EVALUATION OF THE COMMUNITY
PARTICIPATION PROCESS
OF BUILD A BETTER SOCIETY (BABS)

WESTERN CAPE

by

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in partial fulfilment of the requirements

for the M.A. degree in Social Work,

Department of Social Work, University of the Western Cape

Supervisor : W SEPTEMBER

Date : JUNE 1997

DEDICATED

TO

GEORGE GIBBS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my appreciation to colleagues and friends who contributed to this study in many different ways and take this opportunity to thank them.

- William September, my supervisor.

- I am indebted to Dr. Linda Bailey who guided and encouraged me.

- My wife, Kitty, for helping with typing and introducing me to the word processor.

- The respondents of the questionnaires without whose co-operation part of this study would not have been done.

- Georgia and Wendy, without whom the study could not have proceeded.

- BABS Board of Trustees.

- Professor Connie Groenewald, Eric Atmore and Professor Morris Cohen for helping me in the proposal stages of the study.

ABSTRACT

The study was undertaken of Build A Better Society (BABS) Western Cape because a comparison of the membership and public profile of the organisation from the time of its inception to recent times showed a decrease in its activities.

Feasible explanations in changes in the political system and funding priorities could be established to account for the reduction in community participation. However, there is a lack of information on community organisation projects in this country and, until recently, a dearth of literature on the subject of community participation as very few projects have been systematically evaluated and published which could have provided another explanation for the decrease.

Registered as a welfare organisation, BABS is regarded as one of the pioneering community work organisations in Cape Town. It became a model for several organisations in the Western Cape who adopted its philosophy and formally constituted as affiliates.

The aims, therefore, of the study were to examine whether the programmes of the organisation were successful in eliciting community participation, the extent of this involvement and whether this involvement was sustained over time; to describe the efforts of the staff and members in applying the techniques and procedures inherent in the community participation process; to describe the impact of this process on affiliated organisations and to ascertain whether economic status or organisational structure had influenced the development of projects.

The findings were to be compared to those of other studies. Community participation, in the context of the study, occurs when people take part in programmes they desire and are able to sustain their interest after external support has been phased out.

The research methodology involved two surveys:
- Interviews with the members and staff of BABS Western Cape in order to describe participation patterns and the impact of programmes on participants.
- A study of available data which profiled the BABS organisations, their goals and programmes.

The data analysis was completed by the researcher. The findings indicate that community participation involved people becoming involved to a lesser or greater degree at different times in response to different issues. This suggested that there are several answers to the question raised in regard to the decrease in the activities of BABS.
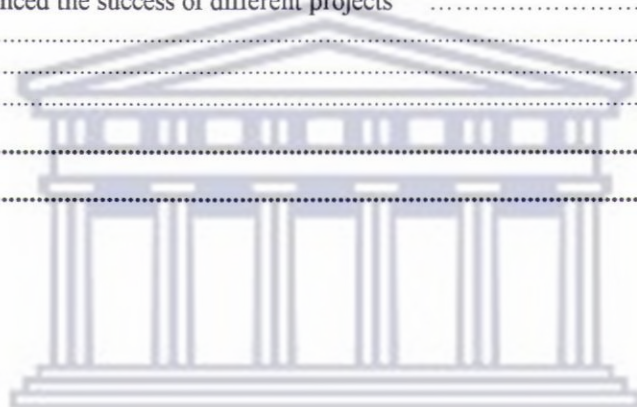
The findings also suggest that major problems facing deprived areas, such as crime and housing, are beyond the resources and scope of neighbourhood development agencies.

Finally, the recommendations call for BABS, which no longer functions as a grassroots community development agency, to institute a process of termination with its former affiliates, to maximise the use of the Pegasus centre in Kewtown, and to continue in its new direction as a training organisation. Other recommendations provide suggestions with regard to their community participation strategies to other organisations seeking to enter the field .

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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.   MOTIVATION FOR THE STUDY

South Africa has a long tradition of people coming together in a communal spirit of caring and sharing through informal leadership and systems of networking. In due course this came to be recognised by non-governmental organisations which saw the development potential in communities and sought to stimulate this further by sponsoring development projects. We have seen the growth of projects that have emphasised social action, or displayed political or ideological goal setting.

In a post-apartheid society the emphasis is now on empowerment of communities to enable them to change their lives and their environment to counter the decades-long erosion of their dignity and confidence as individuals and communities.

A notable sponsor of community development is the Government of National Unity through the introduction of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). An important aspect of the strategy of these programmes is the importance placed on community participation in ensuring the success of the various programmes (White Paper on Reconstruction and Development, 1994: 33).

This new emphasis on the importance of participation is in accord with the general acceptance of community participation as a sine qua non of community development. The RDP also places significance on socio-economic development. In the present stringent economic climate the continued viability of projects is dependent on available funding. It is important that projects which are launched are both efficient and effective. In order to assess whether the money invested in programmes achieve their stated aims in the most efficient way projects have to be evaluated.

With development funding at a premium a body of knowledge has to be developed to assist community developers and policy makers in arriving at informed decisions.

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There is a lack of information on community organisation projects in the country and until recently a dearth of literature on evaluative research. Since the nineties three academic studies on community participation have been completed (Van Wyk:1993; Taylor:1994; Van Der Mescht:1994). The evaluation of the community participation process within BABS Western Cape seeks to contribute to this growing body of knowledge.

Registered as a welfare organisation, Build A Better Society, Kewtown, or BABS as it is known, is regarded as one of the pioneering community work organisations in Cape Town. Established in 1972 it became a model for several organisations in the Western Cape Province. These organisations which adopted the BABS philosophy and procedures are formally constituted as affiliates in a body known as BABS National.

The membership and public profile of BABS from the time of its inception showed a steady increase. In 1985/86 sixteen communities were affiliated to BABS. A year later it grew to twenty two affiliates. In 1987/88 the number dropped to twenty but in the following year the membership peaked at twenty eight affiliates nationally. Since 1973 BABS had expanded at a rate of between one and two affiliates per year (Groenewald,1988:14).

During 1988 there was an average of seventy nine members and eight groups per affiliate while the number of people affected by the activities of the affiliates was four hundred and twenty nine persons on average (BABS National Annual Report,1988/89:4). The activities ranged from volunteer actions focusing on soup kitchens, crèches and clubs to political mobilization and social action.

The beginnings of the nineties to the present showed a decrease in the activities of the organisation, most noticeably in the decline of media coverage, the absence of annual reports and annual congresses. A feasible explanation for the reduction in community participation can be found in the political changes that took place in the early nineties that led to:
a) a relocation of funding on the part of major sponsors away from community development projects to the education and health sectors,

b) a decrease in the activities of community based organisations where the political mobilization of communities no longer became the focus.

The consideration of external factors which may have affected participation was secondary to the primary motivation of the study which was to ascertain the internal factors which caused the reduction in participation. These findings would be useful to organisations in the new South Africa, in the absence of the last mentioned external influences, to come to terms with the challenge of community participation.

2.   DEFINITION OF PARTICIPATION, COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, EVALUATION

2.1 Participation

The Oxford English Dictionary (1992:649) defines participation as taking part in some matter. This raises questions about who takes part, with whom, and in what matter. A definition of participation that provides a response to these questions is that of the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF). It defines participation as " when programmes which are desired and utilized by the community are sustained by them after external support has been phased out (Richardson, 1983:108)."

The UNICEF definition serves as a basis for generating two research questions for the study. First, the fact that participation occurs when programmes are desired and utilised by the community elicits the question as to what was the extent to which people became involved in BABS Western Cape. Second, the definition sets an important condition that, for participation to have taken place, these programmes must be sustained by the community after external support has been phased out. Thus, in addition to establishing the extent to which people become involved with BABS Western Cape, the question is raised as to how long this involvement was sustained over time.

The above questions formed the fulcrum of this study. For the purpose of this study, the above definitions were combined. Thus, participation occurs when people take part in programmes they desire, and are able to sustain their interest after external support has been phased out. A critical explanation arising out of the above is that community participation is dependent on a process which consists of the application of certain techniques and procedures. For the

For the purpose of this study these procedures include institution building, conscientising, training, popular projects, leadership development and civics-building.

2.2 Community Development

There are three underlying concepts which will be briefly explored. These are community, community development and community organization.

2.2.1. COMMUNITY

Those in search of the meaning of community had at one time found 94 different definitions (Bennington, 1974:260). It is this variation that may have prompted Robert Thornton (1988:13) of the University of Cape Town to observe that "Community, like sex, is a state of desire, not a state of affairs, that is, in all but the most exceptional circumstances, communities, in any ethnographically meaningful sense, do not exist". On the other hand, there is "an agreement that, among the many different definitions of community that have been offered, three characteristics are agreed upon as a minimum (Bernard,:1983:167). " These are locale, common ties and social interaction.

With respect to the characteristic of locale, one may look at the communities under study and observe that residents are dependent on the same community services such as dirt collection, street cleaning and rent collection. They would be using the same shops and playing fields.

The other characteristics - common ties and social interaction- are marked by a high degree of personal intimacy, emotional depth, moral commitment, social cohesion and continuity in time. The term "gemeinschaft" has been invoked to refer to community in this sense (Ibid:4).

The above was of interest to this study to the extent that one may argue that the failure or the success of community participation strategies are dependent on these three characteristics being present in the communities concerned. Indeed, the community may be regarded as the basic unit of action in community development. This term requires explanation.

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2.2.2. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

According to Kramer and Specht (1983:18), community development, through various methods develops a sense of community through participation. It must be said that the term community development, as it is understood in this study, is one of several practice theories of development. The distinction between development, social development and community development is discussed in more detail in Chapter two.

In defining the concept, Lombard (1991:111) had collected the views of several writers in understanding community development as:

a) a process which moves from one situation to another in terms of progress towards desired changes in terms of specific criteria.

b) a method, regarded as a procedure aimed at achieving specific goals.

c) a programme consisting of methods and contents.

d) a movement, with a purpose to improve the quality of life for everybody and is regarded as a cause to which people are dedicated.

Defining community development as developing according to a process was important for this study as it provided a way of identifying and evaluating the activities of the BABS community workers who sought to execute the community development process in order to bring about change within the community. When community development is aimed at the process, involvement and participation of the community plays an important role.

2.2.3. COMMUNITY ORGANISATION

A practice theory of development which is of interest to this study is community organisation. This is defined as a practice of purposeful change that is directed by a professional person (Kramer, 1969:8). For the purpose of this study, community organisation is synonymous with the term community work. The latter term is generally accepted in South Africa as the social work method used in the community context (Lombard, op cit:69). The goals of community work may be divided into two categories - process and task goals.

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TASK GOALS

Task goals are concerned with concrete tasks which are completed to solve a defined problem (Rothman, 1974:27). Examples of task goals relevant to this study are:

a) those dealing with specific problems in the community, e.g. the setting up of soup kitchens,

b) providing for community needs, e.g. the setting up of a crèche; and

c) promoting the general welfare of the community, e.g. the provision of training programmes.

PROCESS GOALS

Process goals are concerned with the development of abilities in the pursuit of task goals. Process goals invite participation by means of group activities which develop the individual as well as the collective abilities of the community (Rothman, op cit:27). Examples of process goals relevant to this study are:

a) the establishment of co-operation between groups in the community;

b) the stimulation of participation in community affairs;

c) the promotion of local leadership; and

d) task skills such as holding a meeting, keeping minutes and book-keeping.

2.3. Evaluation

Evaluation is defined as a judgement of worth or an appraisal of value (York, 1982:140). The importance of evaluation cannot be underestimated as without evaluation, community development cannot be a learning process (Swanepoel, 1989:170). Evaluation focuses on what happened, how it happened, whether it should have happened more efficiently and whether it should have happened at all (Tauffer, 1978:11).

Two major purposes of evaluation have been identified for the purpose of this study:

a) the extent to which objectives were achieved;

b) to identify the reasons for programme success or failure.

According to Patton (1986:67) there are thirty different types of evaluation. Different definitions of evaluation reveal differences in what evaluators emphasise in their work.

• It is the process of determining the extent to which goals and objectives are being attained.

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- It involves the application of experimental designs and quantitative measures.
- It is the process of comparing different programmes.
- It is a judgement of programme value.
- It is a problem-solving process.
- It is the systems analysis approach - a look at the relationship between programme outputs and inputs.
- It is utilisation focused.

There are two fundamentally distinct types of evaluation: summative and formative (Ibid:65).

- Summative evaluations determine the essential effectiveness of programmes and are important in making decisions about continuing or terminating a programme.
- Formative evaluations focus on ways of improving and enhancing programmes.

3. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the study was to:

a) examine the extent to which objectives were reached, and

b) identify the reasons for programme success or failure.

Arising out of this the study focused on community participation, specifically, the community participation process as contained in the programmes provided by BABS Western Cape.

Through the application of primary and secondary source research methods the following questions were pursued:

PRIMARY - by means of interviews with staff and BABS members the study ascertained the extent to which people were motivated to become involved in BABS, the nature of this involvement, and the effect of the programmes offered on the participants.

SECONDARY - the available data assisted in describing the effort of staff and members in achieving goals and objectives.

The aims of the study were:

a) To examine whether the programmes offered were successful in eliciting community participation, the extent of this involvement and whether this involvement was sustained over time.

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b) To describe the efforts of the staff and members in applying the techniques and procedures inherent in the community participation process;

c) To describe the impact of this process on the affiliate organisations and their membership;

d) To ascertain whether the economic status of the community had had an impact on the development of programmes within that community;

e) To ascertain the extent to which the organisational structure of affiliates had influenced the success of different programmes in eliciting community participation.

Arising out of the findings of the above, and additional aim was:

f) To find support for the proposition that community participation involves people becoming involved to a lesser or greater degree at different times in response to different issues.

It was beyond the scope of this study to examine the organisational and structural changes that would have occurred to enable the organisation to survive in a changing environment.

4. OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

A summary of each chapter of the study is set out as follows:

Chapter One: **Introduction to the Study**

The chapter sets out the motivation for the study and introduces the issue of participation. It provides the definitions of closely related terms such as community development and community organisation and explains the purpose of evaluation in regard to this study. The chapter ends with the setting out of the aims of the study.

Chapter Two: **Review of Literature**

In this chapter a general overview is presented of evaluation and development as a precursor to the study of participation. This is achieved by surveying local and international literature for examples of evaluation research in the community development field. The chapter explores the ideological grounding of participation while tracing its historical roots. A review of participation in urban and rural settings follows. The chapter concludes with various forms of participation and the recognition of participation as a process.

Chapter Three: **Methodology**

This chapter reports on the overall evaluation design for the study. A qualitative-quantitative evaluation was chosen as it provided an in-depth understanding of the subject.

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The design most suited for the type of descriptive research envisaged and utilised was that of the survey study. Data gathering was through interviews with members and staff of the organisation and through a survey of secondary data.

Chapter Four: Survey of Secondary Sources

In this chapter the area and organisational profiles are a precursor to the examination of the various programmes introduced by the organisation and its branches in the Western Cape Province. The chapter describes a pattern of relationship between the geographic and demographic characteristics of affiliates and the participation process adopted by the different branches.

Chapter Five: Results of the Survey of Primary Sources

In this chapter the findings of the survey of members and staff of BABS Western Cape are presented.

Chapter Six: Discussion of Findings of Primary and Secondary Sources. Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter discusses and interprets the research findings in the light of information obtained in the preceding chapters, with special reference to national and international literature. Finally, recommendations with regard to the future functioning of the organisation are made.

Chapter Two

LITERATURE REVIEW

Researching participation is beset with problems of a technical and interpretative nature and to facilitate understanding of the these difficulties some background is required on the nature of evaluative studies. Another area of enquiry that will be helpful in understanding the subject is in the broad area of community development in which participation exists. In this chapter a general overview is presented of evaluation and development as a precursor to the study of participation.

1. EVALUATION

Empirical programme evaluation occurred as the result of the demand for accountability over massive expenditure by federal agencies in America during the seventies and as an alternative to the charity and political approaches to assessing programme effectiveness (Patton, op cit).

According to Rossi and Freeman (1989:22) evaluation research prospered to a large extent because of developments in research methods applicable to the study of social problems. Programme evaluation uses research methods to gather information, but while basic research is undertaken to discover new knowledge, programme evaluation is undertaken to provide information about programmes.

Different definitions of evaluation reveal differences in what evaluators emphasise in their work:

- It is a process of determining the extent to which objectives have been attained and to identify the reasons for programme success or failure (Lauffer, 1978:11).
- It involves the application of credible technical approaches that are utilised for answering questions (Herman , Morris and Fitzgibbon, 1987:19).

A review of the literature for examples of evaluation research in the community development field is a major undertaking.

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Taylor (1984:76) cited figures which showed that in the USA alone, and as early as the mid seventies, some five hundred private firms existed, primarily to contract for evaluation research. This research briefly looked at studies completed in America and the Netherlands; those completed in South Africa; and finally, studies commissioned by the organisation itself. The purpose of reviewing this area was for methodological considerations, that is, to obtain insights for the research design of this study. However, studies differed in the detail offered with regard to the application of research procedures.

1.1 Examples of studies in America and The Netherlands

A study that provides some detail of its evaluative methods is one which was completed in America by the National Association of Social Workers, titled "The project on neighbourhood organisation for community action" (Turner, 1968:3). The study investigated the relevance of selected neighbourhood organisations and its programmes offered to combat the physical, social and economic problems that beset them. The study was done in two phases:

a) Phase one surveyed the experiences of the above programmes and focused on the identification of goals, organisation, strategies, methods of action, evidence of conditions associated with their success or failure. It also identified and explored factors in the political and socio-economic arenas that support or set limits on action and provision of staff to neighbourhood organisations.

b) Phase two called for the analysis of the findings from phase one and the submission of these findings to a group of community organisation practitioners, theoreticians and social scientists.

Sixty-five lay persons from forty-eight organisations participated in the workshops. Three sources of data collection were utilised: workshop discussion, case material and a questionnaire.

A study on a large scale is by the Joint Consultancy Forum of Netherlands Co-financing Organisations in 1990 (NORRAG News, 1992). It launched an impact study to determine the effectiveness and relevance of programmes it financed from the perspective of the recipients.

The study found that it is very difficult to assess the effectiveness of the sponsored programmes because of a lack of clarity in the formulation of programme objectives; a lack of clear indicators concerning project outputs; the impact of surrounding environment variables on the effectiveness of the interventions; and the prevalence of programmes supported by the sponsors.

1.2 South African Studies

A study by Mary Fitzgerald (1980:19) recorded the process of community development she was engaged in as a student as it evolved in the Eldorado and Kliptown, Johannesburg communities. She had hypothesised that the community development process would lead to citizen participation, resulting in self-help projects aimed at improving the life-style of the community. The evaluation of the field study consisted mainly of her own observations with regard to the sustainability of the groups and projects she had helped to establish.

Dr. Pick (1988), in a study of the welfare work of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church, evaluated the desirability of the community development process as a method of work for the church and assessed to what extent its social workers have the skills and knowledge to provide for the needs of its clients. The information was obtained by means of a mailed questionnaire with the social workers as respondents and established that with the availability of training and supervision, community work could become part of the services offered by the church.

The Development Bank of South Africa commissioned an evaluation on the special programmes for creating employment which had been introduced by the government. The team responsible for the report described their work as a monitoring exercise more than a cost benefit evaluation (Viljoen, 1987) and detailed the programmes offered and the number of persons reached by the various programmes.

Thobeka Mangwana studied the mental health needs of black people in Cape Town and evaluated the service provided by the Cape Mental Health Society in respect of this segment of the population (Mangwana, 1989). She found that black people are mere recipients of a service and are not represented at the planning and decision-making levels.

She used the following evaluative criteria in examining problems in service delivery: availability, adequacy, accessibility, responsiveness, accountability, effectiveness, efficiency and appropriateness. She observed that the evaluation procedure practised by the Society was retrospective, emphasising measurement of effort or input.

There are a number of recent contributions to evaluation research. A study was commissioned by a funder who wanted to assess the impact of the training module it was funding. The study assessed to what extent in the process of programme development, objectives were being reached. J. Triegaard (1993:67) conducted this evaluation of a training module provided by the Leadership Institute, a non-profit community based organisation which provides services and training to community development practitioners. The evaluation design was geared to interviews with participants and participant observation. Data gathering included reports and videos which recorded each of the training modules. A random sample of respondents were selected for the interviews. The researcher described the study as using a open systems model which directed the evaluation toward examining input and output goals, taking into account appropriate community elements.

Van der Mescht (1994) evaluated regional welfare boards which had been appointed in terms of the National Welfare Act of 1978 to structure community participation in the identification of social welfare needs, as well as the planning, initiation and co-ordination of services to meet these needs. She drew up a sample of representatives of regional welfare boards, welfare committees and welfare organisations using both random and non-random sampling procedures. Data collection was by means of a structured questionnaire. The study confirmed the need for institutionalized community participation in the planning and co-ordination. It concluded that regional welfare boards did not function properly and identified shortcomings in work procedures, role performance of members and personnel, composition, legitimacy and financing.

Van Wyk (1993) developed an instrument to measure community participation. For the development of the measuring instrument a panel of experts was co-opted for the purpose of allocating values to the relative importance of eight identified areas within the spectrum of community participation. The panel allocated values to the frequency of participation in each of these areas.

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The usability of the instrument was tested through data obtained by means of a questionnaire survey of two hundred households in the Worcester area. With the use of the measuring instrument the data was manipulated to calculate attendance indexes for males, females and children which led to numerous findings, some of which will be discussed in later chapters.

Taylor (1994) directed his study towards the construction of a sociological framework of the nature and scope of community participation in development projects. To this end a literature study was undertaken of approaches to development, theories of organisation and community participation.

In South Africa the most frequent use of evaluation is found in programme evaluation as understood in welfare programme proposals submitted by welfare organisations in support of their funding applications. An analysis by B. McKendrick (1985:167) of the evaluation section of the programme proposal format drew attention to the fact that the compilers of the guidelines for proposal writing have drawn on some major categories of evaluation:

a) Assessment of effort - Refers to the description of the type and quantity of programme activities. Effort questions are concerned with the inputs into a programme and the programme activities used to achieve programme results. Effort refers to staff time and activity. It does not tell one how well the activities are being carried out but what has happened (Austin, 1982:22). Programme effort is necessary for the achievement of programme goals, but the evidence of programme activity is not sufficient to determine whether these goals have been reached. Thus programme effectiveness is a further criterion that is brought in.

b) Assessment of effect - Programme effectiveness is concerned with whether intended outcomes have been attained as a result of programme efforts (Tripodi, 1985:9). Effectiveness questions yield information about the impact of a programme on its participants, its staff and the agency.

c) Assessment of process - Process evaluations investigate the dynamics of programme operations. They require a detailed description of programme operations (Patton, 1987:23). They focus on why certain things are happening, how the parts of the programme fit together, how people perceive the programme.

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1.3 BABS Studies

The organisation has previously commissioned two evaluations of its activities. In 1988 C.J. Groenewald conducted a research study which provided:

a) an evaluation of the BABS National structure and systems;

b) recommendations of appropriate changes; and

c) suggestions of directions for acceleration and expansion.

The following methods of study were applied:

- Interviews with key members which provided a background to the organisation, its structure and functions.

- Analyses of various files, reports and statistical data.

- Visits to affiliates during which group interviews were held with committee members. Interviews were done with the aid of structured questionnaires. In total, 150 questionnaires representative of 19 affiliates were completed.

- Participant observation was done at a training workshop.

This study indicated that BABS National had been expanding to new affiliates which were structured around voluntaristic participation by members with low key guidance by national staff (Groenewald, 1988). In 1992 the BABS trustees again commissioned Professor Groenewald to ascertain what the challenges of the future were for the organisation and how they could address the challenges. The study was conducted over the course of two general meetings of BABS participants. The method used was the application of the nominal group technique over three phases: with 49 members at an AGM in July 1992 who generated ideas for the second phase held at regional workshops where up to 30 members took part. The final phase consisted of a report back session to the Trustees. The findings were as follows:

a) that BABS retains its character as a community development grass roots organisation.

b) that its basic organisational structure be kept intact.

c) that regionalisation be considered in order to establish local changes in the structure and personnel of the affiliate.

d) that new training modules be introduced to cater for the problem areas that members had defined (Groenewald, 1992).

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The last two studies may be described as answering programme effort questions. This present study aimed to complement this knowledge by yielding information on the effectiveness of the BABS programmes and is essentially a summative evaluation.

It is no simple task to evaluate developmental impact. To assist in understanding the nature of the problem it may be instructive to have a brief overview on the question of development. This is given with the aim tracing the approaches to the practice area of the BABS organisation which is regarded as locality development and social action. With the voluminous literature on development, community development and community work, this approach involves moving from the general to the specific in what may be a cursory manner, but is unavoidable within the constraints of the length of the study.

2. DEVELOPMENT

Development is seen as a process aimed at realising human potential (Bryant & White, 1982:3). Through this process people and communities change to improve their lives in material and other ways such as in economic, social, political and technological development (Heller, 1986:3).

Economic development has formed the principal criteria for development where development was synonymous with growth and industrialisation. Bryant and White (op cit:4) held the view that this had its roots in economists, particularly in the sixties, exercising a strong influence in the development field. The political economy, structural changes, re-distribution with growth were catch-phrases of that era.

To the western countries, the concept of development meant economic growth. This resulted in supplying the poorer countries with the financial means to improve their living conditions. However, this contribution to the expected economic revival of the less developed countries was minimal and the gap between rich and poor countries became larger. Economic development received the attention of economists who developed the theory of dependency. They argued that third-world countries are made dependent, often under the guise of development, upon the developed countries.

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This perception of the functioning of international trade led to the charge of "development of underdevelopment" which meant that international forces worked to create poverty (Heller, 1986:11).

This thesis was not readily accepted and it was argued that the development of modern imperialism could be explained in terms of economic interest only; and the "immerseration" of the population, as understood by the phrase "development of underdevelopment", has its basic conceptual apparatus in Marxist-Leninist theories of imperialism (Berger, 1989:3).

Much debate over the nature of development eventually led to a change of emphasis to rather seeing human resources as both the target and instrument of development. Lombard (1991:109) defined development as a process by which the potential of people are developed for the enhancement of their quality of life. It is from this viewpoint, that is, people are an integral part of development, that community development takes its point of departure.

The expression "community development" was first adopted on 1948 at the Cambridge Conference (Ferrinho,1980:39). The Conference defined community development "as a programme of approaches and techniques which rely upon local communities as units of action and which attempts to combine outside assistance with organized local self-determination and effort, and which correspondingly seeks to stimulate local initiative and leadership as the primary instruments of change (Ibid)."

The self-help theme was emphasized in the working definition that the United Nations adopted in 1956 which referred to community development as "the process by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities; to integrate these communities into the life of nations, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress (Perlman and Gurin, 1972:104)." The field of activity of community development includes all the developmental dimensions of a community, namely:

a) Physical Development

This involves the provision of infrastructure such as improvement in roads, housing, water supply and regional planning.

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b) Economic Development

This is aimed at agriculture, mining, industry and trade. Potential projects are the initiation of self-help groups and co-operatives, small business undertakings.

c) Social Development

This is aimed at the welfare of the total community and refers to health and social welfare services, education, recreation and culture. It is primarily aimed at the process of human development and secondarily at the development of services.

d) Political Development

This refers to the network of organisations and structures which is necessary in any community in order to ensure that economic, social and political progress is maintained (Lombard, 1991:212).

2.1 Community Development

The actual practice of community development was regarded as having been limited to the local level. The early United Nations surveys, published in 1959 indicated that some changes had taken place but that they were much less extensive than the promoters had hoped (Perlman and Gurin,1972:105). The surveys cast doubt on one of the basic assumptions of community development - that there would be a correlation between an increase in community self-help activity and the achievement of better standards in productivity (Ibid).

Another difficulty was found in the relationship of the community projects to the political situation in the different countries. A prominent element in the ideology of early community development projects was the commitment to a non-political approach, avoiding political conflict, relying instead on a process that would unite various groups in common effort. Negative effects resulted from this lack of integration between community projects and the political system. Community development became politicised and came to be either opposed or dominated by political forces (ibid:106). In some countries community development with decentralization of government functions and ran counter to the tenets of local self-determination that are basic to the development approach.

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As a result of these factors, community development programmes achieved a different status than it did from its early origins when it was considered an instrument for major social change. Today such programmes fall under larger programmes of national and regional development (Ibid).

2.2 Community Organisation

Community organisation is defined as a practice of purposeful change directed by a professional person (Kramer & Specht, 1983:8). This definition serves this study well as the study deals with the activities of BABS professionals, especially in regard to their community participation strategies.

Community organisation was first introduced in the USA during World War 1 and has been taught as a professional practice since 1940 with the aim of bringing order to such diverse fields as philanthropy, voluntary associations, community chests. The 1939 Lane reports to the National Conference of Social Workers brought community organisation into the field of social work (Kraushaar & De Torres, 1982:145) and has since been recognised as a field of specialisation for social workers.

The Lane reports viewed the practitioner as an expert in carrying out a process that helps bring people together to clarify their problems, identify their needs and help them to develop their capacity to deal with their own problems more effectively (Cohen,1974:222). Impetus to the new roles for community workers was received from post World Was II pressures to deal with problems such as slum housing, high unemployment rates, discrimination and segregation.

The writings of Saul Alinsky (Ibid) advocated a more aggressive approach than the passive resistance which characterized early civil rights campaigners and served to further elaborate the choices the community worker could make to effect community change. The commencement of the War on Poverty (Ibid) provided further impetus to the development of problem solvers and community change agents through its requirements of citizen participation and action.

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Thus community workers engaged in organizing, planning and programming activities began to see themselves as professionals and social planners, using expert knowledge and explicit strategies to influence decision making and social policy.

Cohen (ibid:227) identified three types of settings where community organisation is practised:

1. Voluntary associations. These are membership organisations designed to accomplish particular objectives such as self-help or social action projects. Examples are block clubs, crèches and tenant organisations as characterised by the BABS structure.

2. Service agencies. This category includes private as well as public welfare organisations which provide a direct service.

3. Planning, co-ordinating and allocating agencies. Examples of these are regional welfare boards, regional planning organisation and central fund-raising organisations.

It is clear form the above that there is more than one method of community organisation practice. Rothman (1979:5) suggested a typology of three strategies or models which served to classify the major approaches used in practice. These models are locality development, social action and social planning .

Locality development is understood as community change that involves widespread citizen participation at the local community levels and determining goals and implementing action. A major focus is the process of community building (Brager and Specht,1973:27). To this end it utilizes local leadership and resources and emphasizes democratic procedures, voluntary co-operation, self-help, leadership development and educational objectives (Cohen,op cit:228).

Social action seeks to achieve basic changes in community practices and major institutions by taking action and applying pressure through a variety of confrontation techniques. Participation is the value most clearly articulated for those who use this approach.

Social planning centres on the technical process of problem solving and deals with planned change in relation to the delivery of needed services. It focuses on the provision of resources, facilities and services on a co-ordinated basis to meet the social welfare needs of communities.

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This study focuses on the first practice field as it will show how BABS community work practitioners pursued community change by involving a wide spectrum of local people in goal-directed actions in their neighbourhoods. Localities such as neighbourhoods are small enough to enable persons to relate to one another and to participate in fairly individualised ways.

Social planning, as a practice field, is not relevant to this discussion as it does not fit the function of the organisation under study. On the other hand, social action, is dependent on the cohesive organisation and mass mobilisation of large numbers of people who are committed to change. Lionel Louw (1994:296) cited South Africa's recent history as a case study of social action, where, for instance, consumer boycotts and worker strikes had such impact on the business community that working conditions improved substantially and the number of social responsibility programmes increased dramatically. It will be shown that social action was part of the BABS strategy.

The move towards locality development by BABS would have been decided by a number of factors that have been identified by Kramer & Specht (op cit:10):

- The locality. In the seventies Kewtown was a community that was beset with problems which required urgent intervention.

- The character of the organisation. BABS was established to initiate community based actions to deal with these problems.

- The nature of the problems dealt with. There were signs of both physical and social neglect which led to gangsterism, unemployment and a lack community cohesion.

- The character of the issues. These were of nature that could be rectified by physical improvements and tapping the human resource available.

- The organisational structures developed. The physical layout of the township lent itself to the creation of block clubs which in could be coupled with each other towards joint action.

- The role of the professional worker. The newly established organisation attracted practitioners who sought to acquire skill in community work and alternative approaches to casework.

BABS was not alone in this practice field. Since the mid-1970's a number of student placements were developed by training institutions.

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In the Western Cape students were placed in communities to organise neighbourhood associations. In time many civic associations developed from such initiatives. (Louw, 1993:4)

The thread running through the above-mentioned practice fields is the important concept of participation. As this is the focal point of this study it will receive attention in the following manner.

3. PARTICIPATION

This section deals with the theoretical traditions underpinning participation. A number of definitions are given. A survey of the history of participation in several countries follows. The forms of participation, the indicators and contra-indicators for participation introduce the discussion of the critical element of the study which is the process of participation.

3.1 The Concept

The notion of community participation is deeply ideological in that it reflects beliefs derived from social political theories about how societies should be organised (Midgley, 1986:4). Thus it is argued that there are three main theoretical traditions concerning the nature of government and democracy (Kay, 1970:200):

a) PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY

This emphasises the importance of participation in all aspects of public life for the development of man's individual capacities. This implies that the individual benefits in many ways by associating with others in pursuit of a goal. Further, not only the person gains, but also the community, through a sense of shared purpose. Participatory democracy provides a mechanism and expression for populist ideals of organising people and making them aware of their situation (Ibid).

b) DEMOCRACY BY PROXY

It is postulated that since the complexity and size of modern society makes the attainment of participatory democracy impossible, people allow leaders to make decisions on their behalf. M.Smith (1985:88) wrote that "it is possible that a man may have a vision of the common good and yet not take part in government. "

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"This often occurs when men believe that government is in good hands and that the common good will not be better served by their participation. Nor is participation necessary for the development of one's sense of self-esteem, for many persons who do not participate are not racked by doubts about their worth and doubtless many who do participate are prey to such doubts".

c) REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY

Modifications of democratic theory have resulted in forms of representative democracy which emphasised the accountability of the governing officials to their electorate. There was a perception that a gap had grown between the two as a result of the growth in scale of the institutions through which services were delivered and which separated policy makers from those for whom the service was provided. It was thought that getting people involved in decision-making leads to better management of an issue (Ibid).

3.2 Definition

As stated in Chapter one, participation is defined as taking part in some matter. The UNICEF definition is repeated:

> "Participation occurs when programmes which are desired and utilised by the community are sustained by them after external support has been phased out" (Richardson,108).

The above definition is of use to this study. Its emphasis on programme desirability and sustainability relates to the research questions investigating the extent to which people become involved with BABS and how long this involvement was sustained over time.

Some writers (Sheng, 1989:57) noted that community development and community participation are basically the same if one looks at some definitions of community development. For example, Levi and Litwin (1986:4) defined community development as a transition from a situation of low to one of higher levels of local participation in decision-making, involvement in activities and utilisation of natural resources.

This opens the door to definitions of community participation that use key concepts such as decision-making and involvement.

Thus Lisk (1988:15) stated that popular participation in development should be broadly understood as the active involvement of people in the making and implementation of decisions at all levels and forms of political and socio-economic activities. This is confirmed by the following authors who defined community participation as follows: Olujimi and Egunjobi, (1991:165) using Burke (1968) - the ultimate voice in community decision-making; Palmer and German (1974) - an activity which enables people to have an input in the decision-making process and to play a role in improving the quality of life; and Agbola (1988) - the active process in which persons take part in the initiation and implementation of decisions, and assert their autonomy in taking these initiatives.

Finally, Bailey (1994:2) using Chekkie (1979) spoke of the disparity which exists in the definitions where participation is seen as covering a wide spectrum from consultation to citizen power. This disparity will receive attention later on.

3.3 Participation in America and England

3.3.1 HISTORY

Miller and Rein (1975:5) take the view that in America and England the demand for participation sprang from two sources - the failure of democracy and bureaucracy.

a) FAILURE OF DEMOCRACY

The traditional patterns of citizen participation such as the town meeting and political meetings, were losing their effectiveness. Urbanisation, professionalism, mobility of modern life were isolating residents and pushing them further away from the centres of decision-making (Levi & Litwin, op cit:25).

b) FAILURE OF BUREAUCRACY

The second process which fed the development of community participation was the mal-performance of municipal and social services. Sanitation, police and school services deteriorated. Administrative decisions were less accountable to redress grievances and the big city financial crises aggravated the problem, particularly in America. Social service agencies had disengaged from the poor and the employment problems of the ghettos were not being met.

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The American War on Poverty in 1964 and Britain's Urban Aid programme of the late sixties were community action programmes aimed at the integration of the poor in society (Hain, 1982:36). Community forums were advanced as a link between neighbourhoods and the city. People formed themselves into tenants associations, parent groups and community groups with participation being the main goal.

3.3.2 PARTICIPATION IN URBAN SETTINGS

The distinction between urban and rural settings in regard to participation is done by way of explanation. A rural area is an area which has a backlog in comparison to cities regarding population, education and variety of experiences. Community development was initially mainly practised in underdeveloped areas. When large scale migration took place from rural areas to urban areas there was an increase in squatter settlements and an over-utilisation of services. This caused community work efforts to be practised increasingly in more developed communities. When referring to urban community development the concept "neighbourhood development or organisation" (Lombard, op cit:222) is used.

The BABS approach was originally based on neighbourhood action approaches in the USA and some of these experiences are presented. From studies of neighbourhood service organisations, (Checkoway, 1991:15) participation can strengthen feelings of efficacy, increase social interaction, contribute to leadership development, and produce positive personal changes.

In America, neighbourhood organisations were regarded as an effective device for overcoming apathy and defeatism. Grosser, (1968:73) on the other hand, referred to studies that show that the poor are pessimistic about the possibility of changing their lives.

There are further doubts that the poor can be effectively mobilised or that their participation makes a significant contribution to community change. This contention is supported by a study comparing the attitudes and perceptions of residents and social agency staff in New York's Lower East Side. The residents who were mostly of low income status not only expressed more satisfaction with community conditions than the professionals, but were more pessimistic about the possibility of changing these conditions than were the agency staff (Brager, 1975:223).

The above comments are important when one considers an informal observation during a BABS study that the impression is that BABS membership mainly consisted of people driven by middle class values and preferences which favour their own neighbourhood communities rather than poorer areas (Groenewald, 1992:130).

Austin (1956:83) cited studies by Bell-Force which showed that membership and active participation in formal voluntary associations occur at different rates among populations with different characteristics. This finding is of importance to this study in that it emphasises that the socio-economic status of a community has a bearing on participation. This subject will be discussed in greater detail later in the chapter dealing with the area analysis.

It may be observed that the original establishment of a community cottage by the BABS community workers is similar to the notion of area teams that were introduced in England. An area team was the creation of local authorities reacting to the emphasis of the 1968 Seebohm Report for social services to be more responsive to services for young people. They did so by establishing themselves at street level (Leissner & Joslin, 1974:102).

Examining tenant participation in Britain, Goodlad (1988:243) stated that the tenants history of participation reflects a concern for the cost and condition of housing rather than participation per se. The most successful periods of tenant organisation and mobilisation coincide with periods of steep rent rises. There was a tendency to engage in short bursts of activity with a sudden fall away in support. The above is noteworthy when the civic and conscientising programmes of BABS are discussed.

3.4 Participation Elsewhere

3.4.1 HISTORY

Community participation is said to be the direct consequence of the UN popular participation programme and formalised with the publication of the following documents (Midgley, op cit:21):

a) Popular Participation in Development (1971) - reviewed the emergence of the idea with reference to community development in the Third World during the preceding 25 years.

b) Popular Participation in Decision-making for Development(1975) - offered a formal definition of the concept with reference to its implementation.

The importance of community participation in the health field was signalled by the World Health Organisation's Declaration on Primary Health Care at the Alma Ata Conference in 1977, (Midgley, ibid:22) which called for the mobilisation of local communities to take responsibility for their own health.

During the seventies the idea of popular participation attracted the attention of those engaged in housing and urban development research. The initiative was taken by the World Bank which modified its housing sector lending policies to promote self-help housing in the Third World.

3.4.2 PARTICIPATION IN URBAN SETTINGS

Other than America or England, there are case studies of neighbourhood revitalisation in Delhi which had been funded by the Ford Foundation during the early sixties. These showed that community participation was the most important factor in distinguishing between successful and unsuccessful projects (Alliband, op cit:142).

3.4.3 PARTICIPATION IN RURAL SETTINGS

The need to improve the management of forest resources in Thailand led to a participatory approach to create sustainable village woodlots in north east Thailand. The project emphasised local participation beyond tree-planting and harvesting. Several conditions were established in the design, implementation and management of forestry projects which ensured that:

- a basis for collective action was created.
- local institutions were developed to manage and sustain participation.

Previous efforts to organise participation had failed due to an inability to sustain community interest especially when long term goals were established and no immediate gratification was available (Hafner, 1995:73).

Further insights into the nature of participation came from a team of researchers from the Overseas Development Institute involved in an evaluation of the impact of NGOs in rural poverty alleviation in Zimbabwe and Bangladesh. The authors sought the reasons for the success and failure of specific types of interventions and to identify those factors which contributed to project success.

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The finding was that the successful projects encouraged consultation and participation in their design and implementation. Such projects were typically characterised by strong leadership and were run by skilled and committed staff (Robinson & Riddel, 1990:71).

The question of leadership and other factors affecting participation will receive attention later in this chapter as well as what great part it played in the success of the BABS programmes. Earlier, mention was made of findings of the urban poor in relation to participation (Austin,op cit:83). Case studies of projects using participatory educational models in four villages in Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines and Thailand showed that the poorest sections of the community benefited less from project-initiated programmes than the better-situated members. They lacked motivation and resources to participate in learning programmes. The local elite succeeded in appropriating most of the benefits. The poor were found incapable of articulating their needs in formal meetings and were swayed by local leaders (Boeren, 1992:268). Under conditions of extreme poverty, according to Niented, Mhenni and DeWit (1989:43), the poor appear more inclined to solve problems individually by dependent relationships rather than taking collective action .

3.5 Participation in South Africa

3.5.1. HISTORY OF PARTICIPATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

The history of participation is clearly linked with the history of community work in South Africa. This has been dealt with earlier in this chapter. This section deals with the most recent events of interest to the study.

The year of 1976 was a turning point for the anti-apartheid movement and the following decade saw the establishment of grassroots organisations around the day to day concerns of people. The eighties experienced school boycotts which saw students involving their communities for support. In the Western Cape the resulting efforts saw the growth of civic organisations which campaigned around high rents and housing shortages. During the mid-eighties efforts by the state forced grassroots organisations to organise localised structures which would function as alternative institutions within communities. These developmental initiatives were varied in the nature and scope of the social development programmes.

Most recently, in its White Paper on Reconstruction and Development the Government of National Unity promised a structured consultation process at all levels of government to ensure participation in policy making and planning as well as project implementation (RSA, 1994).

3.5.2 PARTICIPATION IN URBAN SETTINGS

A poll conducted of 457 progressive organisations by Patel showed the following composition (Patel, 1992:57): Social service groups 26%; Trade Unions 14%; Women's Organisations 5%; Youth and students 4%; Religious groups 6% and Professional bodies 1%. All the organisations in the study stressed participation as a fundamental principle of social development. They tried to achieve this in the following way:

- education programmes
- conscientisation programmes
- promoting the self esteem and confidence of participants
- creating a range of opportunities for participation such as house and mass meetings, workshops, conferences and surveys.

The following factors had a bearing on participation:

- the size of the organisation
- complexity of the organisation's functions
- number of staff employed
- availability of volunteers
- access to services
- nature and extent of the affiliations of the organisation
- procedures for accountability

A survey of two hundred households in the Worcester area was completed by Van Wyk in 1993 (Van Wyk,op cit:2). A questionnaire was directed at the eldest female as respondents in the household. She had to supply information about her attendance at, and involvement in, community activities in the following fields: a) visits to families and friends; b) visits in pursuit of leisure-time activities; c) sport and d) organisational activities. She also had to supply the same information with respect to the attendance and involvement of her husband and the eldest child in her household. The most important findings were:

- It is possible to distinguish between the relative importance of each of the respective fields over the total spectrum of community participation.

- Community participation varies depending on the specific field.

- Different values are allocated to the participation of males, females and children on each of the fields.

- A positive correlation exists between involvement in the management of organisations and quality of involvement.

- Socio-economic status, owner- and housing status gender and the perception of danger influences community participation.

3.5.3 PARTICIPATION IN RURAL SETTINGS

In comparison with the numerous case studies in respect of participation in other parts of the world, very few studies have been written up in South Africa. Two of the most recent studies are presented.

A water supply project was initiated in Ramogodi, North Western Cape Province, in 1993 by a community development trust, Betterment, which had been established in Johannesburg in 1983. A needs survey which had been completed by the organisation had concluded that a water supply system was a priority in that rural community. The task of the agency was to achieve community participation in the area of managing and maintaining the water scheme. A group of unemployed men, selected by the community, were trained in administration, book-keeping, financial planning, construction and maintenance. Two additional persons were to be trained as community development workers (Fitzgerald, 1993:10). The agency encountered the following elements which affected the participation goals mentioned above:

- the functioning of the development workers deteriorated in proportion to the increasing competence of the village committee.

- mistrust and suspicion occurred when the committee had to provide financial repayments to the suppliers.

- there was a lack of democratic succession - no general meetings were held - the committee was a closed group.

- nepotism was displayed when family members were chosen for training even when they were unsuitable due to absenteeism or alcoholism.

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- a culture of entitlement and dependency prevailed - villagers expected the sponsors to provide for the capital costs of the scheme and the R220 pledges from each family were not forthcoming.

The other example is a sewing group project which was initiated in a 50 dwelling-strong Ekuthhuleni Squatter settlement outside Durban in Kwazulu-Natal during 1994 (Bailey, op cit:5). A community profile had identified sewing as a training opportunity for informal employment and nine persons were encouraged to join. The first three sessions were well-attended but the group suddenly came to a halt. The cause for the sudden fall-off was investigated and the following reasons were given:

a) POLITICAL

The settlements in Kwazulu-Natal are a battlefield of opposing political groups with tribal affiliations affecting membership of political groups. Although the political affiliations of the group members were not established, there was the acceptance that political divisions were just below the surface.

b) LANGUAGE

The group was Zulu speaking while the group leader, an Indian student, could not speak fluent Zulu. Issues that could have been resolved earlier were not recognised and addressed due to communication breakdowns.

c) CULTURAL

The Zulu speaking members were reluctant to take directions from a Sotho speaking member as the latter were regarded as being part of a sub-ordinate group which had little which they could teach individuals from a dominant group.

d) PROCEEDING AT THE PACE OF THE COMMUNITY

There was a discrepancy between the expectations of participants and those of the group leader and it was evident that although the latter was accepted in the group, a trusting relationship had not been established.

The above refer to poor, rural communities. These findings will be compared to the communities in which BABS had established programmes.

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3.6 Forms of Participation

Mention was made earlier about theories of liberal democracy which emphasised the social stability of minimal citizen participation to those that favoured participative democracy. The definitions offered referred to involvement, but did not examine the extent to which people participate. We have also seen, in the case studies presented, various levels of participation. This aspect, the extent to which people participate, will now receive further attention.

In his model for understanding the idea of community, Greenberg (1974:27) has provided a scale of increasing member involvement in the dynamics of its daily life. Such a scale encompasses apathy; protest; seeking local help in times of trouble; passive membership in local organisations; use of local resources to satisfy everyday needs; identification with community wide interests; co-operation with others in trying to solve community problems; active participation in volunteer activities; involvement in leadership roles; and participating in advocacy on behalf of others.

Van der Mescht (op cit:114) cited the typology of Burke (1983) who distinguishes between five forms or levels of community participation: commentary, consultation, advice, shared decision making and controlled decision making. The latter does not acknowledge the contributions participants make or describe the relationship between government and community participants. The typologies of Arnstein and Midgley seek to do so.

Arnstein (1969:216) classified participation into hierarchies which were depicted in the form of a ladder with eight rungs: manipulation; therapy; information; consultation; placation; partnership; delegated power; and citizen control. The rungs range from non-participation to tokenism to citizen power. The usefulness of this classification is that it enables participants to rate the relationship of the two parties.

Taylor (op cit:176) cited Midgley (1986) who identified four ideal typical modes of State responses to community participation: the anti-participatory mode; the manipulative mode; the incremental mode; and the participatory mode.

The four typologies are set out schematically.

GREENBERG	ARNSTEIN	BURKE	MIDGLEY
apathy	manipulation	commentary	anti-participatory
protest	therapy		
seeking local help in times of trouble	information		
passive membership in local organisations	consultation	consultation	manipulation mode
use of local resources to satisfy needs	placation	advice	
identification with other	partnership	shared decisions	
co-operation with other in problemsolving	delegated power		incremental mode
active participation in activities	citizen control	controlled decisions	
involvement in leadership roles			
participating in advocacy for others			participatory mode

The conclusions that one draws from the four typologies is that they represent ideal types. It is quite evident, though, that participation is incremental in character in that there is movement from one position to another. It is therefore possible to see the typologies as a means of measurement along a continuum from weak to strong participation. It is for this reason that the researcher utilized the most recognizable of the typologies, that of Arnstein, in the questionnaire survey.

3.7 Indicators and Contra-Indicators for Participation

Midgley comments that so many preconditions for participation exist that it seems unlikely that they will ever be met (Midgley, 1986:4). Other writers tend to take the view that there are no universally applicable guidelines for community participation. The way a community participates depends on a number of factors:

a) SOCIO-CULTURAL

Socio-cultural changes are necessary if community participation is to be effective and depends on the political situation of the country as well as the political balance in the community (Sheng, 1989:60).

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The creation of public involvement in the planning process draws attention to the possibility of conflict between groups who are involved in complex decision-making processes (Thorns, 1976:15). Some communities have a history of dependence while others are known for their self reliance. The effects of prior projects on the community will affect participation. Participation strategies in the past may have led to the delivery of services being characterised as ineffective and where poor performance may have been the result of nepotism or political decisions.

b) BUREAUCRACY

Participation in projects can be affected by inflexible and centralised planning which does not allow for unexpected developments and where the outcome can be different to what is expected. Technocrats may believe that only they can make decisions on technical issues e.g. infrastructure, housing, and that poorly-educated citizens do not have the competence to participate in planning.

c) LACK OF LEADERSHIP

Local leaders may shun the responsibility for decision-making if delicate issues are at stake which could lead to conflict between them and their followers. Untrained staff may fail to provide the required leadership.

d) ACCOUNTABILITY

Politicians believe that they should represent communities as they have been elected by popular vote and see grassroots leaders as rivals. Participation challenges traditional views on the roles of councillors, officials and citizens but it may lead to power being fragmented so that no one can be held accountable (Miller & Rein, 1975:16).

e) DEMOCRACY

The issue of democracy is related to the question of accountability. Most governments are reluctant to give power to people, preferring to restrict their participation to simple decisions. The other way may be to have to give into increasing demands.

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f) PROJECT DESIGN

The way in which participation in planning, implementation and maintenance within the project is developed affects its outcome. For instance, maintenance of slum improvements was made the principal objective of planning and design in Hyderabad, India, when a decision was made to install basic stone slab flooring for paving instead of bitumen surfaces. The latter would have been more difficult for the villagers to maintain (Skinner, 1989:38).

In chapter one it was established in the section dealing with definitions that a community provides a number of benefits for its participants:

- a sense of belonging
- a commitment to common norms and institutions
- a willingness to take responsibility for one self and for others.
- readiness for sharing and interchange (Levi & Litwin, 1986:25).

Having considered the difficulties encountered in establishing community participation, arguments should now be advanced to explain the need for community participation:

a) DEMOCRACY

Community participation is a right. It is a form of grassroots democracy.

b) DEVELOPMENT

Community participation is a developmental process where the poor become aware of their situation, build up self-confidence and become aware of their power if they act in a concerted manner.

c) EFFICIENCY

Since people themselves know best what they need, only close co-operation between them and the change agents can result in projects which satisfy both. The object of community participation is project efficiency (Sheng, op cit:59). A successful community participation strategy should incorporate the following elements (Johnson, 1982:204):

- Existence of mutual trust between community, leaders and outsiders. The greater the trust, the greater the participation.
- People must be given the opportunity to participate in the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of activities.

- The community considers a programme as offering tangible achievements.

- The community must have a strong sense of ownership. The goal should be that the outside organisation is participating in the community's programme.

To sustain and promote participation the following conditions should be present (Lisk, 1988:10): the right political and institutional climate; capable leadership; adequate representation; two-way communication; awareness of the prevailing values; self-reliance and self-confidence; availability of decision-making powers and resources and expectation of benefits

3.8 Participation as a Process

Thus far participation has been understood as a movement from low activity to high activity - a step by step approach similar to the community development process. Based on two studies in Chawana, Zambia and Hyderabad, India, Dhanpaul Narine observes that community participation depends on a process - the application of certain techniques and procedures such as institution building, conscientising, training, popular projects, mobilisation, motivation, leadership, civics (Midgley, 1986:24).

In a sociological study of community participation in development projects, Taylor (op cit: 117) observed that community participation is a process and cannot be viewed as occurring at a single point of time. He cited Paul (1987:3) who maintained that community participation may be viewed as a process that serves several objectives. One of these is the empowerment of people sothat they are able to initiate actions on their own and thereby influence the process and outcomes of development. Another objective entails the beneficiaries of a project taking on some of the operational responsibility and thereby contributing to the sustainability of a project by enhancing the level of beneficiary interest and competency in the management of the project. In addition, community participation contributes to increased effectiveness whereby a given objective is achieved. Put another way, the objectives of community participation potentially form the basis for implementing community participation.

To emphasise that community participation is a dynamic process Levi and Litwin (op cit:27) suggested that to move from, for example, mere attendance to involvement requires the interaction of three components - purpose, techniques and participants.

Examining the last component, participants, the following characteristics should be present if a process of change is to succeed:

- homogeneity, similarity among participants.
- smallness of the groups of participating individuals
- commitment to the idea of co-operative participation.
- willingness to put communal goals ahead of individual goals.
- competence in the working of participatory mechanisms.
- a real or perceived sense of isolation or threat to well being (ibid: 39).

Dealing with the other component, techniques, the effectiveness of collective actions also depends on participants being members of organised groups with developed leadership, norms, procedures for self management and resolution of conflicts and incentives to reinforce local involvement (Hafner, op cit:75).

Observations on the patterns of participation in three organisations studied by Checkoway (1991:14) underlined the importance of the application of techniques:

a) The organisations did not rely only on organising, planning and other strategies but mixed various approaches.

b) Community leadership was present - a core of people who recognise common problems and work together for solutions.

c) An active board or committee members existed to

- Assess community problems, formulate policies and make decisions for organisational solutions.
- mobilise support for programme implementation.

d) Broadly talented executive directors.

e) Staff specialised, and tended to start as volunteers before taking paid jobs.

f) The organisations demonstrated commitment to the neighbourhood or expressed a vision and platform on which to campaign in the community.

As can be seen in the above, leadership is an important technique within the community participation process. To be effective, community leaders need training in technical and social skills such as organising, conducting meetings, decision making, conflict resolution, communication and financial management. Leaders allow communities access to information on issues at stake and pass on opinions of the community to policy makers (Sheng, 1989:60).

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Apart from leadership the other aspect of the processes used in participation is the concept of empowerment. Empowering of participants is a vital tool of participation. Empowerment comes to mean people gaining an understanding and control over social and political forces to improve their position in society (Killian, 1988:118). As a process, empowerment refers to the development of an effective support system for those who have been blocked from achieving individual or collective goals, because of the severity or complexity of the discrimination they had suffered (Solomon, 1976:22).

BABS has set the empowerment of people," building a people for change" (BABS Annual Report 1988/89), as one of its aims. The study will show to what extent BABS used process skills inherent in the empowerment process such as conscientisation, mobilisation, organisation, analysis in achieving participation. It is assumed that empowerment is possible through education activities that teach people new roles and skills. Training is therefore an important technique in helping to attain self reliance.

Another process or procedure is the development of institutions. Boeren (op cit:258) commented that no change in the lives of people covered by development programmes will take place without the development of appropriate values, attitudes and knowledge in the minds of people. Participatory development requires considerable levels of democracy in the community.

In summary, this chapter contains contributions that takes community participation from a conceptual angle; it deals with the meaning and scope of participation, the potential benefits and obstacles. It says what community participation should be, the types or levels of participation, and ways to put community organisation into practice.

More importantly, case studies of participation have been presented which show the small number of studies that have been completed locally. The community participation process has been highlighted as it is the critical element through which the processes and procedures of BABS will be evaluated.

Chapter Three

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter the overall evaluation design for the study is presented. When conducting an evaluation a certain sequence, described as the evaluation process, is followed (York,1982:140; Grinnel,1985:432; Lughod,1960:14). This sequence involves the following steps:

1. Identification of the Programme and its goals.

2. The criteria for evaluation.

3. Establish outcome measures

4. Identify relationship between variables.

5. The evaluation design.

6. Analysis of data.

The following is the assimilation of the sequence as it relates to this study :

1. IDENTIFYING THE PROGRAMME / OBJECTIVES

This was identified as the programmes that constitute the community participation process. These are:

- Popular programmes

- Civics building

- Conscientising

- Training

- Institution building.

- Leadership training

This step is imperative since no measurement can take place without specific reference to the goals of the programme as originally conceived. Two assumptions are implicit in the evaluation of programmes with reference to their formal goals:

a) that programmes have clearly stated goals against which their progress can be evaluated, and

b) that such goals do not change over the life of the programme (Chadwick, Bahr and Albrecht,1984:285). Neither assumptions are always correct.

Organisations have official and operative goals. The latter refers to what the organisation actually does and accomplishes. The problem with official goals are that they are vaguely stated or too general. It is difficult to describe activities that can be used to achieve intangible goals or to tell when a goal has been reached. Since achieving a general objective is difficult, organisations substitute a more achievable goal (goal diversion) or concentrate on programme operations rather than on programme goals (goal displacement). According to Chadwick et al (Ibid) these substituted goals become operative goals. Thus a major preliminary task of a programme evaluation is to ascertain the operative goals of the programme, that is, what workers in this programme are really trying to achieve in measurable terms.

There are other reasons why evaluators cannot take official goals at face value. First, goals are established for political reasons, not because there is a chance of their being reached. Second, goals change over time, and new political attitudes, staff turnover bring in new operative goals. The above is relevant for the study and explains why the researcher chose the programme goals that formed the basis of the study and not always the goals specified in chapter four.

2. THE CRITERIA OF EVALUATION

In order to measure one must have a measuring instrument by which one is able to gauge the degree of change within the focus groups that resulted from the specific programme (Lughood, op cit:15). Therefore, the criteria for evaluation must be selected. To determine whether the desired outcomes had been achieved, two criteria were chosen. Both criteria arose out of the stated aims of the study.

One aim was to describe the efforts of the staff and members in applying the techniques and procedures inherent in the community participation process. As described in chapter two, an assessment of effort refers to the type and quantity of programme activities and the inputs into a programme activity used to achieve programme results. It was said that evidence of programme activity was not sufficient to determine whether these goals had been reached.

Thus, the other aim of the study was to describe the impact of these programmes on affiliates and their membership. Accordingly, programme effectiveness is the other criteria. This is concerned with whether intended outcomes have been attained as a result of programme efforts. An assessment of effectiveness yields information about the impact of a programme on its participants, staff and agency.

3. ESTABLISHING OUTCOME MEASURES

Outcome measures assess the degree to which programme objectives are achieved (Grinnell,1985:432). In Chapter two it was said that the purpose of evaluation was to examine the extent to which objectives were achieved and identify the reasons for programme success or failure. Having identified the six programmes, the researcher first had to specify the outcomes for each programme that would indicate whether goals had been met.

With regard to popular projects the programmes that were offered included the establishment of crèches, multi-purpose centres and service programmes such as soup kitchens and school feeding. The results sought were the number of services offered; the number of members involved; and the media coverage given to the programmes.

With regard to civics building the programmes that were created included the establishment of neighbourhood groups, a housing project, locality improvements and the development of a political strategy. The results sought were similar to the above with an added outcome of whether any physical changes resulted.

The third programme identified was that of training. This had the same outcomes as above but included whether any attitude and behaviour changes resulted. With regard to institution building and conscientizing the specified outcome was whether there had been any attitude or behaviour change.

With regard to leadership training or development more outcomes for such a prominent programme were sought. These were the numbers of services offered; the number of participants; media coverage and attitude and behaviour changes.

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4. IDENTIFYING RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN VARIABLES

The concern is with what produced the desired change and why the change occurred (Ibid). It as evident that the other aims of the study, besides those mentioned in the paragraph two, dealt with relationships that were potentially significant. One aim was to ascertain whether the economic status of the community had had an impact on the development of projects within that community. The other aim was to ascertain the extent to which the organisational structure of affiliates had influenced the success of different projects. Additional variables were identified. These were:

- Programme staffing.

- Location of programmes.

- Size of organisation.

- Race and sex of membership.

- Church and cultural affiliations.

- Staff and member role perceptions.

- Leadership.

- Programme methods and strategies.

5. CHOOSING THE EVALUATION DESIGN

This involves the selection and application of the appropriate methods and techniques of evaluation.

5.1. Study Design

According to Chadwick et al (op cit:33) the dimension underlying the most common classification of types of social research is the method of data collection. Although data collection is only one stage of research design there is a tendency to describe an entire study on the basis of the way the data is collected.

In this study the source of data were interviews as well as secondary data. Thus to describe it as an interview study is not completely correct. Research projects may also be classified in regard to their primary objectives. In this respect this study can be described as evaluation research. Taylor (1994:178) observed that the qualitative approach to evaluation research is relatively inexpensive and timely as opposed to the methodological rigour required of experimental and survey research designs.

According to Hoinville and Jowell (1977:9) the essence of qualitative research is an unstructured and flexible approach to interviewing that allow the exploration of views. Two principles should be remembered in attempting to obtain information from respondents: first, that questioning should be open-ended to encourage spontaneity; second, that the questioning technique should encourage respondents to communicate their attitudes.

In this study the researcher obtained both qualitative and quantitative data from his interviews by using an administered questionnaire. Questions were asked in uniform terms and in an specified order, but with an equal number of forced-choice and open-ended questions. The answers were recorded verbatim. The data provided was quantifiable since all the respondents were asked the same question.

According to Patton, (1987:7) a qualitative evaluation should contain the following:
- Description of programme implementation.
- Analysis of programme processes.
- Description of different types of participants and different kinds of participation.
- Description of how the programme has affected participants.
- Analysis of programme strengths and weaknesses as reported by people interviewed.

The design which was utilised for this study was that of the survey format. It was considered the most suited for the type of descriptive research envisaged and which met the above requirements.

5.2. Sample Selection

The subjects of the survey were defined as past and present members as well as professional staff of BABS' affiliates in the Western Cape Province. In chapter one it was said that there was an average of seventy-nine members per affiliate. In the Western Cape Province this amounts to approximately four hundred potential respondents when multiplied by the number of affiliates under study.

The determination of the universe proved to be problematic. The universe refers to the total group the research wishes to study (Chadwick et al, op cit:34). The problem was that a number of affiliates had dissolved while others had become inactive over a period of time. Only BABS Kewtown functioned as a viable organisation with a director and an assistant at the helm. The staff were helpful in providing the researcher with last-known information on members and staff. However, the problem remained that the researcher did not have an accessible working universe from which to sample. As a result the researcher used a sampling technique which best represented a working universe within the resources available to him. The sampling technique used was that of the purposive sampling model. With this technique the researcher uses his expertise to select subjects who represent the population being studied (Bailey,1982:99). A variant of the purposive sampling model that was utilized was a mix of strategic informant sampling and snow-ball sampling. The former is defined by Smith (1975:117) as sampling that rests on the assumption that knowledge is unequally distributed and that different informants will provide a range of specific, general and marginal observations.

With regard to snowball sampling, the researcher built up the sample by asking an initial set of respondents to supply names of other potential sample members. With regard to strategic informant sampling the researcher sought out persons who represented various roles within the organisation such as youth leaders, crèche chairpersons, ordinary members and staff members to obtain overall and specific insights into the participation process. Other members were chosen for their distinctive and sometimes pungent observations on the organisation.

According to Smith (Ibid) the major check on the research's data quality in this type of sampling are the repetitiveness and consistency of the observations of the informant. For this reason sampling ceased in Kewtown after thirteen members were interviewed . The data had become repetitive and it was no longer productive to collect more data.

The main problem with purposive sampling is that of representativeness. It was hoped that the researcher's judgement would produce a more representative sample than, for example, convenience sampling where the nearest person is interviewed. It was difficult to determine whether the sample in fact represented the population.

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A solution would have been to study a representative sample of that population and compare its characteristics with those of the purposive sample. A check on representativenes that was applied was to select the BABS affiliates in the Western Cape Province in order to obtain results in several locations with different groupings. This would also have enhanced the generality of the data. However, there were to be two main influences on the sample selection. First, the limited funds of the researcher; and second, the incomplete membership list that made contact with respondents outside Kewtown very difficult. This brings up the discussion of the sampling frame.

The sampling frame is the records from which the sample was drawn (Gardner,1978:108). The sampling frame presented two problems. First, the address list of members was not current and had not kept apace with members movements. Second, due to administrative reasons, there was uncertainty whether all files had been accounted for.

The sampling size then had to receive the attention of the researcher. It was clear at an early stage that the sample size was going to be dependent on the availability of and access to respondents. He proposed a theoretically desirable sample size of fifty respondents. This would have consisted of twenty professional staff as well as thirty members, totalling fifty respondents. This represented a figure that the researcher thought manageable and was within the constraints of time and money. The twenty staff members was the approximate total of persons employed as community workers, trainers and club leaders by BABS since its inception. The majority were resident in Cape Town which was to make access to significant numbers of respondents possible. The thirty members were to have been drawn from Kewtown, Saldanha Bay, Beaufort West, George, Kleinmond, Atlantis and Dysselsdorp affiliates. This averaged at five members per affiliate. Members were defined as persons who were associated with a particular affiliate by virtue of formal membership or by informal association. The purpose of focusing on staff and members was to complement and validate past processes and activities between the two parties.

The actual sample size of twenty eight respondents differed from what was originally proposed. It was evident that the sample was influenced in favour of those whose locations were known and who could be communicated with. The final result confirmed this in that seven of fifteen respondents classified as members were drawn from the Kewtown affiliate.

A total of thirteen staff members responded to the survey. This was also due to their assisting the researcher in locating former colleagues. The sample was considered large enough to be credible given the purpose of the evaluation, but small enough to permit adequate exploration and detail. Non-probability sampling is ideal for smaller studies, but a researcher cannot claim that the sample is representative of the larger population, and limits the researcher's ability to generalise his findings beyond the specific sample studied. The following tables sets out the composition and the response rate of the sample:

Table 1   Composition of Sample

Affiliate	Member	Staff	Total
Kewtown	10	7	17
George	6	2	8
Beaufort West	2	0	2
Dysselsdorp	1	1	2
Kleinmond	1	0	1
Strand	2	0	2
BABS National	0	6	6
Total	22	16	38

Table 2   Response rate of sample

Affiliate	Member		Staff			
	Response	%	Response	%	Total	%
Kewtown	8 of 10	80	5 of 7	71	13 of 17	76
George	5 of 6	85	2 of 2	100	7 of 8	85
Beaufort West	0 of 2	0	0	0	0	0
Dysselsdorp	0 of 1	0	1 of 1	100	1 of 2	50
Kleinmond	0 of 1	0	0	0	0	0
Strand	2 of 2	100	0	0	2 of 2	100
BABS National	0	0	5 of 6	85	5 of 6	85
Total	15 of 22	68	13 of 16	81	28 of 38	76

The percentage response from staff was regarded as extremely high and may be regarded as representative of BABS staff members.

5.3. Data Gathering

Data collection was by way of the following:

- secondary data
- interviews

The field work involved is set out in two chapters, chapter four deals with secondary data while chapter five deals with primary data.

5.3.1. SECONDARY DATA

Secondary data is defined as pre-existing data which was not collected for the specific ends of a given social researcher (Forcese and Richter,1978:179). BABS has been in existence for two decades which made a large body of data available for study. Attention had been given to the storage of minutes, reports, and memoranda to which the BABS trustees kindly granted access.

There were a number of reasons why a study of secondary sources formed an important tool in the research methodology. First, it was a source of information about the social environment, programme settings and programme activities. Second, the researcher would be able to obtain ideas about questions to pursue for the interview phase.

A major task was to organize the large amount of information into a coherent framework for the purpose of the study. This was done by describing each affiliate in terms of its organisational and geographical area characteristics. A description of the goals of the organisation was given as it was important to ascertain whether the programmes offered were instrumental in the attainment of goals. A further task was to arrange these programmes within the framework of techniques and procedures selected to describe the community participation process.

The first, the provision of popular programmes is regarded as initiating community participation through the creation of projects that command popular support. The second, civics building, traces the attempts to infiltrate the local political process in order to influence decision making. Taylor cited Paul (1987:3) who maintained that community participation has as its objective, empowerment. Empowerment is seen as leading to an equitable sharing of power and to a higher level of political awareness amongst weaker groups.

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The third, training improves organisational skills of participants. According to Paul (Ibid) the objective of community participation entails the beneficiaries of a project taking on some of the operational responsibility. Training participants can contribute to the sustainability of a project by enhancing the benefits such as skills and competency that they obtain from association with the project.

The fourth, institution building examines whether the programmes initiated structures and procedures for democratic decision making. When participants have a decision-making role in the planning and implementation of projects a higher level of participation should occur. The fifth, conscientizing, is seen as sensitizing participants to issues outside their immediate environment and which sees the empowerment process translating into political power. The sixth, leadership training, entails participants being able to take the initiative with regard to actions or decisions pertaining to the project.

5.3.2. INTERVIEWS

Data gathering for the survey was by means of an administered questionnaire. The survey process commenced with the drafting of the questionnaire. The formulation of the questions was influenced by a previous questionnaire sent to BABS members in connection with a BABS evaluation (Groenewald,1988:42). The questionnaire was originally divided into two sections where staff and members were asked a different set of questions. It was thought that the members would have had difficulty with certain questions more suited to a professional response. The questionnaire was sent to persons who had an interest in the study for the purpose of feedback. It was suggested that a single questionnaire to both groups would make comparisons easier and would elicit a wide range of responses. The revised questionnaire reflected this suggestion.

Factors which were considered relevant in constructing the questions were the exposure of the respondents to BABS, their involvement, their perception of BABS and the nature of their participation. The questionnaire was constructed from a combination of thirteen open-ended and fourteen closed questions which placed it on the more structured pole of the continuum. With regard to the closed questions, the respondents either selected among a series of alternative answers provided by the researcher, or indicated responses which involved ranking and rating. The Likert scale was used for this purpose.

The Likert scale states an opinion and obtains the respondents degree of agreement or disagreement (Albrecht and Settle,1985:134). Likert scaling is very popular with researchers because of the power and simplicity of the format once the respondent understand what is required. With this segment, actual writing was restricted to a minimum as responses were recorded by ticks in the appropriate boxes.

With regard to open-ended questions the respondents were encouraged to answer in their own words. The researcher probed until he had recorded the answer as fully as possible. The open-ended format was used as the researcher had been confident of the respondents' motivation to communicate his or her experiences in BABS. The information level was high as both staff and members were targeted. In some cases the open questions resulted in numerous responses. The questionnaire was of a short duration and lasted approximately thirty minutes. Respondents were contacted by letter with an accompanying consent form and self-addressed envelope. See appendix I. A telephonic arrangement was made for interview times. Interviews were conducted with thirteen former BABS staff members and fifteen former BABS members which totalled twenty eight respondents.

It was noted that thirteen respondents were associated with Kewtown; seven with George; five with BABS national; two with Strand; and one with the Dysselsdorp affiliate. Although BABS national was not regarded as an affiliate, its former staff members were regarded as a valued source of information, especially in the light of the difficulties that were experienced in tracing the members of now defunct affiliates. Two respondents replied to the letter of introduction and agreed to complete a mailed questionnaire. They were mailed a copy of the questionnaire, asked to complete it and return it using a stamped self-addressed envelope.

Factors that led to the use of mailing was that one of the respondents was a former staff member and the other a professional person; the questionnaire was of short length and was easy to complete; the respondents were aware of the sponsorship of the questionnaire and gave their co-operation; and the validity of the mailed questionnaire could be assessed by comparing findings with other responses. Six questionnaires in total were posted. In Beaufort West where two respondents were identified, there was no response. The single Kleinmond respondent received two telephonic reminders as well as a visit to drop an additional questionnaire. In spite of this, no response was received.

Three questionnaires to George elicited the two responses mentioned earlier. The fieldwork was completed during August and September 1995.

A concern of the survey, as previously stated, was the problem encountered in tracing respondents as a decade had elapsed since the last activities of some of the respondents. Thus, Saldanha Bay, a formerly prominent affiliate, was not included in the survey. The lack of responses from the latter and other rural affiliates hampered the ability to obtain sufficient spatial variation in the study.

Another concern was that the questionnaire was not pretested. The failure to do so was revealed after the first interview where an additional project was added to question 26. An "other" category was not added to some questions. Its inclusion would have allowed for a more exhaustive list. The failure to complete a pretest was due to the difficulty in obtaining a small sample to administer it to. A further concern was that of the possibility of misinformation in the interviewing process where information may have been distorted to serve in self-protection or playing out a personal feud. These concerns were balanced by the fact that the intrinsic motivation of the respondents was of co-operation with the interviewer, a former staff member, and that there interview relationship was valued by the respondent. The researcher ensured reliability by administering the questionnaire in a uniform manner .The structured interview helped reduce interview bias.

6.   ANALYSIS OF DATA

The task is to organize all the data in a systematic way which allows for the drawing of inferences and conclusions suggested by the theoretical framework and objectives of the study. The data was analysed with reference to general and local socio-political trends that influenced differing rates of participation. The analysis was done manually. A listing sheet was compiled in respect of responses to questions. With regard to responses to open-ended questions new answers were written on the listing sheet while answers that had occurred before were entered by adding 1 to the count column. The researcher looked at how responses to individual items were distributed and placed these in tables which showed raw data as well as equivalent percentages. The tables represented various categories such a age, sex, occupation and so on. He then examined characteristics of the sample, looking for relationships between the variables and placed these under headings suggested by the objectives of the study.

Chapter Four

RESEARCH STUDY OF SECONDARY SOURCES

In this chapter the area and organisational profiles are presented together. This format is intended to assist with establishing a pattern of relationship between the geographic and demographic characteristics of affiliates and the participation process adopted by the different branches. With this in mind, certain aspects are reported on from area profiles of some of the rural and urban affiliates in the Western Cape Province. These aspects are commensurate with the factors identified by Austin (1956:83) as being necessary in the compilation of an area profile:

a) level of formal education.

b) level of employment.

c) dwelling standards.

d) supply of resources that associations require for its continued experience and skills.

e) information about cultural attitudes

f) homogeneity of the population.

The above allows enough information as being reliable for the purpose of the evaluation but is compact enough to permit adequate depth and detail. All factors will be presented in the profiles but will not be discussed in the above order. A significant constraint that emerged was the lack of available data with respect to area and organisational profiles on the smaller affiliates, and consequently the profiles of five affiliates - Kewtown, Beaufort West, George, Saldanha Bay, Kleinmond will be presented. However, relevant information on the other affiliates - Strand, Pacaltsdorp, Bellville, Dysselsdorp, Atlantis, Mamre will be provided.

1.1 Area and Organisational Profile

BABS is an acronym for Build a Better Society, a community development project which was established by a major oil corporation as its social responsibility concern. In 1973 BABS started as a local community organisation in Kewtown and grew into a country-wide organisation with twenty affiliate organisations.

The following is an extract from the first report by a BABS community worker and gives an indication of the situation in Kewtown in 1973 (BABS Annual Report,1973-5:1):

" Its people are the victims of a situation. Suppressed, restricted and rendered powerless by the predominating poverty. Its apathy reflected by the vast undeveloped and polluted stretches of land; by bleak and neglected buildings; by children gathered around mucky drains; by young neglected mothers cursing at silent, unresponsive toddlers; by groups of non-working young men and women who cast their eyes downward as one passes.

Its frustration revealed through an occasional outburst at the rent office, through the smashing of vacant houses, windows and fences. The poor are quite wretched in their dank, overcrowded houses - unmotivated to try to curb the soaring birth rate, abuse of liquor and dagga, truancy and delinquency and powerlessness against crime and violence.

The better-off, middle class families often despise or fear the poor. They grow tall hedges around their houses and keep their children in. They walk quickly in stiff, self-righteous or scared little groups to their prayer meetings at night.

This is the face of Kewtown. This is the unfair image of a people which has been accepted for thirty or more years. Unfair because it is by far not all that there is to Kewtown."

The community workers faced a daunting task. There was very little precedent for the community work procedures that they were to embark on and were regarded as pioneers although in the late sixties in this country the State began to focus on community work as a method in social work (Van der Mescht,1994:90). However, at the same time the State was beginning to lay the basis for the development of welfare services in separate compartments.

This was in stark contrast to developments in the USA at the same time. The State's growing involvement led to community programmes which offered opportunities for community participation. The War on Poverty programmes and the civil rights movement made it possible for people at grass-roots to have a say in what affected them. Taylor (op cit:185) cited numerous authors who held the view that the sixties were seen as being the decade of "movement politics"" which spawned social movements such as ecology, people and women. The movements were especially active in development, focusing on projects which included self-help housing, water, sewage disposal and health services. Though the protest movements tended to die out once demands had been met, in some cases they persisted and new forms of organisations emerged. In many cases these took the form of voluntary organisations.

BABS may have had a similar spawning but the political repression in South Africa saw any protest movement as a threat. Instead, the establishment of BABS was made possible by the sponsorship of a private American company. In the absence of a body of indigenous knowledge on community work, it was to the American experiences of community work that the fledgling community workers looked.

Presently (1995) the BABS management consists of a national office with a director and administrator who are responsible to a board of trustees. The main task of the national office is to offer affiliates financial support and guidance. The majority of its affiliates are situated in the Western Cape, with four affiliates in the Eastern Cape, four in Gauteng and two in Kwazulu-Natal (Groenewald, 1988:14).

Before presenting the affiliates for study, it is necessary to describe the history and structure of BABS National, the organisation to which the above affiliates belong.

1.2 General Structure

During its life-span the organisation's structure reflected its changing character. During the seventies BABS National was an informal grouping of filial projects under the leadership of the founding Kewtown organisation which met at an annual general meeting or congress. During

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the eighties this congress developed into what was called the Biennial General Meeting, and final authority was vested in it. BABS national was divided into a number of regions.

Each region was representative of affiliated groups who had nominated a person to serve them on what was known as the National Board of Co-ordination. Later this board served in an advisory capacity to a National Board of Trustees, a centralised body under the chairpersonship of a National President (Groenewald, 1988:11).

The Board consists of up to seven members and meets at least twice a year. The national Director is an ex-officio member of the Board. The Board acts within the guidelines mandated by the Annual General Meeting of BABS National. The Board is responsible for the day-to-day control of the national office and this responsibility is exercised through the national director. At the AGM reports are received from the national office and affiliates.

Affiliation to BABS National makes organisations eligible for financial and professional assistance. In return affiliates are expected to provide the following (Groenewald, ibid: 18):

- Quarterly reports, statistics and financial statements by due dates.
- Completed questionnaires on various subjects such as training needs and progress reports on programmes.
- A constitution.
- An annual budget.
- Re-application each year.
- An annual report with the minutes of the AGM.

Affiliation is at risk when affiliates are characterized by the following:

- Low membership.
- Adherence to a single programme.
- Financially unaccountable.
- Programme moneys are misdirected.
- Failure to provide regular reports.
- Non-attendance at training workshops.
- A lack of growth.

1.3 BABS Objectives and Methods

The basic objectives of BABS are a) " to promote among the people of South Africa grassroots resident action through social welfare programmes in order that the quality of life in communities be improved; and b) to further the concept of equality by bringing about structural and community change amongst all people of South Africa" (BABS National Annual Report,1988:2).

The above sets out the basic purposes and procedures to which the organisation adheres. An analysis there-of reveals two objectives and methods:

BASIC OBJECTIVE NO. 1

Promote grassroots resident action in order to improve the quality of life of communities.

a) This is understood as a process goal where the accomplishment of the programme goal is secondary to the process required to reach it.

b) The goal describes a self-help scheme and, although stated in general terms, it has the goal of benefiting a defined group.

The goal is change-oriented and is dependent on its members for achieving this goal. It may mean that more attention will be paid to meeting the needs of members in order to achieve the goal. Membership of the organisation, which often is the means of achieving a goal, is itself a goal.

BASIC METHOD NO.1

The method used to achieve the first objective is through the introduction of social welfare programmes.

a) Although generalised, the relationship between the goal and the introduction of programmes is focused.

The method i.e. social welfare programmes - forms the basis of the study for the following reasons: The method would have contained certain community participation procedures. These procedures are amenable to measurement of the success or not in attaining programme goals. In this way one should be able to ascertain whether grassroots action was promoted.

BASIC OBJECTIVE NO.2

The second objective is to further the concept of equality.

a) This is a social reform goal and deals with a conceptual theme.

BASIC METHOD NO.2

The above is achieved by bringing about a) structural and b) community change amongst people. The relationship between goal and method was set out at the fourth BABS National congress held in Oudtshoorn on 31 May 1985 (Annual Report, 1986/87:86).

a) The goals of structural change and the methods to achieve these were described as follows:

In education	•	the abolition of unequal education,
	•	a single education department,
	•	state support of pre-school education,
	•	participation of school committees in running schools,
	•	development of literacy training.
In employment	•	the removal of discrimination, exploitation and oppression in employment practice.
In housing	•	equal and affordable housing.
With poverty	•	the elimination of poverty.
Local Government	•	equal representation.

b) Community change goals and methods were set out as follows:

Sport and recreation	•	participation in the planning and control of facilities.
Leadership	•	development of leadership.

1.4 BABS National Office

Information thus far has dealt with the relation of goals to structure. This introduction to the examination of BABS affiliates concludes with a discussion of the overarching responsibilities of the national office. At the 1982 annual congress the BABS National constitution was approved. The following goals were set out for the national office: (Annual Report, 1982/83).

• to link and co-ordinate the work of BABS affiliates

• to offer training courses to affiliated members in matters relating to community development

• to do fund-raising and maintain contact with sponsors

- to be the channel of communication between BABS and other organisations

- to formulate general policies on the BABS philosophy and method of work

- to assist in the formation of new BABS projects

- to publicise the work of the organisation

- to gather and disseminate information on programmes.

Further, a national board was created. This consisted of the chairperson of each affiliate. Their duties were to provide an up-date in their areas, make policy decisions, allocate finances and report back to their affiliated groups.

1.5 Organisational Changes

Within the next few years major organisational changes occurred. Amendments to the constitution in 1985 saw the post of national director circumscribed. A 1986 amendment provided for a regional level of authority.

- Regional meetings were held every quarter.

- The regional chairperson reported on his or her region to the national executive which consisted of regional chairpersons from the five regions.

The 1985 amendment removed the regional system and instituted a board of trustees. The office of national president was to be organisationally centralised and more powerful than in the past. (Annual Report, 1985/86). The 1991-92 annual report set out the BABS mission statement as follows:

- To develop leadership for community problem solving

- To educate for a new and democratic society

- To provide people with skills to work for change in their communities.

- To further the concept of equality

- To promote grass-roots action by residents so that the quality of life in communities can be improved.

   The national president wrote how the above could be achieved:

- Affiliates were to become more self-sustaining and independent. They had to generate their own financial and leadership resources. Training in fund-raising and sound management was to be a priority.

- Services must be appropriate and affordable.

• The national office would have to ensure that its effort complemented that of the affiliates.

The tightening up of the organisation through centralised control and leadership appeared to be as a result of poor accountability on the part of the affiliates. The monitoring of programmes of the organisation was crucial as it had been claimed at the annual congress of 1985 (Annual Report, 1985/86) that the organisation represented 16000 volunteers in twelve towns. At the beginning of 1986 (Annual Report, 1986/87) the responses from affiliates to communication from the national office was poor.

In an attempt to streamline and improve reports standardised forms were developed. These contained budget outlines, quarterly reports and financial summaries. This information assisted in determining funding allocations and helped establish accountability. Sanctions consisted of a warning of disaffiliation and the withdrawal of money.

From the quarterly report a statistical report was compiled. A newsletter resulted from the information obtained from the reports. The study begins with a description of the first of the BABS affiliates in the Western Cape.

2. KEWTOWN

2.1 Area Profile

2.1.1 HISTORY

Kewtown was established in 1946 and served as a home for returning war servicemen.

2.1.2 HOUSING

By 1972 it comprised of 1263 rented economic and sub-economic units. BABS staff completed a study in 1974 (Annual Report,1975/1976) which found that 3853 families occupied these houses - a total of 10740 persons.

2.1.3 EDUCATION

The above study found about 5412 children of whom 2000 had dropped out of school, 1200 were of pre-school age, 1500 were in primary school, and 300 in high school.

2.1.4 EMPLOYMENT

The study found that of the potential workforce, 21% were unemployed.

2.1.5 COMMUNITY RESOURCES

These consisted of 2 children's playgrounds, one shop, 5 churches, 2 church halls, a library, a day hospital, 3 schools, and a crèche.

2.1.6 CULTURAL FACTORS

The study found that 36% of households surveyed had a woman as head of the house-hold. With regard to affiliations, 37% said that they greeted their neighbours, 72% did not mix with their neighbours, and 82% belonged to churches but to nothing else.

2.2 Organisational Profile

2.2.1 HISTORY AND STRUCTURE

BABS Kewtown was established in 1972 as a result of the need to extend the work of the Early Learning Centre, an educare project, which was then in its second year. The Centre was under the direction of Professor van der Ross and was aimed at developing the potential of the disadvantaged pre-school child.

It had become evident that it was no longer sufficient to concentrate only on the education of the child but that it was essential that the well-being of the whole community be catered for. Although the Centre would see to the needs of the child while it was within the walls of the centre, there was a concern that the work of the educators would be undone if the child returned to a home environment which was not conducive to growth and development. Out of this concern arose one the earliest attempts to initiate a self-help project in the Athlone area. A full-time worker was appointed to work in Kewtown, the locality of the Centre.

A committee was established to guide the project and to administer the funds that had been provided by a major oil company. In April 1973 the BABS project was established in Kewtown with the following aims:

- To investigate the social conditions of Kewtown.

- To determine the situation in regard to population, occupations, community resources, attitudes.

- To motivate people towards a greater insight into themselves by developing their own leadership potential in decision-making.

- To help reduce family disintegration, illegitimacy, substance abuse and overcrowding.

Initially, community workers were based at the Centre which became a venue for the project's activities. However, BABS believed it needed a separate identity from that of an educational facility and staff moved to a venue in Bridgetown, a nearby suburb of Athlone. It soon became clear this position was too great a distance from the target community and the local authority was approached for the hire of a council cottage. This venue functioned as an office but was also used as a site for a soup kitchen. It served as a meeting place and played a vital role in establishing the bona fides of the community workers.

The BABS Kewtown structure was characterised by the creation of a steering committee. This was the monthly forum of the organisation and consisted of delegates from the neighbourhood councils and service groups which had been established within the first year. The neighbourhood council consisted of a group of neighbours from a block or street who had elected someone to represent them. For those who did not want to work within the confines of a street group but wanted to address other needs, the service groups - the aged, youth, and so forth provided a vehicle for them.

2.2.2 GOALS

The main aim was to improve the social conditions in Kewtown by involving as many people in the process of community participation and self-help, thus bringing about change by the community's own actions.

2.2.3 PROGRAMMES

2.2.3.1 Popular Projects

According to Ohlin (1983:16), community participation is effectively initiated through the creation of specific projects that command popular support. He sees four main lines of programme activity in undertaking a successful community development effort.

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These are the provision of new services and facilities, indigenous movements, institutional change and research. With regard to new services and facilities, crèches were a particularly good example of new projects that had not existed previously.

2.2.3.1.1 Crèches

The BABS Kewtown crèche group was formed in April 1974 out of a felt need amongst two mothers, a BABS community worker and a few recently qualified teacher-aides from the Early Learning Centre. (Annual Report, 1973/75). Crèches are popular for four reasons:

- It provides care for children at a crucial learning phase.
- It releases a parent, previously a carer, into employment.
- It provides employment for locals as teachers, aides, cooks and cleaners.
- It provides the opportunity for people to work together at various levels such as committee work, fund-raising and communication.

BABS National was to recognise the community building possibilities of establishing crèches. To some extent branches affiliated on the strength of their initiatives in establishing a crèche. Next to the establishment of a crèche the erection of a purpose-built centre was a desire that was most often expressed and proved a fertile ground for community participation.

2.2.3.1.2 Multi-purpose Centres

In 1975 BABS Kewtown set a goal of participating in the building of its own community centre. The reason appeared to be that although a number of groups had already been established, there was a noticeable lack of cohesion amongst these groups. The objective of the Community Centre Building Fund was to extend networks, and consolidate this in a way that would involve as many people in Kewtown. Previously, the staff had been encouraged by the 1974 Spring Festival which had elicited a degree of co-operation between residents that had not been experienced before (Annual Report, 1975/76:26). It was felt that the BABS workers had gained acceptance and that the groups had been initiated to the principle of co-operative ventures. Thus the momentum had to be maintained.

Each service and street group had to select two members who had to attend building fund meetings and then report back to their groups. This requirement had the advantage of developing the leadership potential and the communication skills of the representatives.

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All members had to be committed to the collection of funds for the erection of a centre consisting of a crèche, madressa, hall and offices. The 1975 bazaar was a stepping stone towards this end. A planning committee consisting of the representatives of groups met every weekend in the month before the event. Because the representatives were already leaders of their own groups and tended to be strong personalities the position of co-ordinator for the bazaar was filled by a BABS staff member. In this way few people would be alienated or egos bruised. The eve of the bazaar saw an unprecedented level of co-operation by BABS members and the experience proved to be invaluable for members and staff.

2.2.3.1.3 Service Programmes

Service programmes were very popular amongst members in that it served the various needs of the participants. Some felt that they had to care for others more needy than themselves and accordingly set up soup-kitchens and school feeding schemes. In Kewtown one of the first groups to be started was by a group of volunteers who provided soup at the local school in the winter months. Almost twenty years later a lone survivor of that group continues more or less in the same way from the nearby day-hospital. The lead was taken up by the majority of affiliates who regarded hunger relief as an important aspect of their community service.

The schemes required organisational ability, strong leadership, accountability to donors and recipients. It also required intensive consultation from the part of community workers due to frequent eruptions of conflict brought on by financial pressures and strenuous demands made on volunteer commitment.

2.2.3.2 Civics

BABS workers expressed the opinion that community organisation had to deal directly with issues that relate to policies of social change (Annual Report, 1979/80). It was their task to open the policy process to groups and individuals in society.

2.2.3.2.1 Training Programmes

With regard to this, BABS compiled a training programme on civics during 1980. The aim of the programme was to equip persons with the knowledge and skills to understand the structure and functioning of local government. People could be more effective in pressuring for better services if they had the knowledge to do so.

The areas that the programme covered were:

- The structure of local government with its various departments and committees.

- The role and function of management committees and civic bodies .

- Organising strategies, and modes of intervention, which included campaign tactics, negotiation and bargaining.

The motivation for the early introduction of the programme was that the organisation intended to acquire land from the local authority for the erection of fifty houses. The development of a participatory housing scheme was to be an important milestone for BABS. Access to the local government machinery was a means of ensuring that this goal would be reached. However, the groundwork for the civics programme was laid much earlier through the creation of neighbourhood groups.

2.2.3.2.2 Neighbourhood Groups

The Disa Court neighbourhood council was formed a year after BABS was established. The community workers wanted to get residents aware that all was not well in the neighbourhood. This involved getting people to articulate concerns, to see themselves in relation to a wider community, and promoting a clear understanding of the task to be undertaken. The community workers used a combination of groupwork and social action techniques to achieve the following:

- properties were fenced;

- a lane, which bordered certain houses and was a source of nuisance to the residents, was bricked up.

Encouraged by this, more neighbourhood committees were established which embarked on similar projects. The members of these groups formed the backbone of BABS membership.

The neighbourhood clubs challenged the organisational skills of the community workers and involved a large commitment from members and staff. There were failures too. The Unity Civic Group was established in 1976 and in the opinion of the community worker, was hamstrung by poor leadership (Annual Report, 1978/79). There was not enough support for the group's efforts and relationships amongst members were strained. The worker chided herself for not giving enough attention to this aspect. Also, the group appeared to have been constituted before it was ready to tackle concerns in the neighbourhood.

The community worker felt that she had withdrawn from the group at a stage where it had still been dependent on her. She observed that the group had emerged in response to a felt need and after having attained its goal, had disbanded.

Another example of the difficulties involved in organising people around civic matters was the creation of the Kewtown Tenants Association. It was launched on 28 November 1973 with the aim of articulating the civic needs of the community in an organised manner (Annual Report, 1973/75:68). Difficulties were experienced in maintaining interest in the association and it met only once. However, its failure provided the opportunity to organise the representatives from the neighbourhood councils into a structure that was to become the steering or management committee of the organisation.

2.2.3.2.3 BABS Housing

The opportunity to apply the lessons of the training programme on civics and utilise the previous experience gained from servicing the neighbourhood councils presented itself with the advent of the Cape Town municipality's policy of in-fill schemes in townships under its control. The scheme was based on the perception that land in the older housing estates such as Bonteheuwel and Heideveld was not productively utilised and that additional houses could be erected on existing properties. At a tenants meeting called by BABS workers it was stated that it was a matter of time before the municipality commenced a similar scheme in Kewtown. It would be better to pre-empt the municipality by setting out the housing needs of the tenants and enter into a partnership with the housing authorities. In this way the tenants would control what was happening in their township. Thus, larger homes and extensions were requested and no new houses had to be let to outsiders.

The request for housing was passed on to the major BABS funder who agreed to commission an architect to translate the wishes of the tenants into a housing scheme consisting of 50 houses and a 1987 price of R7000. The municipality agreed in principle to the housing scheme. BABS workers began house to house visits to determine the needs of potential home-owners and received 400 applications in all. The housing scheme was part of a large design which involved the erection of a multi-purpose centre and its integration with the existing town centre.

2.2.3.2.4 Physical Improvements

The next issue that received attention was the upgrading of the Kewtown flat blocks. According to a staff report residents had already been involved in discussions with the municipality to demolish unwanted coal-sheds, to open stairwells and obtain greater privacy for ground-floor flats. Rather than upgrade the flats, it was established that the municipality was planning to build a further 102 houses on an open boulevard running through the township. There was an immediate outcry with BABS circulating petitions to obtain support for the retraction of the municipality's intentions. In the end the building plan was discarded.

2.2.3.2.5 BABS Political Strategy

The civics programme introduced in Kewtown was an attempt to infiltrate the local political process to secure an allocation of land for the housing programme. At the same time the organisation was ensuring its survival at a time when more activist organisations were competing with it for membership in Kewtown.

From about 1977 militancy amongst young people had taken root in the townships. Housing and rents were issues that were raised to mobilise people. Pamphleteering, public meetings, petitions were the order of the day. Community work was seen as charity and the traditional providers of services were regarded as irrelevant. Home ownership was opposed. The BABS housing programme presented ideological difficulties for these groups.

It became apparent that BABS had identified the manner in which it would pursue its goals. The experiences with the local authority indicated a route away from conflict and confrontation.

Blum (1968:18) spoke of three strategies which community organisations employ in achieving goals:

- CONSENSUS: Organisations applying this strategy emphasise education and communication. For instance, if the community only knew the need of the neighbourhood it would do something about it.
- CONFLICT: Organisations using conflict strategies recognise the need for power as a tool in pressing their demands.
- NEGOTIATION: This combines the above two elements in the following way:

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a) It assumes that change can be achieved by working co-operatively within or with the system, including the use of moderate pressure tactics.

b) It considers extreme confrontation unnecessary to accomplish the desired response. It would seem that the programme tactics adopted by BABS to pursue its goals are aligned with a) and b) above.

One further observation can be made in respect of the civics programme. The programme had to elicit a great measure of participation to a degree that it ensured the continued operation of the organisation. BABS invested a large part of its resources to ensure the success of the programme.

According to Zald (1983:29) the organisational resources of community organisations are focused on three dimensions:

a) change or service orientation,

b) institution or individual or group orientation, and

c) member orientation.

One may see the civics programme as being oriented to change. Zald remarked that the more change-oriented goals are the greater are the incentives required to accomplish these goals. For BABS this could mean that it would have to pay considerable attention to the needs of the community and be dependent on it for achieving organisational goals. Whether it did so will be ascertained by looking at the other programmes.

2.2.3.3 Training

During 1980 BABS employed a trainer with the job description of improving organisational, administrative and leadership abilities of its members. One of the first projects tackled was the structure and function of the Coloured Management Committee system that had recently been introduced. A further task of the trainer was to design and implement workshops that would prepare the Kewtown membership for managing the planned community centre. The training programmes occupied a considerable amount of the activities of the organisation and it replaced the grassroots neighbourhood action projects of early years. For instance, during 1987 BABS planned to provide training for 1000 people. By this time the training had fallen under the responsibility of the national office.

The reason for concentrating on training programmes was that besides teaching skills, training courses provide an opportunity for people to get together, share ideas and gain knowledge from each others experiences. BABS National advertised its activities extensively and it was reported that 600 persons attended alternative education programmes during 1986 (Athlone News, 22/11/1986). To establish support and gain direction for the above training programmes the BABS trainer surveyed 368 houses in Kewtown and established that 36% of household heads wanted to improve their education and 80% wanted the qualifications of their children improved.

BABS National, responding to requests from affiliates, developed a training manual for community workers (Sunday Times, 28/5/1989). The training programme was extensive, with career programmes for students, street law clinics for advice office workers and educare staff training. The move towards training as the main activity of BABS National was confirmed by an evaluation study by Groenewald (1992:13). He found that the following subjects were offered by BABS by 1988:

a) Management: basic accounting, budgeting, motivation, leadership, communication meeting procedure, fund-raising.

b) Lifeskills: personal development, conflict resolution, stress management, decision-making, networking.

c) Youth leadership: social analysis, programme planning.

d) Street law: consumer law, criminal and juvenile law,

e) Starting a community work project.

f) Working with the aged.

g) Home industry projects.

h) Educare training.

The importance of training for BABS can be ascertained from an examination of the 1989-90 budget where an amount of 25% was set aside for training compared to 44% for the use by affiliates and 31% for administration costs.

2.2.3.4 Institution Building

About after a year after its inception BABS staff came to the conclusion that the casework approach was restricting the community development goals of the Kewtown community workers. They decided that it was time to pay attention to creating an organisational philosophy. Self-help and the awareness off community power through joint action was to be the credo (Annual Report, 1975/76). A scheme to foster good-neighbourliness was initiated by way of newsletters, pamphlets, meetings and tea-parties. The Disa Court neighbourhood council was an early success with regard to giving effect to the above. Here neighbours came together on a regular basis to discuss matters of mutual concern in each other's home over a cup of tea. According to the community worker the success was attributed to:

- good leadership which allowed a range of opinion;
- delegation of duties;
- a core of motivated and interested members who had the time and energy and resources;
- early results in response to the group's actions gave the idea of block clubs credibility, and
- success led to more achievements as the group grew in confidence, tackling issues outside its immediate environment.

It was noted that participation was greatest in groups where the benefits were tangible (Annual Report, 1975/76). For instance, in Disa Court the new fences provided by the municipality cultivated a spirit of community, and staff seized on the opportunity of propagating the "care and share" philosophy that was to be a catch phrase for members. The ideal expressed was that if neighbours cared, then communities would care and ultimately whole cities would share in the benefits of sound community life.

What the BABS workers were introducing may be described as the process of institution building. As understood as one of the procedures used in furthering the process of community participation, institution building involves the creation of procedures for democratic decision making and the involvement of people in these procedures to the extent that they regard these as the normal way of conducting affairs. Thus the practice of the neighbourhood groups to pursue its goals by negotiation with the local authority, as was the case with the Disa group, aided this process. Another example of institution building was the establishment of a co-ordinating body such as the Kewtown Steering committee.

This group consisted of representatives from the service groups and block clubs which were affiliated to BABS Kewtown. Here was the forum for members to agree on goals to be pursued or contest each other's needs in a democratic manner.

The ideal of caring for those less fortunate without self-interest was put to the test on many occasions. There is the anecdote that the motive for starting the very first BABS group, a crèche group, was for reasons of self-employment. A member was said to say that only the rich work for charity (BABS Annual Report, 1973/75:18).

2.2.3.5 Conscientising

The section on civics showed that the BABS workers aimed at raising the level of social and political consciousness of members. The BABS director wrote that the need for neighbourhood councils should be seen against the situation prevailing in Kewtown. He saw the need to focus on three aspects (Annual Report, 1973/75):

- powerlessness as a result of the erosion of political rights,
- the fear of speaking out and
- the absence of common historical experiences.

To meet this perceived lack in its membership, BABS included a course in its training programme which dealt with human rights. The rationale for this was that it requires participation by the whole of society to focus on human rights. This focus can be maintained by educating society to the culture of human rights by an ongoing process of experiential learning.

BABS developed material to this end and used it in sessions consisting of role-play and discussions under the following headings:

- what are human rights
- political rights in a democracy
- national security and human rights
- social and economic rights
- protection of rights

Another aspect of the training programme dealt with street law. Sessions on street law showed participants how laws affected them in their daily life. Street law programmes were presented at high schools and community organisations. By teaching people the underlying principles of the law it was hoped that communities would become sensitive to the injustices which affected them and thereby empowering them to seek change.

2.2.3.6 Leadership

Alliband (1982:50) mentioned four variables that he believes influences success in community development. These were political legitimisation, extent of financial resources, size and training of staff members in the organisation and leadership. One is interested in leadership as an aspect of the community participation process. For BABS community workers the leadership potential of local people had the promise of giving the organisation credibility if popular, charismatic leaders served the organisation.

The BABS Kewtown steering committee was a fertile training ground for the development of leadership. The chairpersons of affiliated groups attended monthly meetings to give feedback on their own groups as well as determine the future course of the organisation. The benefits of serving in a leadership role in the organisation meant access to inside information, opportunities for personal recognition, employment opportunities for their followers, an inside track to programme benefits and exercising power and control. The above in turn encouraged leaders to perform harder at cementing their power bases which involved maintaining a large degree of participation in organisational programmes.

In 1975 Kewtown had set itself the target of building a multi-purpose centre. It achieved this goal in 1985. The decade that had elapsed had seen the consolidation of BABS Kewtown as a model for grass roots community organisations. It had progressed from a community cottage to a community centre over a long period of time. It was inevitable that it would lose a substantial membership when the maintenance of the community centre began to take precedence over the servicing of the block-clubs. The centre served as the national office of BABS National and its staff took control of activities.

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Gradually, the identity of BABS Kewtown merged with the national office. Kewtown's poor attendance at annual general meetings of BABS National went almost unnoticed over the years. As a separate and viable entity the Kewtown affiliate can be regarded as surviving until the early nineties.

3. GEORGE

3.1 Area Profile

3.1.1 HISTORY

In 1668 the first expedition from the Cape reached the Outeniqua mountains. George Town was proclaimed in 1811 by Governor Caledon. In 1837 the newly named George achieved municipal status. In 1925 the first 172 houses were built in Rosemoor, named after the wife, Rosemoor, of the housing superintendent. As the population grew, Urbanville, Conville, Borchads, and Parkdene were built. Blanco has since 1800 been an integral part of George and because of its physical boundaries, came to be regarded as a mission station. The population census of 1980 indicated a population of 27000 people of all races.

3.1.2 HOUSING

The housing for the coloured community totals 2995 housing units which consists of Parkdene , 495 units Conville, 629 units; Borchads, 571 units; Rosemoor, 1200 units; and Lavalia, 100 units. George has been designated a growth point and experiences a strong in-migration. There is a conservative figure of 1750 families on the council housing waiting list for 1979 (Community Worker Report, 1979).

3.1.3 EDUCATION

The education needs of the community are met as follows:

George Senior Secondary, 929 pupils 50 teachers, hostel for 200 boarders.

Rosemoor Primary, 1032 pupils 42 teachers

Hibernia Primary, 57 pupils 15 teachers

St Paul's Primary , 406 pupils 15 teachers

St Mary's Primary, 800 pupils 25 teachers

Conville Primary, 680 pupils 44 teachers

Kretzenshoogs Primary, 645 pupils 22 teachers

The above gives an indication that the coloured community was well served with schools. Classes were not overcrowded if one divides the number of pupils by teachers. The number of teachers leads to the assumption that there is a strong middle-class sector. The pre-schoolers are poorly served with only one crèche that catered for 114 toddlers (Community Worker Report, 1980).

3.1.4 EMPLOYMENT

There is a small elite of professional and service workers as was noted above. The majority of the coloured population are semi-skilled and unskilled labourers, with many involved in seasonal work due to the area's reliance on farming as an economic activity.

3.1.5 COMMUNITY RESOURCES

With regard to the transport system, taxis are more likely to be used due to the poor bus service. Municipal services provided communal taps for every 10 homes in the sub-economic area. The sewerage buckets are removed twice a week. Health services are provided by the Rosemoor Day Hospital and clinics in Blanco and Conville. The SANTA tuberculosis hospital was built in 1958 and cares for 180 patients. There are two district surgeons, a psychiatrist, private doctors and dentists. The Conville library served 1978 borrowers while a mobile library served the Blanco area. With regard to sport and recreation, a co-ordinating committee supervises two rugby fields, a soccer field, six netball-,tennis courts, and athletic track, a cricket and hockey field. The following welfare agencies serve George and surrounding areas: Child Welfare Society, Department of Social Services, Association for the Physically Disabled, Rosemoor Old Age Home, St Mary's Children's Home.

3.1.6 CULTURAL FACTORS

The churches with the most adherents are the NGK, Roman Catholic, Anglican, New Apostolic congregations. The cultural life of the community was served by a number of organisations, amongst them, the boy scouts, girl guides, a dance school, gospel and song groups and marching bands.

3.2 Organisational Profile

3.2.1 HISTORY AND STRUCTURE

BABS George was established in May 1977. This was a time of great soul searching in this town which was not untouched by the political unrest prevalent at the time.

The BABS director was invited in that year to speak to a group of service organisations and concerned persons about initiating a community development project in George based on the Kewtown model. Those present at that meeting constituted themselves as an action committee who came to be known as a BABS committee as they regarded the BABS expertise as invaluable to their cause.

The composition of the BABS committee demonstrated a determination on the part of the founding members not only to imitate the success of Kewtown but to build bridges in the George community. The executive was drawn from recognised community leaders with co-opted persons from the town council, the coloured management committee, and representatives from both the coloured and white sub-committees of Child Welfare Society. To ensure a grassroots perspective, representatives from recently established community groups had a place on the committee. The Child Welfare Society relationship was the result of BABS requesting the protection of its welfare status. The BABS community worker would be answerable to the professional discipline of the Society which paid her salary, after having been reimbursed by BABS.

3.2.2 GOALS

The objectives for the first year were to have in place similar types of programmes that had been present in Kewtown, namely blockclubs, soup kitchens and a playgroup. Over-arching this was the establishment of a method of community work "which aims at improving the quality of life through the development of attitudes of caring and sharing amongst residents, and their involvement and participation in the affairs of the community" (Child Welfare, 1979).

3.2.3 PROGRAMMES

3.2.3.1 Popular Programmes

3.2.3.1.1 Crèches

The Conville Crèche group was one of the pioneering projects of the newly appointed community worker in 1978 in response to her canvassing the needs of the Conville residents. The crèche opened in 1979 with 35 children. The first building was a rondavel without a water supply, toilets or furniture. In 1992 the numbers grew to 145 children and seven staff members (Annual Report, 1979/80:10). After a year of the group's inception, the worker thought it was time for the group to function on its own.

Until that point the crèche group met twice a month with the worker present. After a few months it was clear that the group was not maintaining progress achieved when the worker was present. The worker set out the following reasons for this situation (Community Worker Report, August 1979):

a) The worker had left the group on its own, believing that the chairperson could cope. The withdrawal was thus premature.

b) There was no depth in leadership - the deputy chairperson was regarded as being unsuitable to lead.

c) Not all members were involved in activities, especially fund-raising.

d) An effort to bring in new blood to the group was frustrated by an apathetic community.

The worker had to take over the finances of the group until a replacement treasurer was found for the previous incumbent who was not performing her duties properly. In spite of many travails the group managed to save a sum of R500 in 1979. The money was intended for the erection of a crèche building. In 1981 the group submitted plans to the municipality but these were found to be unsuitable. In 1982 it moved to a three-bedroomed dwelling and had a staff of two teachers responsible for 60 children.

3.2.3.1.2 Income Generating Projects

A programme activity pursued by BABS branches, and George in particular, was the introduction of income-generating or home-industry projects. However, some preliminary comments are necessary. In an article in a community newspaper a well-known political figure was quoted as saying that in the Western Cape Province co-operatives have had a short history and that the co-operative movement is an ill-defined and isolated activity, but has the potential to make a great contribution to development (Peoples Express, 1988). Peter Jones, in the same article, described the following characteristics of a co-operative:

a) Co-operatives are democratically controlled by all members.

b) Membership is open to all on an equal basis.

c) As a business entity it must create fair and limited profit without exploitation, with profits distributed amongst members equally.

d) Co-operatives promote continued education, development and growth of its members.

e) Members must be involved in every process.

f) Co-operatives must serve the community.

g) Co-operatives usually start from desperate situations, with limited skills, no capital and in isolation.

In George the home industry programme was established when a survey completed by the community worker in 1980-81 showed that 92% of the coloured population were earning less than R150 per month. An initial attempt involved the training of people to make stained glass windows. Other attempts were made to give people skill in the use of automatic knitters. August 1982 saw the introduction of a well-organised project which involved the offer of two hours of work per day to house-wives. The project had the following aims:

- additional income for the participants.

- fund-raising for the organisation.

- the provision of cheap clothing through sales to the poor.

A group of 14 women were trained by an experienced machinist. A price and marketing committee was established. The profit was to be split between BABS, the participants and the home industry expansion fund. The BABS cottage was provided with work stations and shelving. Each trainee was given machine time and stock to produce an article.

BABS National was anxious that the George project succeed as it was intended that the home industry project would serve as a model for other affiliates. The national office sent guidelines based on a study of a home industry project based in Stellenbosch to assist the George affiliate. These were:

- saleable items had to be produced.

- a full-time organiser was needed.

- key advisors such as a marketer, production manager and cost analyser had to be on call.

- substantial start-up capital was required.

The project operated on a part-time basis at the cottage for a year. In 1983 the community worker tried to double the number of knitters being trained by replacing volunteer instructors with experienced factory knitters. After a period of two years the project had only two women left of the original 14 participants. These ladies had moved out of the cottage and were working from home.

By the end of 1984 they were asked to return to the cottage so that there could be more control over their activities. An arrangement was agreed upon by which the remaining participants received a third of the income derived from made-to-order garments. As the project came to a close the post mortem on the part of the two women was that there had been too much talking and not enough action (Community worker report, 1983/84).

3.2.3.1.3 Service Programmes

In 1978 a woman approached her friends and asked them to donate 50 cents to buy a stock of Kupugani soup powder. They then approached a large food supplier for vegetables. A local bakery donated 14 loaves of bread per day. A service organisation donated a large soup urn. The group of women peeled and cooked the vegetables in their own homes. About 300 children benefited from their efforts during school break. This effort was sustained by about seven members for a year. Thereafter the group disbanded as a result of internal and external factors. Of the latter reasons for the dissolution of the group was the lack of support from the school in defraying expenses, and policy changes in respect of public donations on the part of larger companies.

In 1981 the Siembaba feeding scheme involved milk and soup being distributed to pre-schoolers (Community Worker Report,1983/84). The Weltevrede women group and the Conville clinic played a part in the distribution while a service organisation donated a stove. This was a project of limited duration and involved more people in a short period.

In comparing the two experiences one would tend to look at the last mentioned group as being a more successful participation exercise. Here diverse groups were involved in a project with clear expectations of each others roles. Once the objective had been reached the role-players continued on their individual ways.

The other group, on the other hand, shouldered a large responsibility on too few volunteers and the resultant strains led to an acrimonious break-up which affected their target group, the sponsors and their continued participation in the organisation. The principles underlying the different results of the two groups will be discussed in more detail in chapter six.

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3.2.3.2 Civics

Under the section dealing with the civics programme in Kewtown the part that neighbourhood councils or block clubs played in the furtherance of community participation was mentioned. Block clubs served as means of attracting membership to the organisation because of popular support. This is confirmed by Perloff (1975: 413) who stated why the micro-environment of the neighbourhood is important in the neighbourhood improvement programmes:

a) Young people receive development support in terms of schooling, playmates and standards expected by adults.

b) The family receives social services, help and friends.

c) The houses, streets, recreational facilities can be important positive factors in family welfare.

In George the Elsie Street action group was based on the Kewtown model. The George community worker had visited Kewtown to study the block club programme as part of her training and induction. She was based at the BABS cottage in Elsie Street and decided to canvass residents in this street to the possibility of forming a block club and taking responsibility for improvements to the area. She helped the group to identify the most pressing problem - that of the absence of street drainage. The group jointly worked out a plan of action. This involved communicating with the local authority who advised them that another department had to deal with the matter. The group then settled on a task with more prospect of success - the painting of houses in Elsie Street. Paint was bought from money raised at teas held at members homes. By December 1979 all houses had been painted. A family that did not contribute to the effort did not have its house painted.

Encouraged by this success, the community worker, accompanied by the Elsie Street chairperson visited eleven houses in Peddie Muller street. A meeting was held in one of the homes at which 10 residents attended. The existence of 2 sheebeens in the street was seen to have affected the attendance. In spite of this the Peddie Muller action group held a gardening competition and were negotiating with the local authority to close the lanes. These efforts received substantial coverage in the local newspapers and BABS enjoyed a positive profile in 1979.

The BABS management committee had to contend with calls from the BABS street committees to nominate a representative to the coloured management committee. The street committees were organised into a co-ordinating group called the Action Group who were successful in nominating a representative to run for political office on an Action Group ticket. This person also came to serve on the BABS management committee.

The Moreson based BABS committee member invited his neighbours to a meeting with the aim of starting a block club. Eighteen residents attended. It was reported that he had sent 350 letters to residents calling them to stand together (Quarterly Report, October 1979).

In 1980 the municipality finally reacted to representations from the block club and cleared the open area in Elsie Street of refuse and covered the surface with soil. It was left to the group to seed the grass and provide equipment for a playground.

In 1982 the BABS committee arranged a public meeting attended by 600 residents to discuss a sudden increase in rents. An attorney was retained to communicate with the Department of Community Development with the aim of obtaining its intervention. The department referred the organisation back to the local management committee. By 1984 only one street group had survived - St Paul's who met every month but without any clear objective (Community Work Report, 1983/84).

3.2.3.3 Training

All the BABS community workers received their in-service training at BABS Kewtown. It was expected from the community worker to run training courses as well. Thus, in 1984 the worker arranged a career guidance workshop for 15 people including social workers, municipal officials and school guidance teachers from the southern Cape.

3.2.3.4 Institution Building

Information on this programme was not available.

3.2.3.5 Conscientising

The carols evening arranged by BABS in 1979 marked the first time in a long while that all sections of the George community celebrated a festive event together.

Earlier that year the organisation had invited the State President to the BABS cottage in an effort to highlight the role of BABS in social upliftment. The section on the civics programme dealt with the strategy to exploit the local government structure by electing a candidate to the coloured management committee. This affiliate was involved in deep disagreement with each other as a result of a 1981 BABS National decision to distance itself from management committees (Annual Report, 1981/82). Some local members felt that BABS was becoming too political.

3.2.3.6 Leadership

The community worker was acutely aware of the role of leaders in ensuring the success of a programme. In her evaluation report for 1978 (Community Worker Report, 1978) she saw the need for a leadership training course after noting that the Conville Woman Club's attendance dropped with the illness and absence of the chairperson. The community worker observed that she was needed by too many groups and she was unsure when to withdraw her involvement. She saw her role as the following:

a) Give support and advice.

b) Attend group meetings.

c) Reduce conflict.

d) Assist the groups in obtaining perspective of their contributions to the whole.

e) Develop the potential of members.

The leadership training course dealt with the qualities of a leader; the importance of planning and evaluation and the role of office bearers. The Elsie Street action group demonstrated the benefits of the training programme. The worker had regular sessions with the chairperson over member participation. Every member received an opportunity to take the chair. It was noted later by the worker that members had showed noticeable growth in their personal life in that they were more assertive and less complacent. She moved on to support the leadership of the Conville crèche group who had earlier expressed disappointment with a poor performance during 1979.

They had apportioned part of the blame on the lack of interest by the BABS management committee. This was taken up by the worker who set out her expectations of the leadership of the organisation:

- To take an interest in grassroots activity.

- To assist the chairmen of newly established groups.

- To be the initiators of new development (Community Worker Report, 1979/80).

As an indication of how the organisation itself saw the question of leadership one may refer to a visit in 1981 by BABS National who asked how the affiliate was to recapture the enthusiasm of its members. Blame seemed to have been placed at the feet of the new community worker who was not able to sustain existing programmes let alone initiate new ones (Community Worker Report 1983/84).

On examining the objectives established by the organisation in 1978 it would appear that it was successful in meeting a one year deadline for the establishment of a neighbourhood group, a soup kitchen and a playgroup. Of the three projects, the playgroup had continued long after external support had withdrawn. The original founder member had agreed to participate in the survey and gave an account of how she maintained a crèche which served a nearby squatter camp from donations and fees alone. She regretted that the playgroup could not be transformed into part of a multi-purpose centre as was the case of BABS Kewtown. Unlike Kewtown, the George affiliate did not have the backing of a major sponsor which would have secured the capital costs of the erection of a centre.

In 1982 the affiliate embarked on an ambitious attempt to establish a co-operative. It was ambitious because there were numerous pre-conditions for the success of a co-operative and there were not many other examples that it could learn from. The project ended in 1984 in spite of a number of attempts to adapt and change.

A successful project was the physical improvements of certain neighbourhoods. As was the case of Kewtown where success led to a bolstering of incremental achievements, soon the co-ordinated street committees had become part of the local political process.

By 1984 after the departure of the last professional community worker, the affiliate lost impetus. Over a seven year span it had emulated the successes and failures of the Kewtown model with much less of the human and financial resources available to it.

However, it maintained links with BABS National through a member who served as a trustee and members attended annual congress until 1987. There did not appear to be any process of termination or disaffiliation between the branch and the national office as set out in terms of the constitution. A visit by the researcher in 1995 to interview the George respondents found the BABS cottage still being maintained by a former member.

4. BEAUFORT WEST

4.1 Area Profile

4.1.1 HISTORY

Beaufort West is situated in the Great Karoo and has long served as a major staging point for trade between the coast and the hinterland. In 1992 it had a coloured population of 15508 (Dept. of Welfare Area Profile, 1992). The last mentioned document is the source for the following information.

4.1.2 HOUSING

The town is composed of different types of neighbourhoods which were formerly segregated. As a result of the gradual decline of commercial and public enterprises which employed mainly whites, the resultant exodus from the town caused some relocation from areas that were previously occupied by coloureds and blacks. A black township is situated between the previously coloured and white areas and provides housing for 5000 people. Adjacent to it is a sub-economic council estate consisting mainly of two-roomed dwellings. The balance of housing is for a middle class involved in service industries and is the only growing sector in the housing market.

4.1.3 EDUCATION

The coloured community is served by four primary schools, one senior school and one secondary school. There area about 300 teachers in the employ of the education department.

4.1.4 EMPLOYMENT

The town is situated on the arterial route between Cape Town and Johannesburg and is dependent on passing trade for its commercial viability. The majority of the white collar section of the working sector is employed by the civil service.

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Others are employed in the agricultural sector which is of seasonal duration. The town experiences a high unemployment rate with 15% of the coloured community living below the poverty level.

4.1.5 COMMUNITY RESOURCES

The Provincial hospital is about 6 kilometres away from the poorer section of town and can provide for 84 patients. A community health centre provides primary health care and houses a number of clinics that are well-supported. Facing the providers of this service are the following problems:

- Alcohol abuse, malnutrition, low incomes and high unemployment lead to negative conditions which have resulted in a high rate of TB notifications.
- The birth rate is 46/1000 while the death rate is 38\1000.
- There were 521 teenage pregnancies in 1992.
- The average number of children per family is three. About 1000 of 5652 fertile women are involved in family planning programmes.

Welfare resources include 20 social workers in the employ of the State and five social workers in the private welfare sector. The major problems dealt with are as follows:

- An excessive number of applications for state assistance in respect of disability and maintenance grants.
- Juvenile delinquency.
- Child abuse and neglect.
- Alcoholism and shebeenism.

4.1.6 CULTURAL FACTORS

There are twelve churches with the NGK and the Anglican churches having the greatest number of adherents. Leadership is drawn from the educational sector.

4.2 Organisational Profile

4.2.1 HISTORY AND STRUCTURE

In 1977 the chairperson of a so-called relations committee (a multi-racial body to combat racial tension) which had been established in Beaufort West invited BABS to present its work to a group of persons in the town after he had read of the activities of BABS in a government publication called the Alpha magazine.

A committee of interested persons was created as a result of the presentation and it chose to call itself a BABS committee. It consisted of a group of teachers, clerics and social workers who set themselves a task of drawing up a needs assessment of the areas it proposed to serve. These areas covered the poorest section of the council estate and held a population of 1600 people (Minutes of the planning committee, May 1977). After the completion of this task the committee underwent a period of dormancy caused mainly through a lack of leadership.

During May 1980 a Sunday Times reporter wrote an article on Beaufort West which had been based on the work of the BABS committee three years previously. This article caused a reaction in official circles as it highlighted the poverty in the area. In June 1980 the chairperson of the principal's association was elected chairperson of BABS Beaufort West and under his leadership the project experienced a rebirth. A founders meeting was held on 22 July 1980 with eleven members present. A decision was made to approach the local Diakonale Dienste welfare organisation to take the responsibility of supervising future community workers (Minutes of the First Meeting, 22/7/1980). The BABS inauguration was held on 11 October 1980 and attended by local dignitaries who had great expectations for the organisation.

4.2.2 GOALS

These were defined as follows:

- To develop community involvement.
- To identify the needs of the people.
- To investigate the socio-economic circumstances.
- To develop leadership potential.
- To establish street committees.
- To establish a community centre.

4.2.3 PROGRAMMES

4.2.3.1 Popular Programmes

The intention was to establish a feeding programme at schools. In line with other BABS affiliates a home industries project was initiated. About 10 women were invited to participate in a knitting group with BABS supplying the wool. The unexpected departure of the community worker during 1980 led to the termination of this programme.

4.2.3.2 Civics

Field workers were appointed with the task of establishing street committees in Rustdene, Nerina and a particularly poor neighbourhood nicknamed "die treine". The method of contact was based on the Kewtown block committee system. House meetings were addressed and the joint approach to problem-solving was explained. Success was achieved in one street where mainly pensioners were involved in a clean-up of backyards.

4.2.3.3 Training

At the beginning of 1980 the two community workers received in-service training in Kewtown which included acquiring skills in recording, administration and door-to-door canvassing for new members.

4.2.3.4 Institution Building

No programme offered.

4.2.3.5 Conscientising

No programme offered

4.2.3.6 Leadership

The leadership provided by the executive committee was of a high calibre as a result of senior positions held in the organisations they represented. The government office-head made the resources of the state available where applicable. The teachers on the committee served on professional associations and provided legitimacy for the organisation. On the other hand, because of the seniority of the committee it tended to function as an advisory body with less commitment to grassroots action. It also had to withstand the pressures of the established political order which considered BABS to be a threat to their continued influence. Attempts had been made to embarrass committee members or discredit their efforts.

The branch had employed two community workers whom had been drawn from disadvantaged areas and had been recommended by various committee members. After a short period the male community worker absconded. The remaining worker continued for a while but it was clear that she missed her colleague's drive and initiative.

She resigned shortly afterwards. It was learned that the gangs operating in the area had considered the community workers a threat and literally forced the male worker out of town. Another reason became apparent for the changing fortunes of the branch. It appeared that they were held together by the chairperson. When he left the town for a four-month period during 1982 the branch stopped functioning. Unlike the previous experience in 1977 when the organisation was re-established, on this occasion there was no-one willing to start again and the organisation became defunct.

The organisation had most things in place to have been able to function at a optimum level. It had a strong leadership base and had employed two community based workers to realise aims that were within the organisations reach. One street committee had been established and its seemed that the organisation would be imitating the progress of the Kewtown model.

However, the abscondment of the community workers dealt a mortal blow to the organisation. The groups that had been established were taken over by the management board. Unfortunately, they were not able to give the necessary inputs of time and energy for the groups to survive. The community worker reports on groups in Kewtown and George which have been reported elsewhere showed that groups, newly established or otherwise, required intensive attention.

5. SALDANHA BAY

5.1 Area Profile

5.1.1 HISTORY

Saldanha Bay was named after a Portuguese explorer, Antonio D'Saldanha. A lack of fresh water in the bay forced him to look elsewhere for a refreshment station (Saldanha Bay Annual Report,1978).

5.1.2. HOUSING

There are 8500 residents in Diazville and White City. Diazville is the newer township and was built in the seventies as a result of the demand for accommodation for the workers of the iron-ore terminal operations. There are 740 sub-economic units and a home-ownership scheme of 66 houses. The interests of the latter are served by a home-owners association.

Severe adaptation problems were experienced by workers who moved from factory-owned homes, where they paid a nominal rental, to municipal housing, where higher rents and hire purchase requirements ensnared the uninitiated (Ibid). The shortage of housing is a chronic problem and the situation is exacerbated by the high number of boarders, especially school children from outlying areas who do not have hostel facilities. There was a waiting list for council accommodation of 1006 families in 1977.

5.1.3 EDUCATION

Diazville primary school accommodates 1460 children. There is a secondary school for 1500 pupils. A pre-school centre caters for 40 children. The number of pre-school children is estimated at 1700.

5.1.4 EMPLOYMENT

Saldanha Bay is the biggest employment centre on the west coast. The largest single employer is the Sea Harvest Fishing Company, reputedly the largest fishing company in the southern hemisphere. It operates on a continuous basis and draws its labour from the above townships. There is not sufficient employment and this has contributed to problems experienced in this community. High unemployment is a disincentive for young people to remain in school. This has created a growing juvenile crime rate.

5.1.5 COMMUNITY RESOURCES

One police station has to deal with crimes ranging from public drunkenness and wife beating to murder and robbery. A family planning clinic employs two community sisters. A doctor uses a consulting room every afternoon and treats about 60 patients per week. There is a shortage of play-parks, a library, street lighting and primary schools.

5.1.6 CULTURAL FACTORS

Churches play a big role in the lives of the inhabitants. There are 33 denominations with about 962 families as adherents. The churches with the biggest followings are the NGK, Anglican and AME. There is a large muslim population. This large number of church affiliations makes for a homogenous population which makes membership of new organisations sometimes difficult (Chairperson's Report, 1979).

5.2 Organisational Profile

5.2.1 HISTORY AND STRUCTURE

BABS Saldanha Bay had its beginnings in November 1977 when five people, appalled by the poor conditions in Diazville, embarked on a drive to gain support for the erection of a playpark. The response was extremely poor. One of the five members was moved to address a Tupperware party which he had come upon unexpectedly and persuaded 15 women to join the fledgling organisation (Chairperson's Report, 1978). The founder members continued their efforts to expand the membership but discovered that residents were afraid to speak out and distrusted their motives.

The leader of the group wrote to BABS Kewtown for assistance. In April 1978 the group received a visit from BABS staff who assisted them in setting up a number of programmes to raise the affiliate's profile in the community. By the following year BABS was well-established. This was due partly to the efforts of the executive committee who worked together at the Sea Harvest fishing company. The company allowed them time off for community work. In this way the BABS chairperson was able to visit other BABS affiliates and he returned eager to introduce similar projects in Diazville. In that year the three committee members mentioned previously had committed themselves to working full-time for the organisation to achieve the set goals.

They had decided that the lack of growth in membership was due to the absence of full-time community workers. The members who had resigned their employment embarked on a small business project. By building holiday cottages they hoped to employ themselves and then use the profit towards the erection of a multi-purpose building.

By the end of 1981 the energies of the affiliate had gone into the building project with the services in Diazville neglected. In a short time the project came to a halt amidst much acrimony. The affiliate ceased functioning for a while. The organisation was revived a year later and restructured to be more accountable to its members and the national body.

5.2.2 GOALS

In 1978 the group had set down the following general goals:

• To educate residents in the community.

- To help people to help themselves.

At the beginning of 1981 BABS had become more specific and set out its objectives as the following:

- the appointment of a community worker;
- an increase in BABS membership;
- the provision of career guidance workshops and
- the erection of a multi-purpose centre.

5.2.3 PROGRAMMES

5.2.3.1 Popular Programmes

5.2.3.1.1 Crèches

The affiliate ran a small playgroup which, when weighed against its other activities, received scant reporting in the branch's minutes and reports to the national office.

5.2.3.1.2 Multi-Purpose Centres

The experience of BABS Kewtown in regard to the erection of a multi-purpose centre invited replication elsewhere as it was held to be a model for eliciting community participation. The Saldanha Bay affiliate was of the opinion that conditions were suitable to commence working towards the goal of a multi-purpose centre. As mentioned previously three executive members had committed themselves to full-time community work, having resigned their work in 1981. The intention was to establish a small construction business in holiday homes with the profit ploughed into a building fund for the proposed centre. An approach was made to an architect to draw up plans for the centre at a cost of R1200. Work then began on the building of a holiday home and it appeared that the three members had shown enterprise in establishing a novel way of raising funds. They even wrote to the BABS sponsor requesting whether they could participate in the Mobil pension scheme. The initial capital for the building of the holiday cottage appeared to be drawn from the sponsor's grant to the affiliate.

Problems soon raised its head. The buyer of the cottage was not satisfied with the progress of the building and the inexperience of the three began to tell. They were unable to pacify the complainant and litigation was threatened, not only from him but from the other suppliers of material as well. As the building scheme had functioned under the BABS banner the affiliate was held liable for the outstanding work and money.

It became apparent that the trust the other members had placed in the leadership had been misplaced and that they had failed to institute checks and balances. Amidst a great deal of acrimony the three resigned.

What should have been the impetus to a major community project instead became a millstone around an ever-decreasing membership as the seriousness of the situation became clear. It was left to the sponsor's lawyer to explain that the existing members of the affiliate were jointly responsible for the debts and that they were obliged to satisfy the creditors. Failure to do so would prohibit the organisation from ever functioning in the area again.

The post mortem by the members, with the assistance of a lawyer and an accountant provided by the sponsor, showed that financial controls were very slack. There were no details on cheque counterfoils; loans to members totalled R548; financial matters were seldom discussed in meetings and when these matters were discussed decisions were not minuted clearly or monitored. With hindsight it was observed that the affiliate should never have gone the route of a small business in the construction field. The majority of members were women and the decision was entirely inappropriate. Also, the small business project should have been separated from the organisation. The worst damage was done to the morale and credibility of the organisation. Very little time had been spent in providing services to the community.

5.2.3.1.3 Home Industry

In June 1981 a BABS sewing group made protective clothing for the fishing company through negotiations on the part of members who worked there. Two members, using their own machines, and working from the home of the chairperson, managed to continue only for a month before returning back to full-time employment to support their families.

5.2.3.2 Civics

During 1978 the affiliate followed the neighbourhood action approach and established the Seaside and Ocean View block committees. Members of the Green Hill and Stone Hill block clubs met every fortnight to discuss improvements in the area. Other accomplishments were to arrange a petition against squatters; to establish a civil defence movement and arrange a gardening competition (Saldanha Bay Annual Report, 1978).

A visit by national staff members on 28 February 1981 evaluated the first two years of the affiliate. It was found that it was successful with negotiations with the municipality. The organisation could claim that it was responsible for improved street lighting; extra water taps in streets; the allocation of land for a community centre and the planting of 50 saplings for a beautification project (Community Worker Report, 1981).

5.2.3.3 Training

No programme offered.

5.2.3.4 Institution Building

The absence of a democratic process of decision making with regard to the building project proved fatal for the organisation. At a meeting on 17 October 1982 to deal with the R1200 demand from the architect it was ascertained that previous minutes had shown that decisions had indeed been made to use the services of an architect. In spite of this, members denied responsibility for this action (Minutes of the special meeting, 17/10/1982). A lesson was learnt from this debacle in that, with the aim of controlling the activities of affiliated groups, action plans were devised and carefully monitored. The affiliate sought to secure its place as part of the welfare establishment in the area by joining the Ring of Societies consisting of churches, clubs and community organisations.

5.2.3.5 Conscientising

No programme offered.

5.2.3.6 Leadership

The organisation employed a young matriculant as a community worker. Her salary was paid out of money from fund-raising efforts. She resigned after three months. The committee concluded that committed volunteers were preferable to a paid worker. It would seem that this experience with a full-time worker may have influenced the three members to work full-time for the organisation. After the unfortunate train of events efforts associated with the building fund, efforts were made to revive programmes. With new leadership the affiliate was able to obtain a council cottage for a base for its activities and went on to win a trophy for the most improved affiliate in 1982.

All affiliates mentioned thus far were established more or less at the same time when BABS Kewtown sought to set itself as a model for organisations which shared its vision. As was the case with George and Beaufort West, the Saldanha Bay affiliate aimed at establishing a community centre. The attainment of this goal eventually became a major reason for the collapse of the affiliate in the initial years. The extraordinary events that preceded what turned out to be the temporary paralysis of the branch overshadowed the successes that had been achieved in neighbourhood improvements, playgroups, civic matters and a community cottage.

It is difficult to suggest that the presence of an experienced, professional community worker could have avoided the final turn of events. The affiliate was in no position to employ one and when it did, the incumbent did not stay long enough to make her mark. When the affiliate was re-established a year after it had closed down, it tried hard to avoid the mistakes of the past and established checks and balances and clear communication with the Kewtown office.   It continued functioning for a few years with a dwindling membership till it became defunct in the mid-eighties.

6. KLEINMOND

6.1 Area Profile

6.1.1 HISTORY

Kleinmond is a small seaside village about 120 km from Cape Town. It has a population of 800 whites and 1200 coloureds. The latter are descendants of fisherfolk who were established near the harbour in the 1860's. During this time farmers from the Overberg began trekking in for summer holidays and by 1910 a seasonal pattern had been fixed (BABS Area Profile, 1982).
Both groups owned houses in the town with whites based at the eastern end and using the beach at Sandown Bay while coloureds at the harbour end used the Palmiet River mouth for recreation. In terms of the Group Areas Act the whites received 1500 hectares and the coloureds 40 hectares of land. The coloureds were forced to move.

6.1.2 HOUSING

Kleinmond was proclaimed a township in 1929. A scheme of 50 units was built during this time for coloureds. Almost 50 years later extensions were added in 1978. Proteadorp consists of about 800 inhabitants living in 145 housing units. Next to it some 35 shanties house families on the waiting list for homes.

The houses consist of semi-detached or single dwellings with one to two rooms without electricity. The housing scheme is about a kilometre from the business centre. There is no accommodation for the middle and high income groups. Thus teachers and persons in the service sector have to commute to the town from larger towns in the region.

6.1.3 EDUCATION

For 30 years a building belonging to the Anglican church was used to house a school. The overflow used the premises belonging to the NGK. A new school was built in 1981 to accommodate 400 pupils and was taken into use in 1983.

6.1.4 EMPLOYMENT

Employment is found in the fishing industry, the building industry and in domestic service. Most persons in employment travel to Hermanus which is 40 kms away.

6.1.5 COMMUNITY RESOURCES

The inhabitants of Proteadorp have access to clinic, post office, police station, shop, a butchery and light industry. Gansbaai, a nearby fishing village provides the nearest railway station.

6.1.6 CULTURAL FACTORS

The area suffers from unemployment and alcoholism. With the absence of opportunities for advancement mostly absent, the area remains prone to underdevelopment.

6.2 Organisational Profile

6.2.1 HISTORY AND STRUCTURE

A crèche had been established in Kleinmond on the initiative of a community sister and two volunteers. The latter had attended a training course at the Early Learning Centre in Kewtown and learned of the work of BABS. Besides their work at the crèche the volunteers also were involved at an advice office where they assisted people with rent and hospital arrears; completed applications for state assistance and provided material aid. They appeared to be overwhelmed by the service which they were offering and approached BABS for direction and financial support. The national staff visited the area and witnessed a garden competition and an exhibition of handwork arranged by the applicants. After meeting with local leaders the staff recommended affiliation in 1981 (Community Worker Report, June 1981).

In June 1984 the national office expressed concern with the affiliate as it was not meeting minimum standards. The organisation was characterised by the following:

- a lack of reporting on its activities;
- a lack of programme activity;
- a decline in membership;
- a decline in group and board meetings;
- a failure to plan programmes based on set objectives and
- the spending of funding on activities not accounted for in planning.

In 1987 conflict arose in the organisation when competing groups claimed funding from the sponsor. Each side lined up with supporters slating each others activities. One group consisted of founding members who were accused of misspending the grants of the sponsor. This group had initiated the building of a multi-purpose centre and were represented at the workshops and meetings arranged by BABS National. The newer group wanted recognition as they believed that their advice office activities gave BABS a more credible profile. The situation was resolved by with-holding the grant until the national director had investigated the opposing claims. It appeared that two dominant individuals had overstated their claims and that the grant would be better spent elsewhere. This decision led to both groups eventually disbanding with the affiliate becoming non-operational.

6.2.2 GOALS

These were set out as follows:

- To erect a crèche building.
- To assist youth groups.
- To care for the aged.
- To combat crime.

6.2.3 PROGRAMMES

6.2.3.1 Popular Programmes

6.2.3.1.1 Crèches

The BABS crèche had sought its own building and the granting of land in 1985 by the municipality was a step in that direction. A cottage was to be built which would accommodate 40 children at a day care centre.

The BABS national director reported on 27 December 1985 that the building was at roof height and that it was the first such building to be erected other than a school or a church in Kleinmond.

6.2.3.1.2 Multi-purpose Centres

The above building never went beyond roof height. Later conflict appeared to deflect groups from pursuing what should have been a common goal of erecting a community centre. The surviving faction failed to generate the community support needed for sponsors to finance the completion of the building.

6.2.3.1.3 Service Programmes

By 1992 the affiliate was dormant but one of the original volunteers was still active in establishing a short-lived home industry group which consisted of a sewing club.

6.2.3.2 Civics

No programme offered.

6.2.3.3 Training

The Kleinmond chairperson wrote after attending a three-day course in 1987 that she had already attended five courses in her seven year association with BABS. She may have unwittingly touched on the cause of the rivalry in the area between BABS groups. There was the possibility that training courses served as a means of entrenching the position of leadership or privilege. Training courses were usually linked and optimum use of the course would be achieved when there was continuity in attendance. In the BABS Kleinmond newsletter the chairperson wrote that more training was required to get community members involved in the activities of the affiliate as the executive members appeared to be doing most of the work (Newsletter, January/March 1987).

6.2.3.4 Institution Building

The serious conflict that existed in the organisation reflected its failure to come to terms with the democratic ways of resolving differences.

6.2.3.5 Conscientising

A dance arranged by the affiliate to crown "Miss Kleinmond" was noteworthy in that it marked the first time that the town hall was used by the coloured community (Ekstra Rapport, 17/10/1982).

6.2.3.6 Leadership

BABS National encouraged the existence of the committed volunteer and instituted a "volunteer of the year award". However, volunteers who played leading roles in establishing a branch felt that they were entitled to financial recognition. Thus the Kleinmond chairperson requested compensation for expenses incurred and a small basic salary.

7. OTHER AFFILIATES

There was much less information on the balance of the affiliates. This led to a change in format to facilitate reporting.

7.1. Organisational Profiles

7.1.1 MAMRE

A community worker employed by the Mamre Board of Management established a crèche with the aim of getting parents interested in the development of their children. She sought material aid from BABS National in 1987. In response BABS offered its expertise in networking and training. More or less at the same time a group of parents of disabled children sought to establish a sheltered employment workshop and requested funding from BABS. Both groups received assistance. The organisation disbanded in 1991.

7.1.2 PACALTSDORP

This affiliate was established in July 1985 by a BABS George committee member who resided in this town. It pursued the following aims:

- to increase the quality of life of the people of Pacaltsdorp.
- to promote the socio-economic development of the community.
- to promote community participation through the encouragement of self-help programmes.
- to organise preventive programmes through structured training and educational programmes.

It had made no progress after establishing a playgroup in 1987 and failed to provide regular reports to the national office.

7.1.3 CALITZDORP

On the initiative of the ACVV social worker a BABS committee affiliated in July 1986 with the aim of obtaining financial assistance for a crèche in Gamka-Oos. After the social worker left in 1988 for other employment the group disaffiliated.

7.1.4 ATLANTIS

A group of volunteers affiliated in July 1985 on the strength of two programmes they had initiated - a crèche and a feeding scheme. They set out the following goals: to serve the community; to involve the youth; to fight alcoholism; to provide advice and assistance; to help the unemployed and to establish a community centre. The original group was joined in later years by a large youth contingent who maintained a high profile in recreational activities in the town. It ceased to function under BABS aegis in 1993.

7.1.5 DYSSELSDORP

BABS Dysselsdorp was a combined ACVV/BABS/World Vision Project and was established in 1982. The community worker was in the employ of ACVV and was supervised by its regional office in Oudtshoorn. World Vision supported the Siembaba playgroup. BABS provided the training and funding and expertise in eliciting community participation. The project was controlled by a management committee consisting of two representatives of ACVV, two persons from the Divisional Council, three social workers and six local members. The aims were:

- to make Dysselsdorp a better community.
- to give attention to social problems.
- to promote family life.
- to encourage co-operation in the community.

It became defunct eight years later during 1990.

7.1.6 BELLVILLE SOUTH

As a result of agitation by the residents of Stilwane township who were concerned about the large number of unattended pre-school children, the Bellville municipality established the Crown Cork community centre. The community liaison officer employed by the municipality requested BABS to assist him in establishing a community based management committee.

This committee affiliated to BABS. Control remained in the hands of the municipality which maintained the centre and paid the salary of the principal of the crèche. BABS would provide training and financial assistance where possible. This relationship lasted between 1988 and 1993.

7.1.7 STRAND

The Care and Share Association was established in 1983 to bring together people who were concerned about poverty in the Hottentots Holland area and to pool ideas to alleviate these conditions. Although the Association had by March 1989 registered as a fund-raising branch of BABS National, the relationship with BABS was tenuous with regard to carrying out community participation programmes under the BABS banner.

BABS interests were met by a sub-committee of the Association with the chairperson of this subcommittee an active volunteer for BABS. However the rest of the sub-committee consisted of Association members who merely acted as functionaries to meet the requirements of the Fund-raising Act of 1987. Bank accounts were held in the name of Care and Share as well as BABS Strand. The broad aims of the affiliate were in line with the BABS National constitution. By 1991 the organisation had disaffiliated from the national body.

7.2 Programmes of Other Affiliates

7.2.1 POPULAR PROGRAMMES

7.2.1.1 Crèches

BOKMAKIERIE

The Harmony crèche was initiated by BABS worker in 1980. Due to financial pressure the crèche increasingly began to serve a clientele outside the area and was affiliated to BABS as it was dependent on funding. An examination of the project file contained insufficient data to research the community participation process with regard to this affiliate.

MAMRE

A playgroup was established in 1989 when volunteer workers recognised the need for a facility for parents who were unable to afford the fees set by crèches. A survey completed by the volunteers found that 17 out of 40 children interviewed were underweight. A health worker amongst them found that the crèche was an ideal way of reaching the parents concerned.

PACALTSDORP

A playgroup was established in 1987. Apart from a girls club this was the only programme offered by the affiliate.

CALITZDORP

The BABS affiliate functioned as a sub-committee of ACVV and established the Sonskyn playgroup in a three-roomed farm house in Gamka-Oos. The farm house was renovated by volunteers who approached BABS National for funding.

ATLANTIS

A group of volunteers sought affiliation with BABS in July 1985 on the strength of their control of a crèche serving 65 children. Their exposure to BABS stimulated them to look at other needs in the community which they indicated as being an after-school centre, baby care, aged care, youth involvement.

DYSSELSDORP

The Siembaba playgroup suffered from the pervasive poverty and unemployment in the area. An evaluation by the ACVV social worker in 1986 showed that the activity was poorly supported by the parents. BABS contributed to capital costs to enable the group to obtain a government subsidy. The social worker was of the opinion that participation had fallen away since 1983 where attendance at PTA meetings was good and staff were enthusiastic about their work.

STRAND

In the first year of its establishment the affiliate ran a crèche in two squatter camps - Blikkiesdorp and Veepos. In the fourth year of operation it had two educare groups with a total of 30 children with two more groups planned during 1989. The District Mail (7/5/1990) in the Strand reported that the affiliate held an educare workshop for people interested in informal pre-school education.

7.2.1.2 Multi-purpose Centres

BELLVILLE

The multi-purpose centre appeared to lack nothing. The crèche furniture was supplied by the municipality from its store. The Parks department had landscaped the surroundings. The Roads department had constructed a pathway to the front entrance. The Crown Cork company donated R2000 per month towards running expenses. The municipality paid the principal's salary and covered the maintenance costs of the crèche. The result was that the BABS members felt that they were not part of the centre. They had to approach the municipality when they wanted to use the centre. They felt that a steering committee consisting of representatives of the users of the centre should take over the management of the centre. It became clear to BABS National that the centre functioned as a service and an amenity for the employees and tenants of the local authority and by April 1993 BABS had stopped contributing to the centre.

7.2.1.3 Service programmes

MAMRE

The affiliate set itself the goal of establishing a sheltered workshop. A suitable piece of land had been offered by the management board in 1987 and the promise of BABS national to provide an electric sewing machine would have initiated the programme. A sum of R1000 was set aside for this purpose. By 1991 the affiliate was struggling to fight apathy on the part of a handful of members and when the discouraged chairperson resigned it was the end of the organisation.

STRAND

The affiliate planned to convert its sewing classes into a home industry project and a volunteer was sent on a training course in home industry arranged by the national office. The main thrust of the affiliate was the feeding scheme which was funded by BABS National. After some time it appeared that a large portion of this funding was spent on administrative costs, particularly on a vehicle. The national office in 1983 instructed the affiliate that 90% of the funding should be spent on food in the mobile meals project. The national office also sponsored a youth theatre group performance to assist in the fund-raising of the organisation. The performance was poorly attended and money was actually lost.

In 1986 it gave R5000 to finance five soup kitchens and several outings for the youth and pre-school children (Minutes of committee meeting 24/11/86). However, concern was expressed that not enough effort was spent on self-help schemes or making existing groups self-sustaining.

DYSSELSDORP

A knitting machine was provided by the national office. Three women were involved in a sewing group which had plans to seek a state subsidy once it became more established. The group progressed steadily and a year later in 1983 four more machines were obtained. The affiliate experienced its best years in terms of community participation leading up to 1985 when there were about 400 people involved in club activities. However, the political unrest of 1986 in the township severely affected this support. The organisation functioned without a committee, members became disinterested and the poor economic situation strained the resources of the playgroup.

ATLANTIS

On affiliation in 1985 the organisation provided a crèche, a feeding scheme and home nursing. By 1987 a home-industries group was making blankets for the aged. A very well-attended youth club was in existence. By 1991 a soccer and netball club functioned under the BABS umbrella and planned neighbourhood clean-ups. However, community activities receded into the background when a power struggle between opposing groups in the organisation laid claim to funding which had come to be seen as a sport sponsorship. Funding was withdrawn in 1993.

CALITZDORP

The affiliate functioned as a project of ACVV and saw BABS mainly as a sponsor of its service and activity groups. It modelled its services on those provided by other affiliates and ran an advice office, soup kitchen, playgroup, women and youth groups.

7.2.2 Civics

No programmes were offered by the other affiliates.

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7.2.3 Training

For new affiliates the training programmes provided by the national office were a means of networking with other organisations and easing their way into the organisation. With regard to older affiliates, training was based on learning the grassroots approach that had been applied in Kewtown and had been deemed successful enough to be applied elsewhere.

BELLVILLE

The affiliate's relationship with BABS was based on the understanding that as the municipality phased out its influence the national office would provide the training of community members to take over the running of the centre. However, when a key figure, who was in the employ of the municipality and also a BABS trustee, resigned his job the above plans were not followed through.

DYSSELSDORP

During a visit by the national office in 1986 the need to provide a workshop on the role of the volunteer was identified. This was as the result of the full-time community worker's observation that members were of the opinion that as a paid worker she had to do the work. In 1989 the same worker reported that conflict had stemmed from members who had previously attended training courses but were now critical of her role in the organisation (Social Worker Quarterly Report, September 1989).

STRAND

The affiliate regarded educare workshops as a priority seen in the light of the playgroups it maintained and supported the training programmes run by the national office enthusiastically.

CALITZDORP

The affiliate had a strong youth organisation based at Gamka East and sent two members to attend a youth leadership training course.

7.2.4 Institution Building

No programmes offered.

7.2.5 Conscientising

The eviction of a family in terms of the Group Areas Act during 1990 led to a protest march through the town of Somerset West. The church ministers who led the march were joined by members of the BABS affiliate (District Mail, 7/5/1990).

7.2.6 Leadership

BABS National encouraged the growth of committed volunteers and instituted the " volunteer of the year" award for which many members vied for.

The purpose of this chapter had been to accumulate data on BABS and its affiliates for several purposes. An organisational profile provided information on the programmes offered during an affiliate's life span. The goals of the organisations were described and area profiles gave an indication of the socio-cultural and spatial context in which the organisations functioned. This will provide the means of meeting the aims of the study.

It was considered useful to set out the main aspects in schematic form to assist in pulling themes together.

Table 3 Lifespan of Affiliates

AFFILIATE	ESTABLISHED	CONCLUDED	SPAN	PROGRAMMES
Strand	1983	1991	8 years	2
Bellville	1988	1993	5 years	2
Dysselsdorp	1982	1990	8 years	2
Atlantis	1985	1993	8 years	1
Calitzdorp	1986	1988	2 years	3
Pacaltsdorp	1985	1987	2 years	1
Kleinmond	1981	1988	7 years	5
Saldanha Bay	1977	1984	7 years	4
Beaufort West	1977	1982	5 years	4
George	1977	1987	10 years	6
Kewtown	1973	1993	20 years	6

There are several conclusions that can be inferred from the above:

- The majority of affiliates experienced a lifespan of between five and ten years.

- A little less than half of them were established in the late seventies and early eighties.

- The majority would have established themselves in the mid-eighties which confirmed the observation. that the years between 1986 and 1988 saw a peak in BABS membership.

- There did not appear to be a correlation between the age of the organisation and the number of programmes it offered.

- The majority of affiliates offered the full range of programmes that had been identified for this study. All affiliates offered services which fell under the description of popular programmes.

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Chapter Five

RESULTS OF THE SURVEY OF BABS MEMBERS AND STAFF

In this chapter the findings of the survey of members and staff of BABS Western Cape are presented. The questionnaire (appendix 2) explored the following areas:

1. RESPONDENTS CLASSIFICATION

Name, age, sex, sex, occupation, education, religious affiliation of respondents, the name of the BABS affiliate.

2. THE EXPOSURE TO BABS

Their association with BABS, and their motivation for joining the organisation.

3. THE INVOLVEMENT IN BABS

- The impact of their joining BABS and the benefits received while members.
- How long their involvement was sustained.

4. PERCEPTIONS OF BABS

- The positive and negative experiences of respondents.
- Their evaluation of the success/strength and weakness/failure of the organisation.

5. EVALUATION OF PROGRAMMES

The rating by respondents of programmes in the light of certain evaluative criteria.

6. NATURE OF PARTICIPATION

The perception of the extent to which respondents participated in the organisation.

1. THE FINDINGS

1.1 Respondents' Classification

1.1.1 GENDER OF THE RESPONDENTS

TABLE 4 Gender of respondents

	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Worker	6	21.42	7	25	13	46.42
Member	4	14.28	11	39.28	15	53.57
Total	10	35.71	18	64.28	28	100

N = 28

Table 4 shows that the majority of respondents were female in both the worker and member categories but that the difference was marked in the member category. This may be explained to the tendency where organisational activities took place during the day because of the interest of housewives. This made it difficult for the men as breadwinners to become involved. The high proportion of females in the study can be attributed to the following:

a) With regard to members it is generally accepted that BABS membership was characterised by a high ratio of females. This may be explained as above by the tendency of females to fill the house-keeping role and who would have been available during the day to participate in programmes.

b) With regard to staff, this component formed a major segment of respondents. The majority of staff members were female. Again, it is generally accepted that more females than males enter the social work profession.

1.1.2 AGE OF THE RESPONDENTS

TABLE 5 - Age of the Respondents

Age	20-29		30-39		40-49		50-59		60-69	
Worker	2	7%	4	14%	5	17%	2	7%	0	
Member	2	7 %	1	3%	3	10%	5	17%	4	14%
Total	4		5		8		7		4	

N = 28

Table 5 shows that there is a spread of the respondents from the youth to the aged. It must be borne in mind that the above reflected the present age of the respondents. Just over half of the respondents (51%) were in the 30-50 age group.

It would seem that the organisation appealed to all age groups. The majority of members were in the 50-59 age group while more workers were represented in the 40-49 age group.

1.1.3 OCCUPATION OF RESPONDENTS

TABLE 6 Occupation of respondents

	Male	Female	Total	%
Social workers	1	6	7	25
Professional	4	4	8	28.57
Pensioners	0	4	4	14.28
Self Employed	2	2	4	14.28
Clerical	3	2	5	17.85
Total	10	18	28	

The highest category of respondents (28%) was represented by the professional occupations. The next category is that of social workers and is due to the high number of staff included in the sample. The smallest group is that of pensioners who reflected the long service of some BABS members. Those who described themselves as self-employed ranged from highly skilled consultants to casual workers.

1.1.4 EDUCATION LEVEL OF RESPONDENTS

TABLE 7 Education level of respondents

	Male	Female	Total	%
Post-graduate	2	6	8	28
Graduate	3	1	4	14
Matric	2	4	6	21
Std 8-9	2	4	6	21
Std 6-7	1	1	2	7
Std 5	0	2	2	7
Total	10	18	28	

The high proportion of respondents with graduate qualifications is due to the high number of staff included in the sample. This is significant in that skilled staff are regarded by Robinson and Riddel (op cit:71) as conducive to successful participation programmes. The majority of members reached secondary school education. This would have made them receptive to programmes requiring social and technical skills such as leadership training and civics.

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1.1.5 RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF RESPONDENTS

TABLE 8 - Religious affiliation of respondents

	Number Worker	Member	% Worker	Member
NGK	1	4	3.57	14.28
Anglican / Catholic	4	3	14.28	10.71
Protestant	1	7	3.57	25
Muslim / Other	1	1	3.57	3.57
Not specified	6	0	21.42	0
Total	13	15	46.42	53..57

N 28

The reason for seeking this information was that cultural and religious affiliations play an important part in preparing people as participants outside their immediate group affiliation . Of the members the majority belonged to the Protestant churches. The single Muslim representative would seem to under-represent the Muslims that belonged to BABS if one took into account the very active madressa group in Kewtown. Responses which questioned the relevance of this question were placed in the not specified column. These responses originated from the majority (21%) of the community workers. A high proportion of members were church-goers. This would have been an indicator that they had been exposed to organisational activities previously, and were therefore at ease with group activities.

1.1.6 NAME OF AFFILIATE

Table 9 shows the affiliate respondents were associated with.

TABLE 9 - Name of Affiliate

Affiliate	Worker	Member	Total	%
Kewtown	4	8	12	42.85
George	2	5	7	25
Dysselsdorp	1	0	1	3.57
National	6	0	6	21.42
Strand	0	2	2	7.14
Total	13	15	28	

The above table confirms that the majority of respondents were based in Kewtown. Although not an affiliate, it was mentioned in Chapter three that the staff members of BABS National were regarded as a valued source of information and were therefore included in the survey.

1.2. Exposure To BABS

1.2.1 Respondents were asked how long they were associated with BABS

TABLE 10 Length of Involvement

Years	Number Worker	Member	% Worker	Member
0 - 5	6	2	21.42	7.14
6 - 10	4	6	14.28	21.42
11 - 15	1	3	3.57	10.71
16 - 20	2	4	7.14	14.28
Total	13	15	46.42	53.57

N = 28

Table 10 shows that a high number (21%) of respondents have remained with the organisation over a period of two decades. Of these the majority were members (14%). The affiliate that they were identified with was Kewtown and later BABS National. The majority (63%) of respondents were involved with the organisation for less than ten years. This information corresponds with the conclusion drawn from the summary of affiliates at the end of chapter four. It was stated that the majority of affiliates had a lifespan of between five and ten years.

1.2.2 Respondents were asked how they were recruited to BABS (Q 2). Respondents gave more than one response to this question.

TABLE 11 Manner of Recruitment

RESPONSE OF WORKER	NUMBER	%
Offered a post	8	28.57
Applied for post	4	14.28
Employed at affiliated agency	1	3.57
TOTAL	13	46.42
RESPONSE OF MEMBER		
Member at affiliated agency	2	7.14
By cold canvassing	5	17.85
Child in crèche or club	2	7.14
Family tradition	2	7.14
by joining a group	2	7.14
Employed at affiliated agency	1	3.57
Founded the affiliate	1	3.57
TOTAL	15	

With regard to workers, the number of respondents (28 %) who were offered posts would indicate that they were "head-hunted " for the posts.

With regard to members, the most responses (17%) were from members who joined the organisation as a result of cold canvassing, a term the organisation used to describe door-to-door membership drives. Those who joined through family tradition were as a result of their parents being members of the organisation.

1.2.3 Respondents were asked why they joined the organisation (Q 3)

TABLE 12 Reason for Joining the Organisation

RESPONSE FROM WORKERS	NUMBER	%
Offered a better salary	1	3.57
Successful with the job application	5	17.85
Community work as social work method appealed	3	10.71
To experience something new	1	3.57
Good name in the developmental field	2	7.14
Condition for funding	1	3.57
TOTAL	13	
RESPONSE FROM MEMBERS		
Help the neighbourhood	4	14.28
To combat crime	1	3.57
Community upliftment	2	7.14
Invited to join	2	7.14
Liked volunteering	3	10.71
Different experience	1	3.57
Condition for funding	2	7.14
TOTAL	15	

N28

The majority of the staff respondents (17%) joined because they were successful with the job application. The next highest staff responses (10%) sought competence in community work. Generally, the non-committal responses such as joining for funding purposes and being a successful job applicant were far outweighed by positive motivations for joining the organisation. The motivation for members joining was altruistic in almost 97% of responses with a large segment (31%) wanting to help others.

1.3 The involvement with BABS

1.3.1 Respondents were asked what kinds of activities they were involved in (Q 4)

TABLE 13 Involvement in Activities

RESPONSE OF WORKERS	NUMBER	%
Canvassing for new members	6	20
Home industry	1	3.33
Administrative	1	3.33
Old age groups	2	6.66
Crèche groups	2	6.66
Identifying needs	1	3.33
With the youth	2	6.66
Raising funds	3	10
Women's groups	2	6.66
Training	5	16.66
As co-ordinator of projects	3	10
Workshops	1	3.33
Visited affiliates	1	3.33
TOTAL	30	
RESPONSE FROM MEMBERS		
Youth club	3	10.71
Training courses	2	7.14
Cultural group	5	17.85
Visiting old people	2	7.14
Gardening competition	2	7.14
Educare	4	14.28
Soup kitchen	1	3.57
Steering committee	2	7.14
Street groups	4	14.28
Catering	1	3.57
Administrative	2	7.14
TOTAL	28	

The respondents were involved in a diversity of activities. Members involved in groupwork such as women's, youth, aged, neighbourhood and creche groups constituted the majority (64%) of responses. For staff members, training was the dominant activity.

1.3.2 Respondents were asked the nature of their participation in the organisation(Q 5)

TABLE 14 Nature of Participation

RESPONSE OF WORKERS	NUMBER	%
Participation was a result of official duties	5	17.85
Participation involved total committment to activities of organisation	8	28.57
RESPONSE OF MEMBERS		
Deeply involved to the extent of sacrificing family and leisure time	10	35.71
Enthusiastic about the organisation	2	7.14
Met obligations of membership of the organisation	3	10.71

N28

The responses gave an indication of the extent of the participation of respondents. What was sought was an indication of the intensity or not, that persons involved with BABS, felt for the organisation and the goals it had set. A large number (35%) and (28%) of responses by members and workers respectively described the involvement as entailing sacrifices in leisure and family time. One member described his participation as being a full-time job. On the other hand, 27% of responses described their involvement as being ordinary members, volunteers and employees.

The responses from the professional workers (28%) indicated a high commitment, with burn-out being the main reason for leaving. The smaller number of responses from professional workers (17%) regarded their involvement as being part of the job.

1.3.3 Respondents were requested to rank their agreement or disagreement with the statement that their joining BABS made a difference to their life (Q 6) and motivate this by way of listing the benefits they received (Q 7).

TABLE 15 Ranking of Response to a Statement of the Impact of the Organisation on the Respondent

RANKING	Response		%	
	worker	member	worker	member
Agree strongly	8	12	28.57	42.85
Agree	5	2	17.85	7.14
Uncertain	0	1	0	3.57
Disagree	0	0	0	0
Disagree strongly	0	0	0	0

N = 28

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The majority of the respondents (70%) strongly agreed with the statement that " it made a big difference to my life when I joined BABS." The overwhelming majority of the members selected this category. In the following category a smaller number (24%) agreed and one respondent was uncertain. None disagreed with the statement. Their motivation involved the benefits they received as members and workers and is set out in the following table.

TABLE 16 Benefit received as a result of joining BABS.

RESPONSE FROM WORKERS	NUMBER	%
Acquired community development skills	6	12
Personal growth	5	10
Travelling	1	2
New personal experiences	4	8
Professional growth	7	14
Received recognition	2	4
RESPONSE FROM MEMBERS		
Neighbours came to know each other	3	6
Met new people	2	4
A stepping stone to other experiences	4	8
Acquired skills	3	6
Travelling	2	4
Training	6	12
Networking with other organisations	2	4
Personal growth	3	6
Obtained BABS housing	2	4

N=50

Respondents were expansive about the benefits received. The majority benefits related to the area of personal enrichment. The responses detailing the acquisition of new skills, travelling and personal growth appeared frequently with regard to both members and workers. The majority of workers (14%) stated professional growth as a benefit received as a result of joining BABS while more members (12%) described training as a benefit.

1.4 The Perception of BABS

1.4.1 Respondents were asked to describe their negative experiences as this would have influenced their perception of the organisation (Q 8). In this section and in others the data is presented in non-tabular form on account of the small but varied responses in each category. A listing was devised that presented the information in a manner that indicated the variety and richness of responses. The responses were categorised as follows:

RESPONSES	NO.	%
The Pegasus centre (20%)		
promises of employment not kept	4	14.28
division of community as a result of the Kewtown housing and community centre project	1	3.57
lack of activities at the Pegasus Centre	1	3.57

Political strategy (17%)		
failure to reach out at the poorest sections and black communities	2	7.14
ambivalent stance of the organisation to coloured management committees	2	7.14
BABS too conservative as political entity and could have been pro-active	1	3.57

Professional difficulties (42%)		
whimsical leadership in Kewtown	3	10.71
realisation that the organisation was no longer a force	2	7.14
financial extravagance at conferences	1	3.57
being insular, too subjective as community worker	1	3.57
job insecurity	1	3.57
too informal administratively, resulting in delays in strategic decision-making	1	3.57
failure of some to understand community control and BABS work methods	1	3.57
intervention at neighbourhood level not sufficient for lasting change	2	7.14
lack of professional support for community workers	1	3.57

Generation gap (10%)		
the youth had problems with reactionary members	2	7.14
lack of contribution from the youth	1	3.57

Other		
uneven contribution from community members to the programmes of the organisation	1	3.57

N28

The highest number of responses centred around professional concerns (42%), followed by the Pegasus Centre (21%). Questions of political strategy (17%) made up the third highest response.

1.4.2 Respondents were asked what their own or their group's achievements were (Q 9). Their responses were categorised as follows:

Responses	No.	%
Establishment of clubs and projects (56%)		
soup kitchen, sewing club, youth or old age group	11	39.28
established the national office	1	3.57
established a crèche	2	7.14
established an affiliate organisation	2	7.14
Personal Achievement (21%)		
accepted as a community worker by the community	1	3.57
building up expertise	1	3.57
high standards in report writing	1	3.57
placed the organisation in the development agency network	1	3.57
brought in other funders	1	3.57
improved the political profile of the organisation	1	3.57
helped manage the Pegasus centre	1	3.57
Goals achieved (17%)		
group leaders became independent and trained as future civic leaders	1	3.57
development of community participation	2	7.14
improvement in the neighbourhood	2	7.14

N28

The most frequent response was the involvement or establishment of clubs or projects (56%).

A less frequent response centred around personal achievement (21%), with fewer responses centred around goals being achieved (17%).

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1.4.3 Respondents were asked of expectations of the organisation that were not fulfilled (Q 10). Their responses were categorised as follows:

Responses	No.	%
Negative experiences (24 %)		
did not receive employment as promised	4	14.28
Pegasus centre did not fulfil expectations	2	7.14
expected radical politics from the organisation as befitting its radical community work image	1	3.57
Failure to succeed with issues (15 %)		
could not tackle gangsterism	1	3.57
home care for the aged failed to materialise	1	3.57
wanted to assist the poor in specific areas	1	3.57
failure to leave a monument to their labours e.g. community centre	1	3.57
failed to train administrators	1	3.57
General (23 %)		
failure to help the very poor; extend to Black areas	4	14.28
total commitment from leaders was lacking	1	3.57
lack of continuity or sustainability	1	3.57
failure to succeed as a national movement.	1	3.57

N28

A number of responses overlapped with the perception of negative experiences (24%). Other responses indicated regret at the failure to succeed with issues close to the respondents (15%) while other responses were of a general nature (23%).

1.4.4 Respondents were asked to list improvements in the neighbourhood which may be attributed to BABS (Q 11):

TABLE 17 Improvements attributed to BABS

RESPONSE OF WORKERS	NUMBER	%
Physical changes in the neighbourhood	3	10.71
BABS housing and centre	2	7.14
Created feeling of togetherness	3	10.71
Initiated public awareness	1	3.57
Responsiveness of local authority improved	1	3.57

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RESPONSE OF MEMBERS		
Community became more assertive	1	3.57
Crèche was registered	4	14.28
Gangsterism was countered	1	3.57
No change	1	3.57
Physical improvements	7	25
BABS housing and centre	4	14.28

N=28

The majority (56%) of respondents listed physical improvements very highly, with the next most frequent response (19%) mentioning the non-physical or social changes in the area. It is noteworthy that the members regarded concrete achievements such as the registration of the creche (14%), the erection of the centre (14%) and physical improvements as important while workers noted the achievement of developmental goals such as public awareness and service accountability (16%).

1.4.5 Respondents were asked the follow-up question of evaluating BABS's contribution in making the community a better place to live in (Q 12):

TABLE 18 Evaluation of BABS contribution to making the Community a better place to live in.

RANKING	Response		%	
	Worker	Member	Worker	Member
Very good	7	8	25	28.57
Just good	4	3	14.28	10.71
Average	0	3	0	10.71
Just bad	0	0	0	0
Very bad	0	1	0	3.57
No response	2	0	7.14	0

N = 28

The majority (77%) of respondents, equally divided between members and workers, rated BABS contribution to their community as above average. Dissident views (13%) came from members. Two respondents found the question too vague to respond to.

1.4.6 Respondents were asked to name BABS biggest weakness (Q 13) .

The responses from the workers were as follows:

Responses	No	%
Not risking enough	2	5.71
affiliates did not become self-sustaining	2	5.71
volunteers did not receive recognition	1	2.85

lack of opportunities to exercise leadership	1	2.85
lack of resources particularly in the rural area	2	5.71
lack of impact at policy making levels	1	2.85
no longer a grassroots organisation	1	2.85
did not reach all the people of Kewtowm	1	2.85
lacked a broad consensus of opinion	1	2.85
failure to service rural areas	1	2.85

The members responded as follows:

did not politicise the community sufficiently	3	8.57
groups were not sufficiently established for independent existence	2	5.71
not sufficient attention given to rural affiliates	2	5.71
ending the " care and share period"	2	5.71
nepotism	1	2.85
lack of continuity	1	2.85
did not reach all sections of the community, especially blacks	1	2.85
Pegasus centre failed to attract support	2	5.71
employing outsiders at the Pegasus centre	1	2.85
insufficient financial assistance	1	2.85
opinion of community not taken into account	1	2.85
not sufficiently committed trustees	1	2.85

N35

The most respondents regarded sustainability as a problem when they considered that BABS did not find a way for lasting change. This is an important observation. The definition of participation operationalized for the study stated that community participation occurred when people became involved in a matter long after external support has been phased out. However, there are affiliates such as George and Kewtown where activities continued after formal support had withdrawn. In Chapter four several examples were given where affiliates such as Kleinmond, Beaufort West and Saldanha Bay ceased due to problems attributed to lack of leadership or the presence of conflict.

1.4.7 On the other hand, respondents were asked to name BABS biggest strength (Q 13). The workers responded as follows:

Responses	No.	%
empowering the community	3	9.67
training programmes	1	3.22
tangible achievements	1	3.22
good leadership	2	6.45
skilled personnel	1	3.22
community-based	6	19.35
great impact in relation to size	1	3.22
good organisation	1	3.22
developmental	1	3.22

The members responded as follows:

support from others	1	3.22
loyalty of older members	1	3.22
community involvement	5	16.12
housing project	1	3.22
training	4	14.28
youth movement	2	6.45

N31

The overwhelming majority of respondents noted BABS success in obtaining community participation and empowering the community. It is an important consideration that the same respondents balanced their perception of the success in obtaining participation by the previous observation that this participation was not sustained. In chapter two, Midgley (op cit:4) observed that there are so many pre-conditions for participation that one wanders whether it is reachable. This study , in the section dealing with conclusions, tries to answer this.

1.4.8 Respondents were asked to describe BABS leadership styles (Q 14):

TABLE 19 Rating of BABS leadership style

RATING	Response		%	
	Worker	Member	Worker	Member
Strong	6	6	21.42	21.42
Weak	0	2	0	7.14
Average	6	7	21.42	25
No response	1	0	0	0

The term, leadership, referred to staff and members in prominent positions. The majority of respondents indicated that their ratings referred to the time frames centring around the establishment of affiliates. If they were to refer to more recent periods, the rating would have changed to a more negative perception of the styles of leadership. An equal number of member and worker responses rated leadership styles between average and strong.

1.4.9   Respondents were requested to name the success (Q24) of the organisation. The responses of workers were as follows:

Responses	No	%
built up a strong network	2	6.89
addressed the marginalized	4	13.79
ability to draw everybody in	1	3.44
provide opportunity for participation	2	6.89
addressed the real needs of the community	1	3.44
became a model for other communities	3	10.34
leadership training	2	6.89
adapted to a changing environment	1	3.44.

The members provided the following responses:

getting people to know each other	2	6.89
establishment of other BABS branches	2	6.89
people worked together	2	6.89
community involvement	1	3.44
annual congress	1	3.44
making people believe in themselves	2	6.89
BABS National	1	3.44
Pegasus Centre	1	3.44
training	1	3.44

N29

The responses from workers indicated that the larger number believed that BABS had succeeded in reaching the marginalized (13%). The largest response was from both members and workers (16%) who stated that BABS was successful in becoming a model for other communities and establishing itself there.

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On the other hand respondents were requested to name the failures of the organisation (Q25). The workers responded as follows:

Responses	No	%
inability to change policy at higher levels	1	3.57
too much reliance on the community worker	1	3.57
not pro-active	1	3.57
middle-class values	1	3.57
did not meet political needs of youth	1	3.57
did not extend enough to the rural areas	1	3.57
failed to obtain sufficient funding	2	7.14
did too much to quickly	1	3.57
lack of renewal at management level	1	3.57
over-dependance on charismatic leadership	1	3.57
failure to sustain participation	1	3.57
failed to adapt quickly enough	1	3.57

The members responded as follows:

Responses	No	%
entrenchment of people in authority positions	2	7.14
older members alienated from Pegasus Centre	3	10.71
dissolution of Kewtown youth group	1	3.57
not all contributed equally	1	3.57
lack of effective community workers	1	3.57
groups not sustained when the worker left	3	10.71
poor infrastructure	1	3.57
unable to recruit new volunteers	1	3.57
conflict led to members leaving	1	7.14

N28

In contrasting the failures and successes there appeared to be some contradictory responses. In regard to the Pegasus centre members described it as a success while others felt alienated from it. A worker response stated that BABS had adapted to a changing environment while another said that it had failed to adapt quickly enough. Both workers and members (13%) agreed that there was a failure to sustain participation.

1.5 Evaluation Of Programmes

1.5.1 Respondents were requested to evaluate programmes in terms of a number of criteria (Q 15-23). In Chapter three it was stated that two criteria would serve as the measurement by which the study would determine whether objectives had been reached. The criteria were effort and effect. These criteria were operationalized in chapter four and five respectively. The evaluation of programmes referred to in this section refers to the evaluation by respondents of BABS programmes as it affected them. They would rank their response to the given statement that BABS programmes were efficient, relevant and so on after an explanation of the criteria was given. The rankings of each criteria are recorded below collectively as it made comparisons easier. The worker's responses are presented first:

TABLE 20 The Ranking of Criteria

P+rogramme criteria	Agree Strongly %	Agreed %	Uncertain %	Disagree %	Disagree Strongly %	N
Efficiency	30.76	69.23	0	0	0	13
Accountability	38.46	69.23	0	0	0	13
Continuity	7.69	38.46	30.76	15.38	0	13
Comprehensiveness	7.69	46.15	38.46	7.69	0	13
Effectiveness	23.07	61..53	15.38	0	0	13
Acceptability	23.07	61..53	7.69	7.69	0	13
Relevance	61.53	23.07	15.38	0	0	13
Appropriateness	53.84	30.76	7.69	7.69	0	13
Accessibility	46.15	38.46	7.69	7.69	0	13
Programme criteria	**Agree Strongly %**	**Agreed %**	**Uncertain %**	**Disagree %**	**Disagree Strongly %**	**N**
Efficiency	53.53	40	6.66	0	0	15
Accountability	6.66	86.66	6.66	0	0	15
Continuity	20	73.33	13.33	0	0	15
Comprehensiveness	6.66	73.33	13.33	0	0	15
Effectiveness	33.33	60	6.66	0	0	15
Acceptability	26.66	53.53	13.33	6.66	0	15
Relevance	40	46.66	6.66	6.66	0	15
Appropriateness	20	60	6.66	13.33	0	15
Accessibility	20	60	6.66	0	13.33	15

The majority of the responses were in agreement with the statement that BABS programmes met with the above criteria. More members than staff disagreed with the statement in regard to programme accessibility and appropriateness and even then it was a small percentage. They agreed (86%) that BABS programmes were accountable. This was supported by staff who also rated accountability highly if the "strongly agree" and "agree" columns are combined.

Their responses tended to favour equally the last mentioned categories but reflected more uncertainty than members in their replies.

1.5.2 Respondents were asked to rank the performance of groups or projects by the Western Cape affiliates as good, average, or bad, or when they did not know, as uncertain, i.e. they had no knowledge of the group (Q 26). Fourteen activities were extracted from annual reports. The rankings of each activity are recorded below. The responses of the workers are given first.

TABLE 21 The Ranking of Activity

Activities	Good %	Average %	Bad %	Uncertain %	N
Neighbourhood group	46.15	15.38	0	38.46	13
Old age club	76.92	15.38	0	7.69	13
Crèche	76.92	15.38	0	7.69	13
Youth club	30.76	46.15	0	15.38	13
Steering committee	15.38	23.07	0	61.53	13
Management committee	0	46.15	0	53.84	13
Housing	38.46	7.69	7.69	46.15	13
Community centre	30.76	30.76	0	38.46	13
Bazaar	53.84	7.69	0	38.46	13
Dance	38.46	23.07	0	38.46	13
Training	61.53	23.07	0	15.38	13
Home industry	23.07	30.76	0	46.15	13
Women's club	7.69	7.69	7.69	76.97	13
Soup kitchen	100	0	0	0	7
Activities	Good %	Average %	Bad %	Uncertain %	N
Neighbourhood group	66.66	0	0	33.33	15
Old age club	60	33.33	0	6.66	15
Crèche	66.66	26.66	0	0	15
Youth club	33.33	33.33	0	33.33	15
Steering committee	60	20	0	20	15
Management committee	66.66	13.33	0	20	15
Housing	33.33	6.66	0	60	15
Community centre	33.33	20	0	46.66	15
Bazaar	40	46.66	0	13.33	15
Dance	46.66	20	13.33	20	15
Training	60	33.33	0	6.66	15
Home industry	46.66	13.33	0	33.33	15
Women's club	40	13.33	6.66	40	15
Soup kitchen	100	0	0	0	9

Respondents either ranked the activities favourably or they were uncertain how to rank them. A very small section (less than 7%) ranked the activities, especially the women's club as bad. The service groups, such as old age clubs neighbourhood groups and crèches, received the most favourable rating.

Soup kitchens were a late inclusion when its absence was pointed out by a respondent who had been associated with this activity. Its inclusion came at an early stage of the interviewing process just after Kewtown based respondents were interviewed. It is likely that these respondents would have supported this activity had it had been on the list from the outset as the soup kitchen was an early service project and was well-supported in Kewtown.

1.6 Nature of Participation

6.1 Respondents were asked to indicate where on a scale they saw BABS members participating in managing the organisation (Q 27). Their rankings are recorded below:

TABLE 22 Scale of Participation of BABS members

RANKING OF WORKERS		Ranking	%
8.	Full managerial power	0	0
7.	Almost full managerial power	0	0
6.	Co-operative partnership with powerholders	5	17.85
5.	Advisory, with powerholders deciding	7	25
4.	Have a voice	0	0
3.	Less of a voice	1	3.57
2.	Recipient of service	0	0
1.	Non-participation	0	0
RANKING OF MEMBERS			
8.	Full managerial power	1	3.57
7.	Almost full managerial power	0	0
6.	Co-operative partnership with powerholders	8	28.57
5.	Advisory, with powerholders deciding	6	21.42
4.	Have a voice	0	0
3.	Less of a voice	0	0
2.	Recipient of service	0	0
1.	Non-participation	0	0

N = 28

The majority (92%) of respondents chose 5 and 6 on the scale with the balance rating either ends of the scale. The respondents appear to have rated BABS somewhere between providing a co-operative partnership and regarding members in an advisory role.   The researcher had ensured that the respondents understood the categories before noting their responses. It was made clear that the organisation referred to was the affiliate they were associated with.

The purpose of the questionnaire survey was to obtain data on the effects of BABS programmes on respondents. This information would complement the data from secondary sources as it would obtain first hand accounts of the experiences of members and staff.   The rich source of information obtained reflects the deep involvement that many respondents had with the organisation. Their responses are interpreted in the following chapter.

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Chapter Six

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS FROM THE STUDY OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SOURCES. CONCLUSIONS. RECOMMENDATIONS

In this chapter the research findings derived from primary and secondary sources are discussed and interpreted in the light of information obtained in the preceding chapters, leading to the conclusions and recommendations.

As discussed in Chapter one, the aims of the study were :

1. To examine whether programmes were successful in eliciting community participation, the extent of this involvement and whether this involvement was sustained over time.
2. To describe the efforts of the staff and members in applying the techniques and procedures inherent in the community participation process.
3. To ascertain whether the economic status of the community had had an impact on the development of the project.
4. To ascertain the extent to which the organisational structure of affiliates had influenced the success of different projects.
5. To describe the impact of this process on the affiliate organisations and their membership.
6. To find support for the proposition that community participation involves people becoming involved to a lesser or greater degree at different times to different issues.

Information has been obtained with regard to all of these aims. The first four aims deal with findings from the study of secondary sources while the fifth aim deals with the findings from the study of primary sources. The second aim focuses on specific areas of the community participation process. The other aims must be regarded as contributing to the understanding of the community participation process as a whole. This is to ensure that the study is primarily seen as an evaluation of a process and not only as an evaluation of BABS. The sixth aim was a result of conclusions drawn from the examination of the other aims of the study and this is dealt with in the concluding section.

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In this chapter a discussion of the main findings is presented in two sections. The first set of findings deals with data obtained from primary sources with regard to the following aim of the study:

• To describe the impact of the community participation process on the affiliate organisations and their membership.

1. ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS OF THE SURVEY

1.1 Respondents Classification

The majority of respondents were drawn from Kewtown as this affiliate had the largest pool of respondents. The next highest were drawn from the George affiliate which was the first affiliate established after Kewtown. The staff of BABS National were the third highest group of respondents. The respondents ranged from young people to senior citizens who were largely female, and if the staff component is discounted, were mostly housewives with at least a secondary school education and were members of a church.

The high female representation in the sample was a reflection of the very strong female presence in the BABS membership in the Western Cape province. This is contrary to the finding by Van Wyk (op cit:170) that more men than women were involved in the project she studied. With regard to the involvement of women she found that working women were more actively involved in the community than house-wives. Patel's (op cit:57) poll of four hundred and fifty seven organisations showed that only 5% consisted of women's groups compared to much larger trade union and welfare organisation groupings. A possible explanation for the tendency for more women than men to belong to BABS is that the organisation's initial thrust was through the establishment of playgroups and crèches. This occurred during the day and attracted housewives mainly. Creches had an added incentive in that it provided a potential source of income to members.

The presence of housewives was important for BABS. The availability of volunteers and the number of staff employed was found by Patel (Ibid) to have a bearing on participation. The latter draws attention to the presence of staff members in the sample.

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The community workers who indicated a very strong commitment to the goals of the organisation displayed the same intensity as did some members as indicated in paragraph 1.3.2 of the preceding chapter. This would have greatly enhanced the confidence of participants to work together for a common goal. Sheng (op cit:59) stated that the existence of mutual trust between the community and outsiders was a pre-condition for participation. Finally, the high educational level of the respondents is an indicator of the socio-economic status of the membership, an important element in successful community participation strategies.

1.2 The exposure to BABS

1.2.1. The response to question 1 shows that some respondents were involved to a great degree in the organisation. A large number of respondents sustained their interest over two decades. In the literature review (Hafner, op cit:73) it was mentioned that efforts to initiate participation in forest projects in Thailand failed due to an inability to sustain community interest when long term goals were established and no immediate gratification was available.

In contrast to this, BABS members obtained tangible benefits in the short term if, for instance, the physical improvements in the Kewtown neighbourhood are considered. At the same time, members benefited in the long term. It will be shown that participation was sustained because long term goals such as community upliftment and service were desired by members.

On the other hand, the experience in George by a group involved in soup kitchens showed that the group failed to set realisable short term goals which ended in members withdrawing from the organisation.

It was stated by Lisk (op cit:10) that sustainability was dependent on a number of conditions:
a) expectation of benefits,
b) capable leadership and
c) self-reliance and self-confidence.

Having been able to meet the above conditions played a large part in BABS being able to sustain participation between 1973 and 1988.

1.2.2 The response to question 2 shows that the high number of respondents who were recruited to BABS confirmed the comments by Levi and Litwin (1986) that certain characteristics should be present if a process of change is to succeed. These are:

a) Similarity among participants - respondents indicated that they joined because they had had children in a crèche while others joined because their parents had been members; and

b) Commitment to the idea of co-operative participation - In the responses to question 3 a large number of respondents joined because they sought community involvement.

1.2.3 The high number who joined because they sought community involvement confirms studies of neighbourhood service organisations in America (Checkoway, op cit:15) which found that participation can strengthen feelings of efficacy, increase social interaction and produce positive personal changes.

The reasons why people join are important - the definition used for the study says that participation occurs when programmes are desired. Socio-cultural factors also play a part. A large number were asked to join as they were known for their sense of self-reliance. For example, the community worker in George, who was previously the caseworker of Child Welfare Society, approached her first volunteers from the pool of foster-parents.

It would seem that people joined for different reasons, e.g. applying the community work method or wanting new experiences. The respondents referred largely to their own empowerment. Empowering of participants is a vital tool of participation. Their responses can be regarded as an indicator that one of the aims of the organisation viz. building a people for change, was being met. It would seem that the respondents were involved in a developmental process in which they had built up self-confidence in their abilities to contribute to their community.

1.3 The involvement in BABS

1.3.1 It had been established in question 1 that many respondents were involved for a long period while question 3 dealt with why this occurred. Question 4 deals with the nature of the activities that were able to sustain this involvement. It was established that groupwork activities which provided programmes for a wide range of participants such as creche children, the youth and aged, were the most popular involvement for members.

The workers were mostly involved in training programmes. In Chapter four the importance that the organisation attached to leadership training was described.

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It may be assumed that there was a relationship between the dominant staff activity and the longetivity of group programmes.

1.3.2 While question 4 dealt with activities, question 5 sought the extent or nature of the participation that gave rise to those activities. Dealing with the responses to question 5, it was clear that both members and workers regarded their involvement as more than meeting the requirements of the job or its membership. The observation was made by a researcher (Groenewald, op cit:34) that BABS membership mainly consisted of people driven by middle-class values and preferences which favoured their own neighbourhoods rather than poorer areas. It would be reasonable to expect people to put energies into their own neighbourhood. In fact, a large number of BABS workers and members were highly motivated to do so - to the point of sacrificing family life on the part of members, and burn-out on the part of community workers.

1.3.3 From the responses to questions 6 and 7 it would appear that exposure to the organisation had a lasting effect on both members and staff through having their been empowered in a multiplicity of ways.

1.4 The perception of BABS

1.4.1 In setting out the different categories of responses to question 8 it would appear that public involvement in community affairs is fraught with the possibility of conflict between different interest groups. That the conflict remained within acceptable boundaries may have been due to the importance placed by the members on achieving common goals.

1.4.2 The establishment of clubs and projects by members and staff would have given them a strong sense of ownership. Close co-operation between the change agents - staff and the community - who best know what they want - resulted in projects which satisfied both parties.

1.4.3 The multiplicity of unfulfilled expectations is due to the different interests on the part of the respondents. As noted in paragraph 1.4.1, the potential for conflict would have been present, but the differences were small enough for members to place communal goals ahead of personal goals.

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1.4.4 The middle socio-economic status of the communities allowed respondents to be confident about the possibility of changing conditions in their neighbourhood and were effectively mobilised towards this end. The varied responses to questions 9 and 11 showed that members and staff claimed many successes such as the establishment of clubs, reaching personal goals and improvements in the physical and social environment. The lack of success or failures were dealt with in question 10 where the responses indicated disappointment in not succeeding with issues close to the respondents or their general dissatisfaction with negative experiences.

1.4.5 It was to be expected, given the responses to questions 9 and 11 that the majority answered question 12 by rating BABS' contribution to their community as above average.

1.4.6 The responses by applicants to question 13 regarding the strengths of BABS are closely related to the findings by Patel (op cit:57) of a poll conducted of 457 progressive organisations. BABS sustained and promoted participation in similar way to the above organisations, i.e. by education and conscientisation programmes.

1.4.7 A respondent stated that BABS biggest weakness was its failure to reach the very poor. It was mentioned previously that BABS members tended to favour their own neighbourhood communities rather than poorer areas. This may have been grounded in the perception that investing in ones own community brings with it tangible achievements and benefits. The question of sustainability as a weakness is dealt with in more detail in the section dealing with the results of the survey (paragraph 2.1).

1.4.8 The fact that so many respondents (92%) in response to question 14 described the BABS leadership as average to strong is important in that leadership is considered a vital part in the community participation process. Leaders acquire technical and social skills which allow communities access to information on various issues. In turn, the leaders pass on opinions of the community to policy makers in the organisation to formulate programmes which are in touch with the needs of the community. The neighbourhood groups, more than that of the other groups, generally provided the community leadership. These leaders served as board members ideally in a partnership with the staff to establish programmes that members supported.

However, it is important to note that the low rating, in answer to question 26, of the management committee and the steering committee by staff particularly, differs from the response to question 14 which refers to leadership figures such as the affiliate's director or chairperson. Findings by researchers (Robinson & Riddle,1990; Sheng, 1989) were that successful projects were characterised by strong leadership. The establishment of the Kewtown project and its affiliates came about the efforts of charismatic leaders. In George the impetus of the affiliate decreased when the founding leaders left. In Beaufort West the affiliate was dependent on the enthusiasm of one person, and when he left, the organisation ceased functioning.

1.4.9   The response to questions 24 and 25 shows a degree of complexity to naming successes and failures to the organisation. For instance, it is possible that something may be regarded as both a failure or a success depending on the position of the respondent. At least thirty different responses were recorded.

1.5 Evaluation of programmes

1.5.1 The high rating of the evaluation criteria in response to questions15 to 23 would have ensured the success of the numerous programmes offered by the organisation. The findings elsewhere of the benefits experienced by respondents, confirm this.

1.5.2 Activities such as the old age club and the creche that were highly rated (over 60%) by workers and members in response to question 26 were as a result of their involving a high level of social interaction amongst members of differing segments and which induced a sense of community.

1.6 Nature of participation

1.6.1   From the examination of the definitions, participation is seen as covering a wide spectrum from consultation to citizen participation. If the answers of question 27 are extrapolated to Arnstein's ladder of participation, respondents, who rated their participation in BABS as between a partnership with, and advisory to the powerholders, may have seen the extent of their power falling between a degree of tokenism and citizen power on the rungs of placation and partnership.

Palmer and German's (1974) definition of community participation appears to have been met as they speak of it as an activity which enables people to have an input in the decision-making process.

2. RESULTS OF THE SURVEY OF SECONDARY SOURCES

The second set of findings refer to the survey of available data where information was obtained with regard to the following aims of the study:

2.1   Examination of whether programmes were successful in eliciting community participation, the extent of this involvement and whether this involvement was sustained over time.

There are at least three ways of establishing the effectiveness of community participation programmes (Gouldner, 1975:137):

1. By counting the number of people who attend the various activities.
2. By newspaper coverage as a measure of the significance of a programme and as confirmation of its worth.
3. By consensual validation i.e. recognition by peers.

Using the above as a criterion, the following programmes are evaluated:

CRÈCHES

Crèches were the most popular projects that commanded support in every BABS affiliate.

In Kewtown, the crèche group was the first project to be established. This gave the founding members opportunities to assume leadership positions in the organisation as it grew. To maintain these positions, members worked hard at bolstering their support through fund-raising and the canvassing of new members. In the end, this benefitted the organisation also and the creche was an important activity of the Pegasus Centre at the time of the study. It could be seen as an activity which was able to sustain itself over a period of decades.

The George crèche was established in 1979 with 35 children and in 1995 served 145 children mainly from the Lawaaikamp squatter settlement. It is the only programme that was able to be sustained long after organisational support ceased.

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The reason for its continued existence is that it meets a need for an inexpensive facility by residents of a squatter camp. The leader of the creche barely earns a living form the low fees but she is still motivated by the wish to serve. The Dysselsdorp play-group suffered from the pervasive poverty and unemployment in the district and this explains why the activity was poorly supported by the parents.

The reason for creches sustaining involvement is possibly due to the need that it meets. Parents want the best grounding for their children and find time to involve themselves while the children are being cared for. Successive groups of parents and children will ensure that a needed facility will survive over time.

MULTI-PURPOSE CENTRE

In Kewtown, the erection of a multi-purpose centre was the goal of several fund-raising activities such as the annual bazaar and dance. The bazaar, particularly, was a strong force for eliciting participation and involved the whole membership in close co-operation over an extended but limited period. The establishment of a centre was a goal that attracted support for the George and Saldanha Bay affiliates.

However, only Kewtown was able to realise its goal with the assistance from its major sponsor. This assistance was conditional on the community raising a substantial portion. This provided the stimulus for goal-directed activities and continued involvement on the part of the members of the Kewtown affiliate.

In Kleinmond, the affiliate's centre reached roof height but serious conflict between two factions hindered involvement and deflected from pursuing a common goal in completing the centre. The programme would have initially been successful in eliciting participation but was unable to sustain this involvement.

SERVICE PROGRAMMES

Service programmes such as school feeding and soup kitchens were also very popular amongst affiliates but required a small core of members only. This was usually for practical reasons.

In George, seven women fed 300 children for a year and generated regular interest in the local newspapers. Participation was stimulated by the networking involved in raising funds and obtaining donations. They also reached a large number of people such as teachers and parents through the beneficial assistance to children. This activity was a volunteer service dependent on the goodwill of donors, volunteers and even the recipients. This equilibrium could quickly be upset if any of the stake-holders faltered. Thus in George this activity was not sustained longer than a year after a change in donor and volunteer personnel caused the programme to end.

The main activity of the Strand affiliate was its feeding scheme that was funded by the national office. In 1986 it gave R5000 to finance 5 soup kitchens. However, although the soup kitchen programme achieved its objectives of alleviating hunger the concern was expressed that not enough effort was spent of self-help schemes or making existing groups self-sustaining. It therefore was not successful in launching programmes that made people self-supporting.

NEIGHBOURHOOD GROUPS

Neighbourhood groups served as the foundation of the BABS " caring and sharing " philosophy and were the most imitated programme by other affiliates. The George affiliate's establishment of street committees received substantial coverage in local newspapers during 1979 through activities such as the painting of houses and gardening competitions and initiated a surge in community interest and participation. This success required intensive input from a community worker involved in door-to-door canvassing. The perception that organized, collective action could achieve results stimulated other groups to join.

In Kewtown the members of neighbourhood groups formed the backbone of the affiliate's membership. The physical improvement in neighbourhoods was a concrete example of the benefits of participation and attracted a number of new members. The organisation devoted a great deal of its resources in maintaining the intensity and cohesion of these groups as it played an important community building role.

However, the intensity of sustaining these social action programmes could not be maintained indefinitely as was shown in the questionnaire findings, and the groups became inactive when the initiators left.

In Beaufort West success was achieved briefly in one neighbourhood where mainly pensioners were involved in a clean-up of backyards. Failure to consolidate this success due personnel problems meant that the affiliate's aim of establishing block-clubs was not realised.

Saldanha Bay followed the neighbourhood action approach and established 4 active block clubs. The affiliate claimed responsibility for improved street-lighting, extra water-taps and the planting of trees. Its success could be attributed to emulating the feats of the George and Kewtown branches. The various affiliates networked on a regular basis to exchange strategies and ideas. Saldanha Bay, with an enthusiastic executive, maintained a high profile through media coverage and gained the respect and credibility of other community groups. The block clubs continued existence was dependent on the leadership and when the affiliate experienced its crisis with the building programme this programme suffered.

CIVICS

The civics programme in Kewtown had of necessity to elicit a great measure of participation as the continued operation of the organisation depended on it being able to attract membership in competition with other civic organisations. In a way, being considered a threat by progressive organisations was an example of consensual validation mentioned earlier.

In George the BABS committee arranged a public meeting attended by 600 residents to discuss a sudden increase in rents. The root of this ability to elicit large scale public response was its credibility as a grassroots organisation that had been grounded on the successful establishment of services such as the soup-kitchen and playgroup.

In both cases the programmes were successful in eliciting participation. The reason for not sustaining this involvement can be attributed to the tendency for social action or civic programmes shedding support as soon as short-term goals have been reached. In Chapter two it was mentioned that the most successful periods of tenant mobilisation in Britain coincided with periods of steep rent rises and that participation reflected a concern for the cost of housing rather than participation per se (Goodlad,op cit:243).

TRAINING

The training programmes consistently reached large numbers of members throughout the Western Cape Province. In 1986 six hundred persons attended programmes on alternative education. During 1987 BABS planned to provide training for 1000 people and advertised extensively in community newspapers. As BABS changed its focus from a grass-roots organisation to a training agency, this change was reflected in its budget in 1989-90 which allowed for 25% on training. Training programmes were popular as it provided an opportunity for people to get together, share ideas and gain knowledge from each others experiences. So popular, in fact, that the national office responded to requests by affiliates and other organisations by developing a training manual for community workers.

The examination of whether this programme was sustained may be answered in the affirmative when one considers that this was one of the programmes that continued to grow to the extent that it became BABS's main activity.

HOME INDUSTRY

In George the home industry project enjoyed limited success. Over a period of two years the participants had dwindled from 14 to 2 persons. The reasons for this could be ascribed to the absence of a full-time organiser and a lack of substantial start-up capital. In Beaufort West, 10 women participated in a knitting group. The unexpected departure of the community worker during 1980 led to the termination of this programme.

In Chapter three the discussion on income generating projects established several criteria for the continued survival of home industry programmes. The most important of these was its viability as a business. If the programmes were to be sustained they would have had to make the change to operating as a small business. As it was, both examples did not continue after external support was withdrawn.

YOUTH WORK

Youth work elicited a large membership and participation in the young, notably in Atlantis where there was a well-organised sports league. The youth clubs were an important section of the BABS membership as the organisation looked to young and new members to sustain it when the older members moved on.

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For this reason training sessions to foster leadership potential were held on a regular basis. BABS recognized the role that young people played in the political struggle and youth delegates to the annual congresses played a prominent role. The youth clubs, once they had elected their serving officials, tended to function independently and ended when membership fell away or when funding for the affiliate stopped.

NEIGHBOURHOOD COTTAGES

The location of the BABS cottages in the Kewtown, Diazville and Conville neighbourhoods brought about street-level action between staff and the community due to its accessibility. The cottages encouraged a feeling of belonging from the community and eased communication between staff and members. The cottages were operated by affiliates which were regarded as having a strong membership and being dynamic in the provision of programmes and it would appear that utilizing a community base played a role in their successes.

The other affiliates either worked from the leader's home or from a crèche. When the Kewtown affiliate moved from its cottage to the Pegasus Centre it signalled the close of street level interaction between workers and the community according to responses in the survey. It seemed that when external support was withdrawn, as represented by cottage personnel moving to the new Centre, it caused the eventual disintegration of the neighbourhood groups.

LEADERSHIP

Once the principle of community participation was established, members developed the ability to take over the task of the professional in some instances and also asserted some authority over his activities and objectives, particularly in Kewtown. This caused discomfort to staff, who on occasion, were appointed by a panel of community members and who had their salary cheques signed by the organisation's treasurer who was a lay person. From the literature study (Robinson and Riddel, op cit:71) it had been established that there is a good chance of participation if opportunities for participation are provided at the earliest possible stages of planning and throughout every phase of service and organisation.

A vindication of this view was the BABS Kewtown housing scheme of 50 houses which attracted 400 applications and was a major incentive for participating in the programmes of the organisation. Potential homeowners were involved in the design of houses which contributed to the success of the housing scheme.

In summary, the various programmes appeared to have succeeded in eliciting community participation, with some obtaining more participation than others. However, in the important aspect of these programmes being able to be sustained in the absence of external support, it was found that only the creche programmes in Kewtown and George still continue to function at the time of this report (1995). Some of the explanations for these varying degrees of success may be found in the proposition that community participation involves people becoming involved to a lesser or greater degree at different times in response to different issues. This proposition is dealt with in more detail in the concluding section.

2.2 Description of the efforts of staff and members in applying the techniques and procedures inherent in the community participation process.

2.2.1 An important part of the community participation process is the community worker fulfilling his or her professional role. Leissner (1973:3-5) defined community work as a social work discipline which has the overall task of enabling communities to function effectively. This includes a wide range of tasks which have been extracted from chapter four:

- Recognising the needs and problems people have in common and utilizing the community building possibilities of establishing crèches.

- Through the neighbourhood groups the worker helped the community identify and mobilise their own resources in finding solutions to their problems.

- Through the civics programme BABS helped members to organise themselves effectively to obtain better conditions for the community as a whole and cast the staff in the role of advocates.

- In bringing about changes to the lanes and flats in Kewtown; the painting of houses in Conville; water points in Diazville; the workers helped members to engage in social action in order to prevail upon the authorities to fulfil their obligations and helped people to improve relations between neighbours.

From the community worker reports on Disa Court, Elsie Street, Unity civic groups, the worker adopted a number of roles to execute her tasks:

- resource person who imparted skills and advice.

- diagnostician who helped identify needs and sought solutions.

- arbitrator between different factions.

- communicator, enabler.

In Kewtown fulfilling the above functions led to a process where the members became increasingly involved with the activities initiated at the BABS cottage and the staff became increasingly accountable to the people they served. The success in tackling neighbourhood improvement programmes was due to the application of developmental skills on the part of the staff.

2.2.2 In order to achieve its goals of community participation BABS had to perform a number of functions:

2.2.2.1 It had to mobilise community support for its programmes and ideology. Shedder (1975:157) set out the following conditions for community support:

    a) The existence of links with groups influential in the community's political, religious and social life.

- In Kewtown the steering committee functioned as a co-ordinating committee representing affiliated groups.

- The Kewtown Tenants Association organised successfully around the local authority's in-fill scheme.

- BABS ensured that the religious ethos of the community was recognised by the opening of meeting by prayers by the Muslim and Christian groups.

    b) A communication network between decision-makers and members.

- The members were represented at the agency's decision-making body - the management committee. The steering committee functioned in an advisory role to the management committee.

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c) An integrated social action policy to avoid cross-purposes between members and professional personnel.

- During 1977 the tactics of the civics programme showed that the organisation had adopted a negotiation strategy in its dealings with outside organisations.
- The AGM and annual reports spotlighted the work of the agency and clearly set out its policy.

d) A socialisation process through which members accepted the necessity for programme goals.

- Staff and members were assigned to represent BABS interests at the inauguration of BABS projects elsewhere.
- Members were mobilised for fund-raising campaigns, the annual bazaar being the most popular.

2.2.2.2 Another function that BABS staff executed was the carrying out of process tasks:

2.2.2.2.1 Training

The introduction of training programmes were designed:

- to prepare members for management of the planned centre through leadership training and management and organisational skills training.
- to ensure the continued operation of the organisation in a changing political environment through street law and life-skills programmes.

2.2.2.2.2 Institution building

Attempts to bring about a solution of community problems requires a change in the behaviour and attitudes of people from a position of indifference to concern, and from reliance upon others to themselves. The "caring and sharing" philosophy was a way of building an organisational credo.

2.2.2.2.3 Conscientising

BABS aimed at raising the level of social and political consciousness of members by developing material for its training programmes which dealt with human rights and street law.

2.2.2.2.4 Leadership

The leadership potential of local people was developed by supporting them when they achieved positions of authority by way of training courses; and the establishment of an organisational structure which gave the community an opportunity to influence decisions of the agency.

In summary, the various tasks and functions of the community worker descibed above represent the external support referred to in the definition of community participation used in this study. The discussion on the previous aim of the study in section 2.1 gave sufficient indication that the community workers, through the application of the procedures and techniques inherent in the community participation process, succeeded in at least eliciting community participation.

2.3 The examination of the impact of the economic status of the community on the development of the poject

The literature study (Austin,1956; Brager,1975; Van Wyk,1993.) showed how the lack of organisation structure and the lack of resources threatened the ability of poor communities to accomplish their goals. The Beaufort West affiliate was led by a committee with sufficient expertise, but its deference to a grass-roots community worker without organising techniques or knowledge of how to deal with groups outside her own neighbourhood caused the project to fail. An added reason was that the groups that had been established did not have time to develop and mature and were not able to continue after her sudden departure.

A different picture emerges when other variables such as size of the organisation, programme staffing, church and cultural affiliation, age and sex of members are present. Kewtown was the older organisation, large in size, with middle class members. The importance of this was that members:

a) had greater number of additional organisational membership. e.g. the Eoan Group, church groups.

b) had fewer unmet basic needs.

c) had more opportunities for individual fulfilment outside the membership of the organisation.

The effect of this on the Eland Street neighbourhood group in Kew Town was that it failed to get off the ground. The following reasons were advanced by the community worker:

- social isolation of neighbours.
- failure to identify as part of the Kew Town community.
- satisfaction with the status quo.
- middle class attitudes in a street populated by economically stable persons.

On the other hand, Disa Court was also characterised by people from stable homes. The difference was the following:

- It was served by a good leader;
- it had had early success with obtaining improvements from the local authority which led to increased attendance in group activities.

In Kleinmond the absence of a significant middle-class had the effect of decreasing the pool of competent people to contribute to the organisation. Participation in the crèche programmes of the rural affiliates such as Dysselsdorp and Calitzdorp, was affected by the economic situation as parents were unable to contribute to costs.

In summary it would appear that the economic status of the communities under study did indeed influence the success of projects and confirms the findings of the previously mentioned authors that a lack of organisational structure and resources affects the ability of poor communities to accomplish their goals.

2.4 An examination of the extent to which the organisational structure of affiliates had influenced the success of different projects.

Rein and Morris (1975:107) stated that success in achieving goals in community organisation depends on the use of a structure and strategy appropriate to that goal. The description of the BABS national office in Chapter four is that of a highly structured organization which operationalised goals in specific terms over a lengthy period. A tight administrative style was characterised by clear lines of authority and communication. By setting out guidelines for affiliation, the national organisation provided a well-defined organisational structure for its affiliates, which, if met, would ensure community participation in the programmes.

Not all its affiliates were able to meet the standards required. The Kleinmond affiliate was found to be not meeting minimum standards. It was seen to be a loosely structured body that was managed by its founder who allowed a preference for service programmes to take precedence over organisational objectives. The possibility of disaffiliation was raised when the affiliate failed to follow programmes based on set objectives. The conflict that developed in 1987 was the result of two factions competing for recognition and sponsorship from the national office. There were accusations of decision-making in cliques, poor leadership and poor communication, factors which attested to the weak organizational structure of the affiliate and affected its ability to meet its goals.

On the other hand, the Kewtown affiliate's structure was characterised by a committee system that was developed to make possible the goal of bringing change by the community's own actions. This structure was replicated by the George affiliate. This ensured that the two affiliates were regarded as the successful branches of BABS National.

Other than organisational structure, of prime importance in ensuring the success of a project is the availability of competent people to execute the goals of the organisation. Sponsorship support in the early years of BABS was given in the form of staffing and its professional staff became to be identifiable as BABS workers through their accountability to the community as well as to adherence to professional norms and values. The early successes in Kewtown and George came to be associated with highly motivated and competent professionals. Staff were central in the following tasks:

- recruiting members;
- doing the legwork, cold canvassing;
- carrying out administrative responsibilities;
- bringing ideas to the organisation and
- training members to play a more responsible role.

The Beaufort West and Saldanha Bay affiliates also employed community workers. In the former case, supervision was provided by senior social worker of a private welfare agency, while the Saldanha Bay worker functioned on her own professionally, with her work monitored by the management committee.

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In both cases the community workers were employed for very short periods. The Saldanha Bay worker resigned while the Beaufort West worker absconded. The consequences of these setbacks were serious for the organisations. The Beaufort West affiliate was left with controlling committee who eventually disbanded while Saldanha Bay decided that committed volunteers could replace a professional worker. The Saldanha Bay affiliate followed up this decision by embarking on what was to be an abortive building scheme. That the organisation was led into actions that caused it great harm may be ascribed to the following organizational weaknesses:

- an absence of clearly designated authority and responsibility on the part of the management committee which allowed major decisions to be made without full disclosure;

- tolerance of role ambiguity in respect of office holders who were able to benefit from decisions made and

- frequent bypassing of the members by attaching little reliance on meeting procedures and financial control.

The structure of the Bellville affiliate characterised itself as a local authority amenity and resulted in the alienation of BABS members from the multi-purpose centre.

The preceding examples appear to show that the success of projects was influenced by the organizational structure of the affiliates initiating these projects. Success in eliciting participation appeared to be more likely where the structure facilitated the presence of competent people to execute the goals of the organization.

3. CONCLUSIONS

A final aim of the study was to establish whether support could be found for the proposition that community participation involved people becoming involved to a lesser or greater degree at different times in response to different issues. The following conclusions show that there is some support for the above proposition.

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3.1 Involvement to a lesser or greater degree

Community participation in BABS programmes occurred to a greater degree during the inception period for the following reasons:

3.1.1 A high ideological commitment arising out the belief that the organisation was pioneering in the field of community development led to a high level of activity in programmes on the part of both members and community workers.

3.1.2 This sense of being at the cutting edge of community work attracted highly motivated professionals who succeeded in increasing their technical skills to the benefit of the organisation.

3.1.3 Sponsorship support was at a high level and was vital in creating a co-operative partnership through the belief that capital intensive projects and aims were attainable if community participation was maintained.

3.1.4 Pre-conditions for participation, as set out in the literature (Lisk,1988; Brager,1975; Robinson and Riddel,1990), were present at the establishment of BABS affiliates:

- an existence of a culture of self-reliance,
- people with middle-class values,
- sense of ownership of the programmes,
- a commitment to the idea of co-operative participation and
- strong leadership amongst members as well a community workers.

3.1.5 The organisational structure of affiliates played a great role in the success of participation when programmes were related to achieving goals.

3.1.6 The establishment of BABS cottages facilitated the participation from the community.

3.1.7 The visible success of early projects instilled the adoption of an inspirational organisational credos such as " BABS works; caring and sharing."

Conversely, participation occurred to a lesser degree for the following reasons:

3.1.8 The weakening of sponsorship affected the ability of affiliates to employ full-time staff who were integral for the continuity of programmes.

3.1.9 Lack of finance caused many projects to falter as the feasibility of goal attainment affected participation.

3.1.10 Loose organisational structures inhibited affiliates in realising goals and affected their funding which further weakened their membership.

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3.1.11 Positive change in the political climate removed the motivation for people to join grass-roots   community groups and indeed the same reason influenced funders to scale down their   traditional commitments in n favour of other priority areas.

3.2 Involvement at different times in response to different issues

3.2.1 Active membership in BABS affiliates fluctuated, and was dependent on issues and the activities of the organisation at a point in time.

- Immediate issues e.g. rent increases involved more people than the organisation's normal membership, but for a short period.

- Annual fund-raising projects such as bazaars involved a high rate of participation for a specific period.

3.2.2 Only a minority participated in an active and sustained manner in certain enterprises.

- Service projects such as soup kitchens or crèches could be sustained by individuals over a long period of time.

3.2.3 The early success of affiliates could also be attributed to pressure to produce results from sponsors.

- The Pegasus Centre in Kewtown was offered as an incentive for community participation and succeeded in assisting the steady building up of Kewtown's membership. As a project, it involved members at an early stage in the planning and provision of services. Responsibility for the service was transferred to the community at an early stage.

3.2.4 In the initial period of affiliates, community workers succeeded in creating a sense of community by creating many small groups to which people could relate and belong.

- The neighbourhood groups were the source of membership as well as an indicator of the affiliate's strength as a grass-roots based organisation.

3.3 Other Conclusions

3.3.1 The major problems facing deprived areas such as crime and the shortage of housing required resources and decisions that could not be made at a neighbourhood level. BABS provided mostly service programmes that were desired by the community because it met some fundamental needs. Even when it embarked on social action programmes it soon returned to providing services.

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If it persisted in the social action approach then the neighbourhood groups would have had to relate to each other in a wider political framework. In spite of the fact that the broad goals of the organisation allowed for extending beyond providing a service it did not do so. The simple reason for this is that BABS did not have the resources to widen its scope other than enter the educational field via its transformation into a training organisation. One would have to conclude that countering the problems of rampant crime and the lack of housing are beyond the scope of community organisations with limited means.

3.3.2 The establishment of the Pegasus Centre appeared to signal the end of the grass-roots approach to community participation in BABS's activities. The centre did not have the street-level accessibility of the community cottage and its staff were increasingly committed to the goals of the national office. The centre became the focus for activity in the training field and accommodated persons outside the community as well. The centre fulfilled an important process goal in that for a long period it involved members in sustained community activity towards a common goal. This can be considered more important than the actual achievement of establishing the centre.

3.3.3 The process that led to the above was that the community worker-driven grass-roots programmes of the initial years had been replaced by service programmes. These were more easily managed by lay persons. There were ideological as well as practical reasons for this consideration. It was important that members took responsibility for managing the organisation within the confines of financial resources available to it. As these persons required skills, training programmes were offered. Training began to take on increasing importance, to the point that BABS at the time of the study functioned primarily as a training organisation.

3.3.4 The gradual change by the organisation to its present status as a training organisation had not been communicated to numerous respondents. The problem appeared to be the absence of a termination process which should have been instituted by the national body. This may not have been appropriate is all cases for the following reasons:

- Many affiliates or groups terminated in any event as funds were no longer available.

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- The termination of other affiliates was unplanned as there was a sudden loss of leaders or members.

3.3.5 The absence of a termination programme led some respondents to deny any positive experiences with the organisation. For them BABS had provided personal, material and social benefits and a sense of loss was strongly felt.

4. RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations pertain to two areas of enquiry. The first deals with recommendations on the community participation process itself while the other recommendations concern issues that were central to a number of people during the survey of BABS members and staff. The latter is dealt with first and deals with termination of former affiliates, the Pegasus Centre in Kewtown and BABS as a training organisation.

4.1 Termination of affiliation

BABS at the time of the study functioned as a training organisation governed by a board of trustees employing administrative and professional staff. Although the former staff members generally approved of the new direction the organisation had taken, there had been very little acceptance by former members of the change. It was concluded that a termination process had not taken place amongst the former affiliates. It is essential that termination be done concretely. There should be a formal occasion at which the final announcement of the dissolution of the affiliates is made.

To some extent, this study is part of the termination process. It has assisted members to evaluate their experiences and achievements and to articulate their concerns. However, a formal effort from the national office is required to disconnect the relationship by aiding affiliates to accept the reality of the termination. Where possible, the administration of the affiliates should be concluded. This includes the writing of reports, the safe maintenance of records and concluding evaluation.

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4.2 The Pegasus Centre

The Centre is well-utilised at present as a community centre but its impact could be higher. A major reason for this is the lack of finances which has resulted in the Centre not being able to employ staff to manage it as an amenity for the Kewtown area. Application has been made for state subsidies but this has been slow in coming. Once staff have been employed, an effort must be made to elicit the participation of past members. However, care should be taken to ensure that the Centre is an amenity for the Kewtown community as a whole.

4.3 BABS as a training organisation

The study by Groenewald (1992:10) made recommendations to BABS as to the nature and content of training courses to be offered to the membership. With the dissolution of the affiliates, training would appear to be the reason for the organisation's continued existence. The training programmes presently offered are in the area of educare guidance and support and remain close to the character of BABS as a community development agency. The study found that there was support for this direction and it is suggested that BABS continues to act on the recommendations of the Groenewald study.

The following recommendations are an attempt to capture the BABS experiences within the context of the community participation process and has the aim of guiding similar organisations with regard to their community participation strategies.

4.4 The community participation process

4.4.1 Popular projects

The provision of a creche would seem to be the ideal vehicle for a new organisation seeking to establish itself in a community. The provision of such a service brings with it a number of community building and developmental possibilities. It provides employment for the care-giver; it releases both parents for employment; it offers a training ground for the management and personnel to enhance their skills and in so doing provides an opportunity for enhancing the sustainability of the activity.

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If the organisation has access to sufficient capital, the erection of a multi-purpose facility, with a crèche as its anchor activity will ensure regular participation. This is due to the pressing need for crèche facilities. The regular turnover of children and parents will ensure continuity if a management protocol has been put in place.

If the organisation does not have large financial resources and depending on the level of functioning of the community, another route to obtaining participation, albeit of a limited nature due to the tendency towards a short life-span, is through the provision of a basic facility such as a soup kitchen. Such a service establishes the bona fides of an organisation and it provides the opportunity for it to establish networks between volunteers, donors and recipients.

Other community building projects are relatively easy to arrange and because of their popularity elicit community participation. Examples of these that were presented are gardening competitions, dances, fetes, competitive walks, pageants for all ages and genders and just about anything that involves people doing things together. These activities provide the community with an opportunity to talk about things other than the social pathologies that they are confronted with on a daily basis and are confidence builders for tackling bigger projects.

4.4.2 Civics

It may well be that the organisation is based in a community where the provision of services is not a major issues but where help is sought at a political level. With the changes at the local government level social action strategies are a vehicle for eliciting community participation. The block club concept whereby small groups focus on their neighbourhood is preferable to the possibly more anonymous public meeting. Here a network of powerbases can be built up with a wider source for leadership potential.

4.4.3 Conscientizing

Recent political changes in the country have removed a strong motivation of why people joined organisations in the years prior to these changes. In the past community participation was virtually assured by a high level of social and political consciousness amongst people.

However, contentious issues will raise its head from time to time and organisations should be alert to the opportunities for mobilizing and influencing public participation.

4..4.4 Leadership

If community participation is to be sustained then one of the important means of preparing for this is through the training and support of people with leadership potential. An organisation must seek to establish, as the findings showed, an organisational structure which gives community leaders and opportunity to influence decisions.

4.4.5 Training

Training may be regarded , together with leadership development, as vital elements in ensuring the sustainability of participation. An important part of training is in the selection of participants so as to ensure the investment in human potential is not wasted. Training must cover as wide an area and apart form acquiring specific or technical skills such as finance or management, life- and social skills should be imparted also.

4.4.6 Institution building

If an organisation wants to change the behaviour and attitude of people from one of dependence to that of self reliance it would have to find ways of making an impact that would excite and interest groups in the community. It should seek a rallying call, a definite way of doing things or an emotive appeal that will attract community support and hasten participation in the way that the "care and share" motto did for the BABS organisation.

4.5 The role of the community worker

The single most important recommendation arising out of the community participation process within BABS that the researcher would want to make is the focus on the vital role that the community worker will play in ensuring community participation. Be it as advisor, resource person, diagnostician, arbitrator, enabler or communicator, it was shown that the commitment that the community worker brings to his or her task will influence the outcome of the endeavours of the organisation. The commitment is of the hardest degree with project success seemingly accompanied by worker burn-out. It would appear that sustainable community participation can be achieved when several conditions are met, amongst these, the maximum participation of the community worker.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In conclusion, I believe that the study achieved what it set out to do, as described in the aims, but also served as a belated means of termination for me, as a community worker during 1980, from the organisation. The study could not explain fully why the very poor did not participate in the programmes of the organisation and this is an area for further study. More research is also required on whom of non- or working women groups are more likely to participate in community activities. The study produced evidence that contradicted another study (Van Wyk, op cit: 170) in this regard.

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WESTERN CAPE

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Appendix 1

INTRODUCTORY LETTER TO RESPONDENTS

BABS WESTERN CAPE STUDY

I am a student of the University of the Western Cape and wish to complete a study of BABS Western Cape in fulfilment of the requirement for a masters degree in social work. But I also have an interest in BABS as some-one who was involved in BABS as a volunteer, a member, as a staff member and as a trustee.

As you know, BABS has been in existence since 1973 and its aims are, among others, to provide people with skills to work for change in their communities; to promote grassroots action by residents so that the quality of life in communities can be improved.

Various programmes have emerged over the years to achieve those aims and you have been identified as having playing a significant part in these programmes. Your ideas and inputs have had an important impact on the activities and direction of the organisation and I regard you as a source of invaluable information for this study.

I will be grateful if you could complete the attached self-addressed consent form. I shall then contact you to arrange a suitable time to meet with you.

Confidentiality of information is assured.

I would like to interview you for about 45 minutes with regard to your participation in BABS.

Regards
LAURENCE
Phone: W. 6968038
         H. 6973649

CONSENT FORM

LAURENCE JACOBS
8 TANNER AVENUE
CRAWFORD
7764

BABS WESTERN CAPE STUDY

I hereby agree to an interview with the above in connection with the BABS study.

I will be available during ....

Yours faithfully

Sign..

Contact Phone No ....

Mr/Mrs ....

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Appendix 2

QUESTIONNAIRE

A. PERSONAL DETAILS

1. NAME...

2. AGE...

3. SEX...

4. OCCUPATION ....

5. EDUCATION ....

6. RELIGIOUS/CULTURAL AFFILIATIONS ....

7. NAME OF AFFILIATE..
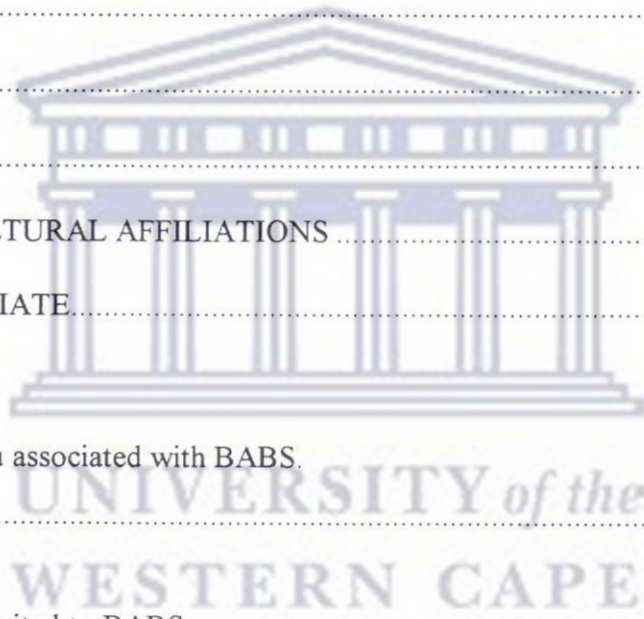
1. How long were you associated with BABS.
....

2. How were you recruited to BABS.
....

3. Why did you join the organisation?
....

4. What kinds of activities were you involved in?
....

5. Tell me about your participation in BABS?
....

6. It made a big difference to my life when I joined BABS.

        Agree Strongly   5
        Agree   4
        Uncertain   3
        Disagree   2
        Disagree Strongly 1

Why do you say so?

7. What benefits did you receive while a member.

....

8. What were your negative experiences.

....

9. What were your or your group's achievements.

....

10. Can you think of an expectation you had when joining BABS which was not fulfilled.

      YES
      NO

If yes, please specify.

11 List improvements in your neighbourhood which may be attributed to the involvement of BABS.

....

12 How do you evaluate BABS's contribution in making your community a better place to live in.

        Very good   (5)
        Just good   (4)
        Average   (3)
        Just bad   (2)
        Very bad   (1)

13. In your view, what was BABS biggest weakness/strengths.

....

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14. How would you describe BABS leadership styles?

strong   weak   average

15. The programmes generally were executed efficiently.

Agree strongly   5
Agree   4
Uncertain   3
Disagree   2
Disagree strongly   1

16. The programmes generally were accountable to the members.

Agree strongly   5
Agree   4
Uncertain   3
Disagree   2
Disagree strongly   1

17. The programmes, generally, were characterised by continuity.

Agree strongly   5
Agree   4
Uncertain   3
Disagree   2
Disagree strongly   1

18. The programmes, generally, were comprehensive.

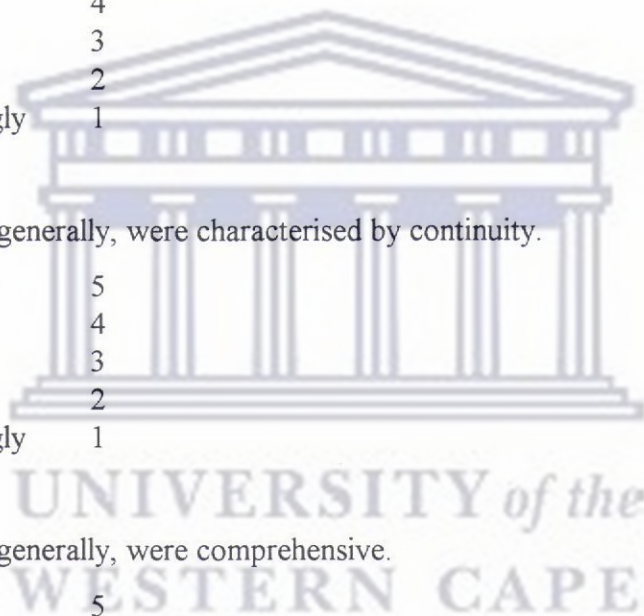Agree strongly   5
Agree   4
Uncertain   3
Disagree   2
Disagree strongly   1

19. The programmes, generally were effective.

Agree strongly   5
Agree   4
Uncertain   3
Disagree   2
Disagree strongly   1

20. The programmes were acceptable to all.

        Agree strongly   5
        Agree   4
        Uncertain   3
        Disagree   2
        Disagree strongly   1

21. The programmes were relevant for the needs of the community.

        Agree strongly   5
        Agree   4
        Uncertain   3
        Disagree   2
        Disagree strongly   1

22. The programmes were appropriate for the community in that if addressed the problems directly.

        Agree strongly   5
        Agree   4
        Uncertain   3
        Disagree   2
        Disagree strongly   1

23. The programmes were accessible to all.

        Agree strongly   5
        Agree   4
        Uncertain   3
        Disagree   2
        Disagree strongly   1

24. What were the successes of the organisation?

....

25. What were the failures of the organisation?

....

26. The following is a list of groups and projects undertaken through the years by BABS. Rank each group or projects performance as good, average or bad by drawing a circle around the appropriate number.

Groups and Projects	GOOD	AVERAGE	BAD	UNCERTAIN
1. Neighbourhood groups	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
2. Old Age Club	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
3. Crèche	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
4. Youth Club	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
5. Steering Committee	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
6. Management Committee	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
7. BABS Housing	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
8. Community Centre	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
9. Annual Bazaar	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
10. Annual Dance	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
11. Training	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
12. Home Industry	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
13. Women's Club	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
14. Soup Kitchen	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)

27. Using the following scale please rate how you saw BABS members participation in running/managing the organisation.

8. Full managerial power
7. Almost full managerial power
6. Co-operative partnership with powerholders
5. Advisory, but powerholders have right to decide
4. Have a voice
3. Less of voice
2. Recipient of service
1. Non-participation.