

**Social Welfare Delivery: *A case of government
funded NGOs in Worcester.***

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**A research report submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Public Administration in the School of Government,
Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences, University of the Western**



Cape.

Supervisor
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October 2006

DECLARATION

I declare that *Social Welfare Delivery: A case of government funded NGOs in Worcester* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Name: Ntokozo Khamba

Signature



Date: 20 February 2007



DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate this report to my baby boy Kamva, who has been an enormous source of inspiration throughout this trying and demanding time. I finally put this giant to rest and devote more quality time and ensure that I nurture and raise you to the best of my ability.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I wish to extend my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Professor J.J. Williams for his guidance and input without which this report would not have seen the light of day. I also thank him for the tremendous amount of time and energy, enthusiasm and motivation as well as support throughout this process. I would like to thank the following organisations in the Worcester district for their contribution:

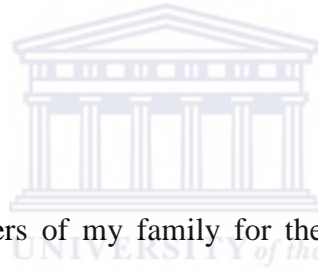
Ceres Service Centre;

Lingelihle Old Age Home;

Steinthal Kinderhuis;

Happy Valley Service Centre; and

ACVV Touwsriver.



I would also like to thank members of my family for their relentless and undivided support financially and otherwise throughout my academic endeavour. I take this opportunity to also thank Sonwabile Ngxiza for his support and encouragement in ensuring that this report is of good quality and complete.

ABSTRACT

Social welfare services are essential for development of human capital and eradication of poverty in South Africa generally. Social welfare plays a pivotal role in enabling the impoverished and vulnerable communities and households to lead their lives through provision of care, social relief, stability and human resource development. Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) form an integral part of the welfare system through their formal and informal welfare and residential and non-residential welfare services. The role of NGOs becomes imperative precisely because of their inherent empathy and proximity to the communities they serve.

In the Western Cape alone there are one thousand three hundred 1,300 registered NGOs that contribute to the provision of social welfare services utilising government funding (Department Of Social Services, Financing Policy of 1999). Government itself has been engaged in the process of transformation and the same challenges of transformation, governance, and effectiveness still profound the NGO sector. Notwithstanding the contribution of the NGOs in the welfare system, it is crucial to scrutinise the nature of their work and the rate of transformation to flourish in the democratic dispensation. To enhance the process of transformation in the NGO sector, government passed a plethora of policies and legislative requirements, inter alia, White Paper for Social Welfare 1997, Non-Profit Organisations Act of 1997. The intent of the research therefore, is to establish the significance of transformation and inherent issues of governance, effectiveness and efficiency in service delivery and sustainability of the nature of social welfare services rendered by the NGO sector in the Western Cape, particularly the Worcester district.

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CHAPTER ONE: THE PROBLEMATIC WELFARE SERVICES IN WORCESTER

1.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the significance of the state and civil society partnership in the provision of welfare services. The Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) play a pivotal role in maintaining the social fabric in the communities with various needs. NGOs are better positioned to deliver some social services because of their location and proximity to the communities where they render those essential services. It is through such organisations that the government is able to realise the objective of delivery of social welfare services efficiently, and effectively. Through the provision of necessary funding and other forms of assistance by government, the NGOs are able to cater for indigent, destitute and frail persons in the communities with eminent needs. It is, however, important to note that relations between NGOs and the state are not always harmonious and most Third World countries, including South Africa, particularly during the dark years of apartheid, resemble this hostile and repressive relationship. Despite the repressive nature of the relationship between NGOs and apartheid regime in South Africa, the former always thrived and established projects and the programmes to ameliorate the injustices of the apartheid regime. In the democratic dispensation the character of these NGOs had to be transformed to remain relevant in the new era. It is paramount to critically consider the relationship between the state and NGOs and equally scrutinise the transformation process of NGOs in the welfare system in the Worcester district.

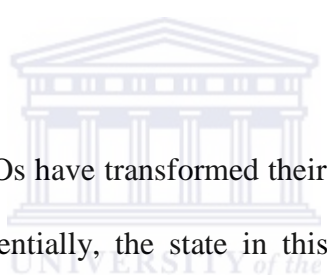
The post-apartheid state has the willingness to create a conducive environment for NGOs to flourish and engage in a sustainable partnership to render services and develop communities that

for decades have been neglected by the apartheid government. This willingness was brought to the fore by the realisation that NGOs are often more specialised, and their proximity to specific communities makes them desirable neutral in development programmes. Nevertheless, it is important to critically scrutinise whether the NGOs have met their stated objectives of effective and quality welfare services to the poor and most vulnerable members of the community.

Essentially, NGOs engaged in the developmental state must ensure that their activities empower and uplift communities within which they operate. For community empowerment to become a reality, participation of local people in decision-making, agenda setting and the actual implementation are important to ensure sustainability (Friedmann, 1992). To harness sustainability, it is important that NGOs through their developmental interventions and provision of services realise the necessity to progressively develop capacity and social capital, most importantly account and demonstrate improvement of the wellbeing of the people they serve. As Fowler (2000:24) argues, “On the one hand, sustainability requires progressive integration of the products and effects of interventions into the ongoing processes of economic, social, political and cultural life that surround them.....on the other hand, to demonstrate and be accountable for performance and resources, the effects of NGO must be kept distinctive and attributable to their efforts alone” Sustainability and accountability are evidently vitally important for the relationship between government (as facilitators and funders) and NGO’s (as implementers).

1.2 Research Problem

During the apartheid regime, three types of NGOs existed, these were, the anti-apartheid movements, the independent but supportive and the collaborative NGOs all of which had to be transformed in the post apartheid era. The role of the NGO sector became important in the delivery of services, most essentially to the poor, elderly and the marginalised. The state plays a facilitating and regulatory role with the primary intent being to create an enabling environment for NGOs to flourish. Consistent with this objective, the state also provides funding to these organisations, but the key question arises: are the NGOs delivering welfare services effectively and efficiently to realise the government objectives in the Worcester district in the Western Cape?



The research explores whether NGOs have transformed their character and functions to conform to the democratic aspirations. Essentially, the state in this current conjuncture is striving to provide a conducive environment for NGOs to flourish, develop communities and improve the wellbeing of the local communities. The key questions that this research seeks to uncover relate to the extent of transformation of the NGO sector, achievement of government goals and sustainability of the NGOs operating in the welfare realm. Necessarily, the research seeks to determine to what extent do the state and NGOs reinforce each other to improve service delivery in the welfare terrain in Worcester. Bearing in mind the conflictual history of state - NGO relations in South Africa, it is imperative to determine how far relations have progressed. The thrust of the research problem includes the fact that NGOs are autonomous entities, which cannot be dictated to by the state. How can the state then ensure that the desired goals are achieved?

Does the partnership between the state and NGOs in the welfare system bear any fruitful outcomes taking into account the issues raised above?

1.3 Major Arguments

The research is guided by a number of arguments about state and NGOs on one hand, and service delivery on the other. It is argued that the state has a constitutional responsibility to promote the wellbeing of the people particularly the poor and vulnerable, to protect their rights and thus restore their dignity. Firstly, the assumption is that the state is indeed committed to the conviction of promoting the wellbeing of the poor and does in fact progressively try to realise these rights. Secondly, the research is based on the assumption that NGOs have the interests of the communities they serve at heart and that the ultimate goal is to develop the communities in a sustainable fashion. Lastly, it is assumed that both the state and NGOs have shared responsibility and interest for sustainable development and prosperity of the people and that they can work or form partnerships to achieve the desired goals. Embedded in this assumption is the notion that structural partnership between government and the Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) would translate into efficient and effective social welfare delivery and improve people's lives.

Emanating from the analysis, the nature of the above-mentioned set of assumptions is that efficient delivery of social welfare services depends on cooperation and coordination between the state and NGOs operating in the area. In the context of the welfare system it is assumed that there is a correlation between functional partnership of government and NGOs and better service delivery. In this hypothesis, partnership between government and NGOs is an independent variable and better service delivery is a dependent variable.

1.4 Objectives

- The research investigates whether the NGOs in Worcester are achieving the desired outcomes of the Department of Social Services and Poverty Alleviation.
- This research also aims to determine the extent to which the organisations are responsive to the dynamics and challenges of the communities.
- It is also necessary to explore the presence of mechanisms to harness community participation, ownership and thus sustainability of the programmes

1.5 Background and Context

Perhaps defining the concept of NGO, its inherent characteristics and functions is significant in order to provide common understanding in the context of this research. In this paper the researcher makes frequent references to terms such as Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) Non-Profit Organisations (NPOs) and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), which are used interchangeably. NGOs are autonomous, voluntary, non-profit, service organisations operating in the public interest for the promotion of social, economical and psychological wellbeing and development of the people. NGOs have several characteristics in common. As Atkinson (1998:290) points out, “Firstly, people often get involved in them because of moral or ethical convictions. (Lee and Buntman, 1989:12 quoted in Atkinson, 1998:290) Secondly, they enable the satisfaction of a greater deal of diversity in social interests, needs, preferences and benefits – much greater than any government department can provide. Thirdly, they often cultivate a relationship of trust with their clients – a degree of trust which is often greater than governments can achieve.” NGOs derive their existence on the basis of specific problems facing the

communities through vigorous engagement with various actors and funders to fight the plight of the people. There are various distinctions within the NGO sector and the focus of the paper is on welfare sector, which falls under the service organisations. The functions of the service organisations according to Walters, (1990:2) can be classified as follows:

- a) To provide welfare – oriented social services;
- b) To ‘empower’ the popular sectors through helping to educate, organize and mobilize;
- c) To provide support services to other organisations in order to improve their effectiveness;
- and
- d) To ‘network’.

The locus of this research is the effectiveness of NGOs involved in the welfare services provision in the Worcester district in particular.

As a practitioner in the field of Monitoring and Evaluation in the Department of Social Services and Poverty Alleviation in the Western Cape, it is of importance to investigate the effectiveness of the NGO sector in rendering social welfare services. This would invariably contribute to the body of knowledge about the significance of NGOs in maintaining and strengthening social justice and development in the Worcester district. As government plays a facilitating and regulatory role in the NGO sector involved in delivery of essential social services, it is equally important for officials to understand the intrinsic nature of the NGO in the field. This research would enhance understanding of the paradigm shift in the relationship and role of NGOs after the apartheid regime in South Africa, as people generally tend to be skeptical of their role in the new dispensation.

The Department of Social Services and Poverty Alleviation, with regards to social welfare services, aims “To provide effective and quality welfare services to poor and vulnerable individuals and communities by facilitating policies, funding, guidance and support to Non – Profit Organisations (NPO’s) and other welfare service providers.” It becomes vitally important, therefore, to critically investigate whether this objective is actually becoming a reality. Social welfare delivery is essential for people and both government and NGOs have a responsibility to render such services to build a better quality of life for people. It is important therefore, for government and NGO sector to work collaboratively to ensure the realisation of the objectives of social justice. The government also has a responsibility to ensure the creation of a conducive environment for NGOs to render the necessary services to achieve the goals of social equity. In view of this fact, it is significant to critically analyse the relationship between the NGOs and the government in an endeavour to enhance the wellbeing and development of the people.

The need to transform the social welfare delivery system is clearly stated in the White Paper for Social Welfare of 1997. The notion of transformation should not only be understood in the context of mainly changing the structures and racial composition, but broadly in terms of transformation of functions, approach, demographic distribution, and gender balance. Government, particularly the Department of Social Services and Poverty Alleviation must facilitate transformation of the NGOs rendering essential services. Monitoring and evaluation of the process of transformation must ensure that the organisation remains relevant and is able to respond to the changing dynamic needs of the communities. This research explores the process of transformation of the Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) receiving funding from the Department of Social Services and Poverty Alleviation. The focus area of the research is the

Worcester district in the Western Cape. This research considers transformation issues, such as the structure of the organisation and diversity.

1.6 Literature Review

The theoretical perspective on the role of NGOs is vast; however, most of the literature focuses on the relationship between the state and NGOs, management and effectiveness of NGOs in general. In the context of South Africa there has been a paradigm shift in the relations between the state and NGOs since the demise of apartheid. The apartheid regime played a repressive and regulatory role through various pieces of legislation such as, Welfare Act of 1978, Cooperatives Act of 1981, Companies Act of 1973 to name but a few. “The only real interest which the previous South African government showed in the non-profit sector was to control it by means of regulations” (Atkinson, 1998:294). The new democratic government promulgated various pieces of legislation aimed at progressively engaging in partnerships with NGOs which is indicative of the realisation of the praxis of NGOs in developing communities. Chapter two deals extensively with the paradigm shift in the state / NGO relations from apartheid to post apartheid South Africa.

A study conducted by Motala and Husy (2002) entitled “NGOs do it better: An efficiency analysis of NGO’s in Development Delivery” commissioned by Non Profit Partnership, offered a comprehensive discussion on issues such as partnership between NGOs and the State, efficiency and effectiveness of NGO`s in development. According to Motala et al, note “Elected governments may sometimes view NGOs as competitors or as a threat to their sovereignty,

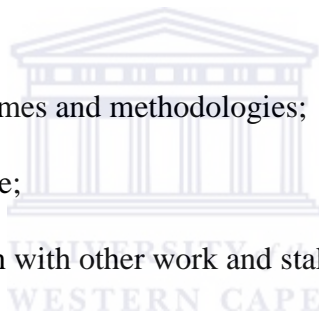
especially if NGOs have access to substantial donor funding”. In the South African context the government committed itself to harnessing NGO involvement in the delivery of social services. This commitment was promulgated through the Non-Profit Organisations Act 71 of 1997, the White Paper for Social Welfare of 1997 and Social Services Financing Policy of 1999. The main aim of government is ensure creation of a conducive environment for NGOs to carry out their social responsibility or deliver services where the state has retreated.

The Non – Profit Organisations Act number 71 of 1997 aims “To provide for an environment in which non – profit organizations can flourish; to establish an administrative and regulatory framework within which non profit organizations can conduct their affairs...” This objective eliminates potential adversarial relations that could emanate from the state-NGO relationship. As Fowler (2000) quoted in Motala et al, (2002: unnumbered) suggests, “a collaborative relationship was likely where the state and NGOs shared similar goals and strategies; if the state and NGOs shared goals but not strategies to achieve them, then a complementary relationship was more likely to succeed”

NGOs within the welfare arena usually focus on areas where there is a disparate need for intervention such as the poor, vulnerable and marginalized citizens. In the South African context, due to the ramifications of the apartheid regime, that deliberately impoverished the majority of the population, most of whom were black. The state currently faces a challenge of delivery of services and unlocking the potential for development, NGOs play a pivotal role in that endeavour. As Mazibuko, F. D. states, a determined participation by NGO’s to support the government in its delivery of services could protect the newly found democracy. Due to the gaps

created by apartheid, the government has the burden to deliver services to cover the whole population equitably; unlike in the past however, the NGO's collectively and individually can play a significant role.

In relation to the effectiveness of NGOs, which the critical aspect of the research, Motala et al, (2002: unnumbered) assert, "It has been argued that the effectiveness of an NGO is closely linked to its values base; and that this provides its comparative advantage." Values base refers to the NGOs approach to development, how they perceive their role and how they locate themselves in relation to the underpinning priorities of the state. In their article Motala and Husy also list a plethora of efficiency indicators for NGOs including:

- 
- Values base driven programmes and methodologies;
 - Scale of impact and coverage;
 - Coordination and integration with other work and stakeholders;
 - Continuity and sustainability of intervention;
 - Accountability;
 - Delivery effectiveness, specifically cost-effectiveness and achievement of objectives;
 - Flexibility in delivery;
 - Employment generation; and
 - Volunteer mobilisation.

These indicators are not mutually exclusive and could be used jointly in some instances as a means to determine efficiency and effectiveness, which is the central question of the research.

1.7 Research Methodology

The study employs various research methods that would give substance and validity to the research. I will employ both qualitative and quantitative methods of gathering or collecting and analyzing data. Structured questionnaires were distributed to the systematically selected organisations through a stratified, systematic sampling with a random chart technique in order to collect primary data. Stratified random sampling technique is relevant because the study must reflect the heterogeneity of the organisations and area under study.

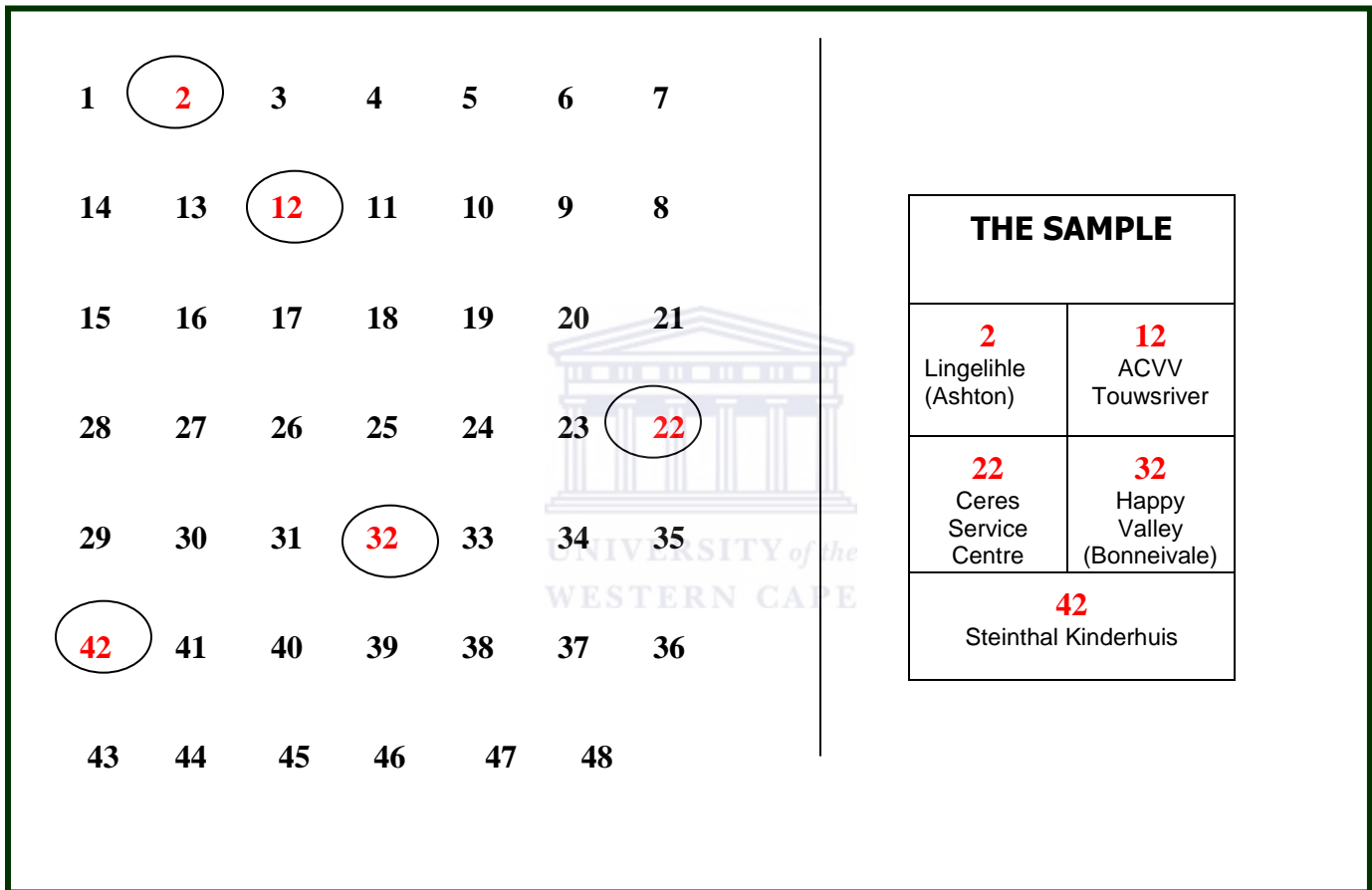
Table 1.1 List of Funded Organisations in Worcester

Old Age Homes	Service Centres	Children's Homes/ Family Welfare	Disability Centres
1. ACVV Huis Le Roux	17. Silverthreads	35. CWS Worcester	44. Inst for the Blind
2. Lingelihle (Ashton)	18. Schoongezeight (Robertson)	36. ACVV Montagu	45. De La Baat (Inst for the Deaf)
3. Nuwerus	19. Sisonke (Ceres)	37. ACW Worcester	46. Ass for the Physically Disabled
4. Awendrus	20. Nonkululeko (ACVV Worcester)	38. Robertson Gemeenskapsdiens	47. Nuwe Hoop
5. Andries Hamman	21. Houmoed	39. Badisa Tulbagh-POW	48. Famsa
6. Huis Uitvlucht	22. Ceres Service Centre	40. Badisa Bonneivale	
7. Huis Maudie Kriel (Ceres)	23. ACW Robertson	41. Pondo (Mcgregor)	
8. Herberg aansee	24. Stilwaters	42. Steinthal Kinderhuis	
9. Vrederus Home	25. Springroses (Montagu)	43. NICRO Worcester	
10. Huis Lafras Moolman	26. ACVV Ceres		
11. Huis Desa (Tulbagh)	27. ACVV Sonskyn (Touwsriver)		
12. ACVV Touwsriver	28. Helpmekaar		
13. Mimosa (De Doorns)	29. Luwensruimte		
14. Mosterthoek (Wolsely)	30. Klein Begin		
15. Herfsvreuide (Bonneivale)	31. Badisa Breedevallei		
16. AGS Trouwsriver	32. Happy Valley (Bonneivale)		
	33. Badisa Saron		
	34. CMR Badisa Wolsley		

Source: Department of Social Services and Poverty Alleviation (2004)

Figure 1.1 below shows an illustration of how the sample was chosen using the stratified systematic sampling with a random chart, which corresponds with the list of organisations shown above.

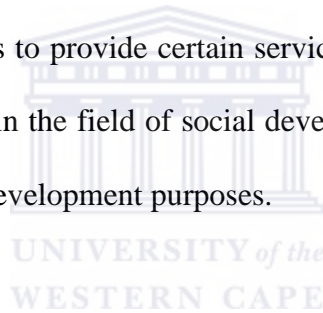
Figure 1.1 Stratified systematic sample with a random chart



Source: Own research (2006)

1.8 Chapter Summary

The NGO sector contributed to development of neglected communities during the apartheid years through their interventions to improve the well-being of the people. The relations between the apartheid government and NGOs were more repressive and regulatory by government through various policies. It is worth noting that there were some NGOs that were adversarial towards apartheid, independent but supportive and those that were collaborative. However there was a shift after 1994 when the government advanced in creating a conducive environment for NGOs to function effectively. The state realizes the important role that the NGOs play in developing communities effectively and efficiently more the government hence the government provides funding for various NGOs to provide certain services to the population. The proximity and practical experience of NGOs in the field of social development necessitated government to form partnerships with NGOs for development purposes.



The next chapter entails a focused theoretical perspective of the interface between state and civil society. It will draw from classical and contemporary conceptions of this interface from the writings of various scholars including Gramsci, Hegel, and Marx on the former and Ferguson, and Mamdani for the latter. This body of knowledge covers the state and society, their respective roles in relation to the process service delivery and how they reinforce each other in pursuit of a better livelihood.

CHAPTER TWO: THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE STATE IN THE PROVISION OF WELFARE SERVICES

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a theoretical framework extrapolating classical concepts and contemporary concepts in order to apply to the African context. It is important to locate the theoretical elements that exist into the African context since the study primarily focuses on the present day South Africa. Throughout history of socio-political discourse, scholars have investigated the intricacies and dynamics of the relationship between the state and society. This discourse pioneered by the classical scholars evolved and a myriad of contemporary writings drawn from the former using, perhaps, improved approaches to understand the relations between the state and civil society.



Various scholars present a critical challenge the Eurocentric orthodox conceptions of the state and civil society particularly relating to developing countries including Africa. The explicit view propagated by European scholars of civil society existing in diametric opposition to the state is challenged by some African scholars notably Mamdani (1995). The critique of tacit and explicit Eurocentric views on the role of civil society in African democracies is portrayed in some detail and subsequently, its strengths and shortcomings are outlined as well. The romanticisation of civil society is also problematised in this chapter in an effort to reveal some features of ‘transnationalisation’ as postulated by Ferguson (1995:46). The essence of this chapter seeks to deduce progressive and practical meanings, roles and the interface between state and civil

society. Equally, the need to translate the body of literature (classical and contemporary) into the South African conditions and thus being able to provide an analysis and interpretation of the phenomena currently unfolding locally is paramount.

2.2 Classical Definitions of Civil Society

In the history of political philosophy and the academia in general there are various conceptions of civil society, thus there is no common definition of civil society, and however the existing literature entails similarities and differences between various definitions which must be explored.

For some liberal thinkers including Locke and Hobbes believe that the process of civil society implies the imputation of a common substantive purpose to society – the establishment of that purpose by common consent (Harberson, 1994:19). While Rousseau cited in Harberson (1994) maintains the sharp distinction between society, civil society and the state, civil society is an indispensable intermediary between the two in enhancing the social contract. According to him the state is derived from two critical elements, that is, community and authoritative governing principles which are inextricably interwoven. He emphatically places a great deal responsibility on the “legislator” acting on behalf of the people but operating outside civil society.

In his writings, Montesquieu assumes a neutral ground in his conception of civil society – state relations. Contrary to Gramsci, Montesquieu contends that civil society continually reshapes, or seeks to reshape government which in turn shapes civil society. Therefore, civil society is not only involved at the point of regime change but can instigate reformation in a cyclical manner. As Harberson (1994:19) cited, “Montesquieu’s orientation introduces a further element of civil

society – i.e., the sometimes conflictual, sometimes collegial relations between civil society and government.” Nevertheless, Montesquieu places paramount significance on the norm-setting function of civil society and importance of preserving its congruence between these norms and operations of government, thus ensuring accountability.

Hegel provided contrasting ideas about civil society to those advocated by most liberal intellectuals. He conceived of civil society as inherently conflictual and unstable because of the competitive private interplay between private interests and therefore necessitated regulation and modification by the state for public good (Hegel, 1821 quoted in Bratton, 1994.:54). This view is in sharp contrast with the view of civil society as a realm of freedom against autocratic state, because Hegel views the state as a contradictory construct instead of the harmonious non-conflictual realm as propagated by liberal thinkers. He defines civil society as the polity existing between the universal state and the patriarchal family, which is the basic unit of the society. The Hegelian conception sees civil society as not self-sufficient hence the reciprocal impact the state has upon civil society. The proposition suggested by Hegel is that civil society depends on the state for its existence and sustainability. Put differently, Hegel (quoted in Bratton, 1994) asserts that civil society is embedded in the state and the state has the political and moral obligation toward civil society.

Noteworthy, political philosophy would be incomplete without mention of the socialist or Marxist scholarship and the significant contribution in the political discourse. The Marxist school of thought with its profound and influential thinker, Karl Marx, propagated working class power to destroy capitalism through revolutionary means towards a classless society. Consistent

with their conception of the state as being the executive of the bourgeoisie, Marx and Engels view civil society as a product of the evolution of property relations under capitalism. Marx saw the state as subordinate in its relations with civil society, its performance conditioned by the interests of the dominant class because civil society is rooted in the material conditions of life (Bratton, 1994:54). Furthermore, Marx believed that cooptation of civil society by the state would precipitate ultimate revolutionary consequences with the working class at the forefront. Perhaps one must state that in Marxist tradition “civil society” was not an area of much focus, hence the criticism of being monolithic as much focus is economic and political issues. However, Gramsci is among a group of intellectuals who contributed in this discourse and sought to refine socialism and define the new form of the struggle. In his assertion, he further suggests the possibility of cooptation, which in a long-run undermines the state because civil society is a source of political change (Harbeson, 1994:19). Gramsci, as highlighted by Harbeson (1994), saw civil society as marking out the terrain to wage a new form of the struggle against capitalism not only in its economic foundations (base) but also the religious, cultural and ideological roots in everyday life (superstructure).

This theoretical undertaking provides the basis for further articulation of this research and analysis of the prevailing phenomena in the South African context. The myriad of ideas from various scholars of political philosophy present contrasting views of this socio-political construct but essentially this epistemology provides a fundamental stepping stone towards understanding the intricacies of state-civil society relations. The importance of the understanding of this relationship for advancement of human knowledge and development cannot be overemphasized.

The next section deals explicitly with the contemporary debates on the nature and relevance of civil society in developing world in general and South Africa in particular.

2.3 Contemporary debates on the relevance of civil society

In African polity and development discourse the omnipresence and omnipotence of civil society, its nature, role and relevance is robustly discussed. Various contemporary scholars and researchers have and are investigating the African continent to establish the nature of state-civil society relations and its importance for the consolidation of democracy and tenants of good governance including transparency, accountability and representativeness. Africans, and South Africans in particular, have continuously engaged in robust debates around these very cardinal issues surrounding state and civil society dichotomy. This section tackles the concept and usage of the term civil society in the African context. Further, current debates surrounding relevance and participation of civil society in representative structures of government with specific reference to South Africa is encapsulated.

2.3.2 The significance of civil society in emerging African democracies

In recent times, particularly during the emergence of democracy and colonial retreat, Africa has seen a rising number of researchers in political science and more specifically interested in the role of civil society. Various case studies undertaken in this field reflect this interest and unsurprisingly their conclusions have been severely challenged and labeled as Eurocentric by

African scholars. However, there seems to be consensus about the problematic nature, loose and uncritical application of the concept of civil society.

State – civil society relations are often understood in the context of “top” and “bottom” which is inescapably problematic as Ferguson (1995:48) remarks about the perception of the ‘up there’ state that encompasses the local and exists on a higher level. The concept of the state supremacy over civil society is highly criticised by Ferguson highlighting the transnational topographies of power. The claims of verticality (claims of superior spatial scope, supremacy in the hierarchy of power, and superior generality of interest, knowledge, and moral purpose) has been significantly challenged and undermined by “transnationalised” “local” which fuses the grassroots and the global in ways that make a hash of the vertical topography of power on which the legitimization of nation-states has so long depended (Ferguson, 1995:66). There are ever increasing commonalities or “shared” interests between global actors and local ‘interests’ hence national boundaries are broken down and the vertical topography of power ceases to exist. The linkages between local struggles and global interests introduce the horizontal instead of the vertical topography of power. “That these voluntary organisations come as much from the putative “above” (international organisations) as from the supposed “below” (local communities) is an extremely significant fact about so called “civil society” in Africa” (Ferguson, 1995:57). This is evidenced by an array of Western “development” agencies supporting NGOs in developing countries including Africa, for instance in Mozambique. World Bank uses the term BONGOs (Bank Organised NGOs) and even GONGOs (government organised NGOs) which shows that they are not local as they like us to believe. As Habib and Tylor contend:

“The existing literature of the non-profit sector is replete with suggestions that NGOs are institutions that service the interests of the poor and marginalized. But can one really argue this when NGOs have become so commercially oriented and dependent on the resources of donors and government?..... Can one really assert that (they are) community-driven or answerable to marginalized sectors of South African society (1999:79 quoted in Habib, 2004:234)”. The commercialisation of NGOs will be discussed in some detail later in chapter three.

2.3.2 The bipolar conception of the state and civil society

The state-civil society dichotomy is yet another area of concern for scholars in African studies and or researchers including anthropologists. “This dichotomy apparently corresponds to the opposition between coercion as embodied in the state, and freedom or voluntary action, which belongs – in principle if not necessarily in practice – civil society” (Wood, 1990:64). This distinction between state and civil society is often made as a precondition for democracy traditionally from the liberal perspective. This is based on the principle of the limitation of state power through the organisation of autonomous civil society. Amongst the critics of this distinction is Wood in the paper entitled “The Socialist Register 1990” stating that civil society can be submerged or eclipsed by the state. “For “state” and “civil society” is not two bipolar terms, one universal and the other referential” (Mamdani, 1995:603). He contends that state and civil society are two poles of the evolutionary process consistent with the idea of the “west” and the “rest.” The notion of state and civil society as two bipolar terms existing diametrically and one-sided opposition is inherently problematic in nature argues Mamdani (1995:613), The anti-

state romanticisation of civil society is also another charge leveled against the Eurocentric liberal state – civil society relations. According to Habib civil society and the state can be adversarial on some issue and collegial on the other, thus the relations are not altogether conflictual. Drawing from South African examples Habib (2004:239) remarks, “some like the TAC, display adversarial relations with the state on one issue and more collegiate relations on the other. Others, like the Homeless Peoples Federation, challenge and oppose state institution but have established partnerships with others.” Therefore, state-civil society relations are neither rigid nor stark as is sometimes suggested.

2.3.3 Vigilant civil society: a precondition for democracy

The assertion by the Western scholars concerning African civil society that the strength of civil society sets limits for the state and thus prevents absolutism and autocratic use of state. Various scholars advance the view that civil society is a necessary ingredient for democracy because civil society keeps the state in check. Civil society, under liberal democratic order has a contradictory character..... it is an expression of existence of formal freedoms, while it primarily serves to obscure the class foundations of society by trying to present everyone as free to pursue their objectives without interference from any quarter – particularly the state (Nzimande, 1995:107). Liberalism propagates that through civil society two primary benefits are derived. Firstly, attention to the dangers of state oppression and on the need to set proper limits on its actions by organising and reinforcing pressures against it. Secondly, it recognises and celebrates difference and diversity (Wood, 1990:64). Central to the argument advanced by liberalism is the issue of diversity, which it uses to criticise Marxism. One South African writer, Adam Habib, echoes

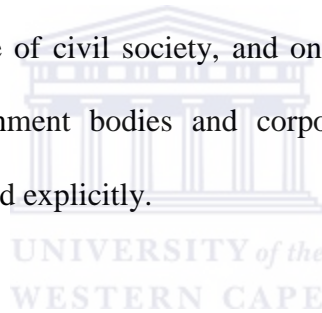
these sentiments of plurality with a different idea in mind. The plurality of civil society and the diverse set of relations (marginalization, engagement and adversarialism) that it engenders with the state is the best guarantee for the consolidation of democracy in South Africa. He sees a reconfiguration of power in society affecting a shift to the left which may create a more people centered, Keynesian oriented developmental agenda (2004:239).

Civil society supposedly plays the role of democratizing the state and entrenching principles and practices of good governance, but the contrary is quite possible as well. Perhaps, the flip side of the coin is that the “civil society” plays an even greater role in eroding democracy in African states through their involvement with international agencies. This observations is carefully sighted by Ferguson (1995) in a paper entitled “*Transnational Topographies of Power: Beyond the State and Civil Society in the Study of African Politics*”. The unprecedented role played by NGOs in helping western “development” agencies to “get around” uncooperative national governments sheds a good deal of light on the current disdain for the state and “civil society” (Ferguson, 1995:57). International organisations or agencies through structural adjustment and other programmes are eroding the power of states as they directly sponsor their programmes via NGOs thus usurping state sovereignty. Such practices are in no way advancing democracy as much as they undermine it.

2.3.4 Civil society relations with representative structures

Robust debate on the relevance, representativeness and significance of civil society has surfaced contemporary South Africa. Notably, the debate has been centered on civil society relations with the representative bodies of government, for instance National Economic and Development Labour Council (NEDLAC) and parliament. NEDLAC is a corporatist institution involving the state, business, labour and civil society to collectively negotiate and ensure consensus on issues of socio-economic development in nature.

The thrust of the debate however, is two fold: on the one hand, it concerns the relevance, representativeness and significance of civil society, and on the other hand, it has mainly been dilemma of legitimacy of government bodies and corporatist structures. In the following paragraphs both debates are depicted explicitly.



To start off, Blade Nzimande (Secretary General of South African Communist Party and former member of the National Assembly) on the conference about the - role and status of civil society in post apartheid South Africa - argues that the term civil society has no analytical use and he uses it descriptively.

It has been argued that third world struggles tend to articulate four main contradictions – class, national oppression, imperialist domination and underdevelopment..... therefore, the nature of civil society in these formations will also tend to reflect these contradictions. This is why I argue that the term “civil society” is not analytically useful (Nzimande, 1995:105)

There seems to be some agreement on the heterogeneity and contradictory nature of civil society amongst South African scholars. As Reitzes (1995:101) stressescivil society is not monolithic, it is heterogeneous, and associations within it represent contradictory and conflicting interests. Habib recognises the significance of civil society, when he stipulates, “these diverse roles and functions undertaken by different elements of civil society, then, collectively create the adversarial and collaborative relationships, the push and pull factors, which sometimes assist and other times compel the state to meet its obligations and responsibilities to its citizenry” (2004:239). There is a critical role and function that civil society plays in ensuring that the ills of society are addressed. Habib holds the view that formal NGOs collaborative role with the state is largely a product of the services they render and the need thereof. Further, Habib (2004:239) notes, “And, in a society confronted with massive backlogs and limited institutional capacity, this role can only be the benefit of democracy since it facilitates and enables service delivery to ordinary citizens and residents”. The importance of civil society is articulated by Reitzes, citizenry participate in the political process after election through civil society which in its multiplicity represents those varying interests which might necessarily be represented by the ruling party (1995:103).

Incorporation of civil society into representative structures of government is aimed at improving governance but there are questions about the representativeness of civil society. Nevertheless, it would be fallacious to assert that civil society is representative in the first instance and represents local interests amid “transnationalisation” as alluded to by Ferguson (1995). While the South African government took unprecedented steps to include civil society in its chambers in NEDLAC their representativity capacity to stick to binding decisions is questionable. “One of

the problems of incorporating community or development chamber in NEDLACs fourth chamber is that it is not altogether clear to me that they have proven their representativity, or their ability to hold their constituencies to corporatist agreements” (Reitzes, 1995:104).

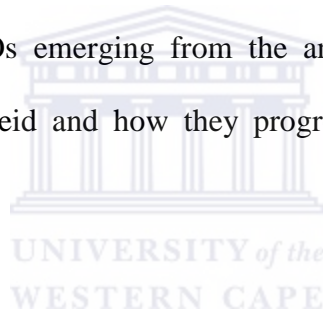
Furthermore, the critical question concerning the interface between the elected representatives and selected representatives is problematic. In NEDLAC the community chamber includes, inter alia, South African National Civics Organisation (Sanco), South African Youth Council (SAYC) and the Disabled People of South Africa. Policies are tabled at NEDLAC and debated and then tabled in parliament, but parliament cannot just rubber stamp that. “If the labour relations bill, to take one example, comes before the labour portfolio after it has been negotiated by social actors outside parliament, then to what extent should we as MPs simply say that because it has been negotiated in civil society, we will pass it? Or to what extent do we say, we are elected representatives and we have a right to do whatever we like in order to represent our own constituency? The sovereignty of parliament regarding such matters then becomes the centre of contention in this dilemma.

2.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter depicted conceptions of the term civil society and its relations with the state from classical schools of thought to contemporary African understanding of the nature and character of state-civil society relations. Views and ideological differences for instance between liberalism and Marxism are also discussed. Noteworthy, there is consensus amongst African and particularly South African intellectuals about heterogeneity and contradictory nature of civil

society. The Eurocentric ideas also came under sharp criticism from Mamdani amongst others pertaining to the bi-polar terminology about state and civil society in African states. It has also been portrayed throughout this chapter that state-civil society relations are not always conflictual, but are sometimes confrontational and sometimes collegiate. It also been presented that no one can say without fear of contradiction that civil society represents local interests because of the “transnationalisation” phenomenon that has been unfolding.

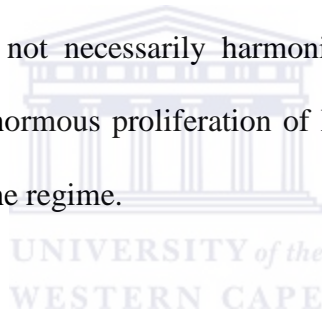
The next chapter discusses the significance and nature of state-civil society relations in South Africa. The purpose of this chapter is to ultimately provide a clear picture of the state-civil society relations unfolding despite contradictory and conflictual realities. Most critically, it gives an analysis of the status of NGOs emerging from the anti-apartheid struggle and the state confronted by the ruins of apartheid and how they progressively shape the future of South Africans



CHAPTER THREE: THE PROVISION OF WELFARE SERVICES IN THE POST- APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

3.1 Introduction

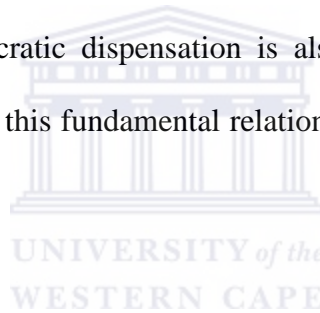
The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the way in which the state and civil society relations evolved toward functional partnerships. The importance of functional relationship between the state and civil society cannot be overemphasized. The state and NGOs have a joint moral responsibility to relentlessly strive to ameliorate the hardship that the people at grassroots level continue to face. However, in the South African context the relations between the state and NGOs with few exceptions were not necessarily harmonious which negatively affected the people. Subsequently, there was enormous proliferation of NGOs as part of the anti-apartheid movement that saw the demise of the regime.



The relationship between the state and NGOs is deeply embedded in the political dynamics of the country as the questions of legitimacy, exercise of power and authority remain determining factors. The minority rule in South Africa sought to safeguard the interests of the White minority and neglected the needs of the Black majority. The underdevelopment and backlogs in terms of service delivery in the African townships and rural areas bear testimony to this. The NGOs realised the gap deliberately created by the apartheid state and aimed to provide the necessary services to the poor, neglected and deprived by the state. “They aim in various ways to empower the poor and the oppressed, to build organs of the people’s power and strengthen community based organisations and to promote democratic processes and practices” (Walters, 1990:2). The

NGOs themselves were confronted with state repression and regulation which characterised their relationship at the time. This chapter captures the nature of the relationship between the apartheid government and the NGO sector and how the relationship has evolved with the democratic transition and ultimately the democratic government.

The new government inherited problems that have been debilitating for many years in the communities. The severity of the problems necessitated multi-pronged and multi-sectoral interventions to be able to overcome. Furthermore, the government recognised the praxis of NGOs in development work and their proximity with respective communities, hence the partnership and functional relationships were developed. The nature of the relationship between NGOs and the state in the democratic dispensation is also depicted in the discussion. It is imperative to also look critically at this fundamental relationship with its various implications to issues of autonomy of the NGOs.



The last part of this chapter entails a detailed discussion on the critical areas of transformation of NGOs in particular. Naturally, the state after the apartheid nightmare was confronted with a mammoth task of transforming the state apparatus to respond to the democratic aspirations and the needs of the people. Inherently, the NGOs were also confronted with the challenge of transformation. After apartheid was dismantled their role and relationship with the state needed to be revisited. It is this backdrop that provides the basis for undertaking to analyse how NGOs have responded to the paradigm shift experienced during the democratic breakthrough.

3.2 Relationship between NGOs and the apartheid state

The architects of apartheid system aimed at entrenching white supremacy and subjecting Black people to absolute poverty, underdevelopment, suffering and brutal oppression, and exploitation in the main. On the one hand, this imposition of poverty saw the proliferation of NGOs opposing the policies and filling the gap that was created by the regime. On the other hand the collaborative NGOs also emerged. Browne (1999:9) contends, “Historically the work done by NGOs operating in South Africa under the apartheid system was both participatory and adversarial, shaped as it was by the need for NGOs to address the needs of poor, disenfranchised communities within the prevailing conditions of socially-engineered inequity and political repression.” This indicates that some distinctions can be made based in the nature of NGOs that existed during the apartheid period, which is adversarial and collaborative. Perhaps, an elaborate analysis of the distinction made between NGOs prevailing in the apartheid era is essential in this section. Organisations responded to the dynamics they were confronted with, some were faced repression because of their fight against the unjust regime and thus were suppressed through constraints, while others supported the apartheid regime.

The apartheid state imposed control through regulations, which was aimed at curtailing the spread, and work of NGOs as it was threatened by the anti-apartheid movement. Several legislative requirements were promulgated that were intended to topple the establishment and activities of NGOs. The acts included amongst others, Welfare Act of 1978, Cooperatives Act of 1981, Companies Act of 1973, Affected Organisations Act of 1974, Fundraising Act of 1978, Internal Security Act of 1982 and so forth. “Some Acts, such as the Companies Act of 1973 and

Cooperatives Act of 1981, define the legal form of non-profit organization and provide detailed provisions relating to membership, structure, organization, capacities and formal proceedings” (Atkinson, 1998:294). The environment during the apartheid years was negatively hostile towards NGOs, particularly those opposed to the regime.

The adversarial – collaborative dichotomy, which characterised the state/NGO relations during the apartheid period, needs to be explored in some detail. It is worth noting that some civil society organisations supported apartheid for their survival and others supported it on ideological principles. Perhaps a more detailed examination of the adversarial – collaborative dichotomy is necessary to complete the analysis of the dynamics of the state/NGOs relationship. The following discussion focuses succinctly on this dichotomy.

3.2.1 NGOs adversarial towards apartheid state

A number of NGOs undertook progressive and innovative work against political repression to ameliorate the prevailing socio-economic imbalances that ravaged the fabric of black communities. During political repression and banning of political organisations NGOs became vigilant in opposing the state and mobilising the general public and constituted what became known, under the rubric of the anti-apartheid struggle, “the popular movement.” As Lee (1990:90 quoted in Browne 1999:10) contends, “The growth in the number of NGOs working in South Africa in the 1970s onward stemmed in a large part from the collapse of state-provided development in a political context where most public agencies were regarded as illegitimate.”

NGOs provided the necessary welfare and other developmental services to the disenfranchised communities against state repression and intimidation.

The conflictual relations that persisted between anti-apartheid NGOs and the state were also exacerbated by the legal and political environment, which constrained NGOs operating in the country. As mentioned elsewhere in this paper the legal environment was hostile towards NGOs as a whole. In addition, the Fundraising Act of 1978 made it “a crime to solicit or receive donations from the public unless this has been authorized by the Director of Fundraising” (Habib et al, 1999 p.75). Furthermore, the political environment in various ways attempted to curtail the operation of the NGOs through restrictions and harassment of leaders by the Security Police. Intimidation, confrontation and continuous harassment of the NGO leaders amongst other things were methods applied by the state to discredit, undermine and restrict all anti-apartheid NGOs. Almost all anti-apartheid NGOs experienced some degree of intimidation in the 1980s and, political leaders and freedom fighters, NGO leaders and activists were subjected to banning, arrests, detention without trial, death threats and assassination attempts, and having their homes and cars petrol bombed (Habib et al, 1999 p.75).

3.2.2 NGOs supporting the apartheid state

As reflected above, some segments of the NGO sector were adversarial and conflictual in their relationship with the state and others were collaborative and collegiate. As the apartheid policy was built on racial inequality, racialised relationships also manifested in the adversarial – collaborative dichotomy. “Under apartheid, the adversarial – collaborative divide largely took a

racial form with the bulk of white civil society establishing collegiate relations with the state, and the majority of black civil society, adopting a conflictual mode of engagement” (Habib, 2004: 228). The white civil society particularly the Afrikaans segment, supported the illegitimate government and benefited enormously from it. The apartheid system was supportive and friendly towards those NGOs directed at serving the white community and thus strengthening the racial order (Habib et al, 1999 p.74). The major institutions that aligned themselves with the apartheid regime included, *inter alia*, the Broederbond and the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK). These primarily Afrikaans institutions supported the apartheid regime and maintained collegial relations with the state. “During the years of apartheid rule, the Afrikaans segments of civil society became intimately associated with the government and benefited from it” (Atkinson, 1998:294). This shows the racialised form of relationship between apartheid government and NGOs in South Africa.



3.2 NGOs during the democratic transition

The democratic transition period was not necessarily easy for NGOs as it necessitated change in the character of NGOs and the relations with the state. This interregnum period presented challenges and opportunities for NGOs hence the future of NGOs became precarious. Some NGOs emerged as anti-apartheid movements and failed to develop a vision post 1994 which led to their demise. In addition funding agencies also redirected their funding towards the state to reconstruct its apparatus and strengthen democracy in this country. In the same vein, the democratic transition afforded NGOs a window of opportunity to shift from opposition to collaborative engagement with the state as the apartheid legislation was repealed thus

dismantling the repressive nature of the apartheid legislations. In a paper entitled *South Africa: Anti-Apartheid NGOs in Transition* published by Voluntas, Habib and Tylor contend, “The relationship between anti-apartheid NGOs and the state was transformed with the transition to democracy in south Africa. The 1994 elections, in which the ANC gained 63% of the vote, ushered in a new era and forced a shift from the politics of resistance to a politics of reconstruction.” The character of the NGOs was fundamentally transformed to remain relevant as the democratic political system neatly evolved and matured

As the transformation of the state and its apparatus continued to fit the democratic aspirations, the approach of political actors as well as NGOs inevitably had to change in order to survive and advance the democratic order. This process of transforming the approach regarding NGOs took different forms responding to the dynamics of the transition and future role. The process (according to Habib et al 1999:76) unfolded in three main ways:

- 1) Many NGOs have been absorbed into, or fused with, the institutions of the new state; important policy positions, key personnel, and much funding moved into the state.
- 2) NGOs that were closest to the mass-based movements – and have survived the impact of assimilation into state structures – have, often building on personal networks, repositioned themselves as NGOs with a complementary role to the new state by undertaking partnerships with government departments, developing policies, or providing welfare and development services.

- 3) NGOs that have been liberal in orientation have recast themselves as NGOs taking up the position as “watchdogs” of the new state, advocating various policy positions and asserting their independence from the state with the intent of strengthening civil society.

Essentially, the state recognised the significance of a strong civil society and numerous steps were taken to strengthen the existence and the role of CSO as social actors. NGOs were provided with access to the fourth chamber of National Economic Labour and Development Council (NEDLAC) corporatist style consensus building institution (Habib et al, 1999:77). The NGOs are represented in NEDLAC through the South African NGO Coalition (SANGOCO). The NGOs , particularly those embarking on programmes of socio-economic development of the communities, engaged in partnerships with the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) office to harness development of poor communities. In addition, the government also attempted to resolve the funding crisis of the NGOs through the establishment of funding agencies such as Transitional National Development Trust and the National Development Agency.

3.4 Relationship between NGOs and the post-apartheid state

The South African government, at least after the democratic breakthrough in 1994, sought to establish a functional relationship between the state and the organs of civil society. Subsequently, an advisory committee was instituted to advise the Deputy President on the appropriate and functional relationships, appropriate and coordinated funding mechanisms, and lastly ways to promote sustainable partnership between civil society and government (A Report

by the Advisory Committee, 1997:1). The government recognised and appreciated the rich inheritance of NGOs in the field of community development hence partnerships with NGOs were viewed as critical as they can assist government in its effort to alleviate poverty. This necessitated the transformation of the relationship between civil society and government towards constructive engagement for sustainable development as opposed to adversarial relations.

Some NGOs took proactive steps and assumed the role as service delivery agencies, while others played an imperative role in policy development for government departments. Others were assimilated and fused into government departments to further utilise their expertise and strengthen governments effective role in implementation of policies. There was also a widespread commercialisation trend in the NGO sector because of the funding crisis. NGOs were pursuing the contracting opportunities with government departments in order to secure funding for the types of work or activities that they were undertaking. NGOs have increasingly been contracted by the state to assist it in policy development, implementation and service delivery (Habib, 2003-2004:234).

In recent years, there has been a proliferation of issue specific NGOs such as the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), Landless Peoples Movement (LPM) and so forth. These NGOs assume the role of independent and critical organisations as they advocate and propagate their views in the “interests of the people”. These organisations in particular TAC, have been publicly critical of the government through protest and have challenged government decisions in the Constitutional Court and have on occasion sometimes emerged triumphant. This is characteristic of the democratic environment in which NGOs are operating in the current conjuncture.

3.4.1 Creating a conducive environment

In an effort to establish an enabling environment for NGOs to flourish the government embarked upon legislative, fiscal and institutional arrangements. Furthermore, there is indirect and direct support for NGOs to exist and carry out their operations without restriction and intimidation. The restrictive apartheid laws were repealed to allow for public scrutiny and protest against government policies and decisions. The political environment and constitutional rights enable freedom of expression which gives NGOs the right to challenge government. The security laws of the apartheid era were repealed and it can be concluded that the security environment is more enabling now more than ever before. The government also passed officially the Non Profit Organisations Act 71 of 1997 that recognised civil society, created a system of voluntary registration and provided benefits, with the proviso that NGOs and CBOs, undertake proper accounting and provide audited statements to government (Habib, 2003 -2004:233). The Act makes provision for the direct assistance that the state provides for NGOs to ensure effective service delivery.

The fiscal environment was also improved to ensure sustainability of NGOs. The Fundraising Act of 1978 was repealed because it limited the capacity of NGOs to raise funds. The government also created a conducive fiscal environment for NGOs through indirect support in the form of incentives and tax exemptions for registered NGOs. “Institutions like the National Development Agency (NDA) and the Lottery Commission were established with a mandate to fund legitimate non-profit activity, and, a reform of the tax regulations was promulgated in 2000/2001 to grant registered CSOs tax exemption status, and to encourage a philanthropic

culture in the country” (Habib, 2003-2004:234). The environment has been made for continued existence of civil society through various means by the government, however as stated elsewhere, this too can be a limitation. The flip side of the coin as stated by Heinrich (2001:5), “In other words, although the legal and financial environment, as well as institutional access to policy making has improved for NGOs over the past years, these developments also carried a downside with them in the form of decreasing autonomy for NGOs and a shrinking space to manoeuvre.” The NGOs have moved from the position of reliance and dependence on foreign donors which compromised their independence and “de-linked” them from indigenous communities. Nevertheless, the relations between NGOs and the state became institutionalised, which necessarily improved the character of state-civil society relations. The Non-Profit Organisations Directorate has been established at the National Department of Social Development consistent with the Non-Profit Organisations Act of 1997. In the main, the functions of the Directorate include developing and implementing policy and programmes to support organisations to register and also to “ensure that the standard of governance within non-profit organisations is maintained and improved” (Non-Profit Organisations Act 71 of 1997).

3.6 Chapter Summary

In conclusion, it must be stated that the apartheid state was hostile towards NGOs particularly the anti-apartheid NGOs. The state NGO relationship resembled a collaborative-adversarial dichotomy which was racialised and biased repression in essence. However, there was proliferation of the anti-apartheid NGOs particularly the black civic movement in the 1980s

associated with the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and the United Democratic Front (UDF).

During the democratic transition through to the democratic state the state–NGO relations inevitably had to be transformed for development and prosperity. The state created an enabling environment for NGOs to operate through legal, fiscal and institutional arrangements and the NGOs were provided access to the representative structures of government such as NEDLAC. The repressive apartheid laws were repealed as apartheid was effectively dismantled and the NGOs assumed different roles to play to advance democracy and fight poverty.

The primary intention or benefit for government in building structural relationships with NGOs is to render essential social and other services because of the realisation that government cannot do it alone. In the investigation of this nature it is therefore central to explore the effectiveness of this partnership as far as efficient and sustainable service delivery is concerned. Central to this process is to deal with the issues surrounding governance and transformations as well as funding. These and other critical issues will be dealt with in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE CHALLENGE OF SUSTAINABLE WELFARE SERVICES - THE ROLE OF NGO'S.

4.1 Introduction

To achieve the ideals of an effective and quality welfare services to vulnerable communities is an important objective of the government that could be achieved through the involvement of the NGOs. This nexus between government and NGOs must be mutually reinforcing as a foundation for the creation of a better life for the most vulnerable in our society. The purpose of this chapter amongst others is to determine whether this goal is achieved or likely to be achieved. In so doing, the study looks at the issues of capacity, responsiveness, and approach as well as goals of various organisations in the sample. In this analysis of efficiency it is imperative to apply the efficiency framework and thus ascertain particular challenges confronting NGOs in that regard.

Necessarily, for NGOs or any organisation to succeed in its endeavour, the intra-organisational factors such as governance, transformation, leadership, accountability and so forth are critical and as such cannot be over-emphasized. These issues are examined in this chapter within the broader context of better quality service delivery as envisaged by the government. Equally important to investigate is the issue of longevity or continuity of the services rendered by the particular organisations in the areas under study. There are a plethora of variables that ensure sustainability of the organisations and essentially the services they render in various communities which include, inter alia, resource mobilisation, volunteer mobilisation, legitimacy as well as relevance and delivery of services. This chapter attempts to cover these areas to determine the

responsiveness and effectiveness of funded NGOs regarding efficient delivery of welfare services consistent with the aspirations of the people, which are espoused in the broad government objectives.

4.2 Towards the attainment of effective welfare service delivery

The point in question is the effectiveness of the NGO sector in welfare service delivery; it must be stated that it is not ideal to measure the effectiveness of NGOs on standards that are not agreed-upon between them and government. The danger in this exercise is that it could result in misleading conclusions. This submission does not however preclude any form of measurement in this regard. In this study a few general measurements are important including, inter alia, accessibility, responsiveness, community participation and so forth. These variables are used to determine the extent of the effectiveness of the NGOs in question.

Perhaps to begin embarking on this chapter, it should be stated that in the body of literature the meaning of the concepts “effectiveness” and “efficiency” differ between the public and the private sectors. For instance, the public sector deals with issues wherein results are generally intangible with no real benefits to government per se, as opposed to tangible outcomes and benefits expected in the private sector. This distinction has led to development and usage of the terms such as “cost-effectiveness” in the public sector, which focuses on the satisfaction of the beneficiaries. Since the scope of the research is confined in the public realm, the public sector related meaning is applicable.

It is noteworthy that for funded NGOs, it is essential that they deliver required services diligently and effectively to justify or motivate their continued existence and funding by government as well as donors (local and foreign). It is paramount for NGOs to deliver welfare services because the material conditions and social pathologies, which characterised apartheid, are still prevalent in the South African society today. The degree of effectiveness in rendering the necessary services, which must be accessible and responsive to the material conditions of the people, cannot be compromised. The state indeed has improved the structural configurations to accommodate NGOs and ensure that they deliver on their responsibility. This sentiment is well expressed by Allwood (1992:33), “The effectiveness of NGOs is enhanced by the space created for them by good administrative and government structures, in which they can thrive.” The legal, fiscal, institutional as well as the political environment has been made conducive for NGOs to flourish and to try to close the social inequities created by apartheid in an effective and efficient manner. To this end, NGOs must strategically re-position themselves and develop developmentally sound programmes that address the plight of the people.

There is an array of social ills and scars that are legacies of apartheid in South Africa, hence NGOs are operating in a multi-faceted environment where they need to be dynamic in their operations. In the light of this, Allwood (1992:33) asserts that NGOs must balance their abilities and strengths to the services they offer rather than attempting to be all things to all people. They further stipulate that NGOs should network with other agencies to provide a holistic service. In his analysis of NGO effectiveness, Brian Smith makes the following observations that NGOs are generally cost-effective, they by-pass Government bureaucracies and deal directly with the poor,

they support private indigenous institutions and thus promote local self-reliance (Allwood, 1992:33). However, the author further suggests that there is a necessity for proof of effectiveness of NGOs before it is assumed that they provide an effective aid delivery system. Most notably, Motala et al ...unnumbered) made the following findings regarding delivery effectiveness:

- The sector is leveraging international and other sources of funding which would not necessarily be available to the state.
- NGOs have the ability to charge lower rates, draw on pool of existing resources within the organisation (though not necessarily directly involved in the particular programme), build on existing relationships and networks and thereby add value to a project. This may even go so far as to subsidize the project with other resources (without necessarily considering this to be subsidisation).
- The state is actually providing subsidy to meet its statutory obligations because the NGO sector is filling the key gaps with its own resources. Even where the state makes a contribution, via a subsidy or contract, the value of the input received from NGOs far exceeds the costs to the state.

Virtually all NGOs partaking in this research echoed these sentiments particularly regarding insufficient government funding to meet their obligations to the communities they serve. It is noteworthy that in the Western Cape generally there is not parity regarding capacity and the financial muscle amongst NGOs in the welfare system which may hinder delivery effectiveness for some.

Primarily, there are numerous preconditions for effective and efficient service delivery for the NGO sector. The most important and perhaps obvious pre-condition is organisational efficiency

and ability to adapt. As Browe (1999:14) remarks, “The weak organizational structures of many NGOs combined with a resistance to restructuring also tended to compromise the efficiency of NGO operations.” Referring to the NGO sector, Allwood also shares the same sentiment, as he concludes “However, to be effective they will have to change as the environment is changing, and exhibit an ability to network effectively, define their own critical objectives and exhibit a professionalism appropriate to significant community based organisations” (1992:34). These considerations and pre-conditions are critical for NGOs to internalise and thus respond to the diverse and dynamic challenges they confront. This part of the chapter forms the basis for the next section on the transformation of NGOs themselves.

4.3 The role of NGOs in social transformation

While the distance widens between apartheid years and the new democratic order, society in general is still grappling with the fundamental issues of social transformation and development. Notably, some profound advances have been made in attempting to transform government driven service delivery to redress the ramifications of the past, however other sectors in society leave a lot to be desired. Social exclusion is a prevailing problem confronting the South African society and efforts to ensure more social integration are undermined by poverty, unemployment and disease, and in this regard NGOs can play a tremendous role to ensure social justice. In recognition of these facts, the Minister of Social Development, Dr Zola Skweyiya called for stronger partnerships between government and civil society in order to address the challenge of social cohesion in South Africa’s second decade of democracy and realise “a South Africa that truly belongs to all” (www.info.gov.za / 10 April 2005). South Africa emerged from a racially

divided past and now faces a mammoth task of integration, diversity, equality, equity and empowerment in order to bring the society into a normal society. The discriminatory policies of the past invariably emerged in all spheres of life hence the prevalence of racially-biased service delivery which characterised South Africa 12 years ago. The White Paper for Social Welfare of 1997 emphasizes this point, “Racial, gender, sectoral and geographic disparities have created significant distortions in the delivery system. In general welfare service provision has an urban and racial bias.”

The centrality of the problem necessitates application of corrective measures consistent with the national underpinning imperatives of transformation to create a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa. In order to achieve true social justice, NGOs must relentlessly heighten transformation to reflect the demographics of the country, respond to challenges facing the communities they serve and invest in social capital. The approach to social development must also be radically transformed because the services are currently supply-driven rather than demand driven, therefore accurate analysis of the community eminent problems is necessary before embarking on a programme and supplying funds. To drive the point home, African townships and rural districts have fewer or no facilities compared to their more affluent urban counterparts. “Services must actively promote justice by redressing the existing inequalities in the availability and accessibility of resources” (Draft Policy Framework for Developmental Social Welfare, 2001:2). Equity in distribution of resources and services is far from acceptable given the material conditions inflicted by the previous government.

Importantly, on the part of government transformation, the funding formula must be changed to close the gaps created by our past which inherently resemble the race, gender and class, as well

as rural and urban disparities of the past. This urgent need to change the financing formula is based on the fact that some well-off organisations that have more external funding, charge more from beneficiaries, have all necessary support facilities but still get more funding from government while struggling organisations get less. Stellenbosch presents a classic case where some organisations are so well resourced such that they fail to grasp the necessity for transformation which is clearly entrenched in the constitution. This situation undermines efforts to transform the welfare system in this country as it continues to reinforce the apartheid disparities.

4.4 Enhancing governance

The cornerstones of democracy are governance, participation, leadership and accountability which are extremely important and must correspond with the transformation process as well as sustainability. The central issues in this discussion are amongst others, that NGOs institute programmes as an intervention to a prevailing problem in the community, therefore the role of the community itself becomes paramount in the process as they must effectively become active participants and not mere passive beneficiaries. Participation refers to people involved to lesser or greater degree, in organisations indirectly or directly concerned with the decision-making about implementation of development (Roodt, 2001: 469). The participatory component is critical for people to exercise their role in the decision-making process and is not just be co-opted to already made decisions. The important issue is that communities must gain power to be able to sanction certain actions as part of the broad development. Participation invariably creates more room for accountability and accessibility of the leadership as well as services to the community.

The starting point for creation of accountable and accessible leadership is primarily to establish democratically elected and committed structures, for instance, in the context of NGOs, election of the board must clearly be democratic and representative. Regarding these critical issues and the multiplicity of actors and tension during the transition in South Africa, Allwood (1992:31) asked, “How will NGOs institute accountability and evaluation procedures which will enable open declaration and sharing of information and activities, to enable objective scrutiny by interested parties.” Broad-based community participation is crucial to hold the elected member of the board accountable for the activities of the organisation through regular meetings because they have a moral responsibility to maintain such linkages. To reiterate this view, MacRobert (1992:37) asserts, “I repeat the need to develop a constant link with the communities which they serve. This is part of the consultative process – as opposed to being prescriptive”. Furthermore, as NGOs are engaged in a “productive” partnership with government, they have an obligation to account and allow for evaluation to ensure effectiveness and efficiency in the delivery of essential services.

Various concepts come to the fore when dealing with governance consultation and people-centered or community-centered development approach. This involves representation and active mobilisation of the community to actively participate in their development thus ensuring that sustainability is actually realised. This is the focal point for the next section which explores the importance and necessity for sustainability.

4.5 Strengthening vehicles of sustainability

In the context of social development process, one of the issues of chief importance is sustainability including issues relating to financial and institutional viability, needless to say, with continuous improvement if deemed relevant. Institutional sustainability refers to stringent strategic and administrative systems and processes focusing on maximising the appropriateness and impact of services. While financial viability means sound financial management focusing on improving effectiveness and efficiency of service delivery through progressive and accountable finance practices. It is through organisational stability and sound financial practices that the organisation is able to operate effectively and therefore justify its existence.

There are various tenants of sustainability in the development discourse, which are inextricably part of the process, including inter alia, participation, empowerment as well as community development. In other fields of study the focus of sustainable development is quite different but the thrust of this paper is social welfare delivery where these three primary issues remain significant. In this view the debate focuses squarely on strengthening social capital.

To begin the debate it is important to indicate that sustainability according to the White Paper in the context of social welfare refers to “financial viability, cost-efficiency and effectiveness.” More broadly, scholars generally define sustainable development as development which meets the present needs without compromising the ability for future generations to meet their own needs (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987:43 quoted from Munslow, 2001:498). The sustenance and appropriateness of programmes and more so, the

investment in social capital is vital for communities to continue the path of development through their initiatives.

Social capital refers to optimum socio-economic development of individuals and communities to become more self-sufficient and self-reliant. This also lies at the heart of sustainable development because indeed there is a realisation in the social development field that there is a link between sustainable development and social capital. The following sections deal squarely with these issues.

4.6.1 Community Participation

In the development paradigm, participation is central as a means to liberating and empowering for the communities. In recent years this term has gained momentum particularly in the developing countries and has become associated with concepts such as people-centered development and people-driven community development. It is essential for organisations to create opportunities for communities to participate in prioritising, agenda-setting, resource mobilisation and initiating programmes and projects.

Involving communities through various means in the organisation and decision-making processes would undoubtedly go a long way in legitimising the welfare system. This fact is recognized by the White Paper as having de-legitimising effect as was the case in the past. Participation contributes to community ownership and commitment to further development for sustenance of their livelihoods, which is critical for social capital. Furthermore, for this process

to succeed it is imperative to enjoin it with practices of good governance as argued earlier in this chapter. Transparency, accountability, consultation, openness are some but the critical tenants of good governance which would enhance participation. Organisations should open doors for scrutiny by interested parties without suspicion or cynicism, equally important communities should not act as watch dogs but as interested parties to further develop and maximise the impact of the organisation.

4.5.2 Community Empowerment

It is also through the paradigm shift in the development studies that many development oriented organisations place emphasis on community empowerment. This concept in part is attributed to the Brazilian scholar Paulo Freire, rooted on the desire to stimulate and support people's abilities to understand, question and resist the structural reasons for their poverty through learning, organisation and action. Other scholars also contributed to understanding of empowerment in the development discourse namely Friedman who developed interest in the conception of empowerment in his discussion of the politics of 'alternative development'. Friedman (1992:vii quoted in Gardener et al, 1996:118) further argues:

The empowerment approach, which is fundamental to an alternative development, places the emphasis on autonomy in the decision-making of territorially organized communities, local self-reliance (but not autarky), direct (participatory) democracy, and experiential social learning.

Empowerment in the sector in question involves volunteer mobilisation, employment generation and broad-based participation. Community empowerment in essence is a process, which is liberating, nurturing and energising for the community to engage in the development process and progress through local solutions grounded on the experience with indigenous problems. It also involves knowledge transfer towards further development of local people to be able to grapple with the technical aspects of implementation and delivery of services.

4.5.3 Community Development

Community upliftment is inherently an important element of social development because hereupon develops self-reliance and self-sufficiency. This process of community enablement creates communities that are able to progressively develop programmes to address their problems. Self-determination is vital for such communities as they would be catalysts for their future development. Organisations in this realm should, therefore, be able to unlock opportunities for communities to access resources that will maximise resilience, and sustainable livelihoods. Skills transfer and capacity building are important knowledge areas that the communities can benefit and equip themselves to advance and sustain their programmes. The fundamental point of departure here is that organisations have a critical role to open opportunities to enhance this process but equally communities must exercise their power and commit to be masters of their own development. If the burden is placed on NGOs this dream is unlikely to come to fruition. The White Paper is however, succinctly clear on this point recognising that this process requires a multi-sectoral and multi-disciplinary collaboration.

4.6 Chapter Summary

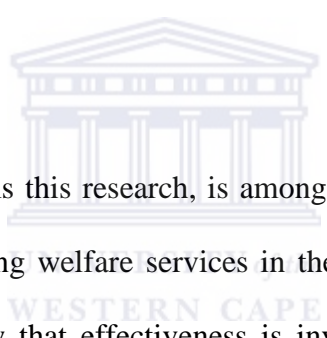
For achievement of an effective and efficient welfare system grounded on the principles enshrined in the White Paper for Social Welfare of 1997 including equity, quality, equality, justice and so forth, NGOs must adequately and progressively respond to the community needs through their services. South Africa and many underdeveloped countries confront enormous socio-economic inequalities, which demand partnership with civil society in order to overcome the problems. The effectiveness of NGOs in delivering the required services and thus achieving the government and also societal goals is essential. There is no certainty that this role is played effectively and efficiently, thus the chapter captures some of the basic issues that contribute to effectiveness and efficiency. Some of the central issues encapsulated in this discussion include transformation, governance and sustainability all of which contribute to effective and efficient operation and delivery of services. The issue that stands out clear is that community enablement is critical to create resilient, self-sufficient and self-reliant communities.

In order to give substance to the arguments and conclusions stated in this research paper the evaluation of findings that emerge from the study must be presented to support or refute some of the statements put forward. The following two chapters deal with presentation of findings and recommendations to issues emanating from the research, which is the primary intent of the study.

CHAPTER FIVE: PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS -TRANSFORMATION OF THE WELFARE SYSTEM IN WORCESTER

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the main findings of the research. Perhaps, it is imperative to understand the nature of the organisations, which constitute the essence of this study. Locating the history and origins of the organisations would help us appreciate their conditions and existence. To this end, this chapter traces the history of these NGOs during the apartheid era to democracy. This would enable us to understand these NGOs and their effectiveness or lack thereof against that particular backdrop.



The central question, which informs this research, is amongst others to determine the extent of effectiveness of the NGOs rendering welfare services in the Worcester district in the Western Cape. The recognition of the view that effectiveness is invariably impacted upon by various interrelated factors including governance, sustainability, relevance, responsiveness cannot be overemphasized. This chapter presents the research findings systematically in areas that impact on effectiveness that would in part address the problem area, but the ultimate aim is to provide information on the actual effectiveness therefore the latter is dealt with explicitly in the final part of the chapter leading to the conclusion of the research paper.

An attempt is also made towards highlighting the good practices demonstrated by organisations involved in the welfare provision. The lessons of experience are necessary to record the significant contributions made by committed NGOs in an effort to improve developmental

welfare services. The lessons can be used to improve the relations between the state and NGOs in other parts of the country.

5.2 A Historical Perspective of the NGO Sector in Worcester:

Throughout the turbulent times of apartheid the NGOs helped maintained the social fabric in many communities in South Africa including Worcester district in the Western Cape. This district resembles the features of the South Africa demographically as well as the racial inequalities engrained by apartheid which the democratic South Africa seeks to eradicate in an effort to ensure a truly non-racial society. Despite relentless efforts towards racial integration in the South African society generally and the social welfare system in particular, there are some conservative social welfare establishments that service exclusively the white population. The case in point is the establishment of the private service centre, namely Mooi Vallei Service Centre that caters for the white community. This unfortunate situation continues to recreate the racial divisions, which were the cornerstone of the apartheid regime. Needless to say, this situation perpetuates the preservation of white privileges, which actually defeats the objectives of the Constitution Act 108 of 1996.

Nonetheless, in the Worcester district there are currently 48 government-funded organisations that render social or welfare services to the community. Amongst these NGOs, five were chosen through a stratified systematic sampling using a random chart, namely Lingelihle, ACVV Touwsriver, Ceres Service Centre, Happy Valley (Bonneivale) and Steinthal Kinderhuis. The

purpose of this section is to provide a historical context about these organizations in particular and Worcester district in general.

It is imperative to capture the background of various organisations that form an integral part of this research report. This is useful in providing insights and adequate theoretical analysis as well as the practical significance of the new era in supporting the NGOs in South Africa. Equally important in this instance is the understanding of the set objectives of various organisations and determining their efficacy in their communities.

Origins and background

The organisations that constitute this research were established during the democratic breakthrough, except for ACVV Touwsriver and Happy Valley Service Centre, which were established in 1989 but had been closed subsequently due to inadequate financial accounting. Worcester District Office of Social Services rejuvenated the centre in 1999 through relentless efforts. This is indicative of the crucial role played by the democratic government in creating an enabling environment for NGOs to flourish. As a result of the varying nature and objectives of the organisations, they are registered under different pieces of legislation such as the Aged Persons Act of 1967 and Child Care Act of 1983. For instance Lingelihle Old Age Home is registered under the Aged Persons Act of 1967 while Steinthal Children's Home is registered according to the Child Care Act of 1983. However, it is mandatory for all organizations to register in accordance to Non- Profit Organizations Act of 1997.

ACVV Touwsriver exists in a racially diverse community and consists of three sections that cater separately for whites, Coloureds as well as Africans, which is reminiscent of the past segregationist policies. Needless to say, the financial support varies according to racial disparities that clearly exist. Quite clearly, this presents a fundamental challenge for the current government as well as the respective communities to ensure racial integration and thus an integrated and equitable social welfare system.

Essentially, these organisations have somewhat different objectives but there is one common denominator, namely they all seek provide support and care for the most vulnerable members of the community. The founding objectives of these organisations are critical to ameliorating the debilitating social-economic injustices. The following are some of the organisational goals as per each organisation:

Lingelihle Old Age Home

- i. To restore dignity, maintain nutrition and health status of frail and neglected and abused senior citizens and disabled persons;
- ii. Administer grants to beneficiaries, and;
- iii. Provide emotional, physical, social and spiritual support

Ceres Service Centre

Render services to the elderly as well as mentally and physically challenged persons

ACVV Touwsriver

This organisation manages three programmes including a service center, social work office and crèche:

- i. Provide services to the needy, vulnerable and the poor children and older persons.

Steinthal Children's Home

- i. Serves as a children's home and secondary school for learners with special educational needs.

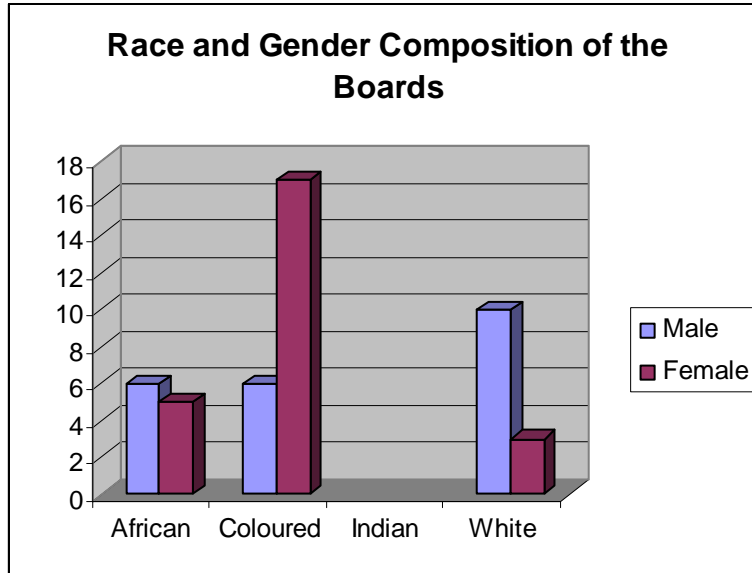
Happy Valley Service Centre

- i. To render services to the elderly.

5.3 The quest for transformation

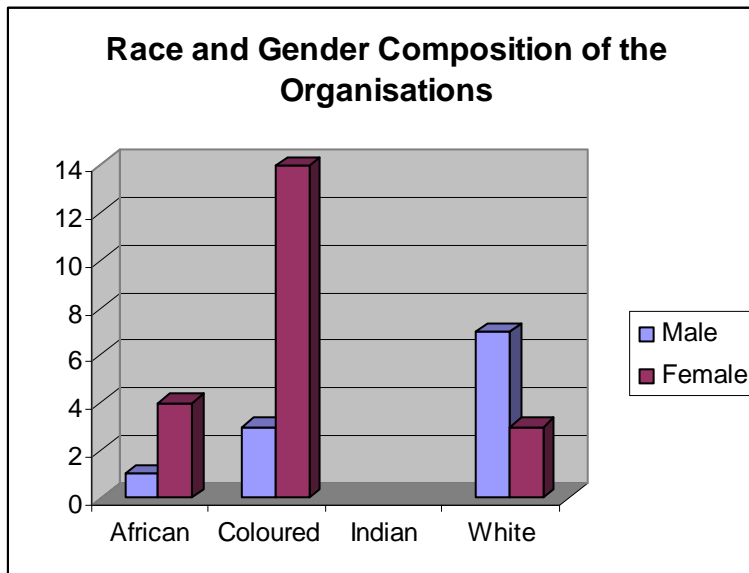
Since the advent of democracy in South Africa, emphasis has been placed on the transformation of the state and society in general. In this context, transformation of the welfare system to reflect the gender and race balance comes to the fore. Notably, individual organisations in Worcester do not reflect the balance both in terms of race and gender respectively, but collectively they reflect unbalanced participation of gender component between races with males dominating (see figure 5.1 below). In the Western Cape generally the apartheid ramifications still prevail whereby most centres in the province are based in the White urban areas, which lead to scarcity of such services and facilities in the Black townships. Inevitably the majority of beneficiaries are therefore White because of racial segregation policies of the past. "It is acknowledged that some organisations have made strides in realigning both their organisations and services with government policies and priorities. Regrettably though, this has not been the general trend and the pace of transformation must therefore be accelerated" (Department of Social Services and Poverty Alleviation, 2003).

Figure 5.1



The White Paper of 1997 is clear on the need to transform and ensure equitable resource distribution, accessible welfare system as well as decentralisation of services, which are central pillars of the transformation process. There is still no racial integration in many organisations' members and general members are still racially exclusive. The participation of Africans in particular both in leadership and in general appears to be very fairly minimal.

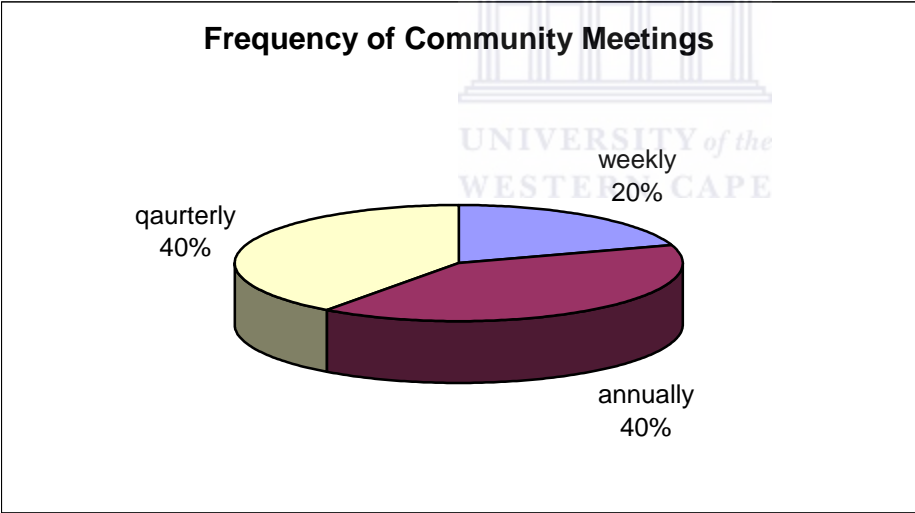
Figure 5.2

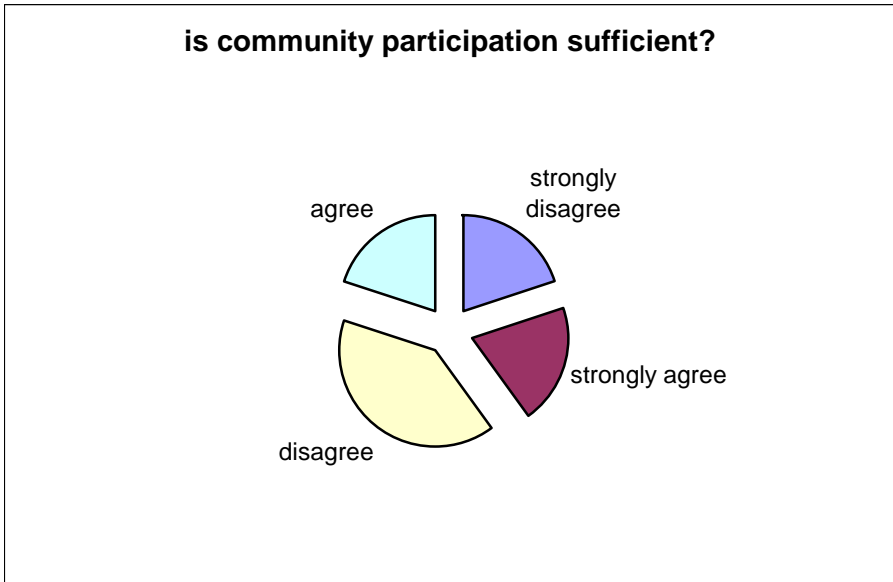


Transformation also entails changing from relief and welfare programmes to developmental orientated programmes. This means changing the approach to deliver and develop skills and livelihoods as well. This also the means networks must be developed to link the vulnerable and the poor to other services to synergise their process of development.

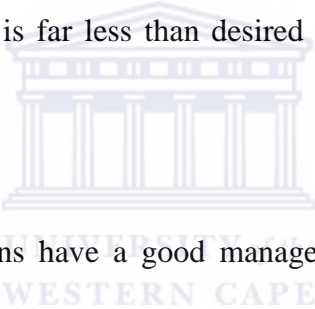
5.3 Striving towards good governance and sustainability

There are worrisome findings regarding these two elements of enhancing service delivery in the district. The majority of the organisations meet with community members annually during the Annual General Meeting (AGM). Only one organisation in the sample meets quarterly to report to the community members.

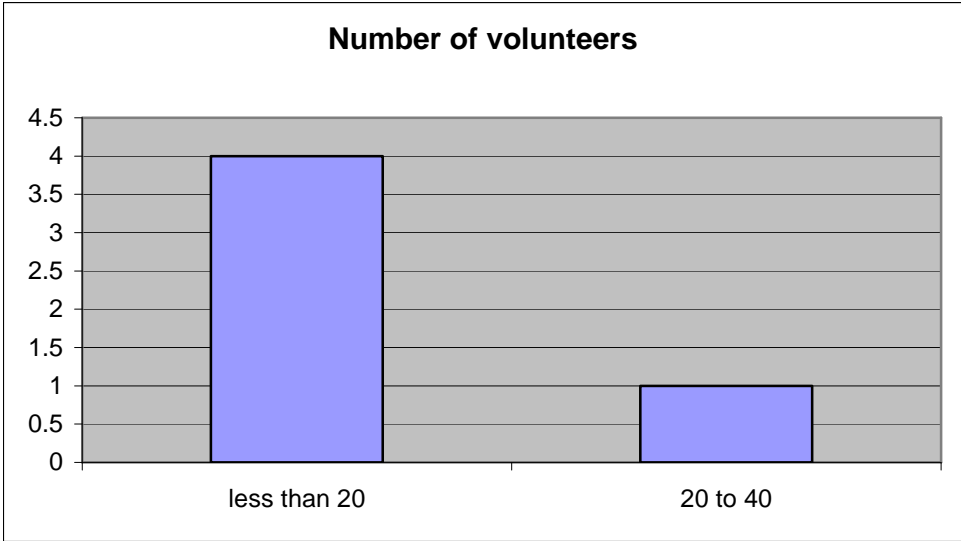




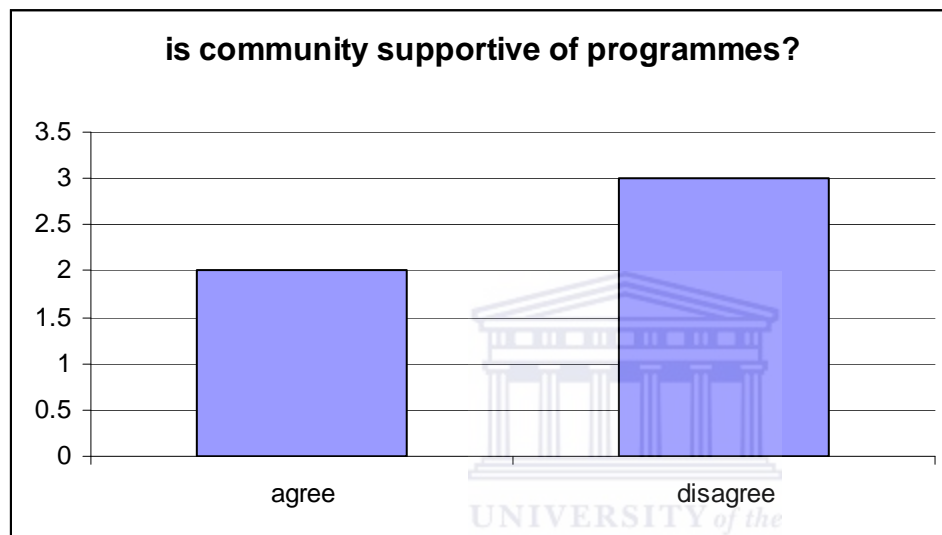
Community engagement and participation are ingredients of good governance but seemingly in these institutions community input is far less than desired to give effect to the ideals of good governance.



On a positive note, all organisations have a good management or organisational structure to facilitate service delivery process. They also attract a number of volunteers varying between ten and forty persons.



This research, however, holds the view that for sustainability to succeed, community empowerment and enablement are critical but the findings indicate that these elements are not characteristic features of the organisations. This is supported by the fact that all the organisations in the sample indicated that communities are neither participating nor supportive of their programmes. This state of affairs raises questions about whether the programmes are responsive to the issues of the locality and if the necessary platform is created for people to participate.



5.4 Financial viability

Financial viability is also central for sustainability of the organisation in the long run. Not surprisingly, all participating organisations expressed their dissatisfaction with the subsidy they currently receive from the government. They state that the services they provide often require professional help, particularly nursing frail people and there are not enough funds to cover the costs. In addition, volunteers who contribute to the cause are from time to time given stipends to carry themselves through.

Apparently, the amount granted to service providers has been static for virtually ten years notwithstanding the financial challenges confronted by organisations. Reports compiled by the Provincial Department state that some advantaged organisations reflecting millions in their accounts still get more funding while others are struggling to operate with the little amount they have in their coffers. This is despite the policy objectives to ensure equitable allocation declared in the White Paper of 1997. Some organisations have the ability to access funding from donors because of their clientele and location, which is not the case to others. The regular source of money for some struggling NGOs is government while others are able to get equal or more funding from the state while receiving service charges from beneficiaries and more funds from donors.



5.5 Integration and coordination of activities

Integration and coordination of services where there is an overlap or where closer cooperation could yield positive results is essential for organisations to initiate for the benefit of their beneficiaries and growth of their organisations. Perhaps because of the nature of the services organisations render there is no suggestion that there is any form of cooperation between the organisations.

When replying to the questions about relations with other organisations and existence of any integration and coordination, the responses indicated that relations do exist but there is no

integration of services at all. This is a developmental area, as cooperation instead of competition could yield beneficial outcomes.

5.6 Do NGOs perform more effectively?

Government roped in civil society due to the realisation that the task is enormous and it needs multiple actors to overcome. NGOs, during the time of discriminatory service delivery practices, played a significant role to close the gap and after apartheid they occupied the role of the state where the state retreated from its responsibilities. Government funds organisations to attain certain measurable objectives. It is therefore imperative to ascertain if they are indeed worthy of the funding they receive.

Organisations are doing considerably well in achieving their objectives but in some respects major strides are necessary to effect more social upliftment. Responses indicated that they are effective but cautiously leaving room for improvement. However, there are some features suggesting that a lot more needs to be done to achieve effectiveness including more community mobilisation, enhancing participation, fostering integration and coordination, and providing impetus to developmental orientated approach. While structures are in place to render adequate services and organisational capacity exists, financial muscle is not necessarily strong which might be hindrance to more effectiveness and efficiency envisaged by the government.

5.7 Lessons of experience

There are some fundamental considerations that could improve the relations between state and NGOs and thus service delivery. Considering the fact that the NGO sector was in disarray prior to 1994, they have managed to establish themselves as partners with the state in the welfare delivery system. Also taking into account the fact that NGOs are autonomous, they have to a lesser or greater extent managed to transform albeit at a slow pace. The important role that NGOs play in the service delivery cannot be overlooked, but what is more distinguishing in their partnership with the state is the ability to open their affairs to scrutiny by state officials on a regular basis.

NGOs in Worcester have managed to mobilize communities to support their programmes an effort, which is a good indicator for long-term sustainability. In terms of governance the community involvement in the process of service delivery is important and should actually lead to participation in the decision-making structures.

5.8 Chapter summary

The slow process of residential reintegration and social cohesion is evident also on the slow process of transformation regarding the racial composition of the organisations in certain segregated areas. It is significant that organisations understand the need to change the approach to welfare or social development towards a more developmental rather than relief. There are numerous challenges confronting NGOs in the welfare sector ranging from limited resources and

insufficient community participation. These and other issues hinder the effectiveness of these organisations in delivering the required services.

The situational analysis and presentation of findings has been finalized, thus the final chapter concerns conclusion of the whole research. The attempt is to highlight all the important issues raised in this research. Most importantly, recommendations to the challenges emanating from the evaluation of findings must surface to bring to finality the research.



CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION - TOWARDS A TRANSFORMATIVE SOCIAL WELFARE SYSTEM

6.2 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a synthesis of the central arguments of this research. The concept and the definition of state and civil society have been severely challenged from various academic quarters. The concept is problematised because of the apparent application in the socio-political and development discourse. The dynamics of state and civil society relations have surfaced and have been discussed extensively to understand the significance of such a relationship dating back from apartheid through to our current democratic state. The democratic government has established an enabling environment for civil society in general to flourish. The relations between the two have been in some cases collegial and conflictual in others, therefore the suggestion that the state and civil society are two opposing entities is challenged.

The thrust of the paper was on determining the impact of NGOs in the welfare system in the Worcester district. Some interesting points as well as worrisome patterns have emerged that need improvement including governance, sustainability and transformation. The developmental approach of social development must be embraced and fostered for beneficiaries and communities to also grow and fit into the broader society. The contradictions of the past still continue to haunt South Africa and this is evident in the operations and standards of NGOs in the Western Cape. This is particularly obvious in the realm of transformation, integration and social

cohesion, financial stability that contribute to better operations and efficient and effective delivery.

6.2 Recommendations

Stemming from the research and particularly the evaluation of findings a set of recommendations emerged which could induce improvements in the operations and effectiveness of the NGOs and also on the part of government. The findings are case specific, however the recommendations might be cross-cutting.

6.2.5 Towards a culture of accountability

Broad-based participation is directly linked to the notion of introduction of development-orientated approach. Organisations must initiate with their communities and implement programmes that are developmental in character, responsive to the needs of the locality. This requires NGOs to reposition themselves, reprioritise and begin ensuring that the programmes fit the community development profile. This invariably necessitates assessment of the community dynamics, thus broad-based participation will come to fruition.

Most importantly, in this process transparency and accountability becomes a norm because it is through such a process that progress is attainable. Organisations should be open for scrutiny and be able to account for the activities of the organisation. Equally, government and communities must not create a wrong impression as that of the judges but positively and progressively be

concerned about development. Organisations and government should not be embroiled on issues of autonomy against right to interfere but progressively tackle eminent problems in the system to give impetus to service delivery.

6.2.2 Implementation of financial transformation mechanisms

Financial systems also need to be revisited because of persistent disparities despite White Paper pronouncements of equitable allocation. Funding must be based on the needs assessment and funds must be redirected to beef-up those that are still struggling to maintain their operations. Needless to say financial management practices by organisations must be transparent and open for scrutiny. Submission of financial reports on a quarterly basis must become a norm and sound financial management would go a long way in fundraising to further improve the organizational ability to render services more effectively. Monitoring and evaluation plays a fundamental role in ensuring that necessary encouragement of good practices and intervention to correct would improve the operations thus service delivery.

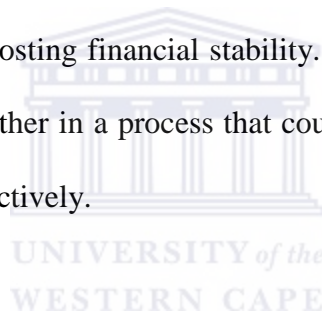
6.2.3 Facilitating institutional development

The department must establish robust methods to assist organisations develop their capacity and thus be able to deliver services effectively and efficiently. A thorough assessment of the current status must be finished and minimum norms and standards must be based of the categories of organisations thereby ensuring uniformity in the system. Experts must be deployed to ensure that

institutions are capacitated to deal with the needs of the communities in a developmental and sustainable manner.

6.2.4 Organisational collaboration

As organisations indicated that no form of partnership exists, it is vital to create those partnerships with other organisation with complementary services to further the goals of developmental approach to service delivery. This can create a culture of solidarity on common local issues can strengthen ability to effectively tackle local problems through multi-facet strategies. Partnerships would provide basis for sharing of information, skills and resources would also play a major role in boosting financial stability. Integration and coordination would also bring communities closer together in a process that could empower both the disadvantaged and advantaged organisations respectively.



6.3 Chapter summary

Partnership between government and civil society in this context can yield positive results, but assistance and trust from both sides may very well make the process easier. Government has a tremendous role of facilitating the process of service delivery and community development through sustainable means. NGOs must create opportunities for the members of the community to play a vital role in the development process. The areas where enormous challenges and weaknesses lie are those where the state can intervene are highlighted as well particularly in the areas of finance and capacity development. Importantly, the point of departure is the necessity

for partnerships and integration of services, which would create a local alliance to comprehensively deal with challenges confronting people in the local community.



KEY WORDS

Accountability - answerability and openness to public scrutiny for the activities undertaken by the organisation.

Capacity building involves training and development of the organisation and members of the community to ensure organisational effectiveness.

Civil Society – means the polity sandwiched between the state and the family.

Community empowerment - refers to the process of enabling the members of the community to sustain themselves.

Community participation – pertains to democratic involvement in the decision-making process, management and implementation of programmes.

Governance – means observing and practicing democratic principles such as participation, transparency and responsiveness to the interests of the people.

Non-Governmental Organisations - refers to autonomous, voluntary, non-profit, service organisations operating in the public interest for the promotion of social, economical and psychological wellbeing and development of the people.

Sustainability - means the longevity of provision and access to the service by the community.

Transformation - refers to progressive alignment of structures, processes and practices with the democratic developmental changes necessary to reflect and realize the constitutional vision of a non-sexist, non-racial and democratic society.

Transnationalisation - refers to the connections between “local” and international interests.

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www.info.gov.za / 10 April 2005