited and in competition with each other. Their difficult situations have taught them to distrust outsiders, local elites and each other. This distrust often results in an apparent resistance to change. The question is: is it possible to break this passivity and defensiveness?

The distinction between community development work and planning social services was neither clear for the social workers nor for the community groups. There were confusions and frustration in all groups, which also complicated the work of the social workers and community groups. One should not be surprised by what the interviewed social worker said above.

Identifying resource groups, purposes of co-operation, individual-group directed efforts, methods for community work, contact making, and seeking the knowledge of the living experiences and the social values in the community is not an easy task to tackle. It demands a clear understanding of the community background, structure, culture, norms, values and alternative methods and approaches for community development work. The social planning approach has consultative and directing methodologies in social work practices. These methods seemed not to be useful or appropriate in this community.

However, the community groups from Kayamandi were using alternative development strategies, which originated from traditional techniques for problem solving. The following section elaborates how the focus groups explained and evaluated the traditional development strategy for community projects.

6.3 TRADITIONAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES USED TO TACKLE COMMUNITY PROBLEMS IN KAYAMANDI

6.3.1 Introduction

This section illustrates the third and fourth objectives of the study, which are

- To investigate by means of participatory action research, the nature and extent of existing social work practice and community development work from grassroots level in the community
- To explore the approaches, strategies and perspectives that are used for developing and transforming Kayamandi and present new ideas and new ways of looking at and solving social problems in the community.

The following figure (6.1) shows how the traditional developmental strategy, which dominated the community work in Kayamandi was described by the focus groups. The traditional developmental strategy was figured this way, when asked the focus groups to explain how it looks in Kayamandi. They called it a top-down developmental strategy.

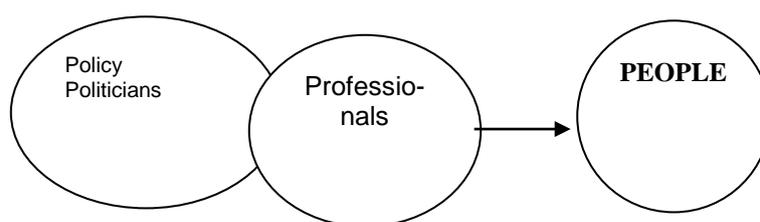


Figure 6.1 Top-down developmental strategy

The above figure indicates how community developments work functions in Kayamandi according to the explanation of the focus groups. The developmental work that professionals and local government people carry out in Kayamandi can carefully be compared with the industrialised countries master plan of development for the Third world. The following was indicated by the focus groups. "*Local politicians and community*

planners/policy makers together with experts/professionals who render services in Kayamandi usually come to Kayamandi and initiate, design, plan and create development projects for Kayamandi not with Kayamandi". The focus groups indicated how this system works in Kayamandi and also identified the gap between policy makers/local government/professionals and community development groups/ who are active in Kayamandi. Instead of the traditional strategy the focus groups suggested an alternative strategy which seemed for them more appropriate in Kayamandi. The strategy will be discussed in the following section.

6.3.2 Alternative development strategy (bottom-up)

This section describes the strategy which community focus groups suggested in order to tackle the problems which they identified in their community.

The different methods, models and strategies used by the two focus groups and the social workers created unspoken tensions, suspicions and conflicts between community groups and organisations. There was not much co-ordination and relationship between the groups involved in community work practices and the organisations. It seemed that the social workers were caught in between. However, focus groups indicated the following strategy to community development work in Kayamandi.

6.3.3 Alternative development strategies and approach to the development work in Kayamandi

The strategy used by the community of Kayamandi is normally expressed in alternative community development-action theory. It entails an empowerment approach, participatory development approach or even grassroots approach. Policy makers and professionals/experts function as enablers. Figure 6.2 shows the strategy, which the community focus groups wanted to see operating/functioning in Kayamandi.

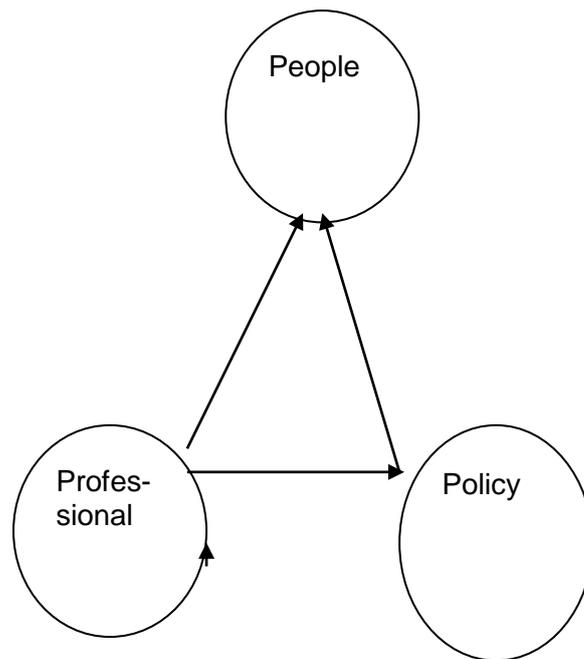


Figure 6.2: An alternative strategy to community empowerment

This figure shows how professionals, policy makers and community potential can be linked in the local development work. The first circle at the top of the triangle represents Kayamandi people who have the local initiative and mobilisation of local resources: people, knowledge, competence in the following areas: culture, social and political, economic and material fields as well as geographical. The second circle on the left is the professional and other outside actors functioning in Kayamandi and the third circle on the right is the politicians or policy makers. Blakely (1989) supports this idea, saying it is necessary to cooperate both with the local authorities or municipality and the private and public sector.

Blakely (1989) adds to the above approach that local economic development is a process in which the community and the municipality use their resources, and through partnership with the private sector stimulate economic activity, create new job opportunities and wealth. Blakely (1989:60) draws up a kind of "necessary triangle" for local economic development, which consists of the following: community institutions, the local government and the private sector. Blakely (1989:58) suggests that the people should take the initiative for community development work in the local community. However, the local government can play an important role as "public policy is the base for local development". The quality of the community life, Blakely (1989) says, can be something,

which pulls businesses and entrepreneurs to it. Ronnby (1996:73) supports Blakley and says, "this is good strategy for attracting civic entrepreneurs and educated people, since these people are more likely to start businesses... The industries which export their product is of interest to the local market, since in turn will get an addition of capital and, in turn, will generate more work".

Relevant methods for community development work used by community projects in Kayamandi are described as people-driven and action oriented. The focus community groups drawn into this study analysed the common space between policy makers and community developers within the community of Kayamandi. The model they suggested (Figure 6.3) should be used for community assessment work for development in Kayamandi. People who are from the community came together and conceptualised, identified and prioritised the needs of Kayamandi. They set up task groups whose members are unemployed but skilled women and youth. They elected task teams to implement activities for job creation and community improvement.

The following figure 6.3 shows how they structured their ideas from needs assessment to action. The figure also shows that the youth task group in Kayamandi stands for culture and tourism promotion in Kayamandi as a way to create job for young people in Kayamandi. Women task groups stand for production through the skills they have, such as textile, food production and other things. In order to make Kayamandi more clean and attractive, these groups formulated an idea of starting a community driven cleaning campaign or a community cleaning enterprise responsible for cleaning the community. Recreation facilities were also discussed and prioritised as a community task to create a space for the children.

People Centred Approach that has the definition of empowerment.



Figure 6.3: Model for community empowerment

At the core of the Kayamandi community development/empowerment projects line with the traditional – self- help movement, Batho Pele –meaning: People first. The existence of the idea of development from below was a surprise to the researcher and that the people first theory was an indigenous and genuine baseline for the Xhosa speaking people, both in visited rural areas and in Kayamandi.

These ideas correspond with the people centred model in the ways in which they described and defined the needs and situations of their community. They made a decision on how to reconstruct and improve the economy and the ecology of the community. They made a plan of how to build relationships and partnerships with the external stimulants.

Active and competent community groups from Kayamandi would like to provide services for the people in and outside the community. The state/municipality and other external organisations are needed to back up these groups until they reach the point of economic sustainability. This is a process in which the community, region and the state can be the beneficiaries because a partnership is developed. The effectiveness of this kind of local development model is important for the process of democracy and it is also stronger than the effectiveness of a top-down development model.

The state/Municipality must undertake to include their plan for the community into the development action policy. The community provides the most important information, knowledge and experiences to local economic development. The services and efforts that the newly founded organisation, GSDT provides must be supported by the state/Municipality. This organisation provides services for the children, youth and women of Kayamandi. It also provides activities that can take care of the ecology of Kayamandi. For instance, why cannot the municipality employ people to keep Kayamandi clean? There is now one group that is competent to start a community cleaning and security enterprise. The municipality should buy these services from the group and support the community to create jobs.

6.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter focused on the projects in the community and how the development projects were functioning. The approaches, perspectives and strategies that were used for the community projects were also investigated.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapters have briefly presented the prevailing theories, strategies, activities and discussions, interviews, case studies relating to both macro and micro development. This study has also investigated the perspective of the community, its needs and assets due to an inside perspective. Based on the findings of the study, a discussion, conclusions and recommendations will be presented in this chapter.

7.2 AIM OF THE STUDY

The main aim of this study was to describe the socio-economic conditions in Kayamandi and to investigate the ways in which the local community could be involved in creating change.

7.3 DEVELOPMENTAL SOCIAL WORK AND THE CONCEPT OF EMPOWERMENT

Developmental social work is aimed at empowering people. This aim can only truly be realised through making clients (individuals and communities) aware of their rights, through consciousness raising and empowerment.

Empowerment is a process, which begins with conscientising people about their own subjective experience in relation to the experience of others and to the context within which their experience occurs. It leads to capacity-building and community organisation as people are enabled to take control of their lives and to make decisions for themselves. This definition of empowerment goes along with the aim of this study, which aimed at gaining an understanding of the community of Kayamandi with regard to community development.

Developmental social work through empowerment has been the main focus of this study. However, local development work, its progress and eventual failure in its wholeness can not only be understood if this research only concentrates on the local level. Therefore, the community of Kayamandi was investigated in its bigger historical and social context and how it relates with the international, interregional, national and local policies and theories of development.

7.4 CONCLUSIONS BASED ON THE NECESSARY TRIANGLE AND THE FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

Although this study mainly concentrated on the local forces, the so-called necessary triangle was used as a research and study strategy. The necessary triangle is one of many ways to study and understand the community, its needs and forces and the community with other forces such as the local government and external agencies.

This three-headed model is very common in successful projects in Scandinavia. People from Kayamandi did not know about this strategy, surprisingly they formulated a similar strategy, in a different way though.

The Kayamandi community has been investigated and analysed through the necessary triangle. The community perspectives on the relationships between the community, local government and external organisations were discussed with/by the focus groups. The focus groups indicated that the relationships between the community and the local councillors needed to be improved and structured. The relationships between the community and external organisations seemed to have a sort of interest group and organisation relationship. The researcher failed to see a clear relationship between these three components namely: Kayamandi community, local government, external organisations and the national policy of South Africa. *It is concluded that if the relationships between these three components are co-ordinated through the necessary triangle then a developmental change can be possible in Kayamandi. But if the system and the relationships continue according to what the following figure shows as the focus groups indicated then the danger of creating dependence and control over the local community is the result to count on.*

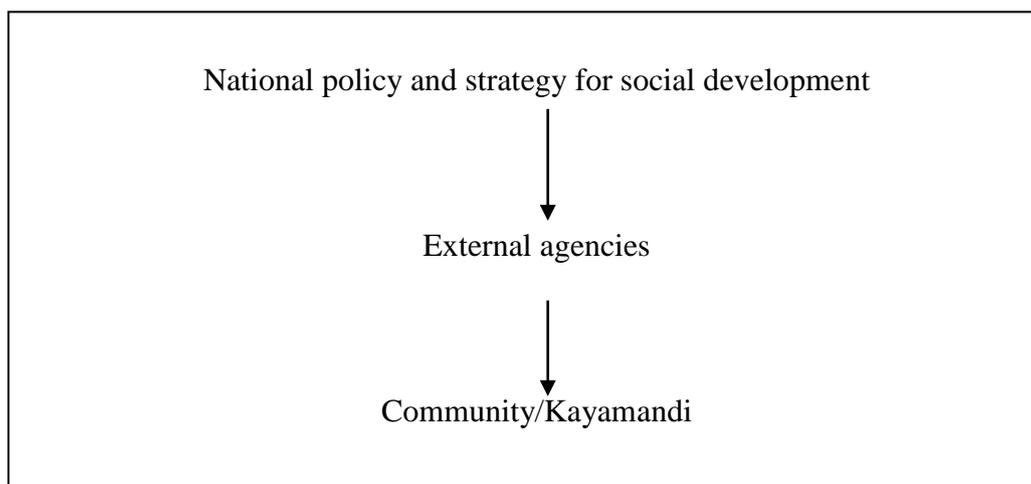


Figure 7.1: Vertical relationship between Government, external agencies and the community

7.5 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Social workers have fought and been involved in the process of creating a non-racial, democratic and unitary welfare system within a unitary South Africa. In social and historical context, the social welfare system in South Africa had been a social control and government orientated system. This description of social work practice is understood as a directive traditional social work, which has less to do with community development.

It is concluded here that by reducing the statutory burden and creating confidence, social workers should be free to fulfil vital developmental roles aimed at community development through empowering, enabling, organising and building the capacity of human resources in the communities.

However the findings of the study show that the social workers have valuable knowledge and skills, which can equip them for hands-on community development work. Moreover, it is found in the literature reviews that there are realistic obstacles, which make it difficult for them to engage in grassroots development work, e.g. the importance ascribed to indigenous leadership and the centrality of participation in community development. Social workers are often outside the community and are not readily accepted as indigenous leaders. Nevertheless, in such circumstances, they have the potential to contribute to community development through community development strategies and approaches. *In contrast to the community development approach, it is concluded that consultation is a*

social planning approach that allows social workers to offer assistance on the individual, group and institutional levels. It enables social workers to spend less time at community development level. This is also important in its own context but has less to do with community development in social work practices.

7.6 ROLE OF SOCIAL WORKERS IN COMMUNITY WORK

The trend towards the employment of auxiliary or paraprofessional workers and community developers means that social workers have new and expanding roles. This trend has the potential of creating a position where social workers become managers of helpers. *It is concluded that what were needed in the situation of Kayamandi were not a manager-subordinate role but an efficient way to effect the exchange of knowledge, expertise and skills development. There are many ways in which this can be done; training through the consultation process is one of them. Consultation offers a way to recognise the reciprocal relationship between the consultant, in this case the social workers, and the consultees, in this case the ECPs, the auxiliary or paraprofessional workers and indigenous helpers from the community. This kind of meeting process allows all parties to take a step forward to integration and transition among themselves, create common/mutual values, goals and tools for the developmental work needed to be done by them with those who are poor, disadvantaged, marginalised and unemployed in the community. Based on the findings of the study it is concluded that the social workers in the community had the role of advocacy, consultation with ECPs and auxiliary workers and did less in community development work. This kind of social work practice is described as an interest group where interest was not self-interest but rather a concern for individuals, groups and communities who cannot lobby for themselves.*

Developmental social work through community capacity building and empowerment does not belong to this kind of social work practice. It is concluded that there is a great deal of misunderstanding and misconceptualising about community development in social work, which easily can create negative perceptions of social workers. However, this misunderstanding of the social worker's role should not be allowed to track from what social workers have to offer to the communities, but might be allowed to track from what the national and organisational policies offer and demand from the social workers. To demand that social workers have to achieve community development and empowerment in

communities such as Kayamandi through advocacy, consultation and project management and implementation without having and spending time in community organisation, building capacities, human resource and participation in local development is too unrealistic to ask. Hence, social workers constantly seek to expand and improve social and rehabilitation services for those who are powerless, discriminated against, shackled by circumstances, and deprived of opportunities to achieve their maximum individual potential.

7.7 DEVELOPMENTAL PARADIGM

Based on the findings of this study it is concluded that the developmental paradigm for social development is gaining national and international support in South Africa although it is not fully accepted, muttered or understood politically.

It is also concluded that South Africa is building consensus on the need for a switch to a developmental approach to social welfare and is getting the commitment and the support for such a direction. However, commitment and support do not automatically ensure that a developmental paradigm is fully understood and implemented.

7.7.1 COMMUNICATION BETWEEN COMMUNITY AND SOCIAL WORKERS

When people of Kayamandi perceived and defined their community, themselves, their social, economic, ecological and political conditions, and sought solutions to their problems, they got involved in the analysis of activities of their community. They mobilised and organised their internal human resources. This raised the question of the next step. What degree of outside control is tolerable? Are grassroots democracy and development building encountered in the macro level policies and relationships to development?

If the answers to these questions are yes, then, it seems that there is a big gap between the decision-makers, national officers, and leaders and the community, because people of Kayamandi do not even know how to present their development projects and how to reach their local politicians. *It is concluded that there is a communication barrier between community social workers from external organisations and people of Kayamandi.* The

cultural and historical differences between the people from the community and the middle class workers from organisations do not make the issues easier either.

7.7.2 LOCAL DEVELOPMENT

It is concluded that the idea of local development grows partially from the local engagement, requirements, needs and mutual beneficiaries for development in Kayamandi. It is a logic idea in the view of the community empowerment focus. The active community groups, through mobilising and grasping resources in the community and directing them to those mostly needed, showed that they could solve many of the existing community problems.

7.7.3 COMMUNITY NEEDS AND CAPACITIES

To summarise the results of the study, one can say that Kayamandi is a geographical community. It has both huge socio-economic needs and capacities to meet them if right support is given to it. *It is concluded that an establishment of a community centre or organisation for development is a fundamental priority, which requires modern development theories and human resources such as local women and young people who want to work as local researchers, administrators and developers. The local people want to be a bridge between the community and the external actors, politicians and the public and private sectors.*

Simanyisizwe and the Greater Stellenbosch Development Trust have adopted a people centred – people driven approach (locality development approaches and strategies). The value of the approach lies in the fact that the gap between the community and the professionals/other actors is needed to be opened up. The community focus groups and organisation identified in Kayamandi operated at the frontier zone between the people of Kayamandi and the experts.

It is concluded therefore that community members who are active in the community need to come in the job market and get paid for the services they offer in the community. This would create a process of local economic development. It is important to recognise that when local, public - private and organisational activities go in partnership with these kind of community human resources that they together improve the well being of human kinds and create a mutual economic development. The identified community groups in

Kayamandi are lobbying for strategies based on integration and co-operation between activities at all levels.

7.7.4 COLLECTIVE PROJECTS

It is concluded that although the community members' focus lies to a large extent on local economic development, it is essential to realise that people of Kayamandi find strength, encouragement and confidence for other issues when they do things together among themselves and with people outside the community. Long-term unemployment and poverty bring many things, namely, demoralisation, de-motivation, low confidentiality and disunity. Therefore, people of Kayamandi think that many things are only likely to happen in areas of decline through collective projects and building trustworthy relationships. All sorts of participants should be supportive in this kind of circumstances. The importance of collective projects lies in more than merely providing feeding points. Collective initiatives are more important to Kayamandi people's emotional health. It is understood here that it is helpful to bring people in Kayamandi together to identify the problems they share and then try to find collective solutions. This strategy is also useful to ending segregation and building assertiveness, self-reliance and empowerment. It is also essential to their psychological well-being.

7.7.5 DUPLICATION OF PROJECTS

Based on the experience of the participant observations it is concluded that the community groups and other organisations were duplicating projects and ideas of community development.

7.7.6 MOBILISATION OF OWN HUMAN RESOURCES FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PRACTICE

An understanding of how people of Kayamandi wanted to develop their lives and survival strategies is linked to the strategies and the views of development through the reality of local people on their conditions. *It is concluded that the strategies for development should be based on a comprehensive perspective, which encompasses the interaction between the community group's intention to development and their action.* Between the intention and the action, the focus groups went through processes of conceptualising/identifying, understanding and reflecting the issues they were tackling with. They became conscious of the environmental condition of Kayamandi, for example. They found a competent group to

take action on this particular issue. Another example is that especially many women and youth got ambitions to take an active part in the community development tasks, all these due to their areas of interest and needs for the improvement of their life quality and for the community.

From this starting point, the people in the community created activities, engagements and mobilised their own human resources and used them to stimulate young people and women to produce their own solutions to their problems and change the living conditions of the community. It was clear to understand the ongoing processes of the community development work, which are started by the community focus groups.

The community groups were able to explain their own actions exactly according to the purpose of consciousness and praxis, which promotes the further development of their experiences. It is concluded that this purpose demands that outsiders or researcher must have dialogue with the community groups about their problem identifications, explanations, actions, aims and experiences. When this part of the study was done according to this purpose, then, the next step was how the community groups could be strengthened and how they could take a critical intervention into their reality through praxis. In the community development perspective, it is concluded that when community groups discover or begin to discover themselves as potential then they must be among the developers of the pedagogy of the community development. It is concluded that the conscious community groups identified in Kayamandi are positive role models for themselves and for the further development of Kayamandi and therefore should be among the developers of the community development praxis.

7.7.7 COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVES

According to praxiology action theory, a community must have a history, background experience, competence and material resources (human resources). People living in the community must have dreams, intentions, perspectives of their world, expectations and they must be able to identify, reflect and reveal their conditions of life. They must gain the power of insights with or without other's help. "Such power of insight is essential if the community is characterised, among others, as having stronger social bonds, and living traditions, more closely knit social networks and family cohesiveness as often is the case in rural settlements" (Ronby 1996:71).

It is concluded that the people from Kayamandi have knowledge and insights of their community, its conditions, traditions, norms, social networks and culture. These aspects of their lives are meaningful for them. They value their support systems. They see that there is cohesion among them. They said that they are related in one or other ways.

The community groups outlined an open, equality, locally based realistic and non-discriminatory plan to development. They are determined to deal with their problems with comprehensiveness, manageability and meaningfulness, these, although various local strategies are designed by a low-income community as Kayamandi is.

7.7.8 SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Kayamandi is a vulnerable and resourceful, religious community. It is concluded that to make a sustainable community development in long-term perspective, the community urges the local, national and international communities/States to ensure the development of Kayamandi.

Recognising and considering the special needs of this community both local and national assistance are necessary to increase the financial and technical research development assistance to the community groups to meet their special development needs and to strengthen the community to overcome the impediments of poverty and oppression. It is concluded that the community focus groups and the Greater Stellenbosch Development Trust are truly determined to improve the life quality of the community.

The focus groups have done a great work, which is impossible for any outsider to envision by his/ her own. Apart from the envisioned picture of Kayamandi that these groups have achieved to express they also achieved to strengthen many of Kayamandi people's feeling of attachment for their community and created a spirit of belonging and taking actions towards development. A range of task groups is formed to make valuable contributions toward self-empowerment and community economic and ecological development to increasing the community's awareness of environment, structure, social economy and the promotion of cultural roots as well. Such awareness among these groups led them to raise relevant issues such as unemployment, HIV/AIDS and the development of the community as a whole.

7.8 THEORIES ON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

A world-wide literature review on community development theories, such as theories of local mobilisation, dependency theory of underdevelopment, theory of modernisation-development through economic growth - sustainable development theory, alternative development theories, theories of community social and economic enterprise development as well as the social development policy of South Africa were studied thoroughly.

Kayamandi community was also investigated with the help of the definitions such as: conscientisation, mobilisation, participation., critical reflection and action.

This study has its focus on the subjective local forces that should be valued and integrated with the regional and national forces to community development and empowerment as a means to establish democracy and sustainable development from below.

Another aspect of identifying and valuing the local forces was the belief that the people, who belong to and know the area/situation, where social added value is very much the main objective, could determine better provision. The profits of community activities are thought to recycle into the community for the economic increase of local people.

It is though concluded that the challenge that lies ahead of the Kayamandi community is to gather the other necessary forces for its further development. In other words a political force, which can uplift and transform the community's application to development and a public backing from the private sector and from the non-governmental organisations.

Based on the significant findings of this study It is concluded that non- governmental organisations and national policies of South Africa are twined in the same approaches and strategies to development. It is also concluded because of that, that the community development work carried out by the social workers is structured and ruled by top-down strategies and policies.

It is concluded that the Kayamandi community is aware of its historical, social and political structures. The models, strategies and approaches used by the external organisations and the local government to development are not applicable to this

community. The approaches, models and methods of participatory development are more applicable to the community. Child and Family Welfare Society is influenced by the models and strategies of consultative and directing social work practices, those mostly used for casework, not for community development work. The government is using the theories and strategies for global economic policies and perspectives that have less interest in locally economic, social and cultural development.

It is concluded that the absence of cohesion between all parts involved in community participatory development, beginning with the local people's conscientisation, participation and plans to locality development and the national policies and strategies to national economic development which should implement and integrate the local economy to national economy, confuse and frustrate the social workers as well as community development groups who are in the field to meet the needs of the community, when they realise that their work is controlled and directed through the organisational and national structures, strategies and policies to community development.

The strong global welfare services give people a basic sense of security. It is concluded that South African social institutions for social welfare are also trying to solve social problems through building up an active policy of economic reform, which can cover a comprehensive network through a residual approach of economic growth policy.

Moreover, the social welfare systems in Western Countries have acknowledged that too much professional approaches to solving problems tends to undermine and take away the people's ability to do things for themselves. In developing countries, it is realised that having an elite of politicians and professional problem solvers create a strong dependency relationship between the disadvantaged people and the professional problem solvers. The so-called people's social capital is not used and valued in these above-mentioned relationships.

In order to solve the social problems, the approaches of grassroots and empowerment to community development are other alternative strategies and methods for mobilising, organising and strengthening local people to action. Through these approaches the communities can have an impact on their preconditions for life and at the same time create

a three twined relationships This is where the necessary triangle strategy found its function to intervene the community development work.

It is concluded that social development policy in South Africa should be a question of development of human resources. Not one-sided concentration on national economic development and expansion, not either an expert-led problem solving approach based on the values and reference points of elites. The current South African social policy and strategies to development have the character of mixed approaches. It emphasises the importance of community development work at the same time it has the attitude of guarding and directing the road towards development. This way is understood as an expert-led problem solving approach co-ordinated with professional problem solvers that are directed to go to the local community and manage the community's problems.

This is the road many African countries took or were forced to believe in after the African independence in 1950s. Today, it is well-known that these African countries are under the scale of development instead of sustainable development. The so-called dependence theories could be telling the truth.

Thus, this study attempted to understand Kayamandi from the local community's standpoint. The reason is to acknowledge and value the local community's social and economic structures, resources, problems and common concerns. The perspective used for this study is called a local perspective. It is a comprehensive perspective that requires an understanding of how local people develop both life and survival strategies (survival strategies is also understood as coping strategies). Theories around praxis, local mobilisation, community economic development point out that community must use its human, social, institutional and physical resources and take advantage of its competitive advantages in order to build a self-supporting economic system.

Therefore it is concluded that the community initiatives to development should be as the first led of the necessary triangle model in the community mobilisation. The second led of the triangle should be the external agencies functioning in Kayamandi and the third led should be the South African national policies and strategies for development. The necessary triangle attempts to catch, link and co-ordinate these three necessary forces.

7.9 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the conclusions, the following recommendations are made.

People from Kayamandi are aware of their situation. They know what they have and how they want to overcome the situation. They polarised the problems existing in their community. They want to do something about it, by being conscious and participate in the processes of conceptualising and finding solutions. They made the living situation of the community comprehensive. They learn by doing and see possibilities and resources among them. They learn to learn by doing and being part in the changing processes. They learn how to manage the situations, which come up in the processes. They see that what they come up with is meaningful for them. They get confidence and see the sense of coherence.

It is recommended that appropriate theories and methodologies in the community development work needed to be done in Kayamandi are the following:

Theories of community development, participatory development and alternative development are recommended for the purpose of community development in Kayamandi. Methodologies of Participatory Development and participatory action are also recommended.

The community focus groups in Kayamandi made the situation of their community understandable for this study. They put the community issues in social, political, historical and cultural context. They gave a brief historical background on how Kayamandi was created. They explained how the structure of the community and the current situation of Kayamandi look like. They also discussed about what is going on in Kayamandi, what they do and what is needed to be done. Furthermore, they elaborated the available community resources that can meet the community needs and also what they need from the macro level. Therefore it is recommended to social workers and other practitioners to value the community resources such as these groups.

The community focus groups and individuals identified community problems. They found out community ways of tackling the identified problems. They saw the internal resources as social capital. They also identified the possible external resources, which can strengthen

the internal resources. They wanted to find out how a trustful and fair relationship can be built between the internal agencies and the external agencies for community economical and ecological development. They wanted to put all resources together and make one goal to development. Therefore it is recommended that the people in Kayamandi should gain access to capital, control and ownership over resources.

The participatory approach to local development provides indigenous approaches for qualitative, contextual research, which aims to gauge the impact and acceptability of programmes already identified/founded and gathered information relevant for the design and management of future interventions for vulnerable groups or communities. Therefore it is recommended that the participatory development approach should be promoted in the intellectual world, and should be considered as the promotion of the voices of Kayamandi people's approach for locality development. It is recommended those community developers; activists, researchers and local politicians should build a trustful relationship with the people of Kayamandi. It is also recommended that people at all levels should be co-ordinated, co-operated and monitored.

7.9.1 PARTICIPATORY ACTION AND DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES

Introduction to Participatory Action and Development Research Methodologies are strongly recommended to young social and political scientists in Africa. These methodologies helped the researcher to understand and collaborate with the people of Kayamandi constructively. The Participatory Action Research provides strategies for all participative people to gain knowledge from each other and use it to improve their lives and even their ways of thinking/attitudes.

7.9.2 CONCEPT OF PARTICIPATION

Participation is the key of learning to learn with others and gain tools for self-improvement and attain respect to think and act independently. Therefore it is recommended to any researcher, worker, practitioners who has the will to do a community development work in underdeveloped communities such as Kayamandi should have in mind that the process to self-reliant participatory development is slow and difficult. It is a time consuming practical fieldwork. It is also all about knowing, being skilled and prepared for the participatory development methodology, which has been developed in Asia, Africa and Latin America and will, hopefully and eventually develop them. People

in so-called industrialised countries have recently discovered the importance of the basic principles of this methodology as a genuine human development. Self-reliant participatory development is the basic principle for a true grassroots development and democracy.

In the traditional research strategies, the results – the new knowledge – are normally presented to produce academic reports, which are not easily accessible even to the well educated, but Participatory Action Research emphasises the importance of returning the work to the communities as a generative process of action and reflection, which helps communities to undertake further analyses and attempts on new issues.

7.9.3 VALIDITY OF PARTICIPATORY ACTION RESEARCH

The validity of the results of participatory action research is gauged firstly, by the extent to which the new knowledge should be used to form a collective action. Secondly, by the degree to which, the community moves towards the practice of a self-sustaining process of democratic learning and liberating action.

7.9.4 FURTHER RESEARCH

It is recommended that future research on how Participatory Action Research and Participatory Development for community development in Kayamandi should be implemented in Kayamandi.

It is also recommended that a further study be done in order to compile a grassroots empowerment based practical guidebook for establishing and running community development projects in Kayamandi.

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ANNEXURE A

QUESTIONS

Interview Schedule for individuals and focus groups in Kayamandi.

This study attempted to find answers to the following questions:

A) Interviews with individuals

Descriptive questions about Kayamandi

- How do the residents perceive Kayamandi?
- What kind of community is Kayamandi?

When was Kayamandi established?

When did the black people come here? Why did they come?

How come they live in shacks instead of permanent housing?

What were the economic reasons?

How many people live in Kayamandi?

Was the situation ever different to what it is now, i.e. did facilities deteriorate?

What is the average income per person in Kayamandi?

Are there community leaders – who are the councillors representing K. on the Municipal Council?

Explorative and analytical questions about the living conditions, needs and resources in Kayamandi

- What are the living conditions?
- What are the unmet needs of Kayamandi?
- Why are people of Kayamandi living in this kind of situation?
- What factors in the community are causing these living conditions?
- What is happening with regards to changing the conditions in Kayamandi?
- How does community development work function in Kayamandi?

How is it organised?

Who are the role-players involved in the community development working in Kayamandi?

Which strategies and methodologies are used to achieve this?

- How is community development work mobilised and implemented?

What have the results been so far?

Why is the mobilisation of resources to community development work is needed in Kayamandi?

What are the resources of Kayamandi?

- How can resources be mobilised in this community to improve living conditions?

Who should mobilise these resources?

How can this community be mobilised to change its conditions?

- How can they be helped to organise work for themselves in self-help initiatives?
- Why is it so difficult to make changes?

B) Focus groups

The following is a summary of the questions asked the focus groups and the answers and feedback they gave on how to make positive changes, their definitions of participation, development and what motivated them to do something for Kayamandi.

Question 1

In what ways can Kayamandi development take place?

Answers

- 1- mobilisation of community resources
- 2- public awareness and unity
- 3- community based actions
- 4- participation in decision making processes
- 5- community based enterprises

Question 2

How can the community resources be mobilised?

Answers

Through

- 1- collective initiatives
- 2- unity
- 3- assertiveness
- 4- Identifying community problems and find collective solutions.

Question 3

Mobilisation for what?

Answers

- 1- improving the quality of life
- 2- making Kayamandi attractive and healthy
- 3- making Kayamandi self reliant

Question 4

How can Kayamandi people be helped to organise work for themselves in self-help initiatives?

Answers

- 1 – People of Kayamandi must find local means to mobilise their local resources
For instance, there are skilled unemployed women who can produce textile, handcrafts, bricks, etc
There are young people who can promote the culture of Kayamandi.
Women and youth can be involved in tourism industry.
These activities can create jobs and reduce the unemployment of Kayamandi.
Also community support from outside can help the community to develop.
Community people's relationships and co-ordination must also be improved.

Better strategies for local economic and ecological development are necessary to be identified by the local people as means of community development. This aspect has to involve the people in community empowerment, to make the people of Kayamandi take control of their environment and decide their own destiny.

Kayamandi people need to be strengthened in order to stand against external actors who pollute Kayamandi and ask Kayamandi people to pay not to be polluted. This attitude of the environment of Kayamandi does not protect Kayamandi community whose members cannot afford to pay anything. If the local political, social and economical policies are combined with the community involvement for improvement and development, it will enable Kayamandi people to develop an economic and social development as they improve their community environmentally. This model may be a process in which all may be the beneficiaries.

Question 5

What is empowerment?

Answers

- 1- Enabling Kayamandi people means to create community abilities and organisation to determine their own community destiny. It means to empower them to identify and meet their needs locally and reduce external control and dependence.
- 2- Through community empowerment can Kayamandi people show their ideas and vision on a community development model which may show how Kayamandi people can use their own resources to meet the unmet needs in their community.
- 3- There are available human resources in Kayamandi
- 4- There are personal houses that are available to be used as guesthouses for tourist
- 5- There is a strong traditional social support system that already meet many needs in the community
- 6- There is a genuine culture in arts, music, story telling, theatre, drama, etc

Question 6

What is the problem?

Answer

What lack in Kayamandi is multipurpose community centre, co-ordination, co-operations in resources and capital

Question 7

How can change be made in Kayamandi?

Answers

The focus group from the Greater Stellenbosch Development Trust (N 8) believes in that change can happen through:

Economic self-sufficiency

Co-operation with others

Acquiring new ideas, skills and knowledge

Question 8

What is participation?

Answer

Getting people of Kayamandi involved in community development process

Funding and training community people in order to enable and involve them to initiate, design and implement community projects that have goals to meet community needs

Question 9

What are your motivations for community work in Kayamandi? Answer

Genuinely interesting in knowing about the living conditions of Kayamandi, its needs to improvement and its assets that are possible to be utilised in order to boost the economy and improve the environment of the community

Question 10

What is development?

Answers

Knowing about the existing potentials within the community and the need and ability to utilise them for positive change

Knowing how

Having self respect and dignity

Being self-reliant, co-operative and tolerant with others

Being conscious of limitations and disputes and able to challenge them

Knowing that sustainable development change must start within the people of Kayamandi

The focus group from Simanyisizwe (N 8) adds to the definition of development to create:

Public awareness on issues concerning community improvement and development

Jobs

To clean and make the community attractive

To promote the culture of the community

To enable individuals to be active participants in economic, social, political and cultural activities

To know about the community, its needs and resources

To get people to be productive and self- reliant

To help the community to get self - confidence

To create an entrepreneurship and co-operative community

To help the community to have the skills of managing, organising, mobilising, and controlling the community resources of/for production.