Understanding resilience among Non-government organisations in post-apartheid South Africa: A case study of Youth For Christ Cape Town

GARTH VAN ROOYEN

Submitted in fulfilment for the degree of Masters of Administration
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Firstly, I would like to thank my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. He who remained faithful even in times when I was faithless. Special thanks to my chief supervisor and mentor Professor Cherrel Africa who walked this long, long, long journey with me and whose “A bug’s life” quote of: “One day I’ll be a butterfly and everything will be ok”, helped me burst through the cocoon of doubt. Your encouragement and investment in my life cannot be quantified. To my co-Supervisor Dr. Fiona Anciano, thank you for your Eagle eye, insight and always covering my blind spot.

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To my family and friends, a big thank you for all the encouragement and support. A special thanks to my parents, especially my mother Norma, for all your sacrifices and volunteering to babysit so that I could complete this thesis. It is highly appreciated. To Ian, Joel and Jill… for just understanding.

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DECLARATION

I declare that, “Understanding resilience among Non-government organisations in post-apartheid South Africa: A case study of Youth For Christ Cape Town” is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Garth van Rooyen

Signed: ....................

December 2015
Bellville
ABSTRACT

Many Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in South Africa are currently under pressure or threat of closure. Although there have been advances in civil society-state relations after the transition from apartheid to democracy, there has also been a steady decline in the number of CSOs in South Africa since 1994. The reasons for this decline are complex and varied. Given the value CSOs make in contributing to a lively democracy, it is important to explore the factors which enhance or undermine resilience in such organisations.

This study focuses on understanding resilience among Non-government organisations (as an example of a CSO) in post-apartheid South Africa using Youth For Christ Cape Town as a case study. The site for this study was chosen as YFC Cape Town is arguably one of South Africa’s oldest NGOs being formed in 1948. This study aims to, therefore, establish how CSOs in South Africa can ensure resilience and longevity in a complex and evolving political environment by drawing lessons from the selected case study.

The elements which have emerged as being important to resilience are (1) Funding; (2) Technical skills; (3) Accessing networks; (4) Adaptation; (5) Core values; (6) Innovation; (7) Leadership. The study found that these factors should not be viewed as isolated elements but rather be seen as integrated developmental framework for ensuring resilience. Another key finding is located around organisational identity. Although adaptation in terms of how the organisation functions are necessary to navigate shifts in the environment, the identity of the organisation should remain the same. Organisations who change their identity amidst shocks and changes within the system are not very resilient while those who don’t are.
Masters Thesis

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANC</td>
<td>African National Congress</td>
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<tr>
<td>CAS</td>
<td>Complex Adaptive Systems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBO</td>
<td>Community Based Organisations</td>
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<tr>
<td>COSATU</td>
<td>Congress of South African Trade Unions</td>
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<td>CSO</td>
<td>Civil Society Organisations</td>
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<tr>
<td>DG Murray Trust</td>
<td>Douglas George Murray Trust</td>
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<tr>
<td>DSD</td>
<td>Department of Social Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>GEAR</td>
<td>Growth Employment and Redistribution</td>
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<tr>
<td>IDASA</td>
<td>Institute for Democracy in Southern Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICT</td>
<td>Information and Communications Technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IVI</td>
<td>International Volunteers and Interns</td>
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<td>LOTTO</td>
<td>The National Lottery Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-government Organisations</td>
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<td>NPO</td>
<td>Non-Profit Organisations</td>
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<tr>
<td>NIMBY</td>
<td>Not in my backyard</td>
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<tr>
<td>MDRI</td>
<td>Mitrovic Development &amp; Research Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDG</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MFMA</td>
<td>Municipal Financial Management Act</td>
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<tr>
<td>OGP</td>
<td>Open Government Partnership</td>
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<td>PEPFAR</td>
<td>Presidents Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief</td>
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<td>PnP</td>
<td>Pick ‘n Pay</td>
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<tr>
<td>RDP</td>
<td>Reconstruction and Development Program</td>
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<td>SA</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
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<td>SANCO</td>
<td>South African National Civic Organisation</td>
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SANGOCO : South African National NGO Coalition
TPA : Transfer Payment Agreement
TRC : Treatment Action Campaign
UK : United Kingdom
USA : United States of America
USAID : United States Agency for International Development
YFC : Youth For Christ
YFCI : Youth For Christ International
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Locating the study

Many Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in South Africa are currently under threat. Although there have been advances in civil society-state relations after the transition from apartheid to democracy, there has also been a steady decline in the number of CSOs in South Africa since 1994. During 2009 and 2010, NGO pulse reported that between 5000 – 9000 were closing its doors (NPO forecast 2010, 2010). Even well-established Non-government Organisations (NGOs) such as the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA) and the Black Sash were forced to downscale their operations since in 2012 (Luhanga, 2012 & Naidoo, 2012) and ultimately IDASA was forced to close their doors in 2013. The reasons for this situation are complex and varied. Underlying factors include funding cuts with dramatic changes in the domestic and global funding environment¹. At the same time, the decline of civil society organisations must also be located within a rapidly changing political context.

The shrinkage of civil society in South Africa is disconcerting. A vibrant civil society is widely accepted as a key component of democracy. A lively civil society can add to the quality of democracy. One of the dimensions of democracy outlined by Diamond and Morlino (2005) in their book entitled “Assessing the Quality of Democracy” is vertical accountability. Diamond and Morlino (2005, p.xix) define vertical accountability as “that which citizens can demand from their officials during elections whereby they punish and reward incumbents based on their performance” and they argue that “the dynamics of vertical accountability extend beyond elections and the interplay between voters and their elected representatives, encompassing also the efforts of civic associations, NGOs, social movements, think tanks, and the mass media to hold government accountable in between elections.” For democracy to exist Dahl (1978, p.2)

¹Interview with Paul Graham, Director of IDASA
argues that all full citizens should have opportunities to: “formulate their preferences; signify their preferences to their fellow citizens and the government by individual and collective action and have their preferences weighed equally in the conduct of the government, that is, weighed with no discrimination because of the content or sources of the preference”. Civil society then creates a space to exercise these opportunities of engagement.

Schmitter and Karl (1991; p.80) affirms this by noting that, “At its best, civil society provides an intermediate layer of governance between the individual and the state that is capable of resolving conflicts and controlling the behaviour of members without public coercion.” Civil society is thus generally understood as the intersecting area between the private and public sector. Fine (1992, p.72) citing Swilling characterises civil society as the place “where ordinary everyday citizens who do not control the levers of political and economic power, have access to locally constituted voluntary associations that have the capacity... to influence and even determine the structure of power and the allocation of material resources.” Given the assertions by these esteemed authors, civil society is of critical importance as it is able to strategically place itself in a position to foster an active citizenry and an accountable government. Civil society is then uniquely positioned to educate, inform and hold government accountable regarding the allocation of material resources which may benefit broader society.

However, in the South African context, a simple dichotomy between the state and civil society does not exist. Given the situation which many civil society leaders were absorbed into the government after the advent of democracy as well as the shift from an adversarial role to a collaborative role, there is a significant interplay between CSOs and government as well as other actors such as private entities and donors, both local and international. This suggests that a more nuanced understanding of the role of civil society is required in South Africa.
Despite a concerted attempt to create an enabling environment for CSOs in South Africa, these organizations have also needed to deal with a significant increase in bureaucratic requirements. Another inter-related dimension to this crisis has however been in the role conception of civil society post 1994. Before 1994 civil society in South Africa focused, to a large extent, on challenging the Apartheid government and establishing of democracy. After 1994, as South Africa transitioned from apartheid rule to democracy, NPO's and NGOs significantly shifted their focus from challenging the state to aiding the newly formed democratic government in building the country at an economic, social and civic participatory level (see Greenstein, 2003; Flemming & Hertzenberg, 2003). At the same time, South Africa’s new government shaped much of its new legislation to create an enabling environment for NPOs in an attempt to redress the imbalances of the apartheid past. This is reflected in our progressive Constitution as well as the NPO act of 1997. Thus, the role of civil society in South Africa post-1994 has necessarily changed through a complex set of underlying power relations (see Habib, 2003).

In South Africa’s political environment navigating the delicate balance between its “social development” and “watchdog” role has been difficult. These factors have been exacerbated by poor management within the sector and the fact that much of NGO leadership was absorbed into state structures following the transition to democracy (see Habib & Taylor, 1999; Julie 2010; Swilling & Russell, 2002). Clearly then, South Africa’s evolving political environment has affected the functioning of CSOs in South Africa.

While the root causes for the decline of civil society may be contentious, what is of greater concern is the implications of this decline for the deepening and consolidating of South Africa’s democracy. The consolidation of the South African democracy is further complicated by the
current dissatisfaction with the Zuma-led government by events such as Marikana (2012), Nkandla (2014), and more recently the Fees Must Fall movement in 2015 (See Evan, 2015; Nkosi, 2015 and Tiwana, 2015). Despite the progressive legislative changes and attempts to redress the imbalances of the apartheid past. South Africa still remains one of the most unequal economies in the world (see Bhorat, 2015). This is further perpetuated both by a high HIV/AIDS infection rate, unemployment as well deficiencies within the supply of social welfare at the grassroots level (see Hunter, 2015 & malan, 2015)). These material conditions have the potential to undermine South Africa’s hard-won political and social gains. It is within grassroots levels within communities that civil society finds its being and often services the areas which the state is unable to effectively act given its limited resources. In South Africa, civil society can continue to play an important role in terms of being a facilitator of ‘public good’ through social development programs and acting as a watchdog of the state which in turn ensures a healthy and lively democracy. It is therefore also important to identify and isolate the traits of resilient CSOs so as to suggest best practice for sustainability.

1.2. Value of the study

Although much has been written on civil society in general as well as civil society in SA very little studies have explored the factors which make CSOs resilient. This task of exploring the factors which enhance and hinder resilience becomes increasingly challenging if one considers that the spheres (social, political, economic) in which CSOs operate are dynamic. Therefore, it becomes instructive to utilise an exploratory framework which considers the dynamic environment in which CSOs operate. Resilience$^2$ as a theory has been located for the most part in the field of Ecology. This study, therefore, unique in terms of an inter-disciplinary study of CSOs and how their

$^2$See chapter 3, 3.3.
resilience may be measured. The framework for assessing resilience³ is a unique approach to the study of CSOs and will contribute to the broader body of knowledge.

In addition, to the framework of analysing resilience, an in-depth empirical research of a long-standing NGO⁴, Youth for Christ Cape Town (YFC Cape Town) will be used as a case study which will be a further contribution to the broader body of knowledge. Studying this long-standing NGO’s inner workings as well as interactions with stakeholders will provide a nuanced understanding of what resilience may look like in a service type South African NGO. The interviews conducted also provide a counterpoint to international trends regarding NGOs. As a result, it will triangulate perceptions about the industry and the lived experiences of those working within the sector.

1.3. Structure of Dissertation

This dissertation consists of an introduction and five chapters. The introduction provides a contextual framework for the study; articulating the problem statement as well as outlining the contribution of the study to the broader body of knowledge. In chapter two, a detailed description of the research strategy will be outlined. This will include a comparative description of the various methodologies and ultimately provide justification for the chosen methodological approach. In addition, to the above, the research ethics as well as limitations of the study will also be discussed.

The theoretical chapters three and four provide a conceptual framework which will be applied to the chosen case study. Chapter 3, in particular, will be examining the theories of Civil Society as well as resilience. It needs to be acknowledged that the concept of Civil Society is both dynamic as well as being contentious. The contention revolves largely around a lack of a commonly

³See chapter 3, 3.4
⁴YFC Cape Town was established in 1948 and thus is one of Cape Town’s oldest NGOs (see Chapter 4)
agreed upon definition of the term. The aim then of the chapter will be to illicit the point that the roles Civil Society play emerge within a particular relation with the state as well as how it responds to the socio-economic and political factors of the day. These different typologies of Civil Society will be explored and as well as outlining the nature of the engagement with the state as this may enhance or undermine resilience. The second half of chapter three will then discuss the concept of Resilience. Resilience as a concept has been largely the domain of ecology and psychology respectively. The evolution of the term will be outlined and then a model for assessing and analysing resilience will be explained. Since the term is not traditionally applied to the arena of political studies, some adaptation will be made when assessing the resilience of the chosen case study across disciplines.

In as much as Chapter three discusses the concept of civil society broadly, Chapter four will sketch a backdrop to the evolution of the term on the African continent. Thereafter, It will outline the South African experience both pre and post 1994. The aim of this undertaking will be to elicit lessons from the South African experience in terms of how it adapted to changes in its socio-political landscape and its contribution to the role formation, both perceived and real.

Chapter five will elaborate on the findings of the case study examined. It will start with a brief overview of Youth for Christ International (YFCI) to provide context for the establishing of the South African chapter in 1948. Thereafter the organizational context of the National body will be explained in terms of how it relates to the local chapters. Finally, a deep description will be provided on YFC Cape Town through the aid of archival records and in-depth interviews with Directors, staff, volunteers, development practitioners and government officials. The method of delivering this data will be against the backdrop of the resilience assessment model articulated in chapter three.
Chapter six will analyse the data gathered in chapter 5 and organize it into identified themes. Since this is an explorative study, open-ended coding will be used as it allows for new themes to emerge during interviews. The themes will be interpreted using the Cummings et al. model of assessing resilience.

Finally, the last chapter will be the conclusion chapter which will outline the main arguments of the study as well as draw broad conclusions from the analysis chapter. The conclusion chapter will also look at areas of further study as it relates to the resilience of NGOs in South Africa.
CHAPTER 2: DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the specific research design and methodology which will be employed to examine how Non-government (NGOs) in South Africa can ensure resilience and longevity in a complex and evolving political environment. In designing an appropriate research design, Terre Blanche and Durheim (2002, p.33) suggest that the researcher should consider four different dimensions namely: “the purpose of the research; the theoretical paradigm informing the research; the context or situation within which the research is carried out; and the research techniques employed to collect and analyse data”. Terre Blanche and Durheim (2002, p. 33) continues by saying that the strategic framework that links the research question to the operationalisation of the research is developed through a process of evaluating issues relevant to each of the four dimensions thus creating a coherent guide for action which will provide valid answers to the research question. It must be remembered that the above dimensions are always guided by the two principles of design validity and design coherence (Terre Blanche & Durheim, 2002, p. 33). Design validity means that the researcher is able to “identify and eliminate plausible rival hypothesis”. The rival hypothesis could imply that there are possible alternative explanations for the research findings. Thus by identifying these explanations the researcher is able to control and prevent invalidity of his research (Terre Blanche & Durheim, 2002, p. 34). Design coherence, on the other hand, interrogates whether the four research dimensions discussed above fit together in a logical way. Terre Blanche and Durheim (2002, p. 35) point out that design coherence is achieved when the design purposes and techniques are fit logically within the research framework and particular paradigm.

In developing the research design for this study the above-mentioned dimensions were considered and applied within a relevant framework as outlined below.
2.2. Research Design

2.2.1. Purpose of study

The purpose of this study was to explore the ways in which CSOs develop resilience and sustainability. Although current legislation offers a structured framework in which CSOs are to operate there exists very little literature on how CSOs can achieve a significant level of resilience and sustainability. In this study, I describe what civil society should be resilient against and why civil society is a contested term by reviewing the unique dynamics within the South African context. I used civil society theory to explain what resilience may look like within a South African CSO and how they may be able to adapt and remain sustainable and relevant within an ever-changing political, economic and social environment.

2.2.2. Research question

Therefore to develop resilience and remain sustainable in South Africa’s complex and evolving political environment, the question to be addressed by this research is as follow:

*How can Civil Society Organisations in South Africa ensure resilience and longevity in a complex and evolving political environment?*

2.2.2.1. Sub-questions

- What should SA CSOs be resilient against?
- What does resilience look like within the identified case study
- Which factors enhance / undermine resilience?
2.2.3. Paradigms

A paradigm is establishing an idea of how information should be gathered, analysed and applied within a context. Terre Blanche and Durheim (2002, p. 6) defines paradigms as “all-encompassing systems of interrelated practice and thinking that define for researchers the nature of their enquiry along three dimensions: ontology, epistemology and methodology”. Ontology refers specifically to the nature of reality that is to be studied, and what can be known about it. Epistemology specifies that nature of the relationship between the researcher (knower) and what can be known. Methodology specifies how the researcher may go about practically studying whatever he or she believes can be known.

2.2.4. Context and rationale for the chosen approach

CSOs in South Africa currently operate within a very challenging environment. Whereas the pre-1994 environment was conducive for CSOs, post-1994 saw the steady decline of CSOs operating within South Africa. In South Africa’s political environment navigating the delicate balance between its “social development” and “watchdog” role has been difficult. Central to understanding the factors which make CSOs in South Africa resilient is its relationship to the state and specifically the underlying power relations which exist between the two role players. These factors have been exacerbated by poor management within the sector and the fact that much of NGO’s leadership was absorbed into state structures following the transition to democracy (See Julie, 2010; Swilling & Russell, 2003; Habib, 2003). In addition to this, the global economic downturn since 2008 has also negatively affected CSOs ability to function within the evolving political environment.

By examining the experiences and practices of the chosen case study within the context described, the researcher will be in a more informed position to answer the research questions

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5 In terms of their goals and not necessarily their environment. See theoretical chapter on civil society in African context and South Africa.
or, at least, uncover areas for further research. Therefore, given the merits and demerits of each of the above-mentioned paradigms, this research study will adopt an interpretive paradigm as the methodological approach will be interactional, interpretative as well as qualitative in nature.

2.3. Research Methodology

2.3.1. Exploratory

This research study used an exploratory approach. Babbie and Mouton (2001, p.79) notes that exploratory studies are appropriate when researching a new interest, a new subject or explaining a persistent phenomenon. They (Babbie & Mouton, 2001, p.80) outline the purpose of using exploratory studies as: (1) to create a better understanding, (2) to test the feasibility of a further study of the subject, (3) to develop research methods for further study. (4) to create an understanding of central concepts of the study, (5) to identify areas of future research and (6) develop new theories about existing phenomenon. Although there exists research on CSOs-State relations post-1994 in South Africa (see Fine, 1992; Greenstein, 1997; Habib & Taylor 1999, Habib, 2005) as well as guidelines for best practice within the CSO sector, there is a gap in the literature in terms of what constitutes resilient CSOs. Exploration of this topic is, therefore, important because even though there may be contention with the term of “Civil society” itself, what can be agreed upon is its importance in terms of fostering a lively and vibrant democracy.

Although exploratory studies will be useful in developing greater insight into the factors affecting resilience in South African CSOs there are some limitations to the method. Exploratory studies may not provide satisfactory answers to research questions, rather they can hint at the answers and can give insights into the research methods that could provide definite answers (Babbie &
Mouton, 2001, p.80). The reason exploratory studies are often not definitive in themselves has to do with representativeness (which will be discussed later in this section).

According to Babbie and Mouton (2001, p.80) citing Sellitz, et al. (1965), there are three methods by which exploratory research may be conducted i.e., (1) through a literature review, (2) a survey of people related to the field of study, (3) an analysis of “insightful” examples. Given the above guidelines it follows that the research design should be: (1) open and flexible and use research methods such as literature reviews, interviews, case studies and informants which may lend insight understanding to the research problem. In this study, a literature review of the contemporary civil society theory, state-civil society relations in South Africa and resilience theory was explored. Furthermore, a case study was examined which represented a typical CSO in South Africa. Next, interviews were conducted with professionals both within the case study selected as well as other stakeholders in the CSO sector. Finally, an analysis of CSO related documents and data was used to round off the research design for this study.

2.3.2. Qualitative approach

Qualitative research is designed to respond to questions about the way people organise, relate and interact with the world around them (Guest, Namey & Mitchell, 2013, p.1). It is able to generate data with “well-rounded, rich descriptions and explanations of processes in identifiable local contexts” through which the researcher can “preserve chronological flow, and see precisely which events led to which consequences, and drive fruitful explanations” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p.1). Qualitative research, therefore, seeks to uncover “the meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, and descriptions of things” and differs from quantitative research which in contrast, “refers to the counts and measures of things” (Berg, 2001, p.3). The choice of a qualitative research design is therefore predicated on the ability to
answer the research question, access to data sources as well as to address the limitations of the study (to be covered in a later section).

The strengths of employing the qualitative research approach are that the data collected “describes real life”; has a “richness and holism”; is suited for studying the “lived experience” of people and the “meaning that they place on processes, structures and events of their lives” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p.10). Qualitative data collection has three inherent strengths namely, having the best approach for the “discovery, exploring a new arena, developing hypotheses”; testing whether hypotheses are sound and finally, “supplement, validate, explain, illuminate and reinterpret existing quantitative data” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p.10). A hallmark of qualitative inquiry is that it offers a flexible approach to research.

2.3.2.1. Case Studies
Robert Yin (2003, p. 12-13) defines case study research as empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used (e.g. observations, interviews, audiovisual material, and documents and reports) and reports a case description and case-based themes.

A common misconception is that case studies are only useful for exploratory research, Yin (2003, p.3) however points out that case studies may be successfully used for descriptive and explanatory research as well (Yin, 2003, p.3). Typically case studies answer “how” and “why” research questions.
2.3.2.5.1. Types of Case Studies

The research design of case studies may differ in terms of size and scope but its focus is usually guided by the research question or intent of the study. There are three types of case study research in terms of intent, namely single instrument case studies; collective case studies and intrinsic case studies. In single instrument case studies, the researcher studies on a single issue or concern and then selects a single bounded case to illustrate the issue (Creswell, 2007, p.74). An example of this type of case study can be illustrated where a researcher may examine why there is a high level of staff turnover (single issue) of employees within a specific branch of an organisation (single bounded case).

Generally speaking, it is better, i.e. more valid and generalisable, to include multiple cases, Multiple cases are preferable when the purpose of the research is to describe phenomena, develop and test theories. Multiple cases also permit cross-case analysis, a necessary feature for widespread generalisation of theories. In contrast, intrinsic case studies focus specifically on the case itself (Creswell, 2007, p.74) For example the study of a person, group, occupation, or organization. Here the case itself is of primary interest in the study and the exploration is guided by a desire to know more about the uniqueness of the case rather than to build theory or how the case represents other cases.

The case study employed will be a single instrument case study. Yin (2003) outlines five reasons why selecting the single case study approach may be applicable. Firstly, a single case study may be used when it represents a critical case in testing a well-formulated theory (Yin, 2003, p.40). When applied to the case study; the test may support the original propositions of the theory; challenge them or expand upon them. This deepening of insight into an applied theory thus contributes significantly to knowledge and theory building (Yin, 2003, p.40). A second reason for
using a single case study is that the case may be an example of a unique or extreme case. When a phenomenon occurs, it is useful to use a single case study to document as well as investigate the various mitigating factors contributing to the phenomenon in relation to what is deemed as being the norm. In contrast, a third reason for using the single case study approach is when it is a typical or representative case being studied. Here the objective would be to outline the conditions of everyday occurrences or situations (Yin, 2003, p.41). The value of this lies in gaining insight into the experiences of the average person or institution. The fourth reason for using a single case study is when the case is revelatory. This is when a researcher may gain access to a previously inaccessible phenomenon which requires study (Yin, 2003, p.42). The conditions, therefore, justify the use of the single case study as the area of research would be new and unchartered and it would contribute to the broader body of scientific inquiry. The fifth reason which justifies the use of the single case study is the longitudinal case. This refers to examining the same single case at two or more different points in time. The rationale for adopting this approach would be to correlate how particular points in time relate how changes happen (Yin, 2003, p.42).
Figure 1: Typologies of registered NPOs


The first reason why YFC Cape Town was selected as the case for this study is because the work it does spans an array of sectors. The 2012 report on the state of registered NPOs provides a broad typology of registered NPOs in South Africa whereby 85 percent of NPOs/NGOs fall into the category of voluntary associations while non-profit companies lie in the 3 percentile and Trusts in the 2 percentile range respectively (see figure 1). Non-profit companies differ from voluntary associations in that they have a section 21 status. Thus, the distinction between the three types of NPOs is framed within a legal framework rather than differentiation by function.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Number of NPOs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Business and Professional Associations, Unions</td>
<td>518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture and Recreation</td>
<td>4504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development and Housing</td>
<td>16817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education and Research</td>
<td>6241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>1036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>9145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law, Advocacy and Politics</td>
<td>1765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philanthropic Intermediaries and Voluntarism</td>
<td>964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>9856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Services</td>
<td>34130</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


YFC Cape Town spans a range of sectors given the work that they do. They would, therefore, fall in the sectors of culture and recreation; education and research; health; religion and social services. If look at a further breakdown within the social services sector (see table 2), we can see that YFC does social services work as well, i.e. Child welfare; family services and youth services and youth welfare respectively.
Table 2: Number of NPOs by social services themes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social service themes</th>
<th>EC</th>
<th>FS</th>
<th>GP</th>
<th>KZN</th>
<th>LP</th>
<th>MP</th>
<th>NW</th>
<th>NC</th>
<th>WC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Child welfare, child services, day care</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td>1134</td>
<td>7112</td>
<td>4381</td>
<td>3103</td>
<td>1655</td>
<td>1023</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>1476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disaster /emergency prevention and control</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family services</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income support and maintenance</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material assistance</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugee assistance</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-help and other personal social services</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services for the elderly</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>569</td>
<td>918</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services for the handicapped</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary shelters</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth services and youth welfare</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>1288</td>
<td>876</td>
<td>433</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>2846</td>
<td>1872</td>
<td>10421</td>
<td>6921</td>
<td>4375</td>
<td>2424</td>
<td>1774</td>
<td>660</td>
<td>2837</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: “State of South African Registered Non-Profit Organisations issued in Terms of the Non-Profit Organisations Act 71 of 1997.” June 2012. p.9)

Secondly, YFC represents a unique or extreme case as outlined by Yin (2003). YFC Cape Town represents a NGO that has been in existence for almost 70 years. According to the “State of South African Registered Non-Profit Organisations” and NGO pulse, on average between 5000-9000 NGOs close on an annual basis. Therefore YFC Cape Town does demonstrate that the organisation has survivalist qualities at the very least and by implication would be a factor of resilience. Thirdly, this is the first time that YFC Cape Town has been researched in this capacity. The research project provides a unique opportunity to understand the inner workings of an organisaiton which has previously not been studied as outlined by Yin (2003). Thus the nature of the work that YFC Cape Town does; the unique nature of the case in terms of longevity as well as been previously inaccessible as a case study justifies the single case study approach for this thesis.
2.3.2.5.2. Critiques of Case Studies

Despite the versatility of case studies, there are some critiques of it as a research strategy. Firstly, the value of studying single events without being able to cross check evidence is questioned. Secondly, the extent to which generalisations can be made; and thirdly selective reporting and research bias (Bell, 2010, p.9). The critique of the lack of academic rigour can be addressed by the researcher in the way he or she designs his case study research; by outlining the context and size and scope of the study to be undertaken and how it links to answering the research question (Creswell, 2007, p.74). Generalisability with regard to case study research may be difficult as the researcher has to show how his or her findings are true or relevant to a wider population or different context. Bell (2010, p.9) citing Bassey makes the point that ‘relatability’ is more important than ‘generalisability’ when it comes to case study research. If case studies are conducted soundly with the goal of improving the field of study and increasing the existing body of knowledge (i.e. they are relatable) then they are valid forms of research (Bell, 2010, p.9). Although it is specifically making reference to education research, the principle of ‘relatability’ holds true for all research conducted in the social sciences as well. Through Bassey’s concept of ‘relatability’, he makes a distinction between two types of generalizations namely, ‘statistical’ and ‘fuzzy’. Statistical generalizations arise from samples of populations where the ‘percentage findings’ found in the sample is reflective of the broader population and is a quantitative measure (Bell, 2010, p.10). In contrast, fuzzy generalisations arise from studies of a phenomenon whereby claims are made that what is found in the phenomenon may possibly, or likely, or unlikely be found in similar contexts and it is, therefore, a qualitative measure (Bell, 2010, p.10). This research project will be making fuzzy generalizations as it is explorative in nature.

Neuman (2007, p.20) notes that in case study research “the researcher selects a few cases to illustrate an issue and study it (or them) in detail and considers the specific context of each
case”. Understanding contexts may then not only yield lessons for CSO resilience in general but suggest factors which make them resilient in their specific socio-political environments. I investigated the context and functioning of a long-standing NGO in South Africa, Youth for Christ Cape Town (YFC). Burnham et al (2008, p.68) caution against the levels of generalisations that can be made since it usually involves a limited amount of cases. Therefore, this study will be making fuzzy generalisations which may shed light on the broader implications for CSOs in South Africa.

2.4. Operationalisation

Thus far, the purpose of the research; the paradigm informing the research and the context or situation within which the research is carried out has been outlined. The next step in the research process is outlining the research techniques employed to collect and analyse data.

2.4.1. Data collection

The purpose of data collection for any study should be to develop research evidence systematically, gathering a wide range of evidence at confirming or disconfirming data (Hartley, 2004, p.328). With regard to case study research Yin (2003, p.83) identifies six major methods of data collection: documents; archival records; interviews; direct observation; participant-observation and physical artifacts. In addition to the methods of data collection outlined above, Yin also emphasizes three principles which should guide the case study research. Firstly, multiple sources of evidence should be collected which should result in the same findings (Yin, 2003, p.83). Secondly, a case study database should be kept which is distinct from the final case study report (Yin, 2003, p.83). Finally, there should be a clear triangulation between the research question asked, the evidence gathered and the conclusions that are drawn from it (Yin, 2003, p.83). The synergy between these three principles will then contribute significantly to sound case
study research. For the scope of this case study research, three methods of data collection were used namely, long interviews, documents and archival records. These methods are most appropriate for answering the research question and I ensured that the triangulation of the three principles mentioned by Yin is adhered to.

2.4.1.1. Interviews

One of the most important sources of case study information is interviews. Since this is a qualitative study, qualitative interviews will be conducted to gather evidence. King (2004, p.11) citing Kvale defines qualitative research interviews as being “an interview, whose purpose is to gather descriptions of the life-world of the interviewee with respect to the interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena”. The aim then of qualitative interviews is to see the evidence through the lens of the interviewee and understand why and how they come to have that particular viewpoint.

Yin (2003, p.90) identifies three types of interviews namely ‘open-ended’ interviews; ‘focused’ interviews and ‘surveys’. An open-ended interview involves asking respondents questions about the facts of a case and their opinions about an event. The benefits of this kind of interview are that the respondent might be able to give insights into an event which may be used as the basis for further research and may also reveal relevant for you to interview (Yin, 2003, p.90). These two features are essential in case studies to confirm or denounce evidence.

Focused interviews are similar to open-ended interviews in that it is conversational in nature however, the questions are largely guided by the research questions and the aim is to corroborate the fact that you already have rather than to asking broader open-ended questions (Yin, 2003, p.90).

Finally, surveys entail more structured questions which may be used within a case study to gather quantitative data to support case study evidence (Yin, 2003, p.91). The use of surveys in
case study research which be similar to that in regular surveys however the difference here would be that the data is not used in isolation but rather used in conjunction with other sources gathered in the research. The advantage of interviews is that it is adaptable, whereby the “interviewer can follow up ideas, probe responses and investigate motives and feelings, which the questionnaire can never do” (Bell, 2010, p.161).

2.4.1.1.1. Participant profile

In this study, open-ended interviews were conducted with relevant role-players within the CSO sector. In the case of YFC Cape Town, volunteers; staff members and the directors (past and present) were interviewed. Their perceptions and insights were useful not only in painting a contextual picture but were also useful in their suggestions of persons of interest to interview. As stated by Yin (2003), this was useful to corroborate facts in certain instances. Government officials were interviewed to provide better insight to CSO-state relations. Eddie Andrews, a sub-council chair as well as ward councilor from Mitchell’s Plain was interviewed as ward councilors deal with CSOs on a local level and have relevant insight into operational issues. Furthermore, Tania Mitrovic an independent Development practitioner and NGO fundraiser was also interviewed as she has extensive experience in dealing with both CSOs in Cape Town as well as the department of Social Development for over ten years. Her particular tenured experience within the sector was used to confirm trends and experiences of the other stakeholders interviewed. Finally, ICT (Information and Communications Technology) development researcher Dr. Zoran Mitrovic was interviewed to highlight the importance and extent of ICT skills within the NGO sector as a factor influencing resilience.
2.4.1.2. Selection criteria

The selection of participants in a case study has implications for both data collection and the data that are available for analysis and helps to define the limits for generalising the findings. Selection of participants for interviews is also driven by the aims of the study. King (2004, p.17) makes the point that one widely accepted consideration for interviews is diversity as it enables the research to show a wide range of ways in which a phenomenon is experienced. Bearing this in mind the participants in this study was chosen using purposive sampling Cohen et al, 2007, p.115). In this approach, the researcher thinks critically about the scope of the population from which the sample is to be drawn and chooses participants which are reflective of it and relevant to the study as a whole. The selection criteria considered all the factors outlined above and is reflected in the participant profiles. It was directly driven by aims of the study.

2.4.1.2. Documents

Another essential source of data when conducting case studies are research documents. Flick (2009, p.254 ) citing Wolff defines documents in the following way:

“Documents are standardized artifacts, in so far as they typically occur in particular formats-, as notes, case reports, contracts, drafts, death certificates, remarks, diaries, statistics, annual reports, certificates, judgments, letters or expert opinions.”

Flick (2009, p. 524) citing Prior, however, makes the point that documents are not static things but should be considered within the context in which they appear,

“If we are to get to grips with the nature of documents then we have to move away from a consideration of them as stable, static and pre-defined artifacts. Instead, we must consider them in terms of fields, frames and networks of action. In fact, the status of things as “documents”
depends precisely on the ways which such objects are integrated into fields of action, and documents can only be defined in terms of such fields”

Here the authors make the point that documents should not be seen as evidence in isolation but rather as data to positioned in a particular setting. Yin supports these sentiments by explaining the usefulness of documents in case study research in the following way. Documents may be useful to verify information discussed in interviews; it may provide details to corroborate other evidence; and inferences can be made from documents (Yin, 2003, p.87). Although documents are useful in case study research Yin also states that researchers be cautious for two reasons. Firstly, one should treat inferences as clues rather than definitive findings because they may be false and secondly, if the documentation suggests contrary evidence, further investigation needs to take place (Yin, 2003, p.87).

The document evidence in this study was used in conjunction with the interviews. The aim is to corroborate and augment evidence and is so doing, be in a more informed position to answer the research question. Project newsletters, minutes of board meetings and website pages will be used from the case study site to verify the interviewees responses. However, since the documentary evidence will not be used in isolation, a balance of depth of evidence will be ensured throughout the study.

2.4.1.3. Archival records

Archival records have the same merits and demerits as documents stated above. Yin (2003, p.89) points out however that the usefulness of archival records may vary from case to case as they are often written in a particular context and audience in mind. This study analysed organisational records and survey data on CSOs locally as well as globally to illicit trends and to
confirm or contradict evidence which was discovered during interviews. The archival records was also used to serve as a validity check for the findings in other documentary evidence. Once again I was careful not to rely solely on archival evidence to make inferences but rather use it in triangulation with other sources of data and also bearing the research question in mind. Since archival records are produced for a particular audience I justified its use by making a link to the context and how it is relevant to the overall study.

2.4.2. Data analysis and coding

Since multiple sources of data are gathered from this study, data needs to be organized systematically and analysed in a meaningful way. Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 56) describe coding as analysis, where you are able to differentiate between the combined data and the reflections on your observations. He continues by noting that ’codes’ are “labels used for assigning units of meaning” from the data which is described or inferred during the study (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 56). Codes are therefore used to organize large amounts of information or data so that they can be interpreted.

The various types of data were collected and analysed using qualitative content analysis and coding. The coding was descriptive and inferential in nature as I explored the relationships between the various role-players and I made inferences and descriptions between them.

After the data was analysed using open coding, it was then grouped according to similar themes and sub-themes, organised into the coding structure illustrated below.
### Table 3. Coding structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code Structure</th>
<th>Understanding resilience among Non-government organisations in post-apartheid South Africa: A case study of Youth For Christ Cape Town</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Research Question</td>
<td>How can Civil Society Organisations in South Africa ensure resilience and longevity in a complex and evolving political environment?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Sub-Questions | (1) What should SA CSOs be resilient against?  
(2) What does resilience look like within the identified case study?  
(3) Which factors enhance / undermine resilience? |

#### THEMES AND SUB-THEMES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Funding</th>
<th>2. Technical skills</th>
<th>3. Accessing networks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Local</td>
<td>a. Administrative</td>
<td>a. State-NGO relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. International</td>
<td>b. E-Astuteness</td>
<td>(i) Mixed model</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Entrepreneurial component</td>
<td>(i) Government accountability</td>
<td>b. Like-minded organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Project versus salaries</td>
<td>(ii) Channels of communication</td>
<td>c. Like minded individuals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Changes in funding environment</td>
<td>c. Compliance / Legal</td>
<td>d. Local volunteers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(i) Organisational transparency</td>
<td>e. International YFC centres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ii) Donor-friendly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Reading environment and forecasting change levers</td>
<td>a. Belief in the core values of the organization</td>
<td>a. Project innovation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Without compromising core values</td>
<td>(internally)</td>
<td>(i) Differentiation within the NGO sector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Staffing</td>
<td>(i) Staff believes in the vision and mission</td>
<td>b. Social</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Merging of portfolios</td>
<td>(ii) Volunteers have a clear understanding of the objectives of the organisation</td>
<td>c. Legal framework</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Volunteerism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) Active Board</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Reconfiguring of organizational model in terms of function</td>
<td>b. Understanding of the core beliefs of the organization (externally)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(i) Recruiters understand the core business and will draw suitable volunteers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ii) Donors understand the ethos of the organization and present project which matches the organisations current function</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Demonstration of core values by the organisation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>7. Leadership</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Mixed typology</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Autocratic, Democratic and Laissez-faire</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. In relation to environmental factors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.4.3. Ethics

Ethics may be viewed as a set of rules by which individuals and societies maintain moral standards in their lives (Matthews & Ross, 2010, p.71). McAuley (2003, p. 95) describes the ethics of social research as being “about creating a mutually respectful, win-win relationship in which participants are pleased to respond candidly, valid results are obtained, and the community considers the conclusions constructive”. The Economic and Social Research Council (2009) further articulates that “Research ethics refers to the moral principles guiding research, from its inception through to completion and publication of results and beyond”.

In terms of ethics, all research conducted within the scope of this study was in accordance with the ethical guidelines and procedures of the University of the Western Cape. The researcher was mindful of the various power relations, from within the organization as well as from the researcher to the participants. I made every effort to ensure that the responses provided by participants were not influenced as a result of existing power relations. Limitations in conducting research may occur when organisations fearing scrutiny, may resist participation in the study. Conversely, resistance may come in the form of participants reluctant to proving full disclosure, in fear of repercussions from management. This was however not the case within YFC Cape Town as all participants were honest and critical in their interviews regarding their experiences. I also did not encounter resistance from any of the stakeholders as they viewed their participation in the study as a teaching point for the organization itself as well as other NGOs in a broader sense.

Participants had the option of being anonymous, should they so choose. In addition, this research project did not target vulnerable groups, such as children etc.. Furthermore, participants were informed of the intention of the research project and were free to discontinue their participation at any time. Upon completion of the study, participants will be given copies of the findings of the research.
These commitments were encapsulated in the informed consent form (see Appendix A). In addition, respondents will also receive an information sheet for them to keep should they have any questions regarding the study, which includes the details of the researcher.

2.4.4. Limitations

The findings from this study are not generalisable since it is based on a single case. This limits the scope of the findings. Nevertheless, as previously indicated the YFC case provided the basis for extracting interesting lessons for CSO resilience and survival using an exploratory approach. Additionally the merits of using the single case study approach have been outlined and justified.

As stated previously, with regard to case study research, ‘the relatability of a case study is more important than its generalisability’. The findings, therefore, are not meant to be definitively generalizable but rather meant to be relatable. In addition, it is hoped that the findings may uncover areas for further research and discussion with regard to CSO resilience and function in South Africa.
CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to interrogate the use of key concepts namely ‘civil society’ and ‘resilience’ as it will be applied to the chosen case study. Both concepts have broad meanings within various contexts; as a result, the aim of this chapter will firstly be to define civil society within its broad understanding and how the term has evolved within changing political climates. Next, civil society will be explained conceptually as it is applied within the scope of this study. Specifically, the role conception of civil society will be interrogated as it will provide insight into the effect of adherence or deference to these conceived or perceived roles and by implication suggest lessons for resilience. Secondly, resilience theory will also be defined within this chapter. The origins of resilience theory will be outlined not only to show its evolution in terms of the concept but also to highlight whether it can be applied across disciplines. Thereafter, resilience theory will be applied (with some adaptation from its original conception) within the discipline of political science as well as the case study. The use of resilience theory will thus provide a theoretical lens through which to analyse the findings in chapter 5 and 6.

3.2. Civil Society

3.2.2. Definition

Civil Society is a contentious term within the field of sociology and political science. In an attempt to navigate this contention we start with Walzer’s definition which defines civil society as “the sphere of uncoerced human association between the individual and the state, in which people undertake collective action for normative and substantive purposes, relatively independent of government and the market” (Walzer, 1998, p.123-24). Part of the contention as alluded by Walzer is the extent to which ‘coercion’ takes place; which ‘norms and purposes’ are pursued, and the level of “independence” from other the other spheres which is maintained in practice.
Edwards, therefore, makes the point that the definition which Walzer provides is useful in that it is broad enough to encompass various kinds of interpretations of civil society (2011, p.4).

Historically civil society has always been conceptualized in relation to the state. Chandhoke outlines this point by referring to various political thinkers’ views on civil society. She summarizes that “For de Tocqueville (1835, 1840), civil society limits the state; for Hegel (1821), civil society is a necessary stage in the formation of the state; for Marx, civil society is the sources of power of the state; and for Gramsci (1929-1935), civil society is the space where the state constructs its hegemony in alliance with the dominant classes” (Chandhoke, 2007, p.609). Modern civil society theorists like John Keane define civil society as a

“realm of social life – market exchanges, charitable groups, clubs and voluntary associations, independent churches and publishing houses – institutionally separated from territorial state institutions …it is a term that both describes and anticipates a complex and dynamic ensemble of legally protected non-governmental institutions that tend to be nonviolent, self-organizing, self-reflexive, and permanently in tension, both with each other and with the governmental institutions that ‘frame, constrict and enable their activities’ (Keane, 2010, p.1).

Michael Edwards (2004) definition of civil society encompasses the three traditional views on civil society as being ‘the area of associational life’, ‘the good society’ and ‘the public sphere’ and merges it into a holistic framework. He argues that civil society cannot be only argued from a single school of thought but rather as a melting pot of all three. “Civil society gains strength both as an idea and as a vehicle for social change when the weaknesses of one set of theories are balanced by the strengths and contributions of the others” (Edwards, 2004, p.72).
These different schools of thought aptly depict the complexity and richness of the concept of civil society. To outline variations in the relationship between the state and illustrate the contemporary debates on civil society it may be useful to explore the Chambers and Kopstein’s six-fold framework: (1) civil society apart from the state; (2) civil society against the state; (3) civil society in dialogue with the state; (4) civil society in support of the state (5) civil society in partnership with the state; (6) civil society beyond the state. Chambers and Kopstein (2006, p. 364) points out that the above six relations are not necessarily mutually exclusive nor are they in competition with one another. The authors make the point that it may be possible to hold more than one of these configurations. Outlining these different types of relations will help explore which are applicable to South African CSOs and how these relations contribute or constrain resilience.

3.2.3. Six Perspectives on State-Civil Society relations

Civil society apart from the state:

Civil society is often referred to the sphere which is located apart from the state and is a sphere where individuals can freely come together and form groups as well as share common interests. Three features can be seen to characterize civil society as apart from the state namely (1) the voluntary nature of participation; (2) the plural quality of the activities; and (3) the negative character of civil society’s boundaries (Chambers & Kopstein, 2006, p.365). Firstly, civil society is identified by voluntary membership in which joining or exiting an organization is done so by free volition and without any coercion. The distinction between civil society and the state is the voluntary / mandatory divide. For example, the state may obligate citizens through means of a legal framework in which they cannot opt out of (eg. registering for tax). Secondly, civil society is characterized by pluralism. As stated earlier civil society can take on various forms and as such they cover a multiplicity interests and issues. Whereas the state focusses on collective goals and
interests civil society groups hold specific interests related to the group. Finally, civil society is described as being apart from the state, in spatial terms. The boundaries of civil society here is specifically designed to keep the state out, in other words, civil society should have a level of autonomy from the state. The boundary of civil society is hinged on the premise that the “state be bound by a rule of law that limits its interference in a meaningful way” (Chambers & Kopstein, 2006, p.366). The state can only be bound by the rule of law if it is tied to the “liberal constitution order” which is found in liberal democracies (Chambers & Kopstein, 2006, p.365). What this means is that the theoretical boundaries between the state and civil society will only be respected by states within liberal democracies as they are more likely to be compliant to the rule of law.

Civil society against the state: Politicising the non-political
Whereas civil society apart from the state is largely located within liberal democracies, the idea of civil society against the state found its prominence under tyrannical and totalitarian states during the 1980s. When citizens in Eastern Europe (within tyrannical states) were unable to emancipate themselves from political situations through either “the reform of state power above”, nor “revolution from below”, they sought to create a “free zone” within the existing system (Chandhoke, 2007, p. 610). Chambers and Kopstein (2006, p.367) further exemplifies this by citing George Konrad’s concept of “anti-politics” in which people within totalitarian states “carve out niches of autonomy” and where “citizens live as if the state does not exist”. In the same vein Vaclav Havel (1985), sees the potential of isolated individuals to “resist the state through everyday actions, not through associational life and how these acts would be subversive of totalitarian rule (Chambers & Kopstein, 2006, p.367). This description of individual resistance rather than that of an organization falls within the outer limits of what is normally considered civil society (Chambers & Kopstein, 2006, p. 367). Although these authors did not see the short term
impact of this “resistance” we see the aggregate of these associations asserting themselves against the state during the revolutions of 1989 (Chambers & Kopstein, 2006, p.368). For instance, Edwards explains this further by noting that “social mechanisms embedded in voluntary action; discussion and agreement” is one way to facilitate collective action (Edwards, 2004 p.11). It was this idea of associational life which became central to the civil society project and contributed to the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989. Finally, although these civil societies were able to overthrow Communism, their ability to be vehicles of democracy may be limited (Chambers & Kopstein, 2006, p.368).

Civil society in dialogue with the state: Public Sphere

Another way of seeing civil society is one where it is in dialogue with the state. It is marked by accountability in which the “state must defend, justify, and generally give an account of its actions in answer to the multiple and plural voices raised in civil society” (Chambers & Kopstein, 2006, p.396). Civil society here is envisioned as a public sphere where its ideas, interests, values and ideologies are formed and voiced and made politically effective (Habermas, 1996, p.367). In as much as the previous two civil society-state relation configurations emphasise that civil society is apart from the state, so too is the public opinion which is generated by civil society. For a public debate to be deemed legitimate it needs to be critical and compel the state to engage in dialogue with civil society. Even though freedom of speech and association are a necessary condition for a strong public sphere, it is not a sufficient (Chambers & Kopstein, 2006, p. 370). The authors emphasise this by citing Habermas (1996, p. 369) “basic constitutional guarantees alone cannot preserve the public sphere and civil society from deformations. The communicative structures of the public sphere must be rather kept intact by an energetic civil society”. Habermas is alluding that the public sphere can only be effective if civil society continually reinvents itself, transforms and evolves to the demands of an ever-changing political system. Effective actors in the public
sphere are those who are able to employ defensive as well as offensive strategies against the state (Chambers & Kopstein, 2006, p. 370). For civil society to be effective actors in relation to the state, it needs to adapt to a changing society.

**Civil society in support of the state: Schools of citizenship**

Civil society in support of the state pursues the idea that citizens assume an active role in society. De Tocqueville refers to these different roles of citizens within his framework as ‘schools of democracy’ (Blaug & Schwarzmantel, 1988, p.47). Chambers and Kopstein show how it is a necessary component of a stable democracy by citing Elberly (2000, p.7-8), “Civil society builds social ties and a sense a mutual obligation by weaving together isolated individuals into a fabric of the larger group trying separate individuals to purposes beyond their private interest. The reciprocal ties nourished in civil society are the wellspring of democratic life”. From this view, there exists a complex tension between the state and civil society. One the one hand civil society may indeed support the state however there exists also the danger that the private sector may begrudge government for over involvement in its affairs and thus stagnate into a self-interested sector (see Barber, 1995). A state that is overly intrusive may undermine the ability of citizens to take on the roles required of them (Chambers & Kopstein, 2006, p. 371). These ‘required’ roles may include participation in public consultations; civic meetings; paying of taxes etc.

The idea of civil society in support of the state views associational life as taking up the public good; as a sphere of plural ends; that produces common values and creating common bonds of community within the framework of a liberal democracy (Chambers & Kopstein, 2006, p.372).

There are four major arguments against this view of civil society. Firstly, the question focusses on whether civil society in liberal democracies is, in fact, vibrant or on the decline. Secondly, an area of contention is raised regarding which values should be fostered within civil society as well as how and where they should be promoted. For example, developing education policy, as well
as government support becomes important in terms of which schools of citizenship it wants to develop within society (Chambers & Kopstein, 2006, p.372). The third argument which follows the previous one is that of a civil society as a school of citizenship versus a civil society as a ‘sphere of freedom’ (Chambers & Kopstein, 2006, p.372). A corporatism type of relationship emerges when government supports civil society through the means of subsidies and the like an expectation is created that it would inculcate the ‘right sort of values’ (Chambers & Kopstein, p.372). This expectation, however, may undermine the premise that civil society has associational freedom and plurality. The final argument revolves around the assumption that participation in all types of civil society is a good thing. More attention is given to participation rather than “what sorts of groups citizens are joining” (Chambers & Kopstein, 2006, p.373). The authors make a clear distinction between good and bad civil society. Bad civil society they argue, destroys one essential component required for democracy, namely reciprocity. “Reciprocity involves the recognition of other citizens, even those with whom one has deep disagreements, as moral agents deserving civility” (Chambers & Kopstein, 2006, p.373). Bad civil society challenges these values and there are many examples of an increase in bad civil society. As such bad civil society may be seen as a civil society which does not necessarily build or deepen democracy.

There are two significant cases of bad civil society, Lebanon (during the country’s long civil war) and Rwanda (prior to the 1994 genocide) (Edwards, 2004, p.44). In both cases, there were strong networks of voluntary associations which in fact bred violence in those areas. Rwanda had the largest number of volunteer associations in Sub-Saharan Africa “while the vast majority of associations in Lebanon during the 1970s and 1980s were exclusionary and divisive and were constantly at war with one another (Edwards, 2004, p.44). This caveat highlights two issues. Firstly, civil society does not always suggest associations which are born out of carrying the ideals of the ‘public good’ as the above examples have indicated. Secondly, the types of associations should be more closely interrogated rather than the participation of civilians.
Civil society in partnership with the state: More governance less government

This configuration of civil society-state relations refers to the continued eroding of the nation state’s sovereignty in terms of governance. From the viewpoint of civil society, there is often a paternalistic expectation. Clough (1999, p.6) argues

"the belief in the primacy of the nation-state…deters responsible action by non-state actors. It encourages them to focus their energies on finding ways to get national states, their own or others, to provide services, to solve a crisis or act in some other way to address a particular issue rather than to look for ways the group can act on its own. It also reinforces the tendency of organisations to think in narrow, self-interest terms rather than to take responsibility for the broader consequences.”

So why and when does it become ‘necessary’ for civil society to become involved? It is argued that the nation-state may be inadequate or unable to address all the material concerns and policy requirements at a national and regional level without the help of civil society (Chambers & Kopstein, 2006, p.374). The second instance of civil society getting involved in the decentralisation of governance is when there is no clear authority within a sector or there is an absence of a functioning state altogether. Warren (2002, p.685) frames this by noting that,

"The state is no longer the head but rather it functions as the most visible point of negotiation among sectors since it does not control resources upon which it depends on to organize collective action”.

The other way in which civil society gets involved is when the state delegates responsibility to civil society as it simply cannot perform their function without the citizens taking responsibility (Chambers & Kopstein, 2006, p.375).

The disadvantages of civil society taking over the functions of the state are two-fold. Firstly, privatization of certain sectors and NIMBY (not in my backyard) may result in less accountability.
One of the functions of civil society is being a watchdog of government and ensure certain checks and balances. Secondly, Chambers and Kopstein citing Soroko (2001) argue that the boundaries between civil society and the state may become blurred where the civil society may ‘look and act like the state’.

It is maybe useful to note that as we have discussed earlier civil society may assume different positions in relation to the state. It is this plurality that enables civil society to be a vibrant component of a healthy democracy but also that it is not bound to a singular type of relation with the state. It may contain two or more configurations but this may lead to a contestation of power relations with the state. Therefore, there may be instances where there is an overlay with regard to the models of how the state relates to civil society and are thus not bound by a specific archetype.

**Civil society beyond the state: Global Civil Society**

Civil society has become an international phenomenon and questions and critiques have been raised in response to the use of the term global civil society. The contention is as a result of our previously seeing civil society as a sphere outside the state. Global civil society emerges “in anticipation of rather than in response to (and certainly without the protection of) a global liberal constitutional state” (Chambers & Kopstein, 2006, p.376). This spatial restriction of only seeing civil society in nationalist terms is what some authors argue as being “methodological nationalism”, namely seeing civil society only in nationalist terms rather than transnational categories (Kaldor, Anheier & Glasius, 2003). Given its spatial parameters global civil society can be distinguished as having two parts namely issue centered social movements and NGOs (Keane, 2003). These social movements usually address issues which have a global impact such as HIV/AIDS, human rights and the tragedy of the commons.
The second component of global civil society is non-governmental organisations (NGOs) which Mary Kaldor terms ‘tamed social movements’. Chambers and Kopstein (2006, p.376) point out that NGOs are characterized as social movements which have transformed themselves into respectable negotiating partners. The distinction that the authors make is that NGOs are the key agents of issues (negotiating agency and ends) while social movements are the key messengers (focusing on raising issues in the public sphere).

One glaring critique of global civil society is the democracy deficit argument. Global civil society cannot be the only source of democratisation as a global civil society may reflect their own views and principles rather than that of a particular constituency (Chambers & Kopstein, 2006, p.372). As mentioned earlier, global civil society has emerged before the formation of a global government hence is void of a counterbalancing boundary. This, therefore, illustrates that global civil society can function with or without the nation state.

The above-mentioned sections have tried to outline the different incarnations of civil society-state relations to provide a nuanced and broader understanding of the concept of civil society. The nature of the exchanges with the state determines the extent of its success as well spaces of engagement for the issues facing society at a particular time. Understanding these different configurations helps contextualize the case study of YFC Cape Town in that it assumes multiple roles in relation to the state. This study will show how adopting multiple typologies (as outlined by Chamber and Kopstein) indeed adds depth to civil society organisations as an aspect of resilience within the organization as well as its dealings with the state. As such the study will employ all six models to articulate not only the relationship between the chosen organization and state but also contextualise the state-civil society relations against the background of its evolution on the African continent and within South Africa. The next undertaking will then be to unpack the theory of resilience and how it relates specifically to the above-mentioned case study.
3.3. Resilience Theory

There has been much literature written on guidelines regarding effective NGOs. Guidelines, however, in as much as they contribute to organizational efficacy and compliance does not necessarily ensure longevity. What needs to be interrogated then are the factors which build resilience within NGOs.

3.3.1. Definition

Resilience is troublesome to define as it can either refer to a distinct object or it may refer to a system. When defining or analysing whether something is resilient the ‘what’ which is being studied needs to be clarified (Martin-Breen & Anderies, 2011, p.42). Fletcher and Miller point out that “Resilience is an emergent system-wide property that describes how a system responds to external forces in an effort to maintain its fundamental structure. Because it is not a physical component of the system per se, but an emergent property, resilience has been difficult to understand, measure, and manage” (2005, p.2). For this reason, there exists no commonly accepted definition of resilience as it may differ depending on its usage. Plodinee outlines two divergent definitions of resilience. Within the realm of psychology the term was used to describe groups that did not change behavior in spite of adversity (see Masten, 1990) and in ecology (see Holling, 1973) the term describes ecosystems that continued to function normally in spite of adversity (Plodinee, 2009, p.1). The key distinction to note here is that resilience occurs in different environments or areas of focus. For some it is the physical (see Gordon, 1978 & Bodin, 2004) for others it is ecological (see Holling 1973; 1995; Abel 2001; Waller 2001; Brock 2002; Klein 2003 and Anderies 2004), while others include community (see Quinton 2003; Gunderson 2005; Pfefferbaum 2005) as well as economic (Rose 2007) and finally the individual (Masten 1990; Egeland 1993; and Butler 2007). Increasing though resilience has also found increasing prominence within the fields of political science; business administration; sociology; history;
disaster planning; urban planning; as well as international development (Martin-Breen and Anderies, 2011, p.5). This clearly shows the usefulness of the concept in terms of its complexity as well as adaptability to a wide array of spheres. With that being said it needs to be noted that resilience does imply a unified concept but that for each field of study requires a contextual approach.

As a point of departure resilience may be defined as “(1) the amount of change that a system can undergo while still maintaining the same controls on structure and function; (2) the system’s ability to self-organize; and (3) the degree to which the system is capable of learning and adaptation” (Cumming, et al citing Carpenter et al., 2005). Cumming et al, (2005, p.975) further equate resilience with “the ability of a system to maintain its identity, where system identity is defined as a property of key components and relationships (networks) and their continuity through space and time”. Resilience therefore as a concept, is useful since it is multidisciplinary as well as having the ability to explain relationships between various actors within a system. During the course of my research, I will thus investigate how the chosen NGO has adapted to a changing and sometimes “hostile” environment to maintain their identities during times of change.

From the outset, it needs to be remembered that resilience is not a concept that is traditionally used within the realm of political science. It is mostly associated with the fields of psychology and ecology. So why then use this particular concept within this study? Given the complex dynamic environment in which civil society operates which ebbs and flows during times of crisis and change there exists strong parallels between the field of ecology and that of psychology. For this reason, the premise of the concept resilience may be transferred to the field of political science with some contextual adaptation. It must also be remembered that this study will not be testing
whether YFC Cape Town is resilient but instead it will be looking what resilience may look like within a civil society organization like YFC Cape Town.

In the following the section, I will outline how resilience is understood within different frameworks namely the Engineering Resilience (or common sense resilience), Systems Resilience (or robustness) and what is referred to as a Complex Adaptive Systems. Outlining these frameworks will enable the researcher to better apply the concept of resilience to the field of political science as well as the chosen case study in an attempt to the clarify the ‘what’ which is to be studied.

3.3.2. Engineering Resilience

Traditionally resilience within a system suggests two understandings of stability. The first focuses on how persistent, and unpredictable a system can be, attributes which are sought within the realm of biology and evolution (Holling, 1996, p.33). The latter definition focuses on how efficient, constant, and predictable a system can be and is referred to as engineering resilience (Holling, 1996, p.33).

Engineering resilience is useful in that it garner as a common sense understanding of resilience. Understanding these properties from an engineering stance helps us highlight specific attributes key to resilience. In the materials sciences, when an external force is supplied to an elastic material (a “stress”), the material changes shape and bends (the “strain”). If the force is removed, the material will eventually return to its initial shape or remain deformed. The authors raise three questions in relation to the resilience of the material. How much does the material resist being bent (a measure of resistance), how quickly does the material return to its original shape (a measure of elasticity) and finally how much stress or force can the material take so that it does not fail or is permanently deformed (stability domain)? (Martin-Breen & Anderies, 2011, p.43).

An increase in any or all three of these features increases the resilience of the material to stress; however, the overall term used to describe the combination of these attributes is not generally
resilience, but rather a stability (Martin-Breen & Anderies, 2011, p.43). ‘Stability’ gives us a common sense understanding of resilience in that it simply explains how something can withstand external disturbances and forces and return back to a normal state. The use of engineering resilience within any setting is driven by three assumptions, firstly there is only one equilibrium or normal state; secondly, the object returns to returns to this normal state after a disturbance it can handle; and finally the disturbances are expected (Martin-Breen & Anderies, 2011, p.44). The limitations of engineering resilience assume that there is only one ‘normal’ state and does not factor in the possibility that an object may change as a result of a disturbance and, in fact, become more resilient. Examples of this can be found in people who have survived crises and who have fundamentally changed as a result of it and have developed increased resilience. Despite these limitations engineering resilience is useful when analyzing isolated objects within a system to determine the extent of resilience within the parts of the whole. In terms of this study is becomes useful in gauging what resilience looks like within the leadership and staff members for instance in the organisation.

3.3.3. Systems Resilience

In as much as engineering resilience creates a common sense understanding of resilience systems resilience acknowledges that there is no fixed ‘normal’ or equilibrium. The world we live in constantly changing and in flux, as a result, resilience cannot be viewed simply from an isolated object perspective but rather from a systems perspective. Systems are dynamic undergoing constant change. Systems resilience differs from engineering resilience in that it considers not only fixed variables but also slow changes - that which changes within times of relative stability (Martin-Breen & Anderies, 2011, p.7). Slow changes do not necessarily affect the stability of the system like rapid changes (as in the case of crisis) but can have an impact on resilience. Ignoring these “slow changes” can over time affect resilience. System resilience
considers the “parts” which make up the system. Therefore, resilience within these systems is “maintaining system function in the event of a disturbance” (Martin-Breen & Anderies, 2011, p.7). There are some limitations to systems resilience, though. Communities, for instance, exist within the system of government. What happens when government fails? Does the community cease to exist? Communities often display resilience and are able to create new systems in response to the crisis and maintain function (Breen & Anderies, 2011, p.7). These kinds of systems are called complex adaptive systems which will be further outlined in the next section. Despite the limitations of systems resilience, within the scope of this study, it aids in conceptualising the sum of the parts of the case study. It allows for a more nuanced understanding of the various stakeholders within the CSO environment and how these inactions affect resilience within the organization.

3.3.4. Complex Adaptive Systems

A complex adaptive system (CAS) is a complex macroscopic collection of relatively similar and partially connected micro-structures. Chan citing Honavar (2001, p.1) characterizes these systems as having “complex behaviors that emerge as a result of often nonlinear spatio-temporal interactions among a large number of component systems at different levels of organisation. Chan (2001, p.2) continues by stating that these systems are dynamic and are able to adapt in and evolve with a changing environment. Chan (2001, p.2) makes the distinction that there is no separation between a system and its environment in the idea that a system always adapts to a changing environment, rather, ‘the concept to be examined is that of a system closely linked with all other related systems making up an ecosystem. Within such a context, change needs to be seen in terms of co-evolution with all other related systems, rather than as adaptation to a separate and distinct environment’.
Hakimi (2010), explains that these systems are diverse and made up of multiple interconnected components and they are adaptive in that they have an aspect of understanding by learning from previous experiences in order to respond to change both positive and negative (see Figure 2)

![Figure 2: Complex Adaptive Systems Model](source: The New World of Emergent Architecture and Complex Adaptive Systems)

To explain CAS by way of an example, Holland (1992) uses the immune system. The immune system consists of large numbers of units, called antibodies, that continually repel or destroy an ever-changing array of invaders (bacteria and biochemicals), called antigens. Because attacks come in an almost infinite variety of forms, the immune system cannot simply develop a list of all possible invaders. Even if it could take the time to do so, there is no room to store all that information. Instead, the immune system must change or adapt ("fit to") its antibodies as new invaders appear (Holland, 1992, p.17).

Holland (1882, p.18) continues by making the point that the immune system faces the additional complication that it must distinguish self from other; the system must distinguish the legitimate parts of its owner from the ever-changing cast of attackers. This is remarkable considering that
the owner’s cells and their biochemical constituents number in the tens of thousands of types. Holland (1992, p.18) acknowledges that mistakes in identification do occur in some people, resulting in the usually fatal autoimmune diseases, but they are rare. However, the immune system is still very good at self-identification that it will not even confuse its own cells with those in a skin graft from a sibling, for example (Holland, 1992, p.18).

With reference to this case study, YFC Cape may certainly be viewed as a complex adaptive system. We can see that it has varying levels of relationships with interconnected networks, be it governmental; public or private. It exhibits complex adaptive behavior in the manner in which it responds to its varying changing environments, as well as its various interconnected networks. Examples of these co-evolution moments will be illustrated in the findings section of this thesis.

As illustrated above, the key difference between systems resilience and complex adaptive systems is the adaptive capacity. In complex adaptive systems, resilience is best defined as “the ability to withstand, recover from, and reorganize in response to crises. The function is maintained, but system structure may not be.” (Martin-Breen & Anderies, 2011, p.7). This idea of adaptation also lends itself to the idea that innovation and transformation may take place so as to ‘maintain function’ of the system. This means that that the system may change from one form to another while still maintaining its identity. Although the theoretical underpinnings of complex adaptive systems are instructive for the purposes of this study, a framework for assessing resilience is necessary as well.

Cumming et al (2005) have created a framework for the empirical measurement of resilience. The focal point of their approach is first to develop an understanding of relationships and identities within the system. It is based on exploring five central elements. The first step is to
define the system. This includes identifying the sum of the parts, the relationships and networks as well as continuity and innovations (Cumming et al, 2005, p. 978). The purpose of doing this is to establish the parameters of the system. For instance in the case of YFC Cape Town we will be looking at the organization itself, its role in the larger parent body of the national office, donors (both local and international), like-minded youth agencies, the public sector, the private sector, government agencies as well as the various target environments (socio-geographical). A conceptual model will be constructed of these various components highlighting their respective roles and relationships with each other in the system. The second step is to define possible future systems, which thinks about alternative structures to the current system yet at the same time evaluating the extent to which it maintains aspects of its identity (Cumming et al, 2005, p. 983). The third step is to clarify change trajectories. This entails identifying the cause of the change within the system and is done introspectively together with step two. This step allows us to ascertain ongoing change which does not necessarily affect the structure of the system (Cumming et al, 2005, p. 978). The aim of this is to explain how internal and external factors affect resilience within the organisation. The fourth step is to assess the likelihood of alternative futures. Once all the current conditions, perturbations and possible futures are evaluated the next step is to assess which other futures are possible for the system (Cumming et al, 2005, p. 984). The authors contend that if system identity is likely to be lost, the system is not very resilient, alternatively if the system is likely to maintain its identity across a broad range of scenarios, it is resilient (Cumming et al, 2005, p. 984). Finally, identify mechanisms and levers for change. After applying all the previous steps, we are now able to identify those elements which are key to resilience within the system. Knowing these ‘mechanisms’ and ‘levers’ then enables us to be in a better prevent system change (Cumming et al, 2005, p. 984). For instance, this knowledge could be used by policy makers and planners to prevent to address points of concern.
within a system. The above-mentioned strategy (with some adaptation) will be used to, therefore, assess the resilience of YFC Cape Town.
4.1. Introduction

The concept of civil society outlined in chapter three focused largely on perspectives from Western contexts. The usefulness of the term is not in dispute however questions may be raised with regard to whether or not the concept may be superimposed on non-Western contexts. The framing of the context in which civil society finds its being is important for purposes teasing out what resilience may look like in the example of the case study chosen. The format of this chapter will thus outline the context of civil society broadly in Africa, then in South Africa pre and post 1994. Finally, a historical backdrop of YFCI will be given, providing context for the findings presented from the case study.

As stated earlier different perspectives on civil society exist. For some civil society is the collective purpose which is created beyond the household, outside the state and the marketplace (see van Rooy, 1998 and Putnam, 1993). Early writers on civil society like Adam Ferguson (cited by Lewis, 2002. p. 570) sees civil society as 'desirable alternatives both to the state of nature and the heightened individualism of emergent capitalism' (Ferguson, 1767). Hegel, in contrast, sees self-organized civil society as being needed to be counter-balanced by the state so that it may not be self-seeking but rather contribute to the broader public good (see Hegel, 1821). De Tocqueville (1835) continues this argument by emphasizing how the associational life and independence of civil society can create equilibrium to the state in keeping it accountable.

The above perspectives on civil society highlight how the concept of civil society has evolved. It becomes evident that these conceptions emerged with a focus on the political as well the social sphere. Furthermore, Lewis points out two addition issues of concern regarding civil society. One
is the idea that civil society is fragile and the second is that it emerges from a distinct historical moment which implies that the Western imaginings of civil society may have limited relevance to the non-Western contexts (Lewis, 2002, p.571). Therefore various conceptions of civil society may be useful for analysis but may have limited value in terms of prescriptions for policy application (Lewis, 2002, p.572). He qualifies this statement by citing four reasons for this. Firstly, as has been outlined earlier, since there are various understandings of civil society it is difficult to agree upon ‘precise policy purposes’ (Lewis, 2002, p.372). Secondly, civil society is a mostly theoretical construct and as such may not necessarily be directly applied on a policy level (Lewis, 2002, p.372). Thirdly, since civil society is arguably specific to particular times and regions in history it may be influenced by differences in history, culture and economy (Lewis, 2002, p.372). Finally, there is a very little consensus whether civil society refers to an ‘analytical concept or an actual existing social form (Lewis, 2002, p.372).

The intention of the above discussion was not aimed at detracting from the value of the concept of civil society. Nor was it aimed at minimizing the role and usefulness throughout its various incarnations. Rather, it was aimed at drawing caution to it application is non-Western contexts. For this reason, Western constructs of civil society need to be cautiously examined for exceptions, adapted within the historical, social and economic context and applied contextually rather than prescriptively.

4.2. Civil Society in Africa

Historically the existence of NGOs (as a subset of CSOs – see chapter three) in Africa finds its roots in colonialism. Three distinct periods of the evolution of colonialism and control can be identified on the continent. The first is the period of war and conquest whereby missionaries and charitable organisations controlled the expectations and behaviour of Africans. In these colonies, the services that were provided by the colonial state was mainly for a minority. A clutch of
charities and missionary groups provided support to the majority rural population such as material support for education, health or other social services (Manji & O’Coill, 2002, p.568). In exchange they evangelised amongst the black population, promoting their own vision of civilization (Manji & O’Coill, 2002, p.568). This voluntary welfare was adapted for the purposes of social control in that the programs offered was not aimed at addressing the real roots poverty within these communities but rather focused on the failings of Africans (Manji & O’Coill, 2002, p.570). This is not to say that Africans did not resist the social control imposed upon them but these welfare programs were effective ideological tools aimed at quelling uprisings. NgugiwaThiong’o explains the starkness of this, succinctly in the following way:

Colonialism imposed its control of the social production of wealth through military conquest and subsequent political dictatorship. But its most important area of domination was the mental universe of the colonised, the control, through culture, of how people perceived themselves and their relationship to the world. Economic and political control can never be complete or effective without mental control. To control a people’s culture is to control their tools of self-definition in relationship to others.

(waThiong’o, 1986, p.16)

The second period identified by Manji and O’Coill is the post-independence period. Charitable organizations found themselves in crisis because the anti-colonial movements of the day found their legitimacy and credibility from their aim to end social injustice which the former organisations failed to address (Manji & O’Coill, 2002, p.570). Yet, despite the involvement of missionary societies and voluntary organizations in the suppression of nationalist struggles in Africa during colonization, these organizations were able to survive and even prosper after
independence. As the new discourse on ‘development’ emerged globally, it created a way out for the missionary charities to gain legitimacy (Manji & O’Coill, 2002, p.570). They reinvented themselves in two ways. Firstly, they rejected their racist ideological past and replaced it with that of ‘development’ and secondly, replacing their staff with educated indigenous persons (Manji & O’Coill, 2002, p.570). Through applied pressure of the various liberation movements, they, therefore, transformed themselves from colonial agents to indigenous NGOs. The second type of voluntary organizations came into prominence during the ‘development’ discourse period namely war charities. War charities (like Oxfam, Save the Children and Plan International) were created to deal with the humanitarian crises created in the aftermath of World War 2 in Europe. However, as the implementation of the Marshall plan came into effect in 1948, the need for war charities declined. They were therefore faced with two options. They could either wind down operations or expand their work across other continents. The ‘development’ discourse was, therefore, appealing to war charities as it did not have the ideological baggage which their colonial counterparts had (Manji & O’Coill, 2002, p.570). They were persuaded by the idea that the development agenda was nobler than the provision of humanitarian relief alone since it was believed that the former addressed the long-term causes of poverty whereas the later only dealt with the symptoms (Manji & O’Coill, 2002, p.570).

After decolonization, the new African rulers were not as forthcoming to extend the benefits of political office to everyone and liberation movements that brought these rulers to power were now seen as an obstacle to progress (Julie, 2008, np). These groups were marginalised under the premise of national planning and replaced by experts who agreed with centralized decision making. Whereas the discourse prior to liberation focused on freedom and the withholding of rights they were now replaced with the discourse of ‘poverty’ and ‘basic (Julie, 2008, np). Manji and O’Coill citing Crush highlights this marginalization of non-Western peoples, “development is
fundamentally about mapping and making, about the spatial reach of power and the control and management of other peoples, territories, environments and places" (Manji & O’Coill, 2002, p.573).

In both cases above we can see how these NGOs adapted to the changing political climate not only for survival but also for efficacy achieving their organizational goals. These historic examples of adaptation of organisations within a complex system lend itself to the premise of reliance theory (outlined earlier). It may also outline how political change and transition on the continent specifically has indeed shaped how NGOs function and determine drivers and constraints.

The 1970s saw major political and economic upheaval. The world economy experienced a recession and an oil crisis while the ‘third wave’ of democratization swept across the globe. Developing countries were offered loans to finance ‘development’ but this was short lived as the cost of borrowing increased astronomically in the 1980s as a result of an American monetary policy that drove up interest around the world (Manji & O’Coill, 2002, p.575). This was the backdrop to the emergence of globalization and neo-liberalism which was fueled by technological innovations which provided momentum for a new form of economic and political control (Manji & O’Coill, 2002, p.575).

According to Manji and O’Coill (2002 p.577) the outcome of this process was,“…the ‘good governance’ agenda of the 1990’s and the decision to co-opt the NGOs and other civil society organisations to a repackaged program of welfare provision, a social initiative that could be more accurately described as a program of social control. It is important to note that many NGOs unwittingly allowed themselves to be agents to this agenda under the guise of ‘good governance’. The pre-condition for NGOs’ co-option to this neo-liberal cause was merely a
“coincidence in ideologies rather than a deliberate plan.” (Manji & O’Coill, 2002, p.577). The neo-liberal agenda in Africa saw to further their aims through the unwitting consent of NGOs and in doing so allowed them the same role as their missionary counterparts with starker effects (Manji and O’Coill, 2002, p.577).

The three periods described above shows the evolution of state-civil society relations on the continent and the drivers behind its role formation. A key thing to note here is the evolution of CSOs in response to both the market as well as the political climate. Also, the important role which legitimacy plays in the longevity of those associational groups were highlighted.

In as much as global trends and continental contexts regarding civil society may apply to South Africa, CSOs have been also been shaped by a very specific national context. On the one hand, it was shaped by apartheid and on the other hand, it has had to navigate the uncertain waters of the transition to democracy. In the next sections, the context both pre and post-1994 within South Africa will be explained so that a relevant backdrop can be outlined before applying the theoretical framework discussed earlier.

4.3 Civil Society in South Africa pre-1994

The pre-1994 South African landscape was primarily shaped by an interventionist apartheid state which determined the extent of interactions between the market economy and civil society to benefit the minority population. Understandably, this political configuration created a dichotomy of two civil societies.

On the one hand, there were racially exclusive civil society groups which were involved in service delivery (health, social services and education) and enjoyed a stable interdependence with the state (Swilling & Russell, 2002, p.4). Those emerging from poor and disenfranchised
communities were a survivalist in nature but openly in opposition to the state specifically during the 1920s, mid-1940s, 1950s, mid-1970s, 1980s and 1990s (Swilling & Russell, 2002, p.4). Since the majority of CSOs were anti-apartheid in nature, the repressive minority government’s interactions between these CSOs were primarily confrontational. In the instances where community CSOs were allowed to exist it was because of a disinterested government which used it to justify that black social services was not the responsibility of the white state (Swilling & Russell, 2002, p.4).

South Africa enjoyed great economic growth in the 1960s, however, in 1978 the country experienced a deepening recession that resulted in its worst economic crisis. This coincided with the re-emergence of the anti-apartheid civil society. Two events are linked to its re-emergence and bolstered growth. Firstly, the PW Botha regime liberalized the political system in the 1980s by reforming some aspects of Grand Apartheid. Grand Apartheid refers to a form of apartheid, which involved total racial segregation and methods such as removing black people from white areas, and the forming of black homelands. This included the attempted co-option of certain disenfranchised communities, and permitting limited civic activity within the representation of the black population (Louw, 2004, p.131; Habib, 2003, p.86). This allowed a political space for anti-apartheid civil society to grow. The second event fostering the emergence of anti-apartheid civil society was the availability of resources. The first kind of resource which increased was that of human resources. South Africans who experienced the various political uprisings in 1980, 1985 and 1989 as well as NGOs, mobilised against the apartheid state with some NGOs acting as front organisations for banned political parties (Julie, 2008, np). Political prisoners who were released during the 1980s and students not only congregated to organize the community and political activities but also established non-profit organisations to support these liberation struggles (Hearn, 1998). Many NGO leaders had an activist background with affiliation to a
certain political leanings (Julie, 2008, np). In terms of support, NGOs enjoyed a healthy supply of external resources with very little or no concern for accountability from donors (Julie, 2008, np).

It is within this climate of vulnerability that the civil society sector has grown. Graham et al citing Heinrich reiterate this, stating that “civil society has always been in existence, but that the current climate of political, social and economic insecurity has facilitated the proliferation of civil society organisations across the globe”. Graham further emphasizes a further point on the importance of CSO identity by citing Castells which says “where cultural identity is threatened, fundamentalist organisations are likely to see a growth as people look to them as a space in which to express identity. This has certainly been the case over the last decade in particular and explains some of the shifts experienced by civil society organisations globally” (Graham et al, 2008, p.13).

Given the above historical backdrop, the pre-1994 CSO sector may be characterised in the following three ways. Firstly, it primarily had adversarial relations with the state which emerged out of the specific political and economic climate of the day. Secondly, stemming from the political and economic climate, South African CSOs had a clear identity and narrow focus in terms of its goals (mostly anti-apartheid in nature) which made them effective. Finally, the sector was well funded by international donors which did not require much accountability given that these organisations were monitored by the repressive apartheid government.

4.4. Civil Society in South Africa post-1994

Prior to the 1994 elections, it can be argued that South African CSOs was considered to be robust and autonomous in relation to the state. This persona was rightly deserved as South African CSOs played a pivotal role during apartheid in fighting against the apartheid government. Given its social and political positioning, it was believed that CSOs would continue to play an
important in the new democratic dispensation of 1994. The newly elected government pledged itself to the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP), which created a central role for NPOs in all spheres of development, however, this role was shaped alongside a strong role for the state, which was often articulated in neo-Keynesian terms (Swilling & Russel, 2002, p.4). This was in contrast to the autonomous and adversarial role conception which CSOs were identified by pre-1994.

Later in 1996, the RDP was replaced with the ANC’s macroeconomic strategy, the Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR). While GEAR was well conceived as a policy strategy there was very little civil society participation (Ranchod, 2007, p.7). GEAR was a clear message from the government that outlined what it wanted from the third sector without them playing a role in that decision. According to Dr Skweyiya, the Minister of Social Development until May 2009, the government envisages NPOs playing two roles. The first is a central role in poverty alleviation (Swilling & Russell, 2002, p.4). Dr Skweyiya said:

“The basic twin expectations of government are that NGOs will firstly, continue to act as monitors of the public good and safeguard the interests of the disadvantaged sections of society. This performance of social watch role requires both transparency and accountability on the part of NGOs. The government’s second expectation is that NGOs will assist in expanding access to social and economic services that create jobs and eradicate poverty among the poorest of the poor. This requires cost effective and sustainable service delivery”

(Swilling and Russell 2002, p.4).
Given its role formation which was shaped during the apartheid years, many CSOs have struggled to fulfill these two roles of watchdog and partner because their funding is dependent on government, or they believe their ability to critique government may be limited (Graham et al, 2008, p.18).

The dominance of the ANC-led state post-transition was rooted within the liberal citizenship project which largely institutionalized the relationship between the government and its subjects in a hierarchical way leaving which emphasized ‘leadership and representation over the spontaneous actions of the masses’. Steyn continues to explain that evolution of civil society in post-1994 South Africa be outlined by three key political outcomes: cooption, bureaucratization, and insurgency. Above and beyond the wide scale legitimacy which the anti-apartheid CSOs held, they also had a wealth of expertise and strong leadership. So much so that senior civil society leaders were co-opted into the political and bureaucratic institutions of the state and well as business (Steyn, nd, p.5). This brain drain is often quoted as one of the prevailing reasons why the CSO sector become vulnerable and lacked organizational development during that period.

Next, the ANC-led government institutionalized state-civil society relations in a ‘highly bureaucratic fashion’. This involved selective participation and exclusion in invited spaces of engagement with the state with was filled by civil society actors who were believed to be close to the ruling party (COSATU, SANCO, NGO’s, CBOs) while marginalizing grassroots participation which lacked the necessary institutional language to successfully navigate these invited spaces (Steyn, nd, p.7). Bureaucratization was not only limited to the invited spaces but also encroached on the legal and organizational framework in which CSOs operated. For instance, whereas CSOs operated with much autonomy during apartheid in terms of financial management, the new
transitional government required much more stringent governance compliance under the NPO act of 1997. These legal requirements, although being a necessary framework for accountability, had a detrimental effect on CSOs who did not have the institutional expertise to be compliant. The outcome was that many CSOs shut down or could not access donor funding due to not meeting the administrative requirements to operate as a CSO within the new South Africa\(^6\).

As a result of this institutional quagmire created by bureaucratizing invited spaces, it gave rise to various new insurgency movements (such as the Treatment Action Campaign; Concerned Citizens Forum; Anti-Privatization Forum; Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee etc.) since the late 1990s which were aimed to ensure the constitutional rights of poor and marginalized communities and respond to the political and economic exclusion (Steyn, nd, p.7). Although these insurgency movements are often viewed as being illegal it highlights the ways two things. One it highlights the limitations of invited spaces and it shows how grassroots movements may indeed navigate agency outside formalized channels of engagement. It may be argued that the success of the insurgency groups described above may be attributed to its autonomy from the state, its multiple role formations (adversarial, partner and educator – see chapter 3) and clearly defined narrow focus in terms its organizational goals.

4.5. Youth for Christ

4.5.1. Background to Youth for Christ International

Youth for Christ International is a worldwide Christian faith-based movement working with young people around the world with the aim of spreading their faith through evangelism. The emergence of YFC international started with Protestant evangelists who started ministering to the youth of America as well as younger members of the US armed forces during the 1930s

\(^6\) Interview with Tanya Mitrovic
through youth rallies. Lloyd Bryant was arguably the first rally director and organised weekly rallies in Manhattan. In 1937, Theodore Elsner and Evon Hedley began a youth fellowship called Brantford’s Youth for Christ. A year later Oscar Gillian initiated the “voice of Christian Youth” in Detroit. These unaffiliated outreaches became collectively known as “Youth for Christ” campaigns and was largely influenced by Jack Wyrtzen who was an ex-insurance salesman and trombone player. In 1944 Torrey Johnson, pastor of the Midwest Baptist church hosted the Chicagoland Youth for Christ rally. The opening rally was held at the Orchestra Hall and Billy Graham was speaking to over 2000 people. The rally was held for a continued 21 weeks with an average audience of 2500 each week. It was as a result of the success of these rallies that inquiries arose to start YFC in Miami, Atlanta, Augusta, Columbus, Toledo, LaCrosse, Milwaukee, Kenosha, Racine, Rockford, Belvidere, Chicago, Heights, Gary, Sunnyside, WA, Los Angeles and Bermuda (Deyo, 2015, p.2). In August of 1945, the founding YFCI convention was held with 42 delegates to establish a constitution and elect Torrey Johnson as president and developed the slogan ‘Geared to the Times, Anchored to the Rock’ (Deyo, 2015, p.3). The premise of this slogan is significant in the sense that it has directed the operations of YFCI. It speaks to how the organisation needs to be sensitive to environmental and market changes without losing focus on the founding principles and ideals.

In March of 1946, a team went to Europe and exposed the rest of the world to “Youth for Christ”. As a result of this fledgling trip that prompted various missionaries to start YFC chapters across the globe. For example, chapters were started in China (until the communist revolution in 1949), France and Holland in 1946, India and South Africa in 1947 and the spread were so prolific that by 1959 YFC had a presence in approximately 75 countries (Deyo, 2015, p.5).

The history of YFC reflected adaptation to the social and historical shifts in terms of achieving its organizational goals while still remaining true to the core values and principles. When viewed longitudinally, one can identify a clear shift in approaches to achieve organizational goals. These
shifts occur roughly every generation and reflect a response to the social needs of the day. During the mid-1940s and 1950s, it responded to disillusioned middle-class American youth seeking to find meaning to live after the fallout of WW2. During the 1950s, YFC sought more substance in their once off contact through rallies by including Bible Quizzes as well as reaching out to disadvantaged youth as well. The 1960s, in turn, were marked by expanding the organization internationally with various chapters being established abroad as well as responding to the civil rights movements at home through the hiring of its first black staff member. In the 1970s owing to financial strain, YFC USA starts to charge a service fee for all chapters (nationally) in an attempt to remain sustainable. During the 1980s a YFCI adopted a program ‘strategic shifts’ aimed at making ministry models more efficient and effective with a focus on “...unreached youth, mobilizing the church and developing ministry models” (Deyo, 2015, p.17. The 2000s saw YFCI seek introspection of the organization as a whole and the body shifted its focus to be delivered through youth leaders and maintain a close link to its motto, ‘Geared to the Times, Anchored to the Rock’.

Figure 3: YFC International Regions

The sweeping historical and political backdrop outlined above demonstrated some parallels with the development of CSOs on the continent as well as within South Africa. It was aimed at
earmarking the factors affecting the current CSO environment as well as the state-civil society relations. Do the political and social environmental factors persist in shaping the identity and function of CSOs? What lessons can be learned from the pre and post 1994 era? In the findings section, these questions will be answered in an attempt to show what resilience may look like within the given case study.
CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS

5.1. Introduction

In chapter three the two concepts of ‘civil society’ and ‘resilience’ was outlined. Firstly, civil society as a contested term was explained and then a typology was highlighted which would be applied to the case study. Secondly, resilience as a concept was defined chronicling the evolution of the term and its use across disciplines. The complex adaptive systems approach to understanding resilience was chosen given the nature of the context of this study as well as the various stakeholders. In addition to selecting a typology of framing the context of this study, the Cumming et al model of assessing resilience was outlined to illustrate what resilience may look like within the case study chosen.

Before applying the five-step conceptual model of assessing resilience developed by Cumming et al (outlined in chapter three) to the case study of YFC Cape Town, a thick description of the organization is necessary. Therefore, the format of this chapter will be as follow. A description of YFC South Africa and YFC Cape Town will be given which will include both internal and external stakeholders and outline the perceptions of resilience by the respondents interviewed.

Data collection for the scope of this case study was gathered using in-depth interviews. Interviews were conducted within the organization as well as general interviews with persons within the NGO sector. These included International volunteers and interns, staff members (existing and past members), members serving on the YFC Cape Town board, a development practitioner/NGO fundraiser, ICT development researcher and a Ward Councilor and Sub-council chair of a community of the Cape Flats.
The key findings from the interviews identified the following factors as being important to ensuring resilience. (1) Funding; (2) Technical skills/Compliance; (3) Adaptation in relation to core values and vision; (4) Innovation; (5) Accessing networks. In terms of leadership the findings revealed a leadership typology which changed in relation to environmental factors, Finally, the state-civil society typology reflected in the organization changed in relation to environmental factors as well as the objectives of the organization.

5.2. Youth for Christ South Africa

The South African Chapter of YFC was started in 1947 with its first centre opened in Cape Town. Like its American counterparts, it bore similarities in the sense that it emerged as a series of youth faith-based rallies in and later introduced youth camps as well. YFC South Africa had to contend with operating within the legal constraints of apartheid and as such the early construct of YFC South Africa (and Cape Town) operated in largely white areas.

It wasn’t until the middle, to the late 1970s that there was introspection done within the organization that it failed to reach the majority black South African population because they were being held back by the national laws of segregation. These legal restrictions also had a global implication and the international body would not financially support chapters that were segregated. In response to these constraints, YFC South Africa was quite innovative in finding loopholes to break down barriers and become more relevant and integrated, which reflect an important aspect of resilience theory. They did this in two ways. Firstly, they started to employ black staff by the mid-1970s. Secondly, they and started outreaches within black areas however these were still segregated because gatherings took place on government owned spaces and because of apartheid laws such as the group areas act, different races were not allowed to mix.

To address this limitation, YFC South Africa purchased properties by the late 1970s, amongst

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7 Interview with Theo Jansen, former YFC Cape Town centre director, current chairman of the board
8 Interview with Theo jansen
others, the Magaliesberg camping and conference centre which it still owns today. It was here that the (arguably) first integrated youth camps were held in South Africa\textsuperscript{9}. As the organization owned the property they could do with it what they wanted with less scrutiny than if they operated within government owned spaces. Here the organization adopted the state-civil society typology of “civil society apart from the state” as the action and activities were clearly designed to keep the state out to protect its interests.

The segregation within in YFC was not only limited to the youth it serviced but was also reflected in its governance structures. Persons of colour were not allowed to serve on governing bodies of centres nor the national board during the apartheid period. It was only after South Africa’s first democratic elections that governing boards had more black representation.\textsuperscript{10}

YFC South Africa has traditionally been overseen by a national Director, administrator and staff and a national board. Due to the global economic downturn as well as a funding crisis nationally, YFC does not currently have a fully-fledged national office (with staff and administrators) per se and has an Acting national Director. This configuration has been adopted in the interim to mitigate the funding shortfall. Directors serving on the board have since also adopted multiple roles in an attempt to cut costs.\textsuperscript{11} This is once again a demonstration of an aspect of resilience in terms of adaptation and innovation to maintain organizational function without changing identity. The Centre Directors report to a regional Director and he, in turn, reports directly to the national Director and the administrator ensures that the various centres are compliant both in terms of meeting national legal requirements as well as the constitution of YFC South Africa. The national board, in turn, is constituted by a cross-section of people from the community. It is usually people

\textsuperscript{9} Interview with Theo Jansen
\textsuperscript{10} Interview with Theo Jansen
\textsuperscript{11} Interview with Theo Jansen
high standing, the head of a church group, or persons with expertise in business and are wanting to make a difference\textsuperscript{12}. The benefit of having professionals serving on governing boards is two-fold. Firstly, the positions are largely voluntary in nature and secondly you gain the expertise of a professional from industry\textsuperscript{13}.

The national board serve as ‘checks and balances’ in terms of governance for the centres to ensure that it is in compliance with the guidelines of the national body but also in terms of disseminating information from the international body. Strategic planning is also a key component of the national board. Strategic shifts which are expressed in the international body are in turn carried out at a national level. Therefore, the various centres (see figure 2) may be likened to ‘franchises’ in relation to the national body, an extension of the brand. All funding proposals are managed through the national body to ensure that the proposals are compliant but also that there is no ‘double dipping’ in terms of multiple centres approaching existing donors. Like the trends elsewhere in YFCI, the centres pay a levy to be chartered members of the national YFC body. Although being chartered to the national body adds credibility to the various centres. The centers themselves are autonomous which poses a few challenges. Firstly, centres are restricted to a certain extent in terms of approaching large corporations for funding and secondly, should they encounter financial difficulty in running their centres they receive very little financial support from the national office yet are required to still be compliant to the regulatory framework. For instance, centres are required to be audited on an annual basis the cost of being independently audited amounts to roughly R14 000. This amount would obviously be a hard ask

\textsuperscript{12}Interview with Theo jansen

\textsuperscript{13}Interview with Tanya Mitrovic, Development Practitioner for the past 15 years and Director of the Mitrovic Development and Research Centre. “She is a governance and fundraising specialist. She is extensively involved in the development of NPOs through governance and management consulting and ongoing fundraising research which results in effective fundraising. During recent years she has successfully worked on substantial fundraising projects that helped a number of NPOs in South Africa. Tanya also serves on various Management Committees, Boards and Trusts of a number of organisations in the Western Cape.” (http://www.mdri.co.za/About.htm)
for a centre who is experiencing financial difficulties yet at the same time centres cannot be chartered unless they are compliant with this legal requirement.

Figure 4: YFC South Africa and Cape Town Centre

5.2.3. Youth for Christ Cape Town

Organisational objectives and function

The organizational objectives and values of YFC Cape Town have always been in sync with the national body being driven by the international motto of being “Anchored to the Rock, geared to the times”. At the same time, each centre operates autonomously from other centres as well as the national board in the sense of how it fulfills this mandate. For example, the ministry model or activities of the George centre will differ to that of the Knysna centre and so on and so forth. To provide a better context to the current model of YFC Cape Town, it will be useful to sketch a longitudinal narrative of the centre.
Traditionally the backbone of YFC Cape Town was rooted in volunteerism as was the case of most NGOs pre-1994. Also, like most faith-based NGOs from the 1950s to early 1970s they primarily serviced the white minority population. During this period, the objectives of the centre mirrored that of the international organization which included rallies and youth camps as a means of reaching out to youth\textsuperscript{14}. From the mid-1970s until the early 1990s there were gradual shifts both in the composition of the management of the centre as well as the areas it serviced as it realized that it needed to be more representative if it wanted to be relevant and effective within the South African context. In terms of its management structures the Cape Town centre board was 50% black as well as 50% female by the early 1990s\textsuperscript{15}.

**Funding environment of YFC Cape Town pre-1994**

The heyday of YFC Cape Town is often described as the early to mid-1990s flourished in terms of size and function having 30 full-time staff members at one stage and winning the Commonwealth Youth Development award\textsuperscript{16}. What was the reason for this flourishing during this period which was often reflected in other NGOS of the time as well? Habib and Kotzé provide an explanation note for this favourable international funding prior to 1994. They note that “CSOs tended to fall into at least two main categories, those that broadly supported the liberation movement and those that tacitly or actively supported the apartheid status quo.” (Habib and Kotzé, 2003, p.14). AS a result, South Africa was seen as a favorable funding destination during this time as CSOs/NGOs were largely perceived as being anti-apartheid in nature. In addition, due to the nature of the funding received, very little accountability or financial record keeping was required from donors. However, although this may have been the trend for most SA NGOs, YFC

\textsuperscript{14} See 5.2.1. for a background to YFCI
\textsuperscript{15} Interview with Theo Jansen
\textsuperscript{16} Interview with Theo Jansen
Cape Town, in fact, did not receive very little international funding and relied mostly on local sources\textsuperscript{17}. Its success can arguably then be described as being located within its strong links to communities (which it served) and networks (churches, businesses and stakeholders).

**Funding environment of YFC Cape Town post-1994**

Post-1994 democratic elections in South Africa had two significant implications for NGOs. Firstly, international donors reverted their funding directly to the newly democratically elected government for the purposes of reconstruction and development. Secondly, much of the strong leadership of the NGO sector was absorbed into government thus resulting in a loss of expertise within the sector (see Swilling and Russell, 2002; Julie, 2010; Kabane, 2013,). Now although YFC Cape Town was not primarily dependent on international funding the uncertainty of the times prompted the board to think innovatively about its funding model.

This was because post-1994 there was a shift in how funding was accessed and for which purpose. Less funding was received from international donors directly. Rather, most of the money were (as in today) channeled through Trusts and most of that money would, in turn, be channeled through government\textsuperscript{18}. As a result, of international donors channeling money through government, smaller NGOs who traditionally received funding in that way started to miss out because they now do not meet the necessary criteria.

The shift was that donors were less likely to provide funding for salaries and more likely to provide funding for projects through which they could clearly see ‘returns’ on their investments\textsuperscript{19}. Another contradiction in South Africa was the burgeoning of NGOs post-1994. The implication of this was that although there was funding (from the government) available, the funding pie was becoming smaller and everyone wanted a slice. A member of the YFC Cape Town board at that

\textsuperscript{17} Interview with Theo Jansen
\textsuperscript{18} Interview with Tanya Mitrovic
\textsuperscript{19} Interview with Tanya Mitrovic
time put it this way, “We realized as a centre that we should not be asking but rather that we should be earning”\textsuperscript{20}.

YFC Cape Town expanded its funding basket in two ways. Firstly, it started to send ministry teams overseas by the late 1990s to the United States of America (USA), United Kingdom (UK) and Germany both to fulfill its founding objectives but also to open a new source of income for the centre. These initial encounters with overseas then sparked the idea of establishing a second funding source namely the International Volunteers and Interns program (IVIs) in 2000. While overseas the centres observed the strong culture of volunteerism as well as the fact that young people abroad were interested in opportunities to work within communities in South Africa and more particularly Cape Town. The idea of IVIs focused on sourcing international volunteers to work at the various projects of YFC Cape Town. IVIs are charged an ‘internship fee’ which includes the cost of their accommodation, food and a day to day stipend. The model, therefore, was aimed at marrying the idea of volunteerism and income generation in lieu of the need to source alternate funding sources.

The IVI program was adopted in the 2000s for two reasons. Firstly, it became increasingly difficult to get local volunteers to work on the projects of YFC Cape Town. Many of the youth workers (given their expertise) were lost to the business sector as well being absorbed into the first democratically elected government. The IVIs, therefore, became the new workforce to fill the staffing gap within projects. Secondly, it became increasingly difficult to keep up with the operational costs of the centre. The IVI program, therefore, allowed any ‘profits’ to be used to cover overheads of the centre\textsuperscript{21}.

\textsuperscript{20}Interview with Theo Jansen
\textsuperscript{21}Interview with Theo jansesn
The other two major funding sources from the mid-2000s were from LOTTO (The National Lottery) as well as PEPFAR (Presidents Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief) which was actually fronted by the Centers for Diseases and Prevention (CDC) Atlanta / United States Agency for International Development (USAID). LOTTO funding was received indirectly with the YFC National office submitting the proposals and when it was successful, the lump sum would be distributed among the various centre as well as the national office which would receive a portion. There were three reasons for submitting proposals via the YFC National office. Firstly, it was done so that proposals would be compliant and not contravene any values of the broader body. Secondly, it was done so that there would not be double dipping of (larger) donors as the local centres fall under the umbrella of the national body and this might be frowned upon by those donors. Finally, national office would ensure that the funds received would be distributed equitably across all the centres. Equity was primarily based on the size (staff and projects) of the centres as well as the ability of the centre to provide the services required of them by LOTTO. PEPFAR funding worked in similar fashion as LOTTO in the sense that National office made the formal application and the various centres did the work. However whereas LOTTO funding was given up front before the services were provided, PEPFAR would backdate payment once the services were complete and if the necessary reports and criteria were met.

In addition to the three major funding sources, YFC Cape Town received some minor funding from churches and donors. This included funding from churches which YFC Cape Town visited and from international and local donors. Throughout the late nineties as well as 2000s YFC Cape Town has consciously tried to diversify its funding models in relation to the respective market factors.

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22 Interview with Emelio Gassibe
23 Interview with Claudine Gassibe
24 Interview with Claudine Gassibe
Description of current staff compliment and function

The 2008 global economic downturn had a significant impact on South African NGOs, none more so than within YFC Cape Town. It was required to downscale its operations given its financial constraints and changes in the sources of funding. Some of the changes in funding were as a result of PEPFAR first reducing its funding and then later withdrawing its work in South Africa by 2010. This meant a loss of a consistent source of funding for the centre. Another change during this time was the reduction in volunteers from abroad serving in the IVI program. As the world reeled at the fallout of the economic crisis, fewer volunteers were able to raise funds to come to South Africa despite the favourable exchange rate. In response to the global and national economic challenges, the centre reviewed the amount of projects it was undertaking and streamlined it to make it more efficient and effective. This included, therefore, a downscaling in office space and reduction in projects and engaging with more international stakeholders for the purposes of IVI recruitment. Another implication of the economic downturn was a drastic reduction in staff. Just prior to 2008, the staff amounted to 10 full-time local members. Since 2008, there has been a reduction in staff with them either leaving for more stable employment elsewhere or as a result of being retrenched.

In terms of staff compliment YFC Cape Town today, it currently has 3 staff members which include the Centre Director, Options project Director and the Administrator. The Centre Director which manages the strategic level of the centre and engages with the national office and initiates proposals and fundraisers. The administrator manages the operational needs of the centre and ensures that the international volunteers and interns (IVIs) are taken care of at the various

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25 Interview with Emelio Gassibe (YFC moved its headquarters from an office suite in Montague Gardens to a small residential office. Given that volunteers were mostly at projects during the week the use of the large office space was not a necessity and it was draining significant resources from the centre) Prior to 2008 the rental of the office space given as a donation as the landlord was affiliated to the previous Centre Director.

26 Interview with Emelio Gassibe.

27 Interview with Claudine Gassibe, Administrator of YFC Cape Town from 2008 until 2014.
projects\textsuperscript{28}. Finally, the Options project is managed by a project Director who operates autonomously yet falls under the governance umbrella of YFC Cape Town. Options started as a ministry for crisis teen pregnancies creating awareness for young people as to the alternatives to abortion. It works primarily at Karl Bremmer hospital and offers counselling and support for at-risk teens and young people\textsuperscript{29}. As a result of constantly responding to the small changes within its environment, Options has expanded its function to providing counselling for crisis pregnancies, support for mothers with premature babies (Kangaroo moms) both during and after pregnancies. The Options project also has a local volunteer who was previously a staff member of YFC Cape Town.

**NGO-State Relations**

In terms of its relations with the state, YFC Cape Town mirrored the same situation as the rest of the third sector (see chapter 4). The nature of the relationship with the state is dynamic in the sense that it shifts from one typology\textsuperscript{30} to the next and may reflect a hybrid of types depending on the socio-economic and political climate. Within the confines of this study, we will outline the way government officials perceive the role of NGOs in post-1994 South Africa and also the expectations of NGOs with regard to the state.

As a result, of the context of the liberation struggle and transition to democracy, the post-1994 government saw NGOs as ‘partners’ to the fledgling democracy. They saw NGOs playing a significant role in fulfilling the mandate of redressing the imbalances of the apartheid past and also because NGOs had a unique insight into the needs of the communities in which it operated. Service orientated NGOs (like YFC Cape Town) operate primarily at the local government level

\textsuperscript{28} Interview with Craig Mutheray, Administrator of YFC Cape Town
\textsuperscript{29} Interview with Rosa Scheepers, Project Director of Options
\textsuperscript{30} See Theoretical chapter 3 for typologies
within communities and that is why it instructive to explore the perceptions of government officials (such as the City of Cape Town officials) at that level.

Local government is largely driven by the city's directive and which falls within six sectors namely, (1) Youth development; (2) Food and poverty alleviation; (3) Vulnerable groups (elderly, and persons with disabilities etc.); (4) Skills development; (5) Early Childhood Development; and (6) Substance abuse. NGOs can engage with government at the local level primarily in one of two ways. Firstly, they can approach the ward councilor that oversees the ward in which the NGO operates. Generally, NGOs will engage with ward councilors for the purposes of funding and resources and not necessarily for the purposes of influencing policy. The ward committee will consider funding projects of NGOs operating within its ward provided that it falls within its designated business plan. The grant in aid funding at ward committee level amounts to no more than R25 000. The second avenue which NGOs can exploit is the responsible line departments which feed into the city's identified sectors listed earlier. Line departments usually have a bigger budget which can amount to R70 000 per tender. NGOs can access this funding provided that they meet the rigorous application and tender criteria. Firstly, all applicants need to register on the City's vendor database. Once registered the NGO will receive communication as to the call for proposals for the respective tenders. Understandably successful candidates are those whose business plans are able to speak to the specific directive of the city, ward councilor or line department and are legally compliant. Once the application for funding is made, the Sub-council will do a screening of the various applicants and ensure legal compliance as well as the suitability of the NGO. The sub-council will then make a recommendation then to the full council

31 Interview with Eddie Andrews, Ward councillor of Ward 12 and Sub-council Chair of Sub-Council 12 in Mitchell's Plain
32 Interview with Eddie Andrews
33 Interview with Eddie Andrews
34 Interview with Tayna Mitrovic
(City of Cape Town) to approve awarding the tender to the chosen NGO. The final decision of approving a tender lies with the sitting of the full council.

In as much as Line Departments and Ward, Committees endorse funding they fall under the directive of Provincial Government which in turn get its directive from National Government. As such these departments are required to meet certain targets (social goals etc.) and once they are met, NGOs may not receive repeat funding for that project type. “So even though you have a good relationship with government departments if it is not in their instruction to help you they can’t”\(^{35}\). Eddie Andrews also notes that even though an NGO provides an acceptable level of service for the city, the likelihood of receiving repeat funding is highly unlikely. The two reasons for this phenomenon is that the city would like to see an even distribution of projects to worthy organisations and secondly that once the service is provided for a given year, the same service may not be needed in the next cycle\(^{36}\). By implication then, NGOs cannot rely on government funding as its primary source of income, since projects are awarded in an uncertain way.

Some state officials view their relationships with NGOS as mixed, largely adversarial but would like to see NGOs positioned as partners rather than adversaries\(^{37}\). The one glaring complaint against NGOs is that they do not understand processes around accessing funding. For example, Eddie Andrews explains, “The biggest problem is for them to understand the process and how they can influence the process. Sub-council 12 last quarter had an enterprise workshop where small businesses were invited to attend and see what opportunities are available out there and we had all the various service providers there and how to access finance and what we saw at that meeting or workshop was a bulk of the invitees were from the NPO sector uhm so what we have learnt now is that there isn’t the necessary administrative acumen to sustain their

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\(^{35}\) Interview with Tanya Mitrovic

\(^{36}\) Interview with Eddie Andrews

\(^{37}\) Interview with Eddie Andrews
programs” 38 in as much as the government officials see NGOs as lacking administrative capacity it is useful to also note that they see NGOs as being important partner in fulfilling their directive within communities.

“…uhm so the relationship is first to get a clearer understanding of who the NPO the sector is and what does their business plan look like and proposals etc. and then also, come alongside them… it is well documented that the solution, the sustainable the solution is a partnership between the various spheres of government, the NPO The sector, businesses and affected stakeholders. So if we have that kind of partnership and NPOs are critical to that partnership because they are the arms and the feet on the ground uhm so you want to come alongside them and work more closely with the relevant officers to make sure that they are compliant and that they are very much aware what resources they can access and I have observed administratively one organization in sub-council who is considered for a grant in aid funding but administratively they are battling to comply uhm because of not having the necessary administrative skills to submit an application39”.

Tanya Mitrovic, development practitioner at the Mitrovic Research and Development Institute (MDRI) agrees that the government sees its relationship with NGOs as being collaborative. She points out that government acknowledges that they cannot meet all their deliverable so they are contracting in NGOs to deliver services40. By implication, this means that NGOs cannot reply on government tenders as a stable funding source as the work is short term. Thus, this would adversely affect the resilience of organisations. For her, the greatest tension between government officials and NGOs is communication which then creates the perception of an

38 Interview with Eddie Andrews
39 Interview with Eddie Andrews
40 Interview with Tanya Motrovic
adversarial relationship with the state. In her own experience she notes, “…but there are also a lot of communication problems between NGOs and government departments. When it is funding time you can always get hold of them because they are looking for things from you but communication seems to fall away after that. I’ve been at the Department of Social Development in Cape Town the phone is put on silent and you can see the light is flashing and they are just sitting there having tea. When you have queries regarding contracts or grant agreements like the Transfer Payment Agreement (TPA) which outlines the guidelines of the contract, as soon as the TPA is signed all communication ceases\textsuperscript{41}. This lack of communication in terms of follow-up communication can be especially difficult for NGOS given that they may have queries regarding their projects as in the NGO world your project can change overnight due to environmental factors and an amendment to the agreement may be required. This could negatively affect funding for the project due to lack of compliance and also impact future funding due to a loss of brand confidence which relates to resilience.

Another communication challenge is the dissemination of advertised tenders aimed at NGOs. Advertisements are usually placed in local papers as well as public spaces such as municipal offices as well as libraries etc. These methods of communication do not seem to be effective and is attributed to NGOs not proactively engaging these types of media\textsuperscript{42}. On the other hand, a workshop for prospective tenders is held annually by the Department of Social Development in which potential vendors are exposed to the various ways in which they can apply for funding and to complete TPAs etc. Although this type of initiatives is helpful and well attended, Tanya Mitrovic notes that these sessions feel rushed and it is difficult to get hold of officials afterwards for clarification and consultation\textsuperscript{43}. She feels that for these sessions to be more effective it would be

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\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{41} Interview with Tanya Mitrovic
\item \textsuperscript{42} Interview with Eddie Andrews
\item \textsuperscript{43} Interview with Tanya Mitrovic
\end{itemize}
useful to have one on one sessions as there is an information overload during this workshop because of the timeframes involved.

Eddie Andrews acknowledges that there are complaints against the Department of Social Development and they are largely related to the access of funding. “Any sphere of government cannot just give funding because there is a certain criterion which needs to be adhered to and sometimes these orgs are not compliant and then we can’t give funding because the Municipal Financial Management Act (MFMA) prescribes how we should give funding and when you try to explain to these organisations about the Acts and the legislative processes we have to subject ourselves to. They don’t necessarily understand it to a certain extent and they would say we don’t care about that and I think that is the biggest concern that I have.” So both in the instance of the perception of roles as well as the tension between government and NGOs we can see that compliance and legal savvy is an integral component of the nature of the relationship between the two spheres.

This perception from government officials that NGOs lack administrative and technical acumen is echoed by Tanya Mitrovic, a development practitioner for more than 10 years and Director of the Mitrovic Development and Research Institute. She provides a few reasons as to why NGOs bemoan the processes of compliance as well as the government holding the purse strings of major funding opportunities. Firstly, compliance can be a costly affair, especially for smaller NGOs. For smaller NGOs to compete for the more lucrative funding they are required to provide two consecutive years of audited financials by an independent auditor. By implication then, since smaller NGOs will not have audited financials for the first two years, they ultimately fund their projects by themselves to a large extent starting out. It is during these two years that many

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44 Interview with Eddie Andrews
45 Interview with Tanya Mitrovic
NGOs either sink or swim. Even if they survive the first two years having their financials independently audited is still a burden especially for smaller NGOs. Secondly, there is conditionality attached to receiving funding. As stated earlier many international donors do not give funding directly to NGOs but will use government to distribute based on set criteria usually in line with the Millennium Development Goals (MDG). The other way in which international donors provide funding is through setting up Trusts and offices within the country and distribute it accordingly. For example, the Douglas George (DG) Murray Trust which is a UK based organisation has satellite offices in Cape Town which will distribute funding to NGOs who meet the necessary requirements. The reason for this is that international donors are more cautious about funding projects abroad. They, therefore, will have satellite offices to keep tabs on the recipients of funding and also to see that their objectives are met. In as much as the funding is philanthropic, these organisations (local as well as international) have their own agenda which means NGOs will only get funding if they match the agenda or outcomes of the donor. On the home front, organisations will be seeking BEE score points even though the project being undertaken may be worthwhile.

Emelio Gassibe the former Director of YFC Cape Town says that the relationship ranges from being both collaborative and adversarial to being non-existent at times. The involvement that NGOs require are most times not financial and the sector understands the financial constraints of For them, the government sees NGOs as vendors for services they require to be delivered to communities. “They are pretty much the person that will dictate because they have the money and the resources and it would be similar to that funder that would put criteria on you and You treat government like a funder, like any other funder in a sense…because you don’t get …its never easy the moment you go to the government in a meeting or take with a proposal to them it

46 Interview with Tanya Mitrovic
is always aaah, you always drag your feet because it is never, it's never clean cut, it's never straight forward. You try your best to submit the proposal to all the necessary things that they want from you but there are never guarantees. You never feel that you are going to get it. I can count on my fingers the times that they have actually got involved and at times its not even that you want the money to cause what I do know is that they never give money easily but if you go in and ask for resources as in yesterday I had a meeting with a department and I said just for a camp we are taking 65 youth to uplift them and there is one thing we definitely need that I can give you an official proposal but in the meeting I'm telling you now we need transport assistance you know which I feel that should possibly be something that government should assist with seeing that are in development and then he said that is not going to happen…its just a lot of procedures. So it's always on their terms and it is never easy, it's never clean cut, it's never straight forward. When they need you will just have to fall in line with their criteria and be a service provider for them essentially. So my experience is that it is never a partnership it is always..you become a service provider to them.

Other staff members have the same experience when dealing with government officials and explain that there is sometimes a perception created by the unequal and unfair application of legal processes. For instance, in 2012 TFC Cape Town was forced to cease its school projects because of government restrictions. “We were working in schools and those projects did close down but that was due to the government not wanting us to work in schools anymore. We thought we were working together with them and making it easier for them but then in other schools I remember the actual reason why they kicked us out was because this one particular school in Cape Town. There was about I think twenty, more than twenty NGOs in one school and that was the reason..and that was one of the reasons that this head of the Education Cape Town lady felt that the fact that there is twenty NGOs in that school … and that school was the lowest

47 Interview with Emelio Gassibe
schools that the percentage of the pass rate, especially in maths and literacy was like 5 or 10%. so it was very low and she felt what was the use, what was the point of having those NGOs there. But in our case, we were only we were at a school and we were working with the life orientation teacher felt that we really made an impact but obviously it came from the top and everybody was sort of asked to leave whether you made an impact or not. Another experience suggest that there are examples of clientelism between NGOs and government officials in certain areas.

"If you don’t adhere to their.. what they want and they look at certain areas and working it that area I think it is very much political as well when it comes to because what we did in Belhar was I really think it was impacting the kids that side but I don’t necessarily think that it would help in Langa or whatever but think what it is if you don’t fit in their framework of things then you get into trouble. I think that it is political because of the nature of our If you go to.. not that you want to class it or anything but if you go to a black community I just heard the other day there is still NGOs working in those schools and then I ask myself but why is it that why is it good for the one group but not good for the other group? And here I felt that we made an impact so I’m not sure if political is the right word to say but it kinda made me feel like maybe they are in with.. in fact the specific area I am speaking about and thinking about is that the ward councilor is very involved in. So it is almost like if you are involved with the ward councilor and you have a connection or whatever then you are fine..that type of thing.

The Options project Director, Rosa Scheepers also explains that she has little to no contact with government officials within her ministry at hospitals. This is because the project is a primarily anti-abortion which is in contradiction to the government hospitals directive. The reason why they are still allowed to operate at the hospital is that they offer counselling to mothers irrespective if

\[48\] Interview with Claudine Gassibe
\[49\] Interview with a former staff member who wished to be anonymous
they choose to abort or not\textsuperscript{50}. Given the context of her work at hospitals, she explains that their presence was initially treated circumspectly given the clash of ideologies. They have developed a good working relationship with the hospital, especially the nurses working in the abortion clinic\textsuperscript{51}. So even though she has had very little contact with government officials at a managerial level she does acknowledge that they have managed to win over the stakeholders at the hospital as they can see the value of the service which is being provided.

As can be seen, by all the respondents the nature of State-NGO relations enjoys a tension between adversarial and collaborative the implications of this will be further discussed in the analysis chapter.

5.2.4. Factors of Resilience

In this section perceptions about resilience will firstly be discussed from a broad perspective from respondents outside of the organization and then from within. The rationale behind following this strategy will be to triangulate the findings of the case study within the broader framework of the general experiences within the NGO sector.

Skills influencing resilience

From a government point of view, the biggest factor influencing resilience and to remain sustainable within NGOs is having a strong administrative acumen. Strong administrative acumen includes not only having a good command of ICT skills but also being able to effectively access the legal framework of the NGO sector. By having a strong administrative acumen, NGOs are able to navigate the bureaucratic processes of the legal framework and place themselves in a better position in relationship to the state\textsuperscript{52}. By having a greater administrative

\textsuperscript{50} Interview with Rosa Scheepers
\textsuperscript{51} Interview with Rosa Scheepers
\textsuperscript{52} Interview with Eddie Andrews
skill set, NGOs are then able to shift the nature of their relationship with the state from adversarial to that of partnership. For example, by having a closer working relationship with the officials NGOs are able to read the heartbeat of the ward committee and increase their prospects for funding. Another benefit of working closer with government officials is narrowing the communication and information gap on processes which is often not easily available\textsuperscript{53}. This sentiment of needed a strong governance and administrative acumen is reinforced by Tanya Mitrovic, who suggests that the biggest challenge to resilience is compliance and access to funding\textsuperscript{54}. One way of ensuring transparency is having a good management team. \textit{“They need to make sure that they have a board which is giving them solid governance and then obviously, management is just under that.. a lot of NGOs, unfortunately, have got boards that are not as active so it's actually management that is doing everything and the board meets occasionally to discuss what they are doing but if you are going to have an active board then it keeps management on their toes because they keep everything in check”}\textsuperscript{55}.

The second most important aspect of resilience is funding. If there isn’t a steady source of income them you can’t pay staff and, in turn, cannot fulfill the objectives of the organization. At the same time though remaining true to the core values are important to secure funding. Tanya Mitrovic explains, "An NGO who changes its core objectives is often viewed in a bad light by donors because they are thinking ok you are now bending over backwards to fit into my category of funding which means next year you are going on another tangent. Those who stay true to their original / core objectives and vision will be more resilient NGOs\textsuperscript{56}.”

Another skill set which is often not explicitly articulated in NGO literature regarding resilience is the use of technology. Technology has become an increasingly more important factor in resilience within the NGO sector. Dr. Zoran Mitrovic, Director of the MRDI has written extensively

\textsuperscript{53} Interview with Eddie Andrews
\textsuperscript{54} Interview with Tanya Mitrovic
\textsuperscript{55} Interview with Tanya Mitrovic
\textsuperscript{56} Interview with Tanya Mitrovic
on the ICT policy within the government and public sectors in South Africa says: “You cannot talk about NGO success without talking about technology. Transparency and compliance by implication will be highly dependent on technology. Some NGOs sitting in George they cannot come here to make enquiries here in Cape Town to contact people and they don’t have the technology because it is costly for them and they don’t have the money. You can’t get hold on them by phone. They are not using technology effectively. She (Tanya) has huge problems when she has a client they have this and that. She says e-mail me and they can’t because they don’t have the necessary skills. It makes her job more difficult it’s a huge problem keeping track of beneficiary numbers. The effective use of technology can position NGOs in a more favourable position within the market as well as within the various networks. The effective use of technology in various settings is referred to as e-Astuteness which was coined by Mitrovic, Sharif and Taylor in 2013.

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57 Dr. Zoran Mitrovic, Director of MDRI. Dr Zoran Mitrovic is an award-winning researcher, consultant and lecturer with extensive international experience. He specialises in e-government and e-governance strategy and policy development, alignment and capacity development (e.g. e-skills and e-competences). (http://www.mdri.co.za/About.htm)
According to Mitrovic et al (2013, p. 189),
“e-Astuteness is a dependent construct (see figure 3 above) which is dependent on personal and interpersonal skills of individuals and is reliant on building a knowledgeable capacity and creating a mindset that embraces all forms of technology and prepares users for future forms of technology and their possible socio-economic applications. E-Astuteness can help individuals (i) to understand people (local cultures) and situations better, (ii) to build beneficial alignment and alliances (networks – local, national and international – personal, learning, business and services) and (iii) towards better understanding of the current strategic socio-economic and technological directions within local applicability. Also, the concept of e-Astuteness assumes that
individuals should possess certain e-skills so that they can apply both operational and strategic behaviour in the use of modern ICT for achieving individual socio-economic benefits”.

One of the ways in which NGOs can exploit e-skills is through accessing government open data. South Africa is one of the founders of the Open Government Partnership (OGP)\(^{58}\). It was initially 8 other countries and now it’s about 69 countries pledging that they will provide open data for social and corporate innovation. Dr. Mitrovic emphasizes, “Government must provide open data and that open data can feed in directly into social innovation. There is not any entrepreneurship without social innovation so if the government want to help NGOs they need to make data open. So without that, these people cannot be enough innovative within a social setting. If you don’t know for example what is the need for disabled people you cannot say I’m going to provide a service and bring some income, profit, non-profit it doesn’t matter… but it depends on government data.”\(^{59}\) In as much as the government has committed to making data open the lived realities on the ground portrays a different story. Many NGOs still operate from an e-skills deficit. Tanya Mitrovic explains that at a recent meeting hosted by the Department of Social Development officials wanted to e-mail the presentation and were stumped when an organization present indicated that they did not have e-mail\(^{60}\). This instance creates the impression that government officials were not cognisant of the e-skills capacity of the sector they were trying to engage with.

\(^{58}\) “OGP was with launched in 2011 to provide an international platform for domestic reformers committed to making their governments more open, accountable, and responsive to citizens. In all of these countries, government and civil society are working together to develop and implement ambitious open government reforms” (http://www.opengovpartnership.org/).

\(^{59}\) Interview with Dr. Zoran Mitrovic

\(^{60}\) Interview with Tanya Mitrovic
Perceptions regarding Leadership

You cannot think about resilience within NGOs without reflecting on leadership. There are approximately twenty different types of leadership styles that are articulated in leadership literature. However, for the scope of this study, we will focus on the three main types which are outlined in Levin, Lippit and White’s now seminal work, “Patterns of Aggressive Behaviour in Experimentally Created Social Climates” (1939). Levin et al. noted that one of the factors that influencing a leader’s choice of leadership style is a requirement of making decisions. The three leadership decision-making styles identified were the autocratic, the democratic and the laissez-faire. The study examined the behaviours of a group of learners engaged in a mask making an activity with the teacher alternating between the different leadership types (see table 2).

Autocratic leaders make all the decisions themselves. There is no consultation process with followers with regard to the decisions making process. Once autocratic leaders make a decision they impose it and expect obedience. In contrast, democratic leaders take an active role in the decision-making process but they also involve others as well. Although this type of leadership is “democratic” it does not mean that decisions are put to the vote. Leaders are still responsible for ensuring that the decisions made achieve their desired outcomes. The final type of leadership, Laissez-faire has very little involvement in decisions making themselves. The bulk of the decision making is left to their followers. Thus, this type of leadership is dependent on followers who can work independently, take initiative and are capable.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authoritarian</th>
<th>Democratic</th>
<th>Laissez-faire</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All determination of policy by the leader.</td>
<td>All policies a matter of group discussion and decision encouraged and assisted by the leader.</td>
<td>Complete freedom for group or individual decision, without any leader participation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Techniques and activity steps dictated by the authority, one at a time, so that future steps were always uncertain to a large degree.</td>
<td>Activity perspective gained during the first discussion period. General steps to group goal sketched and where technical advice was needed the leader suggested two or three alternatives from which a choice could be made.</td>
<td>Various materials supplied by the leader, who made it clear that he would supply information when asked. He took no other part in work discussions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The leader usually dictated the particular work task and work companions of each member.</td>
<td>The members were free to work with whomever they chose, and the division of tasks was left up to the group.</td>
<td>Complete non-participation by the leader.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The dominator was &quot;personal&quot; in his praise and criticism of the work of each member, but remained aloof from active group participation except when demonstrating. He was friendly or impersonal rather than openly hostile.</td>
<td>The leader was &quot;objective&quot; or &quot;fact-minded&quot; in his praise and criticism, and tried to be a regular group member in spirit without doing too much of the work.</td>
<td>Very infrequent comments on member activities unless questioned, and no attempt to participate or interfere with the course of events.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Table was taken from "Patterns of Aggressive Behaviour in Experimentally Created Social Climates" by Levin, Lippit and White(1939). p. 273)
The overall findings of the study suggest that different contexts require different leadership types and are also dependent on the kind of followers that you have within the organisation. Therefore, as there are shifts in the environment, so too, may be the shifts in the leadership type.

In general, the type of leadership displayed at YFC Cape Town has also mostly been democratic in nature. Since the organisation works with different cultures, i.e. the IVIs and because of the often uncertain environments weekly meetings are held to touch base with volunteers and staff. This is a forum in which everyone has an opportunity to air their views on a project undertaken and provide input on new directions the centre will be taking. It also serves as a troubleshooting forum to deal with issues that may have arisen during the process or completion of projects. As such all followers and the board have a clear sense of where the organisation finds itself and where it is going. Decision making is consultative but ultimately the Centre Director bears the responsibility of the decisions that are made as he is held accountable by the board as well as the national office. Matthew Gould an IVI describes his confidence in the leadership at YFC Cape Town because of having seeing shifts in the environmental factors and how leadership responded proactively to times and crisis and was willing to consider input from volunteers61. Volunteers were privy to the financial situation within the organisation and because of this inclusion took the initiative to think creatively about how programs were delivered at the various projects62. Sofia Schulte described the leadership being resilient because of how the Centre Director dealt with crises, which indicated to her experience and inspired confidence to the rest of the staff as well as the other volunteers63.

61 Interview with Matthew Gould, IVI from Northern Ireland
62 Volunteers are screened in the home countries for suitability, i.e. that they share the values of YFCI. In addition to that volunteers are also selected based on the skills set that is required within the host country and centre. For instance, Matthew Gould had a background in Desktop Publishing (DTP) and was therefore recruited in part for the purposes of upgrading and maintaining the YFC Cape Town website and electronic promotional material.
63 Interview with Sofia Schulte, IVI from Argentina
Different leadership styles were however adopted given different contexts. As stated earlier, for the most part, the leadership style is democratic however at a project level the approach is a Laissez-faire type. At a project level, volunteers and staff have autonomy in how they present the content as long as it falls within the broad strokes of the organisation’s objectives as well as values. Initially, volunteers feel thrown into the deep end because they are responsible for the outcomes of projects but later appreciate playing a significant part in the organization. The Options project operates autonomously from the other projects because the Centre Director recognizes the expertise of the project leader and she is allowed to implement the broader vision of the organization as she sees fit according to given context.

Very rarely does the leadership style shift to autocratic. It is only in the extreme case when the organization is at risk that it reverts to autocratic. For instance, during the economic downturn of 2008 one of the measures are taken to offset the decline in resources was for staff to have increased job portfolios as well as work “short time” yet even in that instance staff were amenable to these measures because they had a clear sense of where the organization was and was heading.

Thus, the transitions between leadership types were easier to contend with because staff and interns had a clear sense of the values and vision of the organization. What emerged clearly from the interviews was that the leadership style matched the need and understanding the organizational values relates specifically to a resilience trait in that a constant and consistent demonstration of the organization’s identity.

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64 Interview with Matthew Gould. The age groups of the IVIs varies from 18 – 24 but most fall within the 18-20 age bracket. As such when they first arrive at the Centre it is a big cultural adjustment for them and they expect more guidance and supervision. Upon having exit interviews though, volunteers they explain how they have “grown” during their stay at the Cape Town centre because of having more responsibility and also gaining experience.

65 Interview with Rosa Scheepers

66 Short time is a local labour term referring to staff working less hours per week during times of less available work to stay employed with a company or organisation.

67 Interview with Claudine Gassibe
Biggest challenges facing resilience

Interviewers were asked various questions on resilience within the organization given their experience as well as experiences. These questions included whether they believe that YFC Cape Town is resilient, how NGOs can ensure resilience as well what the biggest challenges facing NGO resilience.

The IVIs that were interviewed showed a mixed bag of responses when asked whether they believe that the organization is resilient. The volunteers who indicated that they believe that the organization was resilient were interviewed before the new leadership team was inducted at the beginning of 2015. Their responses were informed by the fact that they served at the centre for a longer period and experienced firsthand the leadership which navigated crises on an operational level. The second pool of volunteers were interviewed during the transition phase when new leadership was inducted. Those who believed YFC Cape Town was resilient drew a strong correlation between the organisation's values and resilience. One volunteer who believed this put it this way, “YFC Cape Town knows what to do and tries to its best to reach the right values and to support to volunteers”. Other volunteers though interpreted the transition of leadership as a poor indicator of resilience. Rachel Hartmann explains, “Not at the moment because YFC Cape Town is going through these times of change. Craig and Lynette first need some time to really get into YFC Cape Town and then I think YFC Cape Town will be resilient again”. Staff members, on the other hand, all agreed that YFC Cape Town was resilient. The Chairperson of the board reiterated that it can be deemed as being resilient given its longevity. It has been around since the late 1940s, remained functional through government transition of 1994 and

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68 Interview with Matthew Gould and Sofia Schulte
69 Interview with IVI, Lena Schaubacher
70 Interview with IVI, Rachel Hartmann
navigated the global economic downturn of 2008 where other NGOs were forced to shut down\textsuperscript{71}. Other staff members also describe the leadership as being resilient. "We have gone through rough seas within the organization but the leadership has managed to steady the ship. It is not yet clear sailing but at least were are not sinking. He (Centre Director) has made decisions so that we can stay afloat even though it has not been easy\textsuperscript{72}"

With reference to the questions on how organisations can ensure resilience interviewers listed the following factors as being important. (1) Funding; (2) Technical skills/Compliance; (3) Adaptation and core values and vision; (4) Innovation; (5) Accessing networks.

1. Funding

All interviewees viewed the securing of funding as being important to being resilient. Firstly, funding was seen as important in sustaining the human resources of the organization. As Tanya Mitrovic simply put it, “…without funding you cannot pay your staff and without your staff you cannot run your projects\textsuperscript{73}”. This point was reinforced by Rachel Hartmann, “The only problem is money I think. You also need that for a strong organisation especially to pay staff\textsuperscript{74}”. Secondly, there was also a strong correlation made between funding and increasing the capacity of the centre, “If there could be more donating for the organization they could be much more\textsuperscript{75}”. For the volunteers, they saw a close link between capacity and a strong organization. For instance, as the development practitioner put it, “…sometimes NGOs feel that they have to hide the fact that they are in good financial standing because they feel they weakened their chances of getting funding, but actually if donors know that the organization is financially strong then they will be more likely to invest in your NGO\textsuperscript{76}”. Finally, another respondent stated that the manner in which funds are accessed are also important. For him understanding the bureaucracy of state departments is an

\textsuperscript{71} Interview with Theo Jansen
\textsuperscript{72} Interview with Rosa Scheepers
\textsuperscript{73} Interview with Tanya Mitrovic
\textsuperscript{74} Interview with Rachel Hartmann
\textsuperscript{75} Interview with Lena Schuaubacher
\textsuperscript{76} Interview with Tanya Mitrovic
essential component to remaining resilient\textsuperscript{77}. At state earlier by understanding the directive of state department will enable NGOs to better firstly understand whether their organisations can, in fact, meet the services needed by the state or whether they need to tweak their activities to match it. The how and “what for” of funding demonstrates the multi-faceted nature of funding.

2. Technical skills / compliance

Closely linked to funding is the aspects of having technical skills and being compliant. Although NGOs bemoan the extent of legal compliance because of the red tape involved the do see the value of the requirements in the long run for the purposes of accountability and seeing it as enhancing the function of the organisation\textsuperscript{78}. NGOs can access bigger funding when they have audited financials and up to date narrative reports\textsuperscript{79}. Having a good administrative acumen becomes especially important when dealing with international donors. Although rigorous, International organizations are more likely to work with you in the future if you are transparent and demonstrate accurate reporting\textsuperscript{80}. Technical skills also include being e-astute. Many of the channels in which funding is sourced are reliant on having a good command on the effective use of technology\textsuperscript{81}. For example, the guidelines for accessing funding for NGOs are found exclusively on the Department of Social Development's (DSD) website\textsuperscript{82}. Therefore, NGOs which do not have internet access or e-mail facilities are unable to effectively access a wide range funding. In addition, to accessing government communication channels, registration with the city's vendor database is done electronically\textsuperscript{83}. The database then becomes the medium through which much of the city's communication with NGOs or vendors take place. Finally, the YFC Centre Director acknowledged that at times because of the lack of technical or administrative skills they were unable to exploit funding opportunities\textsuperscript{84}. Having a strong administrative and technical skills set allows NGOs to plan effectively and from a strategic point of view aid in forecasting potential change.

\textsuperscript{77} Interview with Eddie Andrews
\textsuperscript{78} Interview with Claudine Gassibe
\textsuperscript{79} Interview with Eddie Andrews
\textsuperscript{80} Interview with Emelio Gassibe and Tanya Mitrovic
\textsuperscript{81} Interview with Zoran Mitrovic
\textsuperscript{82} Interview with Tanya Mitrovic
\textsuperscript{83} Interview with Eddie Andrews
\textsuperscript{84} Interview with Emelio Gassibe
3. Adaptation and core values

The NGO environment is a volatile and uncertain arena. Adaptation is therefore understandably an essential component to longevity. All the interviewees within the organisation commented on organizational adaptation as being key to resilience. Long standing chairperson of the YFC Cape Town board links adaptation as the reason for YFC Cape Town remaining functional after nearly 70 years. He specifically mentions that the YFCI motto, “Anchored to the Rock, Geared to the times” has driven the internal ethos of the local organisation. “During the 1990s the organization was heavily involved in schools and when legal constraints (in 2012) prevented it from working there during contact hours. YFC Cape Town adapted in and provided the youth programs after school to fulfill its mandate. One caveat though to adaptation is the idea that the organization remained true to its founding vision and values. “The reason why we have been resilient for so long is because the staff believed in the cause …success is linked to staying true to our values. In the late 1990s in some YFC centres followed projects which were more attractive to funders. They went after projects which were easily fundable rather than reflecting the true values of the local centres. YFC Cape Town decided not to go after easily funded projects. Those centres that did follow the funding, actually most of them have closed down now because the funding dried up.

Former Centre Director Emelio Gassibe shared the same view, “What you need to look at is your constitution and what you stand for as an organization and you will have to look at ..if there are ten points of criteria in PEPFAR, you qualify for 6 how do we talk about the 4 we don’t qualify? So you go into a negotiation with them for being specific, PEPFAR insisted that we hand out condoms and YFC preaches a message of or shares a message of abstinence and being faithful. So being faithful in a relationship..married and abstinence, just don’t do it. The condoms weren’t really part of our message so what we said is listen, can we do the other six things that we qualify for and these four can we not do it. It took a while but we managed to convince them. So you go into a negotiation and you see how far you can

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85 Interview with Theo Jansen
86 Interview with Theo Jansen
not compromise\textsuperscript{87}. The current administrator also shared the views of adaptation while not compromising on the core values, "When you say identity, if you maybe looked at YFC Cape Town say 10 years ago and you saw what YFC did then I think if you maybe look at it to the future you might say that the identity has changed, But that is just because of the nature of the work that YFC does, at present and will be doing in the future. So I believe that the core values should remain the same. The core values are still young people and creating an environment for young people to thrive…so I think that is the core values but how we get there, the identity of YFC does and how it would look like might change. So it’s more about function. Also, because YFC Cape Town is part of YFC South Africa which is part of YFCI, ultimately the core values of the organization as a whole should be driven by the international body\textsuperscript{88}.

With regard to the concept of understanding its core values and vision all respondents demonstrated a clear sense of objectives of the organization and did not deviate from it.

4. Innovation

Another aspect linked to adaptation is that of innovation. The organization has continually tried to read the NGO environment and respond to it. As state earlier innovation took the form of navigating the legal restriction of the segregation laws under apartheid during the early days of the organization. Later with the first democratically elected government, it developed an income generating component in the form of the IVI program while still doing its core business. This shift in having an entrepreneurial component to its makeup is a local and international trend\textsuperscript{89}. It was the IVI in particular which has become the funding backbone of the local centre. It differs from other international donor-based funding in the sense that the centre frames the nature of the work that volunteers do instead of having criteria being imposed on them. One area though where the organization has lacked innovation has been in the area of marketing as well as social media\textsuperscript{90}. This is linked to the concept of e-Astuteness stated earlier where Dr Mitrovic emphasized that you cannot think about innovation without thinking about technology and you cannot

\textsuperscript{87} Interview with Emelio Gassibe
\textsuperscript{88} Interview with Craig Mutheray
\textsuperscript{89} Interview with Theo Janse and Tanya Mitrovic
\textsuperscript{90} Interview with Craig Mutheray
think about social innovation without thinking about e-Astuteness (see figure 3). The organisation has therefore in general been very active in innovating in response to market pressures.

5. Accessing networks

One aspect that has been under-utilised by YFC Cape Town has been the accessing of multi-leveled networks. Theo Jansen attributed the success of YFC Cape Town in the 1990s to the close networks that it had with churches. Back then, donations from churches were the mainstay their funding as well as a solid volunteer base. The international volunteers support the sentiment of having closer ties with local volunteers as well as other like-minded organisations would enhance their functions at the various projects. Another network which also needs revisiting is that of government. Having closer relationships with ward councilors, for instance, may help with access to communities but also enhance the young people reached within those communities in addition to accessing alternate funding sources. Finally, all respondents whether they were staff or volunteers emphasized the importance of creating closer ties with the international chapters of YFCI for the purposes of recruiting and support. This in their opinion was seen as an important factor aiding resilience.

This chapter has outlined a historical and contextual background to YFCI as well as the national and local centre. It then outlined the perceptions on resilience from the various stakeholders within the NGO environment. In the next chapter, the findings will be analysed according to Cummings et al model of assessing resilience.

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91 Interview with Dr. Zoran Mitrovic
92 Interview with Theo Jansen
93 Interview with IVI Ann Katrin Watjer
94 Interview with Craig Mutheray and Theo Jansen
95 Interview with Emelio Gassibe; Carig Mutheray; Theo Jansen; Lina Wagner; Matthew Gould; Lena Schuaubacher; Ann Katrin Watjer and Rachel Hartmann
CHAPTER 6: ANALYSIS

6.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, a thick description was given of the YFC. First internationally, then nationally and finally, a description of the local centre in Cape Town. Whereas the Findings chapter was descriptive, the Analysis chapter aims to firstly interpret the findings and secondly locate the findings in a broader context by linking it to the theoretical framework discussed earlier. To articulate meaning from the data gathered, we need to assign codes to it. As stated in the Methodology section, codes are a short word or phrase that represents the essence or a key attribute of (in this case) verbal information. Codes are used to categorise the data gathered during the research process. Coding, in turn, is the active process of organizing the data into components that are alike or similar in a way. Open coding refers to organizing data into the themes which emerge from the data gathered (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 56). Thereafter the codes will be narrowed down to a closed set of codes to express more meaning by means of a code structure. Coding is always done with reference to the research question or sub-questions so that the data is relevant to the study. The coding structure (see table 3) for this study was developed inductively, i.e. largely derived from the participant experiences and the codes were developed as they emerged from the interviews. The benefit of using this approach limits preconceptions which the researcher may have and allows the data to determine the results. It is also a suitable method given that this is an explorative study.

The format of this chapter will be as follow. An outline of the themes and sub-themes will be framed by the research questions and sub-questions by means of a coding structure table (see table 3). Next, the coding structure will be distilled using the 5 step approach of the Cummings et al model of assessing resilience. It will be used to determine lessons for resilience rather that determining whether or not YFC Cape Town is a resilient organization. According to the Cummings et al model they suggest a five-step approach. Firstly, the system is defined. The
system here refers to the extent of networks and stakeholders engaged with the case study. It will therefore not only describe the scope but also outline any innovations as well. This was outlined in chapter 5. The second step of assessing resilience will be identifying, possible future systems for the case study. Thirdly, change trajectories will be clarified; fourthly, alternative possible futures will be assessed; and finally, mechanisms and levers for change will be identified.

In addition to using the Cumming et al model of assessing resilience within the organization, the study will also integrate the various civil society-state relations typology outlined in chapter 3. The aim of interweaving these various relational models will be to highlight its effect on the system identified and the resultant impact on resilience if any.

6.2. Coding structure

The Coding structure as stated earlier has been developed using the codes generated from in-depth interviews. After using open-ended coding the codes were condensed into similar themes as well as sub-themes as indicated below. The next step will be to frame the findings within the Cummings et al model of assessing resilience.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code Structure</th>
<th>Research Question</th>
<th>Sub-Questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>: Understanding resilience among Non-government organisations in post-apartheid South Africa: A case study of Youth For Christ Cape Town</td>
<td>How can Civil Society Organisations in South Africa ensure resilience and longevity in a complex and evolving political environment?</td>
<td>(1) What should SA CSOs be resilient against?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(2) What does resilience look like within the identified case study?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(3) Which factors enhance / undermine resilience?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### THEMES AND SUB-THEMES

**8. Funding**
- e. Local
- f. International
- g. Entrepreneurial component
- h. Project versus salaries
  - (ii) Changes in funding environment

**9. Technical Skills**
- d. Administrative
- e. E-Astuteness
  - (iii) Government accountability
  - (iv) Channels of communication
- f. Compliance / Legal
  - (iii) Organisational transparency
  - (iv) Donor-friendly

**10. Accessing Networks**
- f. State-NGO relations
  - (ii) Mixed model
- g. Like-minded organisations
- h. Like minded individuals
- i. Local volunteers
- j. International YFC centres

**11. Adaptation**
- e. Reading environment and forecasting change levers
- f. Without compromising core values
- g. Staffing
  - (iv) Merging of portfolios
  - (v) Volunteerism
  - (vi) Active Board
- h. Reconfiguring of organizational model in terms of function

**12. Core Values**
- d. Belief in the core values of the organization
  - (internally)
    - (iii) Staff believes in the vision and mission
      - Volunteers have a clear understanding of the objectives of the organization
  - (iv) Donors understand the ethos of the organization and present project which match the organisations current function
- e. Understanding of the core beliefs of the organization (externally)
  - (iii) Recruiters understand the core business and will draw suitable volunteers
  - (iv) Donors understand the ethos of the organization and present project which match the organisations current function
- f. Demonstration of core values by the organisation

**13. Innovation**
- d. Project innovation
  - (ii) Differentiation within the NGO sector
- e. Social
- f. Legal framework

**14. Leadership**
- c. Mixed typology
  - (ii) Autocratic, Democratic and Laissez-faire
- d. In relation to environmental factors
6.3. Step 1: Define the system

The first step in the Cummings et al model of assessing resilience is defining the system. This includes identifying the sum of the parts, the relationships and networks as well as continuity and innovations. The purpose of doing this is to establish the parameters of the system (see figure 6). It has been categorized into four broad networks, (1) Governance, (2) Projects related, (3), State Funding (4).

![Figure 6: Parameters of the YFC Cape Town system]

**Governance**

The parameters of the governance network refer the relations with the National YFC board; the YFCI centres (for example the Germany office of YFC); the local YFC Cape Town board; local volunteers as well the IVIs. The level of interaction between YFC SA and the YFCI was limited to

In terms of identifying shifts or innovation, it may be useful to describe the shifts pre and post 1994. Pre-1994 the function of the local centre as well as the national board, for the most part, operated just as it does today. The only difference is that it does or have a fully-fledged national office and the current leadership has been decentralized, meaning that certain Centre directors may fulfill a portfolio role on behalf of the national office in addition to their centre duties. The only other difference is a downscaling of staff compliment. The composition of the local centre did not have black representation pre-1994. It was only by post-1995 that the 50% of the board was black and female. This can be deemed as a transformation aspect within the organization.

Prior to 1994, the centre had very little contact with YFCI centres. This was largely due to the fact that YFCI would not support segregated chapters and the local centre was constrained by apartheid laws. It was only in the late 1990s that the local office reached out to international centres for the purposes of cultural exchanges as well as to recruit international volunteers. The shifts in leadership styles are informed by environmental factors; the needs and objectives of the organization as well as the level of skills of the staff and volunteers (see table 4 below). So within this particular network the shifts and the changes were affected by the political as well as economic environment.

\[96\] See findings chapter 5 for further explanation
### Table 5: Shifts in leadership styles within YFC Cape Town

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leadership type</th>
<th>Competency level of staff and volunteers</th>
<th>Environmental factors/informed by</th>
<th>Needs and Objectives</th>
<th>Explanatory note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Autocratic</td>
<td>Low to medium</td>
<td>Times of crisis and transition</td>
<td>Establishing of</td>
<td>This leadership type is applied when new leadership is being established or to steady the organisation during times of “shock”. It is applied within a short period so that norms and processes can be implemented. Also, roles are clarified and may require that staff and volunteers have an increase in their portfolio.</td>
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<td>within the organization.</td>
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<td>clarifying of roles.</td>
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<td>Tasks are assigned</td>
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<td>and not negotiated.</td>
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<td>Democratic</td>
<td>Low to high</td>
<td>During times of stability</td>
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<td>Laissez-faire</td>
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<td>During times of high efficiency</td>
<td>Very little oversight.</td>
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</table>

### Project related networks

YFC Cape Town has demonstrated an expansion and contraction when it comes to its project related networks. Prior to the 1990s being a faith-based organization, it primarily operated within Christian faith circles and ministered to white youth gave the restriction segregations laws. There was very little contact with the government in terms of support as well other than compliance. It did not engage government as from an anti-apartheid positioning and remained largely apolitical.
It was only during the late 1970s that the organization (YFCI) looked introspectively and pondered its relevance to society\textsuperscript{97} that the local chapters in South Africa followed suit and expanded its outreaches to non-white areas. This was done innovatively in the sense that they purchased their own properties to host outreaches so as to create places where mixed race gathering could be held away from the eyes of the apartheid government. The level of contact with other like-minded NGOs was limited during this time as they fulfilled a narrow focus in terms of activities. However, YFC Cape Town did have very strong connections with local churches. It used churches to present programs and as a result, it becomes a source of volunteerism as well as financial support. During the early 1990s, the backbone of YFC Cape activities was the mentoring and life skills programs it ran at schools. They would present youth programs at school assemblies as well as mentorship activities. This, however, was curtailed in 2012 when a decision was made by the education department that no NGO may operate within Cape Town schools during contact time\textsuperscript{98}. A major shift happened after 1994 when the board realized that shifts were necessary to remain relevant and sustainable given the changing economic and political climate. Partnerships were sought out which matched the ethos and broad vision of YFC Cape Town and projects arose where volunteers could contribute for the public good (For example, SOS Children's village and orphanages). It was during this time that YFC Cape Town teams we also sent out internationally for the purposes of recruiting and the development of the IVI arose. The shifts within this network were largely determined by internal capacity and determining the identified need within the communities in which it worked.

\textsuperscript{97} See Findings chapter 5 for more information
\textsuperscript{98} See Findings chapter 5
State networks

Unlike the most of the NGO sector prior to 1994 YFC Cape Town’s relations with the state was apolitical. It was neither collaborative nor adversarial as it did not rely on government funding at all. It followed the “Civil Society Apart from the State” typology as it sought to operate beyond the control of the state as its activities were in contravention of national law. Levels of engagement was limited to government bureaucracy and legal compliance. Another reason for the lack of engagement with the government was the fact that they also operated in black areas and wished to avoid scrutiny. Post-1994 there were attempts to engage with government for the purposes of collaborative and funding opportunities. This was also due to government perceiving the NGO sector as potential partners in the new democracy, in view of their role during the liberation struggle. This relates to the “Civil society in collaboration with the state” typology and it manifested as many NGO leaders were absorbed into the state and NGOs had an expectation that the newly formed government would be sensitive, and create an enabling environment for the sector. Later, though, the changes in the legal environment especially the NPO act after 1994 was a contributed factor which strained relations between to the two sectors as both spheres tried to reconcile their perceived versus lived reality roles. These perceptions persist as government largely see NGOs as service providers rather than keeping government accountable; providing a soundboard for policy; and the public good function. Therefore, these perceptions, as well as the legal requirements, has resulted in NGOS from not engaging substantively with the government. Thus, currently the civil society typology of being “against the state” has become the status quo. This typology, however has to be nuanced by saying that it is not as adversarial as during apartheid but rather in terms of establishing the boundaries of its created spaces of engagement and contesting and negotiating its material concerns.
Funding networks

Funding is important for the effective functioning of any organization. An NGO having a healthy financial standing is especially important as it allows the organization to plan proactively. Funding prior to 1994 was sourced exclusively from local churches and like-minded individuals.

The organization changed its funding model in the mid-1990s as there were shifts in the political and economic environment. The mixed model of funding included local donors, international funders as well as having an income generating component to the organisation. An over-reliance on a single type of donor puts NGOs in a precarious position if that channel of funding dries up for any reason. The other aspect to consider when making application for funding is located in the “what for”. Post-1994, International donors were reluctant to fund local NGOs directly but rather channeled it through government to meet the service delivery needs of marginalized South Africans (see Swilling & Russell, 2002; Julie, 2010). Donors were more likely to fund projects rather with clear objectives and measurable outcomes than giving money to pay salaries99.

Therefore, YFC Cape Town has a set of projects which embeds the costs of salaries into the actual project. The accessing of a large scale of small donations has proven to be a method which has not only enhanced the centre’s functioning but also caused it to thrive as was the case prior to 1994.

Government funding is minimal because of the legal requirements and conditionality placed on applicants. It requires a strong administrative acumen and technical know-how. Having a strong administrative and technical acumen can increase resilience in the following ways. Firstly, it allows the organization to access larger funder opportunities because the organization will be legally compliant. This opens doors at a local level in the sense of meeting the criteria for tender applications. The more compliant NGOs are the more likely they are to access government funding. In the case of YFC Cape Town although they have been legally compliant accessing

99 Interview with Tanya Mitrovic
government funding has proven difficult given conditionality. The conditionality has been at times been the reason why YFC Cape Town has declined funding however it has also managed to negotiate the services it provides for funders without compromising on its values.

E-Astuteness is a skill set which proves beneficial on multiple levels be it accessing networks, understanding the NGO environment and holding government accountable (see e-Astuteness, Mitrovic et al, 2013). E-Astuteness can assist the organization in navigating compliance and increasing capacity. It is an area in which YFC Cape Town has needed bolstering. Having a strong technological acumen can be one way in which the NGO sector can hold the government to account in terms of knowing how government funds are being spent at a local level provided that the data is open. Finally, the one aspect in which YFC Cape Town was able to navigate the drop in funding was adopting an entrepreneurial component. For the entrepreneurial component to be effective it needs to be in sync with the core business of the organisation and the criteria placed on it should not be in contradiction with its core values.

6.3. Step 2: Define possible future systems

The second step is to define possible future systems, which thinks about alternative structures to the current system yet at the same time evaluating the extent to which it maintains an aspect of its identity. YFC Cape Town is currently in a state of transition as it inducted a new Centre Director as well as an administrator at the beginning of 2015. They, together with the board have discussed what the organization will look like given the current environmental context. A few strategic positions were taken with regard to the various spheres it is involved with. Firstly, they have the organisation will attempt to re-establish ties with local churches with which it had strong ties previously\textsuperscript{100}. In the past, it was the strong networks with churches that ensured financial as well as volunteer stability. This change will not change the identity of the organization but rather

\textsuperscript{100} Interview with Theo Jansen
re-establish it. The second possible future for YFC Cape Town is the kind of projects which it undertakes. Currently, it is a youth agency which does work at schools, hospitals and a crèche on a farm. As such the organization provides a “service” at these schools but it does not necessarily have an independent project which it runs exclusively. At the projects YFC Cape Town in as much as they have leeway to present their programs, they also have to meet certain criteria from the organisations they work with. In an attempt to differentiate itself within the NGO environment the organization has considered developing its own projects which give it more autonomy to fulfill its mandate. This too is not a deviation from its identity but rather reinforcing it. The other aspect is also pursuing alternative means of fundraising and income generation. For example partnering with larger organisations (like Woolworths) for the purposes of mutually beneficial philanthropy. Thirdly, a position has been taken to bolster the amount of persons serving on the YFC Cape Town board. At stated earlier, NGOs with active boards, increases accountability and those organisations are more successful and resilient\textsuperscript{101}. Professionals serving on NGO boards also inject a certain level of expertise at no cost to the organization as these positions are on a volunteer basis (See Swilling & Russell, 2002).. Fourthly, from a funding point of view, YFC Cape Town will register with the Woolworths My Village program\textsuperscript{102} and persons wanting to support the organization can support it in that way. One percent of all purchases made at Woolworths goes to the NGO which they have nominated at no cost to the donor. A second innovation is seeking resource support instead of exclusively seeking funding. YFC Cape Town has embarked on seeking resource support in its funding

\textsuperscript{101} See Chapter 5, interview with Tanya Mitrovic

\textsuperscript{102} The Woolworths My Village program is South Africa’s number one community support fundraising programme, which raises over R4 million a month for more than 10,000 worthy schools, charities and environmental/animal welfare organisations. Whenever patrons use their card at Woolworths, up to 1% of the purchases are given back to the cause of their choosing. Woolworths makes the contribution on the patrons behalf. (http://www.woolworths.co.za/store/fragments/wrewards/wrewards-index.jsp?content=my-school).
proposals to support projects and doing this by challenging interested persons to donate their Pick ‘n Pay (PnP) Smart Shopper points to the organization\textsuperscript{103}. Fifthly, the level to which government will be engaged will be revised. In addition, to being a service provider, the nature of the relationship may evolve to that of collaborator on projects, being a source of expertise for the purposes of informing policy and finally keeping government accountable. Currently, the nature of the relationship with the state is mostly as a service provider but the organization sees itself as being partners with the state in communities by providing lending their unique insight. This insight could prove useful as the government is under-capacitated to know the needs of all communities. This insight could also prove beneficial for developing and revising policy within the realm of social development. Finally, the organization is also uniquely to fulfill a watchdog role to monitor the spending of social development. Irrespective of these changes to the system, the identity and will not be changed even though the function may.

6.4. Step 3: Clarify change trajectories

This step entails identifying the cause of the change within the system is done introspectively together with step two. This step allows us to ascertain ongoing change which does not necessarily affect the change of the system. The aim of this is to explain how internal and external factors affect resilience within the organization.

\textsuperscript{103}Pnp Smart Shopper is retail store rewards program. It allows shoppers to earn points after each purchase and then covert those points for cash to spend either at Pnp or at one of its reward partners. In addition points may be donated to a listed charity or another Smart Shopper recipient. (http://www.picknpay.co.za/smartshopper-overview)
Table 6: Clarifying change trajectories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EXTERNAL OR INTERNAL FACTOR</th>
<th>CAUSE OF CHANGE</th>
<th>CHANGE THE IDENTITY OF THE ORGANISATION (YES OR NO?)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Internal</em>: Increase capacity of the Centre (Board, e-Astuteness, marketing)</td>
<td>Lack of internal capacity. Professional networks needed. Enhancing of the organizational profile.</td>
<td>No. Increase in the composition of the board will have minimal impact on the identity of the organization as the appointed of new board members is based on criteria set by the existing board and Centre Director. The upskilling of staff and active profiling of the organization will be based on the existing function of the organization.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Internal: Increase capacity of the Centre (Board, e-Astuteness, marketing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Internal</em>: Develop unique projects.</td>
<td>Lack of differentiation within the NGO sector.</td>
<td>No. The development of unique projects will be informed by the current objectives of the organization and controlled by the constitution of YFC South Africa and, in turn, YFCI.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Internal: Develop unique projects.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>External</em>: Increase relational networks.</td>
<td>The non-existence of networks with local churches.</td>
<td>No. The relational networks with local churches will have no effect to the identity as they are organizations which are like-minded. The purpose of the network will be to market the current identity of the organization and field interest in potential collaboration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>External: Increase relational networks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>External/Internal</em>: Diversify funding basket.</td>
<td>Lack of consistent funding.</td>
<td>No. The types of funding avenues pursued will not change the identity of the organization given the nature of the funding pursued.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>External</em>: Increase relational networks.</td>
<td>Limited engagement with government networks.</td>
<td>No. The pursuing of this network will be to enhance the functionality of the Centre for funding as well as clarifying relational roles. In past engagements, the organization remained true to its identity despite being pressured to change.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In all instances above, the change trajectories will have no or limited change of the identity of the organisation. The emerging reason for this is that the ethos of the organization is informed by the constitution and broader guidelines of YFCI. Change of the identity of the organization is highly unlikely.
6.5. Step 4: Assess the likelihood of alternative futures

This step involves assessing the likelihood of alternative futures. Once all the current conditions, perturbations and possible futures are evaluated the next step is to assess which other futures are possible for the system. The only other possible future that exists for YFC Cape Town is the closure of the organization. Despite the fact that there are many examples of longstanding NGOs within South Africa have had to close down or downscale their operations (IDASA, Black Sash, ISS etc) it is very unlikely that the centre would shut down. This is because of the planned enhancements within the organisation stated above. This is, however, useful to apply a SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats) analysis. This forecasting tool is insightful not only to gauge the organization capacity but also identify where the organization can enhance its function.

**Figure 7: SWOT analysis of YFC Cape Town to evaluate possible futures**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Strengths</strong></th>
<th><strong>Opportunities</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| - Respected brand with international centres  
- Respected brand with local organisations and communities  
- Tried and tested IVI model  
- Mixed funding model  
- Staff believe in the organisation and objectives | - Expanding of brand  
- Revitalise relationships with churches the tradition base of volunteerism and financial support  
- Enhance funding model  
- Establish networks with government officials |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Weaknesses</strong></th>
<th><strong>Threats</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| - Lack of established networks with government departments  
- Lack of e-Atuteness  
- Lack of established networks with churches and like-minded persons  
- Lack of consistent funding sources | - Changes in legal NGO framework  
- Conditionality of funders local and internationally  
- Strategic changes from YFC national office and well as YFCI  
- Lack of IVI |
According to the SWOT analysis, the strengths of the organization lies in its longevity. Being in existence for almost 70 years has afforded YFC Cape Town legitimacy within the NGO sector and the communities it served. It also has a strong and respected relationship with international YFC offices which are the feeders for the IVI program. This legitimacy it also experienced within the organization and staff and volunteers believe in the organization and the work that it does. The weaknesses are located in the lack of networks with both governments as well as churches and like-minded organisations. The other weakness is that although the organization has a mixed funding model, at times the supply of funding is erratic as there is a strong reliance on funding from the IVI program. As a result of the strengths, the opportunities for growth lie within expanding its networks with government departments and churches through effective marketing of the brand. The largest support base that YFC Cape Town has was with local churches and there are opportunities to re-establish those ties. By doing this, they will be able to enhance their funding model. The threats to the organisations resilience are largely located within the various environments. This ranges from the South Africa legal framework which impacts of the work the organization can do as well as how funding is sourced. From an internal governance point of view, if strategic changes are made by the YFCI board then it will have a ripple effect on the centres all across the globe as the local centre is bound by the mother organisations constitution.

6.6. Step 5: Identify mechanisms and levers for change

After applying all the previous steps it is possible to identify those elements which are key to resilience within the system. The elements which have emerged as being important to resilience are reflected in the coding structure (see Table 3). The elements are (1) Funding; (2) Technical skills; (3) Accessing networks; (4) Adaptation; (5) Core values; (6) Innovation; (7) Leadership. The discussion of these elements and applying it to the case study has argued its relevance for resilience. Although the Cummings model is usually applied to assess the resilience of an
organization for the purposes of this study has been to draw lessons from the experiences of YFC Cape Town.

This chapter has provided an interpretation of the data gathered through coding and then applying the Cummings et al model of assessing resilience. In the conclusion chapter, the implication of the analysis and well as the value of the study will be discussed.
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

The shrinkage of NGOs in South Africa is disconcerting. This is especially so if we consider that vibrant NGOs (as part of civil society) are widely accepted as a key component of democracy. If it fulfills a role of a lively sphere it can contribute significantly to the substantive quality of a democracy.

Recognising the above as being important why is there so little been written about ensuring resilience within the sector? Although much has been written on best practice within the NGO sector (guidelines and requirements) nothing substantive has been contributed with how to navigate the political, social and economic environment in times of crisis and beyond. The aim of this study was to draw lessons from the selected case study and contribute to the existing body of knowledge.

This thesis began by situating and outlining the value of the study. The next chapter discussed the specific research design and methodology which was employed to examine how Non-government (NGOs) in South Africa can ensure resilience and longevity in a complex and evolving political environment. This was followed by the Theoretical chapters 3 and 4. Chapter 3 provided a theoretical background to the concept of civil society as well as resilience. Chapter 4 then articulated the concept of civil society both in the African sense as well as how it has manifested itself within the South African context. The rationale for taking this approach was to highlight that the current nature of NGO-state relations typologies against the pre and post-1994 regime configurations. By sketching the evolution of the term, current permutations of NGO-state relations may be clarified. Chapter 5 then provided a historical context to the case study. It provided a background to the origins of YFC internationally, in South Africa and finally in Cape Town. The rationale was to draw parallels between the international and local chapters. Chapter
6 then evaluated the findings against the theoretical backdrop of the Cummings et al. model of assessing resilience.

A word of caution is that before the research questions can be answered and lessons learned, a comment needs to be made with regard to the limitations of this study. NGOs are an archetype under the umbrella term CSOs and there are also different types of NGOs. Broadly speaking there are Service Orientated NGOs, Think Tank NGOs and Advocacy type NGOs. One glaring critique may be that what relevance does lessons learned from the Service Orientated NGOs hold for the other archetypes? The lessons learned from this study are general and strategic, rather than being operational in nature. Secondly, although it is a Service–Orientated NGO it does can have value for the body of research as it has been in existence for almost 70 years. The findings should be viewed to draw lessons from the case study instead of evaluating whether the organization is resilient or not. In addition, it needs to be remembered that it is an explorative study and that no definitive conclusions will be made but highlight areas for further research.

7.2. Lessons learned for ensuring resilience

7.2.1. Funding

Although the funding may seem as a self-explanatory factor which affects resilience the access to funding is a much more nuanced and complex issue. An emerging lesson from the case study has been that resilience in funding is hinged upon sourcing a mixed model fundraising and income generation. YFC Cape Town’s success has been located in seeking funders from various spheres of government, local like-minded person and the international donor community. By having a mixed model you are not overly dependent on a single type of funding which enhances resilience and minimizes the impact of donors withdrawing support if a “shock” erupts with the system. Also, by developing an income generating component to the NGO will enhance its functioning but also increase resilience.
7.3.2. Technical Skills

If one wants to compete in a digital age one needs to be able to have the necessary e-Astuteness and administrative acumen. Having a strong skills set has multiple benefits for NGOs. Firstly, it is able to navigate the legal as well as technological barriers in accessing government funding as well as open data. Government open data is one of the under-utilised resources which may be accessed if you have the required skill set. Access to open data could inform pursuing certain projects and bolster the knowledge base to enhance function within NGOs. The benefit of having a good administrative background will benefit the NGOs in the long term by making the organization attractive to potential donors. In addition, government departments will be more likely to fund and resource compliant NGOs. Adopting an organisational culture of compliance will also in turn, encourage transparency and accountability within the organization. The extent to which South African NGOs are ICT ready may be a subject of interest for further research and definitely impacts the resilience of organization.

7.3.3. Accessing networks

Accessing of all networks within the system in which NGOs operate is another factor which can affect resilience. The kind of networks that is referred to here are the Government sector; other NGOs; Private sector and the recipients. The implications for having extensive networks with these various spheres are (1) Understanding the network in which you work and has a result you will be able to gauge the political, environmental as well as social markers to develop an early warning which can forecast and mitigate “shocks” within the system. (2) Networks are also useful for understanding the communities in which organizations fulfil their mandate. Once the nuances of the networks are understood NGOs will be able to enhance their functioning. (3) Having clearly defined networks with government is vital to NGOs resilience. NGOs bemoan the fact that they are mostly perceived as Service providers. Here the type of relations with the state is vital. The
archetype of state-NGO relations which will foster a resilient organization is one which is able
to shift between the various archetypes (see chapter 3). Rather than expressing the merits of
each type, it is more instructive to point out that these shifts should be informed by the particular
political and socio-economic climates as well as the objectives of the organization at the time of
engagement. The accessing of all the networks provides an enabling viewpoint for NGOs to
facilitate resilience in more than just times of crisis.

7.3.4. Adaptation

In as much as the term civil society has evolved so too does the NGOs. Change is constant,
especially within the NGO environment. Adaptation means that the “how” (referring to the
activities that the NGOs does) of the organization may change whereas the “what (vision and
values remain to same). As reflected in the historical overview of YFCI as well as the local
centre, the organization has reflected adaptation which was informed by (primarily) the particular
social concerns of the day. Throughout these phases of adaptation and change the “what”
remained the same, but the activities were very sensitive the public need emphasizing a
correlation between form and function.

7.3.5. Core values

Staying true to the founding principles, vision and goals of NGOs is crucial. It is directly related to
the identity of the organisation. Brand identity like with the commercial sector feeds into brand
support and brand loyalty. So the manner in which the organization consistently demonstrates its
will have an impact on whether or not it is viewed as legitimate by the communities it works in as
well as potential donors. When there are major shifts in the values and vision of the NGO it
creates uncertainty in the minds of recipients and donors which in turn creates the perception
that the NGO is unstable and as a result a risky funding venture. This perceived instability may
also then affect the support within the associated networks the NGO is engaged with. In addition, when staff and volunteers within the organization understand and believe in the core values and vision of the NGO, it boosts resilience. This is especially true when the organization finds itself in crisis. Having an internally clear sense of meaning is one of the most important traits when being resilient within an organisation. Staff will go beyond themselves because they have an intrinsic sense of purpose and attachment in relation to the organization. Cumming et al (2005) caution that when the identity of organizations shifts or changes, then the organization is not very resilient. This stance by the authors is reflected in the findings of the case study as other centres that did change their identity eventually closed down and were not resilient against environmental factors. Changing their identity diminished their brand and affected their organizational objectives which in turn resulted in the loss of donor confidence.

7.3.6. Innovation

As stated earlier, the NGO environment is fraught with uncertainty and volatility. As a result, it is important to stay ahead of the curve of change. NGOs are necessitated to constantly innovate and think around its resource, legal, political challenges if it is to remain resilient. An aspect of complex adaptive systems is not only the ability to withstand a “shock” event but also to forecast and build mechanisms to mitigate and prevent future shocks or co-evolve with the other system components. Innovation in the realm of how staffing is constituted therefore becomes important. For example, ensuring that during the time of crisis the duties assigned to staff members match the skill set. Also, innovation in differentiating itself from other NGOs is crucial if it is to be resilient in a very competitive environment. Innovation is the one trait that overlaps or rather feeds into all of the other resilience factors stated already so it should be embedded in the lifeblood of the organization.
7.3.7. Leadership

The final lesson for resilience is the particular leadership style adopted within the NGO sector. The nature of the sector is largely dependent on networks. This ranges from networks with government, communities as well as other like-minded organisations. Success within these networks is therefore hinged on diplomacy, high levels of consultation, negotiations as well as collaboration. These shifts in the types of relations (both internally and externally) should then also be reflected in the leadership types depending on the situational and environmental context.

It may be useful to point out that the leadership types adopted will therefore not be static but may shift from one form to another. So (from an internal perspective), with the commencement of the organization the leadership style may be autocratic as norms, values and processes are entrenched. Thereafter once structures are established it may shift to that of democratic. As processes are made efficient and staff within the organization provided insight and input in relation to their areas of expertise. Finally, once the organization is running in an effective and efficient manner the leadership style may shift to Laissez-faire as staff will have high competencies and are able to complete operational duties with very little supervision because they understand the processes as well as the heartbeat of the organization. From an external point of with the type of leadership will be hinged on the objectives of the organization at the time as well as the network it is engaged in. So the leadership type may shift from adversarial to collaborative to instructive depending on the organizational objectives.

7.4. Final remarks

All the organization resilience traits outlined above must be viewed in relation to one another. There are traits which overlap in terms of finding their being. For instance, leaders need to be adaptive as well as effectively access networks and by the same token pursuing funding should be informed by the core values of the organization and innovation. As stated earlier, the lessons
drawn from this study may hold value for the broader NGO sector as they are traits which replicable and relevant to all archetypes of NGOs.

**Areas of future research:**

As this is an explorative study, it may be instructive to determine:

1. Whether the findings of this case study are true for all NGO archetypes;
2. Evaluate the extent to which these traits are reflected in resilient perceived NGOs
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**Acts and Constitutions**

The NPO Act (Act No. 71 of 1997).

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**Interviews**

Interview with **Ann Katrin Watjer**, International Volunteer and Intern from Germany (25 May 2015), Goodwood, Cape Town

Interview with **Claudine Gassibe** 10 August 2013, YFC Cape Town Administrator from 2008 – 2014), Edgemead, Cape Town

Interview with **Craig Mutheray**, YFC Cape Town Administrator (18 January 2015), Good wood, Cape Town

Interview with **Eddie Andrews**, Ward 78 councilor and Sub-council 12 chair (4 September 2013), Bellville, Cape Town

Interview with **Emelio Gassibe**, Centre Director of YFC Cape Town from 2008-2014 (10 August 2013), Edgemead, Cape Town

Interview with **Lena Schaubacher**, International Volunteer and Intern from Germany (22 May 2015), Goodood, Cape Town

Interview with **Lucinda Jeftha**, HR Manager and Director of Milu cc; Board member of YFC Cape Town (December 2015), Belhar, Cape Town

Interview with **Lynette Mutheray**, Director of YFC Cape Town, (December 2015), Goodwood, Cape Town
Interview with **Matthew Gould**, International Volunteer and Intern from Northern Ireland (22 November 2012), Montague Gardens, Cape Town

Interview with **Paul Graham**, Director of IDASA (13 September 2013), Cape Town

Interview with **Rachel Hartmann**, International Volunteer and Intern from Germany (21 May 2015), Goodwood, Cape Town

Interview with **Rosa Scheepers**, Project Director of Options (21 November 2012), Montague Gardens, Cape Town

Interview with **Sofia Schulte**, International Volunteer and Intern from Argentina (22 November 2012), Montague Gardens, Cape Town

Interview with **Tanya Mitrovic**, Development practitioner and Director of the Mitrovic Research and Development Institute (29 August 2013), Somerset West

Interview with **Theodore Jansen**, HR practitioner; Chairperson of YFC Cape Town for the past 10 years (6 May 2015), Claremont, Cape Town

Interview with **Zoran Mitrovic**, ICT policy researcher/author, Director of the Mitrovic Research and Development Institute (29 August 2013), Somerset West
Appendix A: Informed consent

Consent Form: Interviews

My name is Garth van Rooyen. I am doing a Masters degree at the University of the Western Cape in Political Studies. The purpose of this research is to explore the factors which contribute to organizational resilience Non-government Organisations by making reference to Youth for Christ Cape Town (YFC Cape Town). My contact number is 0713341487.

My supervisor is Dr. Cherrel Africa in the Department of Political Studies, University of the Western Cape. She can be contacted at 021-9592180 or cjafrica@uwc.ac.za if you need to confirm my study.

To get the information I need for this study I will be speaking to management, staff as well as volunteers from the respective organizations forming part of this comparative study. The project has a strong focus on understanding how Non-Government Organisations in South Africa can ensure resilience and longevity in a complex and evolving political environment. To reach this understanding we would like to interview you about your experiences.

______________________________ (Full name of participant) hereby confirm that I understand that the interview is for a research project and that the information I give will be used towards a Master’s degree and other academic publications.

I consent to participate in the research project. I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire.

I also understand that my identity will be kept secret unless I give my express consent in writing. I also understand that all potentially harmful information I give will be kept confidential unless I consent expressly to it being used in public.

I understand that the findings of the research will be available to me upon request.

Signature of Participant: ______

Date: _________________________

Thank you for participating in this interview.
Appendix B: Interview questions for volunteers (a)

1. Could you tell me what drew you to this organisation?
2. Now that you are a volunteer, was it what you expected?
3. What future do you see for the organisation?
4. Describe the key challenges facing the organisation.
5. In your opinion is the organisation adequately considering the challenges?
6. Would you like to add any other further comments?

Thank you for participating in this interview.
Appendix C: Interview questions for volunteers (b)

1. From your own understanding, what are the core values of YFC Cape Town?

2. As a volunteer has the activities you were engaged in reflecting the core values of YFC Cape Town which you described in question 1?

3. Do you have any areas of concern that you communicated to YFC Cape Town? If yes please describe.

4. Can you think of any recommendations which will improve the way YFC Cape Town operates in general or within the various projects?

5. Do you consider YFC Cape Town to be a resilient organization? Please give reasons for the answer.

6. In terms of resilience:
   (a) Can you explain what FC Cape Town does well in terms of its relationships with partners or networks?
   (b) Can you think of any partners or networks that YFC Cape Town should be involved in?
   (c) Structurally, what do you think YFC Cape Town should look like to be more resilient?
   (d) Are there any factors which you have experienced which could affect YFC in the future?
   (e) How you think YFC Cape Town can adapt to overcome these factor

Thank you for participating in this interview.
Appendix D: Interview questions for Leadership at YFC Cape Town (a)

1. Tell me about the founding/core objective/s of your organisation?
2. How has your founding objectives endured (if at all) since it was first established? Why did this occur?
3. Tell me about how your organisation is funded? (local, government, international? Percentages?)
4. For the past 4 years, NGOs, in general, have been on the decline. How has this affected your organisation? More specifically how has the global economic downturn affected your organisation in terms of:
   4.1. How it is funded
   4.2. Staff compliment
   4.3. The objectives and activities
5. What is the staff compliment like in your organisation (numbers and levels), i.e. permanent, contract, volunteers?
6. Describe your organisation’s approach to staff development and training?
7. How does SA’s legislative framework impact on your organisation? Thinking more specifically about the NPO act or any other legal guidelines, does it enhance or hamper your functioning?
8. In terms of leadership of the organisation is there a clear plan of succession? i.e. Mentoring and training of future leaders?
9. What levels of engagement does the organisation have with government? (i.e. funding, projects, nature of roles etc.)
10. How would you describe the nature of your relations with government collaborative, adversarial or both? Please explain.
11. Describe the strategies your organisation has adopted to be resilient given the challenging NGO market (competition with other NGOs), economic (approaches to funding) and political environment (attitudes towards government)?
12. Would you like to add any other comments?

Thank you for participating in this interview.
Appendix E: Interview questions for Leadership at YFC Cape Town (b)

1. Please state your name, previous work background and current job description.

2. Would you describe YFC Cape as being a resilient organisation? If so why do you say so?

3. What kind of strategic activities have you implemented / will you implement to improve the current state of the organisation?. What should change and what should stay the same?

4. Do these intended changes affect the identity of the organisation?

5. Could you describe the current networks/stakeholders you have and the nature of the relationship with each?

6. What do you think is the biggest challenge facing the organisation or NPOs today.

7. How can organisations ensure resilience?

Thank you for participating in this interview.
Appendix F: Interview questions for Staff at YFC Cape Town (a)

1. How long have you been employed by the organization and in which capacity?
2. What is your understanding of the objectives of the organization?
3. What is your job description? Do you think it fulfils or is aligned with the objectives of the organization?
4. For the past 4 years, NPOs, in general, have been on the decline. How has this affected your organisation? More specifically how has the global economic downturn affected your organisation in terms of:
   a. How it is funded
   b. Staff compliment
   c. The objectives and activities
5. In relation to question 4 above, in your opinion what do you think is the greatest challenge facing this organization in terms of meeting its objectives?
6. Tell me about any strategies the organization has employed with regard to staff development.
7. In terms of leadership of the organisation is there a clear plan of succession? i.e. Mentoring and training of future leaders?
8. What levels of engagement does the organisation have with government? (i.e. funding, projects, nature of roles etc.)
9. How would you describe the nature of your relations with government collaborative, adversarial or both? Please explain.
10. Describe the strategies your organisation has adopted to be resilient given the challenging CSO market, economic and political environment?
11. Would you like to add any other further comments?

Thank you for participating in this interview.
Appendix G: Interview questions for Staff at YFC Cape Town (b)

1. What is your job description?

2. For the past 4 years, NGOs, in general, have been on the decline. How has this affected your organisation? More specifically how has the global economic downturn affected your organisation in terms of:
   a. How it is funded
   b. Staff compliment
   c. The objectives and activities

3. Does international donors have any conditions in exchange for their funding? Explain.

4. How does SA’s legislative framework impact on your organization? Thinking more specifically about the NPO act or any other legal guidelines, does it enhance or hamper your functioning?

5. How would you describe the nature of your relations with government collaborative, adversarial or both? Please explain.

6. What is/was the biggest challenge facing your organization’s survival. Please explain.

7. In your opinion how can/could NGOs ensure resilience?

Thank you for participating in this interview.
Appendix H: Interview questions for Development Practitioners

1. What is your job description?

2. For the past 4 years, NGOs, in general, have been on the decline. How has this affected your organisation? More specifically how has the global economic downturn affected your organisation in terms of:
   a. How it is funded
   b. Staff compliment
   c. The objectives and activities

3. Does international donors have any conditions in exchange for their funding? Explain.

4. How does SA’s legislative framework impact on your organization? Thinking more specifically about the NPO act or any other legal guidelines, does it enhance or hamper your functioning?

5. How would you describe the nature of your relations with government collaborative, adversarial or both? Please explain.

6. What is/was the biggest challenge facing your organization’s survival. Please explain.

7. In your opinion how can/could NGOs ensure resilience?

Thank you for participating in this interview.
Appendix I: Interview questions for Ward Councilor

1. What was your job description?

2. What are the legal requirements for NPOS to access funding from the department of social development/local government?

3. How and to which sectors are the available funding from social development dispersed? Please explain why this is the case?

4. In general, how would you describe the nature of your relations with NPOs? Is it collaborative, adversarial or both? Please explain.

5. What in your opinion is the biggest challenge facing NPOs survival? Please explain.

6. In your opinion how can/could NPOs ensure resilience?

Thank you for participating in this interview.