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Transition, Reconstruction, and Decline:
A Portrait of NGO Development in
Post-apartheid South Africa

Aisling McCormack Heath
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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other university. The thesis was written solely myself and is my own work. I allow the library to loan or copy this thesis upon request only.

Signed:

Aisling Heath
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC - African National Congress
BEE - Black Economic Empowerment
BINGOs - Big International NGOs
CBO - Community Based Organisation
CEO - Chief Executive Officer
CSO - Civil Society Organisation
COO - Chief Operating Officer
DONGOs - Donor Organised NGOs
GONGOs - Governmental oriented NGOs
GROs - Grassroots Organisations
IDT - Independent Development Trust
INGO - International NGO
IO - International Organisations
IRA - Irish Republican Army
KZN - KwaZulu Natal
MK - Umkhonto we Sizwe
MPCSs - Multi-purpose Cooperative Societies
NEPAD - New Economic Programme for Africa’s Development
NDA - National Development Authority
NGO - Non-Governmental Organisation
NORAD - Norwegian Development Assistance Agency
NPO - Non-Profit Organisation
NPEO - Non-Profit Educational Organisation
ODA - Overseas Development Assistance
PCRO - Peace and Reconciliation Organisation
RDP - Reconstruction and Development Programme
SANGOCO - South African NGO Coalition
SANCO - South African National Coalition
TNDT - Transitional National Development Trust
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION
1.1 Origins of the Research

This dissertation is a contribution to the sociology of NGOs operating in post-conflict societies. The research is based on an ethnographic study of an NGO undergoing change and transition in a rapidly changing South Africa. The research was originally directed more towards models of NGO activity as a possible basis for peace building and conflict resolution drawing on earlier research conducted in Northern Ireland. However, the study shifted a good deal of its focus over time into an analysis of the challenges faced by NGOs arising from national and global processes involving interactions between NGOs, post-conflict states and international donor organisations. As such, the research is not so much a contribution to general theories of NGOs, civil society and post-conflict reconstruction as a more fine-grained study of the practical exigencies faced by one NGO on the ground. This offers middle-range theories grounded in space and time, rather than a more over-arching approach to NGOs or global civil society.

The NGO sector provides a model for peacebuilding and nation building that is outside of the exigencies of the state and market forces. In a conflict situation, the Third Sector is often the only outlet for a people’s movement or to mobilise grassroots forces for change and democracy that is effective.

The need for effective conflict-resolution strategies has increased since the end of the Cold War with the emergence of numerous regional and sub-regional conflicts around the world. Scholars expect that the number of conflicts will increase along with rapid population growth, expanding environmental degradation, increasing income discrepancies between countries, immigration and migration processes, and the proliferation of conventional, nuclear, and chemical weapons. (Gidron et al., 2002)

The concept of fostering the development of a strong civil society and the various institutions that accompany the Third Sector has been presented as one such strategy. The re-emergence of the popularity and usefulness of the concept of civil society, or alternatively the Third Sector, since the 1980s and its subsequent growth has given way to considerable research both within and between countries and organisations.

1 Throughout this paper, I refer to this section of society as the Third Sector. The political and economic spheres are considered to be the first and second sectors, as it were. The non-profit, voluntary sector is referred to as the Third sector. The use of this term rather than ‘civil society’ distances the concept from the elitist connotations that ‘civil society’ can lend itself to.
Nevertheless, it appears that much of the research within sociology and economics on the Third Sector has focused on service organisations in such areas as health, education and the environment and welfare provision. Organisations dedicated to the resolution of intractable societal conflicts have received less attention. An interdisciplinary approach to the post-conflict needs of non-profit organisations enables one to look in-depth at these groups and the particular local contexts within which they present themselves. The fields of political science and international relations have long dominated the area of conflict resolution studies focusing mainly on states and state-orientated actions. The Third Sector by contrast has been somewhat underdeveloped by the social sciences.

The nature of the changing roles, responsibilities, and attitudes within the everyday reality of NGOs and NGO-ing is the central focus of this research. By focusing on these realities and changes, the research can then assess the assumption that small NGOs financed by foreign aid and run primarily by white people are in decline and their existence is being threatened by the processes of change that the transition entails. On a practical level, this research was initially informed by my own lived experience of working as a volunteer in the voluntary sector over the past ten years. As a student, I volunteered with a local organisation in the Republic of Ireland for four years, and then whilst living in Belfast, Northern Ireland I volunteered whilst pursuing my masters in comparative study of ethnic conflicts, conflict management and peacebuilding in war-torn societies.

As a sociologist, the discourses, challenges, and socio-civic dimensions that surround the voluntary sector have always interested me. Furthermore, I had first hand experience of the difficulties that these groups had with securing funding, filling out fundraising proposals, dealing with donors and the state as well as trying to constantly adapt to the changing social environment they were situated in. The story that I began to tell at the start of this research shifted during the fieldwork and as I was writing up my findings. It had become not just a tale of the state of the Third Sector in a post-war country but the state of a small NGO faced with a crisis that was beyond it control and with myths that it had helped to create and perpetuate. I wanted to uncover data that would lay the blame
for the demise of the sectors “glory days” at the door of the donors or the State or the
general global state of the Third Sector. However, the study illustrates that ultimately the
decline of the small NGO in post-war South Africa lies in the hands of all these people to
varying degrees and a culmination of the processes of romanticisation,
professionalisation, and Africanisation of the sector. In all of this, human agency ‘from
below’ still matters even despite the powerful influence of structural changes fostered
‘from above’. This proposition nonetheless requires careful exploration, including
clarification of the ways and forms through which agency is mobilised and expressed.

The ethnographic study of an NGO dealing with the challenges of the transition in South
Africa has highlighted the differences between theory and practice in the Third Sector.
Moreover the focus on the actual transitions that an organisation has had to traverse over
a twelve-month period gives one a fresh and practical perspective on the theories on post-
conflict reconstruction and the development of NGOs in South Africa. By observing the
way in which this particular group of people “deal with NGO-ing”, the data portrays an
organisation in both racial and financial turmoil as well as transition. The research takes
this portrait beyond a simply descriptive portrayal of the challenges of transition
providing a larger picture of a group of people within the non-profit sector who may
possibly be becoming defunct and extinct as the sector and the industry of non-profit
work experiences rapid change.

I believe that a focus on the discursive and social-actor aspects of a specific NGO would
provide a pragmatic understanding of multiple realities of organisational survival and
change in a Third Sector undergoing a transition. An in-depth portrait gives a realistic
unravelling of the simplistic notions of NGOs that one finds in much of the literature in
the field of Third Sector studies, sociology, and global civil society literature. Focussing
on a portrait of an NGO in South Africa as my central research fieldwork seems vital to
an understanding of the day-to- day activities and struggles of an NGO as it works to
achieve the transformative agenda it shares with its clients, donors, staff, and the state.
NGOs have many faces and different ones are presented to different stakeholders. These
different faces or persona are also influenced or shaped by the multiple discourses and
realities at play within the organisation, the wider Third Sector community, and the country as a whole.

In a post-conflict society reconstructing itself into a competitive and globalising democracy, these discourses and realities flow fast and thick. It is important to understand these processes and how they all translate into everyday realities of an NGO in order to gauge how the practices of the organisation are influenced as a result. In doing so the research can uncover the myth or realities behind the idea that the state of the sector in South Africa at the end of the first decade of democracy is a poor one and that post-conflict NGOs are embedded in a deep sectoral crisis as the literature or lack of it would have us believe.

1.2 The Socio-civic Dimension of Post-conflict Reconstruction

The ‘socio-civil dimension’ of post-war reconstruction refers to the site or continuum of interaction that exists between civil society, the state, and the population in the reconstruction of a post-war society. It refers to the role of the citizen and citizen action in this construction/reconstruction and above all the socio-civic dimension refers to agency. It is a widely held belief within the field of conflict resolution and conflict management that the socio-civic dimension of post-war reconstruction is a vital component of the economic and socio-political redevelopment of a country resurrecting itself from the ravages of war. Prominent theorists in the field of ethnic conflict and conflict resolution such as Jean Paul Lederach\(^2\) (1997) and Donald Horowitz (2000)\(^3\)

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\(^2\) One of Lederach’s most widely cited books, *Building Peace: sustainable reconciliation in divided societies*, examines the various levels of society at which peace deals are brokered and how these levels interact in order to maintain peace. Lederach’s ‘triangle of conflict resolution model’ delineates the power structures in a post-war society with politicians at the top and mid level to low-level voluntary sector actors towards the bottom end. In this model, grassroots groups are at the bottom. The importance of each of these groups does not decrease as we move to the end of the triangle. The grassroots groups and voluntary sector, according to Lederach provide the stable foundations upon which allows politicians to take risks, reach compromises and achieve peaceful resolutions. As such, his central concern is that of track-two diplomacy, which concentrates on the role of the Third Sector in negotiating peace in a conflict situation. Lederach’s book also analyses the types of leadership needed in post-war situations and how the various levels of leadership from community activists to international world leaders are interdependent on each other.

\(^3\) Donald Horowitz book, *Ethnic Groups in conflict*, is one of the core texts in any study of ethnic conflict and modes of conflict resolution. Horowitz’s other major work is on constitutional design in post-war societies and the role of ethnicity in post-war reconstruction.
have pointed at the essential role of civil society in peacebuilding and nation building in newly independent countries and those countries undergoing significant governmental and societal shifts.

After surveying vast amounts of the literature on post-war civil society, it was evident that Third Sector studies have appeared to neglect those small NGOs and community based style groups working in the area of post-war reconstruction. This is especially true in relation to small NGOs and P/CRO's (Peace and Conflict Resolution Organisations) and neighbourhood or small community organisations who are still in a state of transition almost a decade after the conflict in their countries have ceased.

Civil society organisations facilitate many different roles within the post-conflict society. However, one of the primary objectives of the Third Sector is that of filling a democratic deficit that has been created by the presence of war and the interim process of governmental and societal reconstruction. The Third Sector is perceived as being comprised of organisations representing minority groups or those silenced by oppressive regimes. It aims to provide this section of society with a form of democratic representation in a situation where democracy has been held hostage to a conflict or has never been able to exist due to undemocratic regimes, as was the case in South Africa.

It has been shown that in some conflict situations this section of civil society has contributed to the resolution of a conflict and the subsequent reduction of post-conflict violence through its work at a community level (Gidron et al. 2002).

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4 Naturally, there are many other aspects of civil society, which do not pander to these ideals. Organisations such as the white extremists in South Africa and the Orange Order in Northern Ireland are part of 'civil' society in that they are non-profit, voluntary, cultural organisations. Such groups have been accused of promoting sectarianism and racism, but do so under the banner of multiculturalism. As such, it could be said that civil society in Northern Ireland and South Africa has been mobilised to form a low-level form of civil war. This is evident in the rioting and state of emergency amongst the black communities in South Africa's townships and the war waged by republican communities in Northern Ireland against the RUC, British Army, and members of the Protestant community. However, for the purposes of this study and bearing in mind the aforementioned abuses of civil society concepts in times of war, it is only those groups within civil society that are directly involved in conflict resolution, community development and capacity building within the sector in post-war societies that are being analysed.
One such example is that of the findings of a comparative project on Northern Ireland, Palestine/Israel, and South Africa, which states that,

...in each region the P/CROs individually and collectively were able to at least slow the course of violence, if not hasten the process of peace and resolution of the conflict. In each region, they were able to present alternative models towards the resolution of the conflict that offered the public and political actors viable options to exit the vicious cycle of violence. Producing new cultural symbols, vocabularies, and tools to address the conflict was vital to 'unfreeze' ingrained conceptions of the conflict and challenge its seeming intractability. (Gidron et al., 2002: 221). (My italics).

The manner in which these models were presented to the public and to politicians alike and the relative success of such models differs in both the case of Northern Ireland and South Africa. Gidron et al. (2002) do offer some interesting examples in Northern Ireland where the intervention of P/CROs in the post-war reconstruction of Northern Ireland has contributed to the maintenance of peaceful dialogue between the two opposing nationalist and Unionist communities. Consequently, the manner in which civil society in itself is viewed within the society is vital to the reconstruction process and the level of involvement, which is afforded to the Third Sector by the state and its citizens.

Civil society theorists have been condemned and ridiculed for their seemingly 'rose-coloured' approach to the benefits of a working civil society, which is deeply divided along ethnic, political, or racial lines (Miller, 1999). Romanticisation is a problem in both case study countries. Much of the earlier literature and propaganda on both conflict situations was very romantic especially in relation to the literature and coverage of the Third Sector. This romanticisation has left a legacy in both Northern Ireland and South Africa. This research aims to demonstrate that this romanticisation of the power of civil society during the conflict has directly contributed to the present state of paralysis that both countries Third Sector finds themselves in today.

The 'glory' days of civil society were portrayed as powerful and colourful and this is a difficult image to live up to especially in the face of a collapsing peace process in Northern Ireland and increasing levels of violence and discontent within the state in
South Africa. However, with these criticisms in mind, civil society does provide a greater opportunity for civic involvement and presenting ‘alternative models’ in the process of post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding than either the political or economic realm can. While some caution is required in ascribing any key role in post-conflict reconstruction to civil society, this dissertation focuses on the claim that the Third Sector presents a more fertile source of ‘alternative models’ of reconstruction and nation building than either the state or economic realm can provide.

Equally, one cannot overstate their centrality either, as this again feeds into the romanticisation that afflicts the sector in the initial post-conflict period. As Micheal Pugh explains, “the social-civil dimension of regeneration has been a poor relation in peace building, and that without a balanced engagement with local actors on welfare and civil society issues, there is a risk that the hierarchical, and perhaps undemocratic, interests of external actors will dominate (Pugh, 2000:9).

Pugh’s comment becomes even more prevalent when one considers the manner in which external actors and the international community often view processes in general. They are often seen as top-down processes that attract mass amounts of ‘men in camel coats’ or ‘bands of the great and the good’ all of which have elitist connotations. The local social-civil dimension is often forgotten or totally excluded. In order to appreciate the evolution and development of the Third Sector in transitional countries we must first explore the concept of civil society and the baggage that such a concept brings to the table of post-conflict reconstruction. By placing, the theoretical along side the practical one can explore the real uses of the term ‘civil society’ within the processes of nation-building, reconstruction and as a unifying principle within the non-profit sector globally and within the case study country of South Africa.
1.3 Civil Society - The Usefulness of a Concept?

'Civil society' is a concept that has been widely defined and dissected for many decades and across various academic disciplines. "Civil society sounds good; it has a good feel to it; has the look of a fine old wine, full of depth and complexity. Who could possibly object to it, who not wish for its fulfilment." (Kumar, 2001: 142). However, Kumar goes on to say, "Fine old wines can stimulate, but they can also make you drunk, make you lose all sense of discrimination and clarity of purpose" (Kumar, 2001: 143). There is a tendency for one to lose oneself amidst the vast literature on civil society and become intoxicated by the 'headiness' of the various debates that surround the term.

One prominent tradition was that of the Scottish Enlightenment. Adam Ferguson, a prominent figure in the movement, saw civil society as a socially desirable alternative both to the state of nature and to the heightened individualism of emergent capitalism. Another prominent theorist in this area was the German philosopher Hegel, who argued that self-organised civil society needed to be balanced and ordered by the state otherwise it would become self-interested and would not contribute to the common good.

In his work, *The Philosophy of Right*, Hegel states that he saw civil society as being, "not at variance with commercial society, but building upon it. This meant furnishing civil society with institutions which would diminish the impact of the instabilities of the economy and incline its members towards participation in the communal structures of collective political life" (Stedman Jones, 2001: 114). A contribution to the *Sittlichkeit* or 'ethical life' of the community was essential to the modern economy and a modernising society. Hegel's account of civil society has often been criticised for its ambiguity and indulging in 'muddy obscurities' (Gellner, 1994). However, both these theories laid the foundations for the concepts early rise to fame.

Another early focus was that of Alexis de Tocqueville whose work on civil society has been highly influential and is often quoted in favour of the expansion of civil society. De Tocqueville's positive account of nineteenth century associationalism in the United States stressed volunteerism, community spirit, and independent associational life as
protections against the domination of society by the state (Kumar, 2000). He also saw civil society as a counterbalance, which helped keep the state accountable to the polity and effective which presumed that civil society was,

...a set of diverse non-governmental institutions which is strong enough to counterbalance the state, and while not preventing the state from fulfilling its role of keeper of the peace and arbitrator between major interests, can nevertheless prevent it from dominating and atomising the rest of society (Gellner, 1994: 5).

In other words, the role of civil society was to provide a counterbalance to the exigencies of the state and the market. The nature of ‘community spirit’ was an important aspect of de Tocqueville’s work on civil society. De Tocqueville identified three realms of society: the state, the civil society, and the political society. He classified the arena of private interest and economic activity as civil society, which covers the capitalist economy. Unlike Karl Marx, de Tocqueville added another critical component, the political society.

Unfortunately, their work on civil society did not influence policymaking or the politics of their day as much as it does at present. It was the late 1970s, early 1980s before the term came into its own, and a revival began. It was then that sociologists, political scientists, economists and philosophers began mining the “rich but highly variegated vein” (Kumar, 2001) of civil society. As Ernest Gellner explains, “The dusty term, drawn from antiquated political theory, belonging to long, obscure and justly forgotten debates, re-emerged, suddenly endowed with a new and powerful capacity to stir enthusiasm and inspire action” (Gellner, 1994:5).

In its present guise ‘civil society’ as a concept has been paraded and flaunted in many contexts, some more obscure, and absurd than others flaunt. The list of abuses of the term is long and criticisms of its applications endless. However, it is sufficient to examine the more controversial and contradictory uses of the concept and more particularly those uses of the term, that relates directly or indirectly to the field of conflict studies. One of the more popular criticisms of civil society is the egotistical and moral tone of the concept. Indeed, its earliest conceptions by Hegel and Locke viewed its formula as that of a ‘moral community’.
The word ‘community’ has become synonymous with civil society but it is the nature of that community and the moral obligations it imposes upon a society that have been criticised. Civil society positions its participants in a different moral light to those situated in the other realms of society. It is said that,

Civil Society is simply presupposed as some kind of inherent attribute of the human condition! It is the corollary of a certain vision of man. It is a naive universalisation of one rather fortunate kind of man – the inhabitant of Civil Society. In reality, he is radically distinct from members of other kinds of society. He is not *man-as-such* (Gellner, 1994: 13).

This idea of a moral community is tied to the very Western European understanding of the concept. This can give rise to many complicated interrelationships between, for example, civil society and nationalism, civil society and democracy in developing countries and post-conflict settings and, “whether a concept so determinately Western in origin and orientation can really aspire to universal and prescriptive status” (Kumar, 2001: 162). One area where this debate is most obvious is when we discuss the compatibility of building a civil society ‘ethos’ in a society undergoing a simultaneous project of nation-building, particularly in a post-war setting.

The continent of Africa with its abundance of post-colonial and post-conflict legacies is a prime example of this. Firstly, one must investigate the claim that civil society is incompatible with any project of nation building, which in turn leads to questions surrounding the interrelationships between civil society and notions of democracy. This leaves one wondering which condition must first be in place before a society can successfully reconstruct itself: a civil society, a nation, or a democracy. Many of the ingredients or conditions seen as being necessary to the creation of the nation-state apply equally to the creation or maintenance of a strong civil society base. It happens that, "modularity with its moral and intellectual pre-conditions makes Civil Society, the existence of non-suffocating, optional, yet effective segments, possible; but it makes not

---

5 The use of the term ‘community’ becomes more complex and paradoxical when applied to post-conflict situations. Civil society and the Third Sector have been forced to problematise ‘community’ rather than revere it. In relation to Northern Ireland and South Africa, and the role of Community Based Organisations, the uses and abuses of the term become even more acute.
only for a civil, but also a nationalist society” (Gellner, 1994: 106). This argument stands
up to most of the claims of incompatibility in a post-conflict setting, where the liberalism
that gave birth to civil society and nationalism had the same enemy, the state.

Inherent in this modularity in a sense of solidarity and it is this aspect of civil society and
the nation state that poses the greatest challenge to the rehabilitation of the post-war
nation. This point is more acute in relation to non-Western societies. To quote Seligman
at length,

The individual actor within civil society is seen in the East, however, as firmly
embedded within communal, mostly primordial attributes that define the
individual in opposition to the State [...] while in the West the idea of civil
society is used as a political slogan to advance the cause of community, to
mediate somewhat the adverse effects of the ideology of individualism, at least in
the United States, in the East the idea of civil society, if it is to have any meaning
beyond the days of samizdat, that is, the days of a relatively uncomplicated
solidarity among would-be reformers and beyond the temporary pettiness and
politiking of party politics – if the idea is to have any further meaning here, it
must be to advance an idea of the individual as an autonomous social actor and as
an ethical and moral entity, an idea that is in a sense foreign to the political
traditions of this area (Seligman, 1992: 203).

Solidarity as proposed by civil society and nationalism tries to become a panacea for the
ills of the state. The coupling of civil society and solidarity seems an inevitable and
unfortunate one because solidarity, “lacked an account of its ultimate political role”
(Kumar, 2001:155). In Eastern Europe after the fall of communism, the leaders saw civil
society as being a useful social institution, which would offer to unite all in a single
movement that would offer itself as a counter-power to the state. However, as Krishan
Kumar points out, they had no idea how to relate to the state, or what form that new state
would take, illustrating the interdependency of one movement upon the other. This point
is illustrated further when we look at the African continent.

John Hall has stated that, “Africa seems so condemned to harsh nation-building as to rule
out many hopes for civil society.” He goes on to state that, “whilst one can hope that
consociational deals of one sort or another can promote civic imaginings and so limit
ethnic conflict, there is much to be said for the view that the nation-state has been a curse for Africa...hopes that an ‘ethos of African community’ might replace the nation state seems terribly vague” (Hall, 1995: 25).

However, some recent research on African uses of the concept of civil society has proved Hall wrong. The main problem with Hall’s statement is that it holds to a very particular ‘western’ notion of civil society and presumes it to be an inflexible and non-adaptive entity. As Lewis suggests in his work on African appropriations of civil society structures, it is more suitable to, “distinguish the use of civil society as an analytical term from the set of actually existing groups, organisations and processes which are active on the ground” (Lewis, 2002: 1). This points to the importance of looking at civil society as a space that is constantly in flux. It involves a responsibility on behalf of those working in the field to recognise that adaptations are part of a negotiation process between all sectors of society.

The ‘adaptive view’ on the relevance of civil society to Africa, believes that viewing a phenomenon through a Western lens ignores the legacy of colonial civil society building and those organisations who base themselves on kin, ethnicity or local tradition. The ‘adaptive’ view, “tries to argue that there is a middle way between crudely imposing the concept from outside or simply abandoning it altogether as being inappropriate” (Lewis, 2001: 8). This goes against a very ‘Eurocentric’ tendency to limit civil society to its narrow institutional confines, which denies those trying to adapt it to other situations any sense of agency. In terms of this research, “in the context of regeneration and peacebuilding, the concept of civil society can be understood as building trust, cooperation, compromise, inclusion and pluralism through non-state associations of all kinds (Pugh, 2000: 121).

The consociational approach to resolving ethnic conflicts is based on a power-sharing idea. However, some criticism of this approach accuses it of reinforcing ethnic identities and thus entrenching ethnic blocs in deeply divided societies. In addition, the approach is viewed as being extremely elitist and rather than promoting bottom-up relations in a peace process it becomes a very top-down initiative imposed upon communities.
Essentially, what Hall’s view and others similar to it does is undervalue the role of ethnic organisations in helping to form a healthy civil society and more importantly how a sense of a coherent nation is also central to its success. In both South Africa and Northern Ireland, we have witnessed shifts on a local and governmental level to encourage organisations within the Third Sector to focus on their cultural and ethnic uniqueness. Naturally, there are dangers inherent in this stance also, which can lead to a position of cultural relativism or what Gellner refers to as the ‘tyranny of cousins’ (Gellner, 1994).

Nevertheless, the possibility for ethnic affiliations to take on both a public and private face contradicts Western assumptions. Given the increasing prominence of transnational identities and global changes one could say that,

The idea of civil society cannot be easily dismissed as having little meaning outside its Western origins (the exceptionalist argument), but nor can it simply be exported by Western donors and used crudely to build good governance in developing transitional country contexts (prescriptive universalism). By examining the local meanings being created around the concept of civil society in certain African contexts, it is possible to see how it has become part of an increasingly universal negotiation between citizens, state, and markets around the world (the adaptive argument) (Lewis, 2002:11).

Civil Society has come a long way from its humble beginnings in the philosophical pondering of Hegel to the practical applications of de Tocqueville. It has the potential to become an ever-growing albatross around the necks of politicians in the global and local arenas or as a tool of construction and liberation. Nevertheless, there is a sterner warning than that of Gellner’s when Krishan Kumar reminds all scholars and activists of civil society that,

It is one thing to want civil society; it is another to understand what it is. Of course it will help accomplish the former purpose if there is some understanding of the conditions of civil society... ‘Civil Society’ has become a slogan and battle cry in many parts of the world. That may be no bad thing. But, however much we may wish to be involved in its strengthening or recovery, we should recognise that there is a separate task of analysis and description that is not necessarily tied to promoting the project of civil society (My italics) (Kumar, 2001: 168).
This caution by Kumar is important, and is a flaw that is easily forgotten in the rush to be 'involved' in the promotion of civil society. This has many practical and ethical implications for the study. However, the task of analysing and describing the role of civil society organisations involved in post-war regeneration must begin with an exploration of how this sector is positioned within this field and how the local concerns of these groups can become global problems. As such, by focusing on the changing nature of the Third Sector in this globalising climate, and in particular in post-conflict societies, one can address these concerns.

1.4 Globalising the Study of NGOs

One of the central criticisms in the previous section was that the use of the concept of civil society models within post-conflict settings relies too heavily upon traditional models of the Third Sector. This has opened up the debate upon the interaction between global civil society and local civil society as international donors and the international community becomes more involved in the day-to-day activities of domestic civil society structures.

This research highlights the international aspects of NGOs in post-war countries in that the role of international donors and interest parties has a very significant effect on the Third Sector and the manner in which NGOs approach issues such as sustainability and accountability as well as resource allocation. NGOs are becoming increasingly internationalised with the dawn of the new field of global civil society studies. As such, by situating the globalising aspects of modern-day NGOs one can place the problems of a small NGO in South Africa within a broader, more encompassing international climate of change.

The description of global civil society to be found in the London School of Economics Global Civil Society Yearbook 2001 is as follows.

Global civil society is a vast, interconnected, and multi-layered social space that comprises many hundreds of thousands of self-directing or non-governmental institutions and ways of life. It can be likened—to draw for a moment upon ecological similes—to a dynamic biosphere. This complex biosphere looks and
feels expansive and polyarchic, full of horizontal push and pull, vertical conflict, and compromise, precisely because it comprises a bewildering variety of interacting habitats and species: organisations, civic and business initiatives, coalitions, social movements, linguistic communities, and cultural identities (Keane, 2001:23).

There are numerous competing discourses surrounding the concept of globalisation. The concept of a ‘civil society’ or the Third Sector is complicated enough on its own but when coupled with the issue of globalisation the fog surrounding the concept becomes even more dense. On a very simplified level, global civil society can been seen as a reaction to globalisation, especially to the rise of global capitalism and the growth of globalised economic and political networks. This ‘social movement’ of sorts has been referred to as “globalisation from below” (Falk, 1999:130), which distances the concept from the Hegelian ‘bürgerliche gesellschaft’ connotations that the association with civil society can bring.

According to Ron and Cooley in their article, *The NGO Scramble: Organisational Insecurity and the Political Economy of Transnational Action*, the notion that growth in the transnational sector heralds a more benign global civil society is fast achieving doctrinal status. This is based upon the premise that, within academia and the discourses of the Third Sector, this new ‘global civil society’ has become a new arena upon which NGOs, CBOs, INGOs and IOs compete for resources, discourses and knowledge. This ultimately leads to an inconsistency between the aims of these organisations and the needs of the people they claim to represent. They suggest that,

Scholarly assessment of transnational actors are largely, optimistic, suggesting they herald an emerging global civil society, moreover, is widely assumed to rest upon shared liberal norms and values that motivate INGO action and explain their supposedly benign influence on international relations […] powerful institutional imperatives can subvert IO and INGO efforts, prolong inappropriate aid projects, or promote destructive competition among well meaning transnational actors. Attempts by IO’s and INGOs to reconcile material pressures with normative motivations often produce outcomes dramatically at odds with liberal expectations (Cooley and Ron, 2002:5).
Undoubtedly, this new transnational or globalised environment is pushing INGOs and IOs toward greater competition, regardless of their starting points or orientations. Nevertheless, how does the international community, “devise workable solutions to the NGO scramble?” Ron and Cooley see the first step to this solution in changes to the manner in which this concept of ‘global civil society’ is approached by theorists, policy-makers, and practitioners in that order. They suggest that,

Scholars need to rethink their approach to the emerging world of transnational action. To date, most theorists have seen transnational groups as harbingers of a new, liberal, and robust civil society. We should recognise the powerful, if often unacknowledged, role of material incentives, competitive struggles, and tacit collusion with uncooperative government officials or local militias. Given the structure of today’s transnational world, organisations may find financial considerations more pressing than liberal norms (Cooley and Ron, 2002:36).

Are these discourses surrounding global civil society simply a manifestation of the frustrations with the ‘NGO scramble’ or is this a legitimate changing force within the Third Sector signalling the new dawn of civil society? Is it simply an “ill-fitting term clumsily in search of an intelligent object that is always a subject on the run, striding unevenly in many different directions” (Keane, 2001:27).

It is essential that civil society actors involved in reconstruction do not use civil society and NGO donations as a broad form of foreign policy. This is based upon the premise that,

...peace building should be exercised with extreme caution to avoid collapsing - for entirely different reasons, and with benign intentions - into the pitfall of last century’s empire builders. Facilitating human security, demilitarisation, justice, good governance, accountability, national reconciliation and social development, should not be driven by a technical inventory, a blueprint, organisational imperatives or the quest for an imposed normative order. The standards to which external organisations aspire for war-torn societies are often not only unrealistic, and therefore of dubious legitimacy, but rarely achieved in their own societies (Pugh, 2000:11).

Third Sector models upon which many international donors and NGOs structure their interactions and policies, often neglect the distinct cultural needs of the specific country in which they are situated or the context within which the conflict is set. Oftentimes a
non-Western approach to funding project policies, project design, and sustainability is more suitable and efficient.

At present, we are witnessing within the field of non-profit sector studies and sociology a growing body of work on African models of civil society and non-Western uses of the concept of the ‘Third Sector’. Much of this literature has been facilitated by the debate on the existence of a ‘global civil society’ and the idea of social partnership between the social, political, and economic realms within developing countries and societies in transition (Lewis, 2000). Nevertheless, one must be cautious in ascribing traditional interpretations onto these new explorations because,

…the mantra that civil society can be equated with democracy and non-violent solutions is open to doubt. Nor should one assume that Western concepts of autonomous civil society are meaningful in all war-torn societies. In parts of Africa, for example, the concept is foreign to traditions of political legitimacy. Rwanda had one of Africa’s most intensive fabrics of farming, credit, and religious associations, but these were easily co-opted into the ideology of racism and violence, even when they existed independently of the state (Pugh, 2000:121).

These new studies of NGOs and the Third Sector in African countries and non-Western contexts have all pointed to the need to focus on the local context of reconstruction and voluntary contributions to peacebuilding and cultural reconstruction. It is integral to any process that, “the ownership of peacebuilding needs to be embedded in local communities. The purpose of external actors should be to understand and assist the most promising conflict resolution aspects of local dynamics in each case” (Pugh: 2000:129). Without this sense of ownership, the people in the local areas lose faith in their politicians and become more detached from the process of reconstruction and reconciliation.

7 For an interesting discussion on the usefulness of the concept of civil society outside its ‘Western’ connotations see a paper by David Lewis of the Centre for Civil Society Studies, London school of Economics at http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/CCS/pdf/CSWP13_web.pdf. This paper illustrates the innovations that are coming out of Africa concerning the growth of civil society in line with the processes of nation building. Lewis also highlights how these two objectives of building the community in terms of the nation and in terms of the Third Sector are not incongruent and can oftentimes compliment each other in ways that Western civil society finds more difficult than its African counterparts can.
Much of the literature on the Third Sector in developing countries tends to focus primarily on the larger NGOs working within the Third Sector, and there have been fewer studies on the impact, role, and existence of smaller community-based organisations and small NGOs with limited resource capacities within post-conflict settings. This is a significant gap in the literature and has been the source of much criticism by those working in the Third Sector and from those sociologists working in the field of conflict resolution and conflict management (Crowther, 200; Large, 2001; Gupta, 2003; Van Rooy), who all recognise that, “small-scale local efforts can produce significant results” (Large, 2000: 2).

Equally as Lewis (2004) points out that, this literature is often also dominated by Northern hemisphere research agendas and fails to take into account the changing context of voluntary action between the Northern and Southern NGOs. To quote him at length he explains that,

...there are now two ‘parallel universes’ of academic literature dealing with Third Sector organisations in both North and South which are both different and separate such that they barely acknowledge each other. This is a problem because the two literatures actually cover many comparable issues and potential learning opportunities are therefore being missed. Secondly, this separateness runs counter to current interests in the phenomenon of globalisation as well as potential theoretical convergences apparent in North and South around such concepts as ‘civil society’, ‘social exclusion’ and ‘social capital’ (Lewis 2004: 10).

Indigenous low-level peacemakers are too often overlooked, or seen as cultural ‘oddities’. It is within the local communities that one often witnesses the most imaginative and resourceful aspects of the non-profit sector as this is the group of people that receives not only the least amount of recognition but also very little funding opportunities and therefore finds issues of sustainability and accountability to be highly problematic. The local context of peacebuilding and reconstruction offers the ‘survivors’ of the conflict to continue to ‘own’ the process.
1.5 Interested Parties and Sectoral Solidarity: Funding the Processes of Transition

The non-profit or humanitarian sector is one of the main structures through which funding are disseminated and allocated in a post-war reconstruction situation. The international community and donor country’s aim is to enter a conflict zone in order to contribute towards sustaining a lasting peace and rebuilding the country’s social, political, economic, and physical infrastructure. The concept of funding for the purposes of reconstruction in post-conflict societies gives rise to many questions and suspicions.

What is the nature of the relationship between the funder and the recipient? Who decides which groups receive funding and why? What are the criteria that warrant one project to be funded over another? How does the funding environment affect inter-communal relations and relations between fractured communities? What place does accountability and efficiency have in these relationships? How do small NGOs/ CBOs cope with the stresses which ‘projectism’\(^8\) imposes upon a community and the organisation? Finally, what are the effects of this highly competitive funding environment on the sustainability of the local community groups and the Third Sector in general?

Involvement within Third Sector projects can be political and controversial, and not always necessarily for the benefit of the ‘community’. There are many opposing ideologies and objectives to be accommodated within the Third Sector in these environments. Often the concept can be defined in a way that “enables funders to appear largely apolitical, to be serving the greater good, and to hide potential ideological conflicts within the global aid industry especially when funding work in other countries where war is still in the air. In doing so funders may avoid political controversy, but the fact remains that work at the level of local people and local organisations is highly

\(^8\) The term ‘projectism’ refers to the fierce competition present amongst NGOs working in the Third Sector for funding from international donors, domestic governments and largely in conflict areas from the UN. NGOs are driven to create the best ‘project’ in order to compete with other organisations. The nature of the contracts given for these projects tends to be short-term, thus requiring the NGOs to be in a constant process of drawing up projects, filling out proposal forms and seeking new ‘project’ ideas, which often leads to them losing sight of their original organisational objectives.
selective and thus highly political. The realities of practical relationships post-conflict leave no alternative to such spin,“ (Crowthers, 2002: 3).

Many of the larger NGOs and international bodies such as the United Nations Development Programme, UN Peacekeeping Operations, and the World Bank have come under attack from those involved in the reconstruction of war-torn countries, especially from those monitoring the success of their interventions and the consequences of imposing political motives upon communities in the guise of humanitarian efforts. From 1960-1996 the number of INGOs increased from 1,000 to 5,500. In 1992, the total amount of aid channelled through INGOs to the developing world was $8 billion, representing 13 per cent of all development assistance. In January 2002, the international donor-community pledged $4.5 billion in aid to Afghanistan for post-conflict reconstruction.¹⁹

Promoting and supporting non-profit organisations is an industry in and of itself. In many of these situations, the country is a newly independent one after decades of war and conflict. Thus, the country’s own government is often not in a position to contribute financially to the basic social needs of its population and it is here that the international community and foreign donors find their ‘niche’. Much of the initial funding, which is introduced into the Third Sector after peace agreements and ceasefires, is from foreign donors. However, as the country progresses further along the ‘conflict continuum’ there is a greater need to sustain funding from more permanent sources, and this is usually the domain of the domestic government. Foreign funding can play an important and powerful part in the reconstruction process. However, it is the manner in which, “those resources are offered, channelled, monitored and possibly controlled that will have a huge impact on how useful they are in building peace” (Large, 2000:8).

The Third Sector thus becomes the realm responsible for the dissemination and administration of these monies in theory but ultimately the budget allocations are affected

¹⁹ Statistics taken from an article by Anthony Judge (1996) and from the CIVICUS webpages – www.civicus.com
by wide-ranging considerations such as political affiliations, donor agenda’s, international climates and pressures of accountability and sustainability. This problem is summarised by Pugh (2000) in the following quote,

The social-civil dimension grabs the headlines but not the money. It has been affected by a ‘triple whammy’. Generically, within aid budgets there is limited provision for peace building, as most funding goes towards either relief or development. Specifically, within peace building there is very little provision for ‘soft’ local projects that have the potential to transform local communities (as opposed to ‘hard’ visible reconstruction programme). Additionally, there may be over-emphasis within social funding on fashionable causes (such as psychological projects in Croatia and Bosnia) (Pugh, 2000:116).

This point by Pugh brings us back to an earlier issue highlighted by Lederach that track-two diplomacy does not get the funding it deserves. Track-one diplomacy, which involves high-level negotiations with politicians, receives much more attention and is undeniably more ‘fashionable’ to the international community. The funding ‘process’ is a contentious issue that continues to inform much of the literature on the immediacy of track-two interventions in conflict situations. What this tension and misplaced funding does is it creates a highly competitive climate in which the various NGOs must operate. This has a knock on effect on smaller community based organisations (CBOs) and small NGOs that have to compete and lobby hard against the larger and more ‘accountable’ NGOs.

The initial period after the war has been resolved is the period when NGOs compete the hardest to get relief contracts and subsequent reconstruction contracts with international bodies, which involves ‘remobilising’ funds from foreign donors. The sense of competition can create dysfunction and disharmony within the Third Sector and thus creates a new form of conflict, which manifests itself as an ideological and financial war far bloodier than the actual war they had previously experienced. In their study of the nature of NGOs in two post-war situations, Ron and Cooley (2002) observed that,

If International Organisations and INGOs (International Non-Governmental Organisations) were members of a purely normatively driven and robust global civil society, we might expect them to cooperate, pool resources, and share information. There are good theoretical reasons, however, to believe that the
opposite may occur due to the *multiple-principles problem*. The more contractors there are the more each organisation’s position within the market seems insecure. As a result, some organisations may seek to undermine competitors, conceal information, and act unilaterally. Rather than burden and cost sharing, this generates project duplication, waste, incompatible goals, and collective inefficiencies (Cooley and Ron, 2002: 16) (My italics).

Cooley and Ron take a ‘materialist’ approach to the analysis of NGOs involved in reconstruction in order to, “identify the political economy of relations amongst transnational actors which includes agency problems, competitive contracts and multiple principles which generate incentives promoting self-interested behaviour, intense competition and poor project implementation” (Cooley and Ron, 2002: 18). They point to the ‘multiple-principles problem’, which is created by the tense and fickle donor funding market. This implies that civil society becomes so immersed in competing for funding, dreaming up project ideas and being creative with funds renewal proposals that they neglect not only the projects and the original cause for which it was deemed but also the very people they aim to help. They find themselves in a situation where,

The challenge of accountability leads many organisations to jump through hoops to justify their spending of very small amounts of money, often to the detriment of the work itself. The increasing complexity of application forms and lack of a common statutory form mean that organisations spend more and more in time and resources actually applying for funding, often unsuccessfully.

(Taskforce, 2003: 5.3)\(^\text{10}\).

The temporary nature of these contracts can lead to bureaucratic opportunism, which can undermine the integrity of the organisation and its original humanitarian and peacebuilding aims. Funders are often under pressure to act quickly, or spend funds by certain deadlines\(^\text{11}\), and where there is an existing relationship with an NGO, or where a

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\(^\text{10}\) The Taskforce on Resourcing the Voluntary and Community Sector for Northern Ireland is a body set up under the Voluntary and Community Unit in the Department for Social Development in Northern Ireland. Its mission is to *identify action to be taken to ensure that the voluntary and community sector can continue to make a substantial contribution to the achievement of Government objectives and to the well-being of the Northern Ireland community. The Task Force will identify what action is necessary to diversify support for the sector, in the context of an agreed definition of sustainability*. For a more in-depth description see www.taskforcevcsni.gov.uk/Documents/

\(^\text{11}\) This idea of having to ‘draw-down’ funds before deadlines can be very frustrating and counter-productive. My own experience of this is a case in point. In an organisation I worked with, we had to spend all the money allocated to us by a donor before a certain deadline. We could not save this money towards projects for the upcoming year. In order to get funding the next year you must ‘draw down’ all funds. In
new NGO is able to meet the basic procedural requirements fastest they will have a head start on other funding applicants. One effect of this, recorded in many instances, is a sort of, “hoop-jumping activity, in which NGOs successfully create the image of meeting funders' requirements and thus gain access to resources, whether or not their projected image and plans are likely to meet the promises” (Crowther, 2002:17). Such actions are reinforced when funders rely heavily on objective, bureaucratic, and often centrally produced criteria, rather than on sustained contact between skilled and experienced local partners.

This is often exacerbated by the relationship between the Third Sector and the domestic government or the political agendas of the country from which the funding is being received. In the case of Ron and Cooley's Rwandan study, much of the tension was with the domestic government, who controlled much of the aid that was coming into Rwanda and tended to favour groups who did not question their political agenda. Bangura (1999) also highlights these issues as a general problem within African civil society. In a paper, which resulted from the UNRISD’s (United Nations Research Institute for Social Development) investigations into reforming its funding and aid policies in Africa, Bangura explains that,

Organisations that derive their incomes and livelihoods from the new arrangements in the public sector may prefer to protect access and may be less willing to advocate political reforms that may undermine those relationships. Does this explain why the phenomenal growth of organisations in civil society has not led to qualitative changes in relations between governments and citizens, or the deepening of democratic reforms in Africa and, indeed, elsewhere? (Bangura, 1999:18)

The relationship between the state and civil society has troubled theorists for decades and the nature of this relationship becomes more acute in a post-war situation where a new government has been put in place. The relative strength of this new state can affect the subsequent level of competition and territorial bargaining within the Third Sector. It

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many cases, organisations are left buying an extra computer or fax machine or something they do not necessarily need in order to use up unspent funds.
appears that if the new state is strong it can limit the amount of relief agencies and the scramble for funding by NGOs (Cooley and Ron, 2002).

For example, strong states may be more capable of creating barriers to entry for foreign donors, which can lead to declining donor interest. Another way in which the state can reduce inefficiencies is through tacit donor agreements in the donor aid market. However, these obvious interventions are often overlooked or considered ineffectual in the face of immediate humanitarian needs and the necessity for rapid reconstruction of critical infrastructure.

The politicisation of funding resources is unavoidable and unavoidable in the field of reconstruction and humanitarian relief. Indeed any form if intervention in conflict situation can be viewed as inevitably political. This poses many difficulties to voluntary groups who have to second-guess the political imperatives of any funding they receive. One such donor that has come under continuous scrutiny for implementing political agendas in the guise of humanitarian assistance and transitional reconstruction efforts is the United Nations. It has been criticised for playing "definitional games" with the recipients of their assistance. Consequently,

It is difficult to avoid the suspicion that further exploration of civil society is bedevilled by definitional game playing by parties with special interests they are seeking to promote. Any classification of the actors in civil society has become a political act whether in relation to inter-organisation competition for resources, academic schools of thought, or in the political dynamics surrounding non-governmental cooperation with intergovernmental bodies (Judge: 2, 1996)

Therefore, one can see that there needs to be a level of accountability not only on behalf of the recipient to the funder but also for the funder to be accountable to the local community, the domestic government and to the principles of humanitarianism.
1.6 Sustainability, Formality, and Accountability

In a report commissioned by the World Bank’s Post Conflict Fund that aimed to analyse the distribution patterns of post-conflict aid and the various stages at which it is most effective, it concluded that,

...during the first three post-conflict years absorptive capacity is no greater than normal, but that in the rest of the first decade it is approximately double its normal level. Thus, ideally, aid should phase in during the decade. Historically aid has not, on average, been larger in post-conflict societies, and indeed, it has tended to taper out over the course of the decade (Collier and Hoeffler, 2002: 1).

The end of a civil war creates a temporary phase during which aid is particularly effective in the growth process. The World Bank report suggests that during the first full peace period, usually the first five years, and the absorptive capacity for aid is around double its normal level. However, due to policy a consideration the full affect of this aid is not seen until the letter half of the decade. It is during this period that funding is needed most but is difficult to sustain. Aid and funding tend to wane as the society progresses along the conflict continuum. Thus, sustainability is one of the core issues that have led to a significant change in relations between donors and recipients within the Third Sector. A tributary factor to this need for sustainability is accountability. Once a group can present themselves as being accountable and efficient, sustaining funding can be a lot less painful.

There is an increasing pressure being put upon CBOs and NGOs to be more accountable to foreign donors and their domestic governments as the market for available funds closes in. Moreover, there is an increasing propensity for NGOs to be accountable to their local funders in terms of why they have to rely on foreign funds. This is based upon the premise that greater self-sustainability will unleash NGOs from the influence of foreign donors. However, as is the case with the case study NGO, most small NGOs that were set up during the struggle had close ties with foreign aid agencies and donor networks and these are the sources of income that they still largely rely on. This has become part of the perceived crisis within the Third Sector in South Africa, where issues of sustainability
and accountability are inextricably linked to the source of one’s funds, be it international donors or domestic governmental coffers.

Sustainability and accountability are not necessarily negative things in an organisation; in fact, it can serve the need for greater efficiency and consequently a greater capacity for an organisation to achieve its long-term goals. However, it is the manner in which these terms are presented to funding recipients, the politics behind it and the way in which it hinders the re-establishment of communal relations and peace building that should make it a source of concern for civil society groups. This was not always the case in the post-conflict countries of Northern Ireland or South Africa as Cochrane and Dunn (2002) point out.

In the 1980s or the earlier stages of funding, foreign funding was also desirable as it came with minimal constraints. Members reported that donors granted them a high degree of autonomy in pursuing their missions and activities. In particular, South African P/CRO’s appeared to have few constraints and very relaxed, if any, reporting requirements... (Cochrane and Dunn, 2002: 180).

In the current climate of humanitarian aid and post-war reconstruction, the need for sustainability of funding within the Third Sector and the demand for accountability is increasingly becoming a strained issue fraught with many difficulties. For example, Northern Ireland and the main case study country of South Africa are illustrative of this in that, the declining levels of satisfaction within their respective civil societies are directly linked to the fallout from the changes taking place in the very nature of civil society in post-conflict settings (Cochrane and Dunn, 2002; Gidron et. al. 2002). Professionalising the sector is yet another symptom of the transition and a necessary process that the sector must embrace in order to survive.

One of the main components of this ‘process’, that the voluntary and community groups aim for, is public participation and projects that extend beyond administrative capacities. To the voluntary the term ‘process’ is more than just checks and balances, discourses and political agendas, it’s about getting communities and individuals back on their feet again.

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and finding new and sustainable ways of reintegrating fractured communities torn apart by decades of conflict. Nevertheless, these ‘checks and balances’ can make or break organisations, especially smaller NGOs. For example, in the townships in South Africa, some communities have no running water yet the P/CROs and CBOs in the area are expected to set up offices with funding for equipment.

One such group I encountered during my own volunteer work was in Khayelitsha, Cape Town in February 2002. This group had a computer but only one person could use it and this person was only in the office one day a week. Meanwhile the reconciliatory work that this group was doing had to end as they had run out of funds to employ the counsellors and mediators they needed. The computer represents the need for these small community groups to modernise but it also illustrates the need for a balance between structural funding and social funds. It is as if two different languages have to be used in these groups, one tongue to be accountable with to the funders and another with which to communicate the needs of the community as a whole. The following quote from Michael Pugh illustrates this problem,

Capacity building is a process that encourages communities not only to realise immediate survival goals but also to envisage change, and to consider whether proposals contribute to that change. Project design, feedback, evaluation seems to be least open to public participation and is often not available publicly. In some instances, this might be characterised as neo-imperial relationship, with implementers acting as the local agents of donors. The implementer effectively says to the community: ‘tell us what you know so that we can help, but we alone have the means and skills to design and evaluate’; whereas the message to the donor is: ‘this is what we have done, the auditor is welcome to call’ (Pugh, 2000:128).

This quote also highlights the problem of ownership of the ‘process’ within these fractured communities. What Pugh does which is important in any analysis of post-war regeneration is address the inconsistencies in the ‘process’ of post-war regeneration and he examines how these inconsistencies do the most damage at the lower level of civil society organisations. In these organisations the development of objectives, needs assessments and goals are developed in a very bottom-up way but the funding,
accountability and management becomes top-down from the funders and the government which fuels these problems with 'process'.

In the communities that are fractured along ethnic, economic and cultural lines 'ownership' of the peacebuilding efforts and the funding contracts is highly contentious and competitive. This makes the demands for accountability more acute where there is essentially a power struggle of definitional game playing. Accountability is multifaceted. It is a high priority for implementers because, as discussed earlier, their viability depends on donors. The need for greater systemisation and transparency in the accountability of NGOs to funders has to be balanced against the deleterious effects of bureaucratisation and loss of autonomy (Pugh, 2000).

My own experience of sitting at local government meetings and on state-sponsored committees is that the local communities are often treated as dupes; blindly receiving funds for projects they have little or no say over. NICVA, a voluntary body in Northern Ireland, has identified this as a central criticism of voluntary sector funding initiatives within the Third Sector,

> It is felt that funding selection procedures should be opened up, simplified, and in general become more accountable and transparent. There is a perception that a small number of key people are involved in decision-making within large number of funding bodies. Funders should consider involving local people in their decision-making (McCarron, 2002:7).

Donor agencies often choose to align their funding with those groups who share not only their political and moral goals but also those groups who can more easily adapt to the language, be it ideological or political, that the funder speaks. Many groups do this in order to survive and there are circumstances where this has occurred to the benefit of the organisation. In some situations, community groups can be dominated by former combatants or governmental forces, therefore handing over ideological control to foreign investors can sometimes protect the organisation from corruption scandals or domestic interference. Judith Large in her work on the politicisation of NGOs explains that,
There is a great temptation to choose partners who are easy to work with: because they are English-speaking, or have experience of producing the required paperwork, or understand the ‘jargon’ of funding agencies, rather than taking a risk with less familiar candidates who may in fact be more worthy of support. Less open to criticism, perhaps, is the tendency of INGOs to choose local partners whose values they share. While such an attitude is understandable, since it is likely to support the desired outcome, it may be that INGOs should be more prepared to work with ‘the other side’ - those who embody more negative aspects of society - not just with the ones that give immediate hope (Large, 2000:20).

Once the contracts have been signed and the funding received issues of sustainability becomes paramount. In Northern Ireland and South Africa during the 1980s, there was a mass influx of international community intervention and funding in both countries. The money was pumped in to support humanitarian efforts and create a strong civil society base. In both case studies, the funding began to be reallocated to economic recovery once the ceasefires were announced in Northern Ireland and the apartheid\textsuperscript{13} government stepped down in South Africa.

However, as the report for the World Bank states, such funding has waned over the past five years in both situations and the international donors have moved funding to more ‘fashionable causes’, which means they are more reluctant to fund ‘process’. The problem of sustainability has become a daily obstacle for civil society in these transitional societies. Sustainability, as a concept, is difficult to define but should reflect the reality of the long-term goals of the community and voluntary sector.

\textsuperscript{13} It is defined as a policy of racial segregation. It was the policy of the National Party government in South Africa from 1948 until 1994. The word has its origins from the Afrikaans word for segregation, Apart (separate) heid (hood). Racial segregation and the supremacy of whites had been traditionally accepted in South Africa prior to 1948, but in the general election of that year, Daniel F. Malan officially included the policy of apartheid in the Afrikaner Nationalist party platform, bringing his party to power for the first time. Although most whites acquiesced in the policy, there was bitter and sometimes bloody strife over the degree and stringency of its implementation. The sole purpose of apartheid was separation of the races: not only of whites from non-whites, but also of non-whites from each other, and, among the Africans (called Bantu in South Africa), of one group from another. In addition to the Africans, who constitute about 75% of the total population, those regarded as non-white include those people known in the country as Coloured (people of mixed black, Malay, and white descent) and Asian (mainly of Indian ancestry) populations. In 1991, President FW de Klerk obtained the repeal of the apartheid laws and called for the drafting of a new constitution. In 1993, a multiracial, multiparty transitional government was approved, and fully free elections were held in 1994, which gave majority representation to the African National Congress.
In April 2002, a report was launched in Northern Ireland that underlined the need for a more sustainable approach to funding the voluntary sector in Northern Ireland. The Harbison report outlined three central aspects of sustainability. These were identified as the group, the projects that are involved, and the impact of project activities. According to Harbison, the sustainability of the community infrastructure depends, not only on funding, but also on the development of supporting networks and the availability of technical assistance. He goes on to state that, "sustainability involves more than just the ability of a project to continue in the absence of public funding. It has different dimensions, including policy influence, the central one being the need to ensure that the most positive impacts are maintained, particularly in areas of social need." (Harbison, 2002:9).

The continuity of project activities is normally set in a dynamic context and is based on on-going assessment of need, evaluation of performance and changing external influencing factors. The sustainability of organisations relates to core funding and the capacity building to ensure there are the appropriate skills and resources to maintain their operation. In conflict situations civil society and the Third Sector are generally seen to be the short-term answer to mobilising a population towards peace. As the Taskforce on Resources in the Community and Voluntary Sector in Northern Ireland points out,

Voluntary organisations offer services which are flexible, responsive, closer to the ground and informed by local knowledge. To see them as always the cheapest option is to deny any level of sustainability and to diminish the chances of investment in quality and continuity (Taskforce, 2003:4.2).

One section of the Third Sector where these issues and problems are more acute is in the smaller NGOs and CBOs with limited resources and capacity. These organisations are often referred to as ‘grassroots organisations’ or ‘people’s groups associations’. These organisations are often beyond the reach of the Third Sector radar when it comes to sustainability, accountability and their role in reconstruction and enabling the effectiveness of the socio-civic dimension of a transition.
1.7 Research Questions

The research questions are informed by not only the literature covered in previous sections and the gaps in the literature, but also are also informed by the lived experience of the researcher of working within the Third Sector in both South Africa and other post-war countries. The nature of the research is that of a phased inductive approach that means that the initial research questions have evolved as the research has progressed. More notably, new research questions and angles became known during the data collection period and during my time in the field and as such, the research questions were refocused to reflect new data and circumstances.

The initial question, which this research began to address, was how peace and conflict in transitional societies such as the ‘New South Africa’ has become unhinged from the reconciliatory processes and the new governmental structures in South Africa. More importantly, this focus asked the question as to why civil society organisations, which are a huge industry in both countries, have failed to maintain some sense of cohesion in the face of socio-political change and national transitions. With such a wide remit the research narrowed its focus down to look specifically at small NGOs operating with a minimum budget in impoverished communities in South Africa which has been in existence for over ten years at least.

The following were the research questions that informed the research prior to entering the field and carrying out the ethnographic aspect of the study. Many of the original questions still hold true for the data that was gathered and the findings that were produced. They are as follows:

a) How have the structures of the smaller NGOs changed post-conflict? This refers to membership, community participation and the nature of the resources received within the organisation. In particular, the research sought to look at the demographics of these organisations and how the transition had affected the racial composition of the organisation sand its clients.
b) It then follows to question how have these organisations redefined their purpose within the community as they move from working in a war-zone to now working with a democratic state? Moreover, how have the clients and their communities and the impact this has had on the organisation’s service provision?

c) This bears upon the importance of seeing how the changes in the political and social environment post-war have affected funding opportunities and the role of small NGOs/ CBOs in real terms. This involves looking at the everyday running of the organisation and the type of projects that they do. Have they changed? If so how? Why the changes were made and more importantly were these changes organic or imposed upon them by outside forces such as funders, government, or local leaders?

As the focus of the research shifted more towards an illustration of a real NGO in transition the questions shifted also slightly to focus less on the comparative aspects and more so on the micro-level realities of being an NGO dealing with macro-level problems and challenges within the South African non-profit sector. In addition to the above questions, the following are some additional research questions:

h) What is the nature of the changing relationship between smaller NGOs and their donors? Are they still reliant on foreign funding or are resources being located domestically now? More importantly how have the changing demographics within the organisation changed donor relationships? In this, I am referring to the new staff structures and the addition of more staff of colour in line with changing local government policies.

i) How has the relationship between the new democratic state and the non-profit sector/civil society transitioned and more importantly how is this reflected in the everyday practices of surviving as a small NGO with scarce resources?

j) How have the everyday realities of working in and operating an NGO undergoing transitions in a newly democratic society?
k) What is the state of the sector as it undergoes such changes? What is the state of old networks and new ones? Is the Third Sector as unified and solid as it was once portrayed to be during the struggle against apartheid? If not why?

Moreover, the research questions then developed out of these organisational changes to examine what the underlying processes were that gave way to the changing nature of the organisation and the sector as a whole. The research sought to address the processes of formalisation and transition by looking at how structural changes in staff, projects, objectives, and philosophies within the organisation are reflective of a wider systematic for a policymaking on behalf of the government and changing interests or agendas on behalf of the international community.

1.8 Chapter Outline

Within chapter one, the concept of the Third Sector and civil society has been problematised to incorporate the specific circumstances that it has to deal with in a post-conflict situation. More notably this literature review examines the research surrounding the role of NGOs in these situations of protracted conflicts and now these roles have changed in line with the processes of post-war reconstruction.

In doing so, the state of the South African non-profit sector is contextualised within the larger schema of post-war reconstruction and the challenges that such a transition entails. This has led to the decline of the small NGO in particular and subsequently a general sense of impending crisis in the sector as a whole.

This research has attributed such a decline to a number of factors, including changing donor interests and greater resource competition because of a global decline in funds. Moreover, it has uncovered case-specific factors, which have affected the decline and the sense of crisis in which the sector finds itself. The research is original in that it looks at hitherto neglected everyday realities of NGO-ing and how this micro-level portrait reflects the larger issues at play within the sector, as well as on a comparative scale across the Third Sector globally.
The later part of chapter one takes this analysis to the level of NGOs and the specific challenges they encounter in the post-war period as they progress along the conflict continuum. Whilst chapter one outlined the general concepts associated with civil society and the Third Sector in post-war countries, this next chapter looks more specifically at the issues that NGOs encounter whilst undergoing societal and sectoral transition. It examines the changing nature of the Third Sector on a global level, changing relations with donor interests, sectoral change, and its effects on small NGOs, as well as the particular challenges that the post-war moment offers the non-profit and voluntary sector.

This research starts from the observation that NGOs and the non-profit sector have had a prominent role in peacebuilding and facilitating reconciliation in post-war countries and that post-war their role and significance diminishes. There are many examples of this, such as in Eastern Europe, Northern Ireland, East Timor, and South Africa to mention a few. After the cessation of the conflict, the Third Sector begins to engage on a different level with the state, its clients, and its donors as the sector, and the circumstances of the society in which it is situated, change.

As such, this section is designed to examine the changes that have occurred within the Third Sector in transitional countries. More notably, it focuses on small NGOs and how they have weathered the transition from post-conflict to a new democracy as reflected in the internal dynamics of the organisation, as well as the state of the relationship it has with its peers in the Third Sector as a whole. The subject matter is based on a South African case study and is mainly concerned with the trajectory that this small NGO has had to go through over the past ten years as the country moves from the apartheid era to the present day.

Therefore, by looking at the state of the sector as it moves from providing humanitarian functions through to their reconstructive transitional service provision, phase one can see how these issues have led to a deepening sense of crisis and instability in the sector and furthermore down to the level of the smaller community NGOs. In addition, by highlighting this process in Northern Ireland one can get an idea of the similarities and
differences that occur in Western European and African countries undergoing similar modes of transitional democracy and societal reconstruction.

As a result of the identification of the gaps in the literature surrounding these issues and the manner in which various theories have been underdeveloped, the research questions were devised. Given that the study is a phased inductive piece of research, these initial research questions did evolve during the fieldwork and initial data analysis. As such, the research questions evolved throughout the research process and subsequently appear more fluid in the initial questions than later ones. The focus of the research questions initially concerned the challenges that small NGOs and CBOs were undergoing at a programmatic and resource level.

As I became increasingly aware of the interaction between personal and cultural changes and sectoral transition, the questions evolved to include an analysis of this phenomenon. Consequently, the fieldwork and research questions began to focus more specifically on one case study and the interpersonal and cultural relations within it. As such, it became an anthropological study of an organisation as well as an investigation into the sociology of transitional change in the non-profit sector. The phased nature of the research process also affected the type of methodology used and the manner in which the data collection process evolved to becoming quite challenging and plagued by methodological angst, as I will outline in the proceeding chapter.

Chapter 2, the methodology chapter, begins by outlining my ethnographic approach, which starts from the notion that by exploring the reality of ‘NGO-ing’ one can get a more realistic picture of the state of the sector. Furthermore, the ethnographic study of an NGO provides an illustration of theory in practice, which is an element that is missing from much of the existing literature. By grounding the analysis in an interdisciplinary framework, the research sheds light on issues that are important to the sociology of development, the sociology of transitional societies and post-conflict reconstruction, as well as the practical side of the art of NGO-ing.
Drawing on twelve months of empirical data conducted in South Africa with a small NGO, the chapter examines not only the types of data collection methods used but also the ethical and personal questions and issues that were consistently raised throughout the process. This is also due to the main data collection method of participant observation, which gave rise to many methodological challenges, such as the level of inter-personal relationships I developed with the case study organisation and also the expectations involved between the case study organisation and the researcher with regards to openness, confidentiality and the use of organisational knowledge and behaviours.

As a result of the onslaught ethical dilemmas relating to the case study, the analysis of these issues became a central focus of my methodology and affected the fieldwork and subsequent analysis and findings, as I explain in the section on reflexivity and the incestuous nature of participant observation over a prolonged period of time with one particular organisation. The lessons learned and insight gained into the value of reflexive analysis and objective distance proved for me personally to be one of the most valuable and appreciated aspects of the research process and the thesis as a whole.

In order to appreciate why such issues became so problematic one must understand the dynamics of the TNU\textsuperscript{14} and why its particular character made it and those researching this organisation prone to such misunderstandings. As such Chapter 3 is a descriptive chapter of the case study and its intricacies. A portrayal of a small NGO in crisis allows for an exploration of not only the ethnography of an NGO is crisis but also serves to highlight the changes and challenges of a move from humanitarian service provision to new services and roles after ten years of democracy in South Africa.

Moreover, the particular missions and objectives of the case study organisation have also influenced the manner in which they have dealt with these changes, as have the personalities and philosophies of its leaders and senior staff as well as members and

\textsuperscript{14} This acronym was chosen as a pseudonym rather than creating an anonymous name for the organisation. This was decided as I felt any other contrived name would not reflect the aspects of the organisation that are important. The name of the organisation and the changes that have been made to it are central to whom they are and more importantly, the changes they have had to make to their organisation and its name in order to survive within the sector.
donors. This chapter takes us on a philosophical and programmatic journey of the organisation and looks at the main organisational structures, which have undergone and are continuing to undergo change. How these philosophies penetrate the manner in which they approach the transition and sectoral decline is outlined and analysed in Chapter 6.

The majority of NGOs believe that they have to pander to changing fashions when it comes to securing funding and donor support, but in South Africa and other post-conflict societies one has the added pressures of total societal reconstruction and changes coupled with the changing shifts of donor focuses and support. This has to affect the internal dynamics of an organisation and penetrate it to the core, which in turn affects the nature of service delivery as well as the 'personality' of the organisation on a long-term scale. Therefore, chapter four, places the case study within the context of the changes within South Africa's NGO sector.

Chapter four is informed by many of the findings gathered whilst in the field attending non-profit sector meetings, interviews with NGO actors and a sense of the sectoral transition and its accompanying crises and difficulties. It starts from the socio-political origins of the sector and its primary role within South Africa’s transition. Following from this we look at the challenges it faces and how these are compounded by problems of classification, competition and the professionalisation/corporatisation of the non-profit world.

This chapter also examines how these discourses and realities combine to create legitimisation and new categories of NGO within the Third Sector in South Africa and moreover how these shifting discourses create shifting fields upon which NGOs and CBOs compete for both resources and attention from local government to international donors. This situation gives rise to a new level of capacity building and sustainability models, which see the smaller NGOs, develop an almost symbiotic relationship with their new CBO competitors.
Chapter five, examines the processes of legitimisation and Africanisation coupled with changing donor expectations culminate to contribute or even cause the decline of the small NGO in South Africa’s non-profit sector and the implications this has for the Third Sector in post-conflict societies in general. In addition, the chapter is structured around the concepts of networks and markets as being alternative sources of sustainable resources as opposed to donor and governments who are viewed are hierarchies.

The chapter will problematise the concept of ‘Africanising’ the NGO through various government led social policies, affirmative action legislation, the rhetoric of non-racialism which has affected changing donor interests and has taken its toll on the small NGOs. This directly informs the problems that classifications and legitimisation of labels and objectives adds to any accurate picture of the sector.

The multitude of labels and acronyms available to NGOs in the sector makes an analysis of individual organisations even more difficult than it would be if the sector were uniform. The data uncovers a complicated and complex relationship that has emerged between NGOs and CBOs in terms of competition, capacity building, and levels of legitimisation within the sector and how the idea of developing “African development for Africans by Africans” has fed into this competition and sectoral decline of ‘white-run’ NGOs.

Chapter six is centred around a more contextualised analysis of the philosophies in the organisation based upon the evidence gathered and how they are created and controlled by certain figures in the organisation will inform the chapters that follow, in that, it influences the manner in which they have dealt with professionalisation, Africanisation, and organisational change. Therefore, an in-depth look at the making of meaning within the NGO, the manner in which they interact with donors and clients and the practical applications of their mission and vision statements is central to any further understandings of the challenges they face and why their NGO is in decline.
The case study NGO is quite ‘schizophrenic’ when it comes to the way in which it envisions its transition and it relationships with peers, colleagues, donors, volunteers and its staff. The multiple realities and personalities of an NGO affect the way in which it weathers the various transitions that it must undertake, as well as how it deals with surviving in a rapidly changing societal environment. Much of the existing literature on NGOs has neglected empirical research on the ‘personality’ of NGOs and how theories and analyses translate into the everyday realities of NGO-ing. The data serves to illustrate that the real world of NGO-ing is far more complicated than the sector gives itself credit for and far more multi-dimensional than much of the literature on NGOs allows.

The chapter ends by looking at how capacity development and implementing change has implications for the case study organisation. In addition, it illustrates the practical application of the Africanisation process by highlighting the ways in which the organisation has adapted its policies and programme to make it more ‘African’ centred and subsequently more appealing to funders and local policy pressures.

Chapter 7 aims to address how these changes have affected the nature of the relationship between the recipient NGO and its donor aid agencies. In order to gauge how these small organisations are surviving, one must look intimately at their relations with their donors and how the various discourses and concepts that surround such an arrangement affects the nature of the NGOs work, objectives and internal management. The data has also shown that there is a disjoint between the expectations of the donors and the capacities of the NGOs as they undergo structural changes. These changes are in relation to not only their projects and core business but also to the organisation as a whole.

Donors must be aware of both the social impact and long-term effects of their funding. In post-conflict countries, the nature of funding swiftly changes from solidarity funding to economic development funding. This means that the funds that were once overflowing from over seas donors during the armed struggle, or during apartheid in South Africa’s case, have become a mere trickle as opposed to the flood prior to the post-conflict period.
The nature of funding has changed to the extent that the relationships between donors and their recipients in transitional societies have to be reformed, refocused and both parties re-educated. The chapter highlights the ways in which this relationship has changed and how it has evolved into its present state.

This is examined and illustrated through empirical data gathered from the case study as well as fundraising work that I conducted with the case study during my period volunteering with them. The research aimed to look at how relations with donors have changed in line with the changes the organisation had to go under. More importantly, the research wanted to examine why these changes had happened and who had influenced the changes more.

One of the main findings here was the changes being made to sources of funding as overseas funds dry up and domestic funds are being made available by the new government. In South Africa much donor aid that previously went directly to the NGOs are now being redirected to the new ANC government. There have been many complications and inefficiencies when it came to trickling down the monies to the NGO from the government bodies.

The transition from an informal NGO, which bases its objectives on a philanthropic and altruistic sense of service provision, to a more professionalised non-profit making ‘business’ is a difficult one and is symptomatic of the changes that a majority of NGOs have had to go under within South Africa.

The data analysed in the section concerned with NGOs as products and markets, illustrates how the case study has had to repackage itself to become a more marketable and ‘fashionable’ product in line with the new policies and expectations of not only foreign donors but also local and domestic government standards. The formalisation of the sector has benefits and costs, which are evident on a practical level within the case study. It also involves a remobilisation and a reinvention of non-profit networks and the
general concept of networking amongst the smaller South African NGOs who are now dealing with new solidarities and divisions.

As such, NGOs are being forced by external forces and internal competition to 'repackage' the transition to suit new state objectives and reassert power by putting the Third Sector in a more subservient relationship and encouraging it to become more dependent on local domestic funds whilst phasing out foreign funding. As the data on the case study illustrates, this is not an easy task and funding patterns are difficult to change given the amount of red tape involved and the Africanisation policies that are attached to receiving domestic funds.

An important finding from the case study organisation was a focus on how an NGO begins to re-market itself in line with the changes being made within the sector, its networks, donor's expectations, and increased competition. The case study data illustrates how an NGO begins to remarket itself and envision itself as a product in a competitive non-profit market. This is symptomatic of macro-level changes that the sector as a whole is undergoing and is doing so at the behest of the donors, government and the rising expectations regarding standards within the sector itself.

The data also highlighted that in order to professionalise effectively, NGOs, the networks of solidarity, and dissemination of information and support need to be remobilised and reframed within these new contexts and challenges. One of my main hypotheses that I wanted to test during the research was whether remobilising networks and strengthening marketing strategies imported from the business world, them would make a difference to the survival of small NGOs and their resource capacities.

Equally, one of the research questions pointed to the importance of networking and whether the NGO actors themselves could see how a lack of networking was destroying not only the morale of the sector but opportunities for growth and better resources for the sector as a whole as is highlighted in chapter four. The chapter concludes by looking at Powell's (1990) models of network forms of exchange and asks if the decline f the small
NGO can be avoided by rethinking or adapting these principles to South Africa’s non-profit sector. More importantly, it asks the question if profitability and reciprocity are the new buzzwords for small NGOs in South Africa and if both ideals can co-exist within an NGO struggling to survive both structurally and financially.

Chapter 8 concludes the thesis by assessing the positives and negatives associated with such processes and the changes they imply. Despite the positive nature of some of these changes this study looks at how these small NGO cannot cope with such changes and why they have not been able to change their capacity levels to meet the challenges of transition. The ethnographic study of such an NGO in transition assesses empirically these processes in action and how they combine to create a living crisis within an organisation that has struggled to continue its work throughout the apartheid regime and beyond into the new South Africa. By looking at the processes of the transition in action and the roles of the donors, the NGO actors and the other sectors in this change one can then assess if indeed the sector is in decline and what the future holds for the small white run donor dependent NGO in South Africa’s non-profit sector.
CHAPTER TWO
METHODOLOGY
2.1 Conceptualising ‘The Field’: A Phased Inductive Ethnographic Study

If research is a form of art, this is the case precisely because it demands a creative synthesis and an energetic contribution toward the creation of what is called the 'scientific object of study'. Research is an art of bringing things into being and the 'poetics' of sociology is rather a way of living one's life. To put it in a different way, it is not always a prompt opening to a series of underlying and obscure social trajectories. It is, in most cases, an intentional surrendering of the self to the unpredictability of an 'unknown and ambiguous world' (Hammersley and Gomm, 1997: 4.4).

The above quote points to the everyday reality of research as a story to be told, a way of “living ones life.” This research arose as a result of my own lived experience of working, volunteering and observing the NGO sector in countries recovering from conflict situations. It also emerged out of my own sense of frustration and curiosity; out of the lived experience of my peers in the NGO sector and out of a need to fill in the gaps in a relatively new field of study. Consequently, this study is the sum of these lived realities, of a year of participant observation, of personal narratives, of documentary research and literature reviews.

This research uses a phased inductive approach and is informed by qualitative methodologies. It was deemed to be the best approach, given that some of the major parameters of the phenomenon in which I was interested were not known to me in South Africa at the outset, and also because this was a hypotheses testing study. Thus, I started from a general description of the phenomenon as a whole and moved to a more in-depth analysis based on case study analysis and fieldwork. My initial hypotheses involved testing the theory of whether or not greater networking capabilities, more corporate philanthropy, improved donor/recipient relations and a better understanding of the processes of transition an NGO undergoes would lead to a stronger Third Sector that was no longer in ‘crisis’. As the study was a phased inductive piece of research, additional hypotheses emerged as during the process of my twelve months of intense fieldwork from March 2004 to March 2005.
Ethnographic research methods allowed me to ‘get close’ to the research topic as it were. Primarily, this requires physical and social proximity to the daily rounds of people’s lives and daily activities. Through participant observation, the researcher obtains a deep immersion into the world of the research subjects and therefore, can get a better grasp of what they experience as meaningful and important. Immersion also gives the researcher access to the fluidity of others’ lives and enhances his sensitivity to interaction and process. This fluidity and immersion is important because in its essence, “ethnography is an active enterprise. Its activity incorporates dual impulses. On one hand, the ethnographer must make her way into new worlds and new relationships. On the other hand, she must learn how to represent in written form what she has come to see and understand as a result of these experiences (Emerson et al., 1995:15).

As such, the relationship between the ethnographer and the ‘natives’ that is, those being observed, becomes a more than just mere data collection but becomes, “an evocation of life as lived” also (Charmaz, 2002: 323). The issue of relationships and ethnography can be nebulous at best. It is the amalgamation of these developed relationships, observations, lived experience, stories and interpretation that makes the ethnography. It follows then that,

…a study becomes ethnographic when the fieldworker is careful to connect the facts that she observes with the specific features of the backdrop against which the facts occur, which are linked to historical and cultural contingencies (Baszanger and Dodier, 2003: 12).

Given the deep and complex cultural and political issues that are part of any post-conflict society and South Africa in particular, it was important to immerse myself into the everyday politics and culture of the country, sector and community that I was studying. As the research and the thesis writing progressed the relationship between my role as an ethnographer/ sociologist and a volunteer/ friend of the organisation became of the most interesting and profound aspects of my study in terms of the type of data I gathered and the manner in which my findings were perceived by the organisation itself.
In my quest to be taken seriously as a researcher and less as a tourist it followed that my main form of data collection would be through participant observation and acting as a ‘go-along’ with the organisation that I had chosen as a case study. As I have mentioned previously, the voluntary sector in South Africa is overflowing with well-intentioned volunteers who give lots of energy for a limited time and then disappear. In particular, smaller NGOs are now reluctant to take volunteers from abroad unless they are committed to staying for more than a few weeks or months.

Given the scope and size of the non-profit sector I had to define the field initially in terms of the initial groups I had contacted because it would be counterproductive to arrive in Cape Town without some form of prior consent. I was aware that there has to be a delicate level of negotiation with an organisation before you can volunteer with them, particularly given the over saturation of ‘do-gooders’ wanting to volunteer in Cape Town. There is an element of voyeurism involved in volunteering in these countries. One of my greatest concerns when entering the field was that I did not want to get drawn into the rhetoric of being a ‘disaster tourist’ or a passerby. I believed that the element of

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15 A ‘go-along’ is the term used to describe when the researcher accompanies those being studied on fieldtrips, outings, to meetings or events. The researcher is not only an observer in this case technically and can engage more with the respondents. As Kusenbach explains, ‘when conducting ‘go-alongs’, fieldworkers accompany individual informants on their ‘natural’ outings, and – through asking questions, listening and observing – actively explore their subjects’ stream of experiences and practices as they move through, and interact with, their physical and social environment. Hybrids between participant observation and interviewing, go-alongs carry certain advantages when it comes to exploring the role of place in everyday lived experience. Go-alongs are a more modest, but also a more systematic and outcome-oriented version of ‘hanging out’ with key informants(Kusenbach, 2003:9)

16 Before I arrived in March 2001, I had made a commitment to two groups to volunteer with them as part of my fieldwork. They were Mamelani Base Projects and the TNUI. I saw these two groups as my initial gatekeepers and that contacts with other groups would snowball out of these contacts.

17 The image of ‘do-gooders’ has plagued civil society and the voluntary sector for as long as it has existed. Particularly in post-war countries and areas of protracted conflict where it is almost fashionable or ‘cool’ to travel to these places and volunteer there. I call this ‘disaster tourism’ which in and of itself is a fascinating concept to research. My own experience of doing disaster relief work and studying peacekeeping as well as volunteering in post-war countries is that there as just as many well-intentioned hard working volunteers as there are ‘disaster tourists’.

18 Given the nature of the conflict in South Africa and Northern Ireland and the international press both have received, these two countries in particular have a long history of ‘disaster tourists’. On many occasions, especially whilst working with American students in conflict zones, I have felt like a voyeur of their oppression and struggle, a disaster tourist at its worst. On incident in particular occurred whilst I was volunteering with an organisation in Cape Town in May 2004. We had taken a couple of visitors from the UK to visit an orphanage in one of the poor townships. As white, obviously wealthy, and foreign people, we stood out and it felt somewhat uncomfortable.
voyeurism diluted if not negated by becoming an accepted member of the local voluntary sector. This was important to me and the research because, "being an accepted member of the setting provides unique access to fellow locals and should be the preferred position of anyone conducting field research." (Kusenbach, 2003: 7). Even though this was my intention, there were still constant reminders of my outsider status and foreign origins as I will discuss further in the sections on reflexivity and the ethical considerations that arose during my fieldwork.

The volunteer in any situation must be aware of power dynamics and respect the privacy of the objects under scrutiny because the idea of empowering formerly oppressed communities "has become wedded to a discourse that stresses the need to 'listen to the people' and to understand the 'reasoning behind local knowledge' in order to arrive at appropriate alternatives 'from below'. Therefore, it is difficult to deny the connotation it carries of an 'injection of power' from outside aimed at changing the balance of forces [...] No matter how firm the commitment to good intentions, the notion of 'powerful outsiders' helping 'powerless insiders' slips constantly in". (Long and Long, 1992: 275).

2.2 The Inside Outsider: Participant Observation and the Case Study

In total, I spent twelve months volunteering with TNUI from March 2004 to March 2005. Initially I was volunteering five days a week with the organisation until December 2004. Setting up my fieldwork with the organisation was straightforward. When I arrived at the first meeting with them on March 19th 2004 I explained that I was eager to accompany them to as many meetings with other non-profit sector organisations, visit all their projects and work on some projects within the organisation also as part of my volunteering responsibilities. I signed a volunteer agreement, which stated that I was going to volunteer for a six-month period and that I first had to undergo an 'induction' before beginning my volunteering duties full.

The arrangement was that in exchange for my volunteer time the organisation would allow me to observe them, the work they do, interview their staff, colleagues and
associates, and ultimately collect all the ethnographic data needed for my research. With hindsight, I should have explained it much more clearly and perhaps even shown them some examples of ethnographic work that had been previously done on NGOs by ethnographers and explain in more detail how a sociologist actually gathers his/her data.

After a problem with my methods was brought to my attention by the COO (Chief Operating Officer) Liesel19 at a meeting on July 15th, 2005, I brought in such a piece of research to her. This served to illustrate that it was standard practice to include fieldnotes and ethnographic observations in a sociological piece of writing that centred on the analysis of ethnographic data. When Phillip20 the CEO and Liesel raised concerns about the detailed nature of my data collection, after I had discussed my preliminary findings with them at their request, it became obvious that these afore mentioned steps should have been covered more carefully. As a result, a misunderstanding occurred which was resolved eventually, this incident is covered in more detail in the ethical considerations section.

This raises the issue of ‘informed consent’ and how in so far as is possible in an open-ended field study, I had the informed consent of the research participants. This principle is explained best in the Ethical Guidelines of the Sociological Association of Ireland who caution that,

Sociologists, when they carry out research, enter into personal and moral relationships with those they study, be they individuals, households, corporate entities, or other social groups. Members have a responsibility to ensure that the welfare of research participants is not adversely affected by their research activities. They should strive to protect the interests of research participants, their sensitivities, and privacy, while recognising the difficulty of balancing potentially conflicting concerns [...] As far as possible, sociological research should be based on the freely given informed consent of those studied. This implies a responsibility on members to explain as fully as possible, and in terms meaningful to participants, what the research is about, who is undertaking and financing it, why it is being undertaken, and how it is to be promoted. In general, co-operation in fieldwork should be negotiated and not assumed. Where there is a possibility that data may be shared with other researchers, the potential uses to which the

19 This is a pseudonym
20 Pseudonym
From my standpoint, as a researcher, I had informed the organisation initially that I wished to observe the work they did, interview the staff and directors and meet other members and activists in the area with the view to interviewing them also. When the study evolved into a more concentrated look at an NGO in transition, I again approached the CEO and COO in a meeting and requested their permission and consent for me to do a more detailed study of the TNUI in my research. They consented to me doing more in-depth interviews with the CEO and COO, although I did not think it necessary to get their permission to interview their staff as I had already got the individual consent of the necessary staff members to include them in the study.

During all times that, I was present in the organisation all the staff, members present, and associates were aware that I was conducting research and observing the organisation. At no time were any of my research methods covert or did I feel that the management were uninformed as to my note taking activities. I assured everyone of strict confidentiality in terms of using pseudonyms for the staff, members, associates, clients, and the organisation itself in the final public document.

The TNUI acted as my main gatekeeper to meeting other NGOs and non-profit practitioners, although I had prior contact with a few organisations in the area. In terms of the geographic aspects of the research, I was very familiar with Cape Town and the various non-profit circles within it because of my academic post that I had here in 2001. However, the non-profit sector was less familiar to me. Therefore having the TNUI, as my centre point was a logical progression when it came to marking out the scope of my field of research. I was given the impression at my first couple of meetings with the management that both Phillip, associates and existing staff had a good knowledge of non-profit sector circles and would be eager to help me make contacts.

In terms of the initial aims of the research, I had been given the opportunity to get hands on experience of creating funding proposals, establishing a project within a small NGO
and opportunities to meet with CBO workers, NGO activists, and key players in the NGO community. Equally, I was given the impression that TNUI has had a strong reputation amongst its peers so I assumed that this connection would have made contacts within the NGO and governmental bodies more accessible to me and more open to participate in my research.

On a more personal note, the friendliness and eagerness of Phillip who sought to take me under his wing was another important part of my experience with the organisation. His ‘expertise’ and willingness to introduce me to non-profit sector circles was evident from our initial introductions. Choosing to volunteer full-time with one organisation rather than a few hours a week with a broader selection of organisations seemed a more efficient use of my time. It also gave me a chance for my contact with TNUI to snowball out into the wider community through acting as a ‘go-along’ with Phillip and Liesel and by making connections with key people in the sector through my status as a volunteer with TNUI.

Consequently, I was aware, more so after the fact than when it was actually happening, that the people I had contact with, the other groups that I met and those who were touched by the ‘snowball’ were influenced directly by the organisation and those whom I accompanied on visits or used as gatekeepers. Therefore, not only does the choice of case study attach a label of sorts to the researcher but it also affects the size, scope, and effect of the snowball21 (Savvakis and Tzanakis, 2004) As my research progressed, it became obvious that a closer focus on the organisation was necessary for the study. The research had moved more towards a focused study of the realities of working and running a small

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21 The snowball’s course is determined on the morphology of the ground it finds on its way down. However, this morphology constitutes at the same time a structural version of the examined social field. The starting point of the snowball is of vital importance for it determines what features of the morphology of the ground it will encounter. Similarly, the researcher’s mode of entry attributes to her a potential label that locates her in the internal hierarchy of the social world under investigation and determines how she will come to know this world. Thus, the snowball technique can be also understood as a journey in the structure of the field. This is to say that the snowball technique can be also understood as a structure of exclusions and inclusions among the members of the group of reference. The same holds true regarding the key persons that are used as mediators in social places where access is difficult or problematic. The snowball’s course always seems to be shaped by the social relations that are formed within the group of reference, the structure of the research field and the data gathered (Savvakis and Tzanakis, 2004)
NGO in a changing Third Sector rather than identifying the larger issues at play in South Africa's Third Sector in isolation. At this point, I approached Phillip and Liesel and spoke to them about the organisation becoming a more central part of the research and asked their permission to be more specific about my case study in terms of the history of it, using its name in the research, and doing more in-depth interviews with staff.

It follows then that my participant observation within the organisation yielded the bulk of my data. This mainly took the form of making fieldnotes, keeping a daily field diary, and jotting down verbatim quotes after meetings or conversations and acting as a go-along to events, meetings, and social occasions. The only part of my methods that was not obvious to Phillip, Liesel and most of the staff was my 'field note taking' activities. When the disagreement arose in July 2005 about what material I had included in my 'write-up' of the data with Phillip and Liesel stated that they were not aware that I had been making verbatim notes, writing up field diaries and that these fieldnotes would be 'made public' within the finished thesis.

In general, I felt that my 'note taking' was not appreciated by Phillip or Liesel in that it seemed to be distracting to them if I was visibly taking notes. I preferred not to take too many notes at the time as it distracted me from listening and observing events around me. As I had my own private space in the building from 9am - 4 pm during my time volunteering with TNU1, I was able to make notes and field diary entries consistently in private throughout the day. I made it my practice to write up details from meetings, the Friday networking lunches and other events directly after it had taken place in my notebooks and subsequently transfer them to my laptop.

During the day at events where I was acting as a go-along or at meetings with other NGOs outside of TNU1, it was easier to make notes and observations in my notebook as I was often expected to report to Phillip and Liesel on these meetings and outings. In addition, every Monday morning we had a 'check-in' meeting where we relayed the

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22 In total over the 6-8 months of observation, I filled 10 spiral notebooks of fieldnotes and quotes and transcribed these onto my personal computer on a weekly basis. I would transcribe these every Sunday afternoon. In addition, I collected documentary materials from the 'go-along' activities.
events of the previous week to each other, both staff and volunteers. Therefore, I used my notes to write up weekly details of events, which were used at these meetings. After the management had raised their objections to my use of fieldnotes, I felt as if I had done something highly unethical and covert by making fieldnotes, even though they were an obvious part of my observations and an essential part of doing ethnography and sociology. The initial act of taking notes did make me feel uneasy due to the obvious distraction it can cause at times but I am not the only ethnographer to feel conflicted about fieldnotes, as Emerson explains.

Ethnographers are often uneasy about fieldnotes. Many regard fieldnotes as a kind of backstage scribbling – a little bit dirty, a little bit suspect, not something to talk about to openly and specifically. Fieldnotes seem too revealingly personal, too messy, and unfinished to be shown to any audience. For these and other reasons, scholars do not have ready access to original, unedited fieldnotes but only to completed ethnographies with the selected recorded fieldnotes, they contain. As a result how ethnographers write fieldnotes remains largely hidden and mysterious (Emerson et. al, 1995: ix).

I did not want my fieldnotes to be “hidden and mysterious,” to be refined or rewritten. Therefore, I explained to the organisation that I could not edit my fieldnotes: they had to stand as they were, because for me editing fieldnotes would be like changing words, phrases, or contexts of an interview. Fieldnotes were a recording of my observations; they reflected the reality as recorded at the time, albeit through my eyes.

The presence of ruling relations between the researcher and the staff shifted significantly after the use of my fieldnotes and ethnographic observations within my research became a problem or a concern for Phillip and Liesel. Liesel stated, after this incident, that she would be more guarded with me and more “business-like,” that she should have been more aware of my intentions from the beginning. During our meeting, when this was first aired, she expressed regret at having become so friendly and open with me.

23 When Phillip and COO read the first draft of the chapter describing the organisation they objected to a description I had included of my first impressions of Phillip and the building as well as comments on the demeanour of Liesel. They appeared insulted by a harmless comment. I explained that it was extracted from my fieldnotes and as such, it could be included in my research. They objected to the use of materials that were not verbatim interview quotes or factual statistics or observations, they felt that they were not aware of my use of fieldnotes and that these could include personalised observations.
Consequently, from the 15th of July 2005, a barrier was introduced and relations between Phillip, Liesel, and some other members of staff cooled off significantly.

This points to the need for the researcher to be aware of ruling relations from the onset of entering the field. There is a dual process going on between the gatekeepers/case study and the researcher that is as much the result of the respondent’s actions as it is the researchers. However, the researcher has more responsibility for the power shifts that are produced and the levels of agency that exist between them. Do we reproduce ruling relations? “Possibly. The setting, research objectives, and social context matter. [...] if participants also view our presence as invasive and their participation as involuntary, then likely, both we and they will adopt a frame of ruling relations, however tacitly that occurs.” (Charmaz, 2000: 321).

It was clear that when faced with the research results that the organisation did view my research as invasive and immediately erected personal barriers. This points once again to the conflict surrounding informed consent and whether, despite the data that had already been collected, whether I should have given the organisation the option to withdraw themselves from the study. While I did inform them that this was an option I was relieved when they agreed to remain in the study as long as pseudonyms were used and they were allowed to give some input on the historical facts of the organisation’s development, as I will show in chapter four.

2.3 The Focus Group Fiasco

At first sight, the idea of a focus group seemed deceptively simple. During the first few months at my case study organisation, I decided to organise a workshop to engage a small number of people in an informal group discussion focused around the issue of remobilising the non-profit sector in South Africa and more notably the Western Cape. This arose out of a conversation with Leon, an activist based at TNUI. Both he and I thought it would be a good idea to get people talking about civil society in South Africa again and in particular within TNUI, as it had once been a vibrant centre of such

24 Pseudonym
meetings and workshops. The interaction between participants all with a background in
the non-profit sector appealed to me and I saw the analytical potential of such a focus
group. However, it was not as simple as it sounded and proved to be a complete failure,
yielding very little data and a lot of disappointment. Nevertheless the ‘focus group fiasco’
was illustrative of the lack of networking being done on a localised level in Cape Town at
present and the lack of interest amongst former colleagues of the struggle to remobilise
themselves to engage in a critical debate again with each other. Furthermore, it also
pointed to the demise of civil society networking within TNUI itself and its inability to
ignite a spark of interest in its Third Sector peers.

When I discussed the lack of responses with Leon, he explained that this was one of the
reasons why networks and communications amongst activists and NGOs have weakened
post-apartheid. He explained that now “technology has got in the way” of productive
grassroots networking. He went on to point out that during the struggle, “underground
networks of communication” were effective and word of mouth was a “powerful tool of
exchanging meeting times and organising demonstrations and gatherings.” The onslaught
of computerising communications had led to a breakdown in networking and information
exchange possibilities.

I received fifteen replies from a possible list of forty or so people. The meeting was
scheduled for Thursday June the 24th at 4.30 pm until 6pm. In total eight people were
present. The meeting lasted an hour and a half but yielded very little ‘useable’ data. In
general, those who attended the meeting were very animated about the topic and were
eager to get a debate flowing again on the issues that needed to be addressed in civil
society in South Africa again. As I was a bit demoralised by the whole experience and
turnout I did not pursue a second focus group as I felt it would not make a significant
enough contribution to my research to warrant a mammoth effort in getting people
together again. In hindsight, I saw the focus group as a practical exercise in the problems
associated with organising networking in the non-profit sector in South Africa. Therefore,
I should have persisted in organising further meetings to see if the situation could have
been improved upon.
2.4 Interviews and Analysis: “Official Accounts”?

In total, I interviewed twenty people; all interviews lasted between forty minutes and an hour. I interviewed Phillip and Liesel of TNUI on a few occasions and did smaller interviews with the rest of the staff. I also interviewed former employees, associates, activists in non-profit sector circles and the NGO consultant that they employed to structure the strategic plans they put into place this year and who works with them on a continual basis.

Although I was comfortable with the format of the interviews, I found the exchanges of power and expertise interesting between my respondents and me. I approached every interview as an opportunity to gather information, knowledge, and whatever the respondent wanted to tell me. I went into each interview with a list of questions and managed to get them into the conversation but oftentimes the conversation flowed naturally into topics and areas I had not anticipated, all of which were important to the data. I was careful not to enter the interviews portraying myself as the ‘expert’ and the person I was interviewing as a “vessel of answers” (Holstein and Gubrium, 2003:141), even though the whole process of interviewing someone can be seen as such. Given that all of my respondents were older than me, had years of experience of working in the non-profit sector and knew much more about South Africa than I would ever know there was no need for me to flex my ‘expertise’ muscles as I had very little ones in comparison.

Oakley (1981), in her essay, *Interviewing Women: a Contradiction in Terms*, touches also on these issues of subordination and hierarchy in the interview process between the researcher and respondent. She states that, “interviewers define the role of interviewees as subordinates; extracting information is more to be valued than yielding it; the convention of interviewer-interviewee hierarchy is a rationalisation of inequality; what is good for interviewers is not necessarily good for interviewees” (Oakley, 1981: p. 40). She

25 Bourdieu (1977), always concerned with the practicalities of epistemological issues, argues that as a research methodology the interview is one of the weakest, “because the interviewee is likely to provide the interviewer with the ‘official account’ (which reifies norms, values, ideals) - an account of what ought to happen rather than what actually does happen” (Bourdieu, 1977: 37).
goes on to explain that “the goal of finding out about people through interviewing is best achieved when the relationship of interviewer and interviewee is non- hierarchical and when the interviewer is prepared to invest his or her own personal identity in the relationship” (Oakley, 1981: p. 41).

The organisation, interviewees, and colleagues knew of my academic background, previous research and that I had a good understanding of civil society, South African history, and politics. In addition, the organisation was aware that I had some practical experience in working with voluntary and non-profit groups due to the eight years of voluntary work I have done with various organisations in Ireland, Northern Ireland, Cyprus, and South Africa.

Despite all this, I did feel that the respondents were at times uncomfortable as to why I had chosen them and were more uncomfortable with the fact that I may perceive them as an ‘expert’. Some of my interviewees stated this fact when I approached them for an interview saying, “I don’t know what I can tell you that you don’t already know”, “I’m not sure what you want me to tell you?” or the most common response was, “Well I’m not an expert but...”. There exists, no matter how much the researcher tries to buffer it, a distinct barrier between the person seeking knowledge and the person supplying it.

There is also inherent in this a sense that they are under scrutiny or that the respondent is subordinate somehow by being an object of study, a specimen for analysis. Inevitably, someone in the room becomes the ‘other’ be it the expert or an inquisitor, as Collins explains,

The relationship between interviewer and interviewee is fluid and changing, but is always jointly constructed. It is rarely obvious where the balance of power lies, between the selves precipitated during this relationship. That is, we have (as interviewers) a limited control not only over what is being said but also over whom we are during an interview. I introduced myself to prospective interviewees as an anthropologist interested in stress. In most cases, this prompted blank incomprehension, though one wag replied:
- So, if you’re an anthropologist I must be one of the natives..(Collins, 1998: 3.1).
However, making sense of these interviews proved the most challenging aspect of the research process. I found myself constantly checking my memory of events with the stories I was told and comparing the different versions of situations that I had heard from the staff. The biggest difference for me was how my experience of being a volunteer and the knowledge I was privy to as a friend of the staff had colored my analysis and interpretation of stories.

It is possibly the least appreciated task of the researcher even though it is the most difficult that is how to analyse or capture the ethnographic moment within the data. How to analyse the “ethnographic moment” was the hardest task for me because, “we go, we talk to people...we write fieldnotes...and then its time to pack our suitcases and return home. And so begins the hardest work - to bring the ethnographic moment back, to resurrect it, to communicate the distance. Our fieldnotes becomes palimpsest, useless unless plumbed for forgotten revelatory moments, unexpressed longings and the wounds of regret.” (Behar, 1996:8)

Ethnographic data cannot be analysed in isolation from the relationships that are formed between the researcher and the respondents particularly during a prolonged period in the ‘field’. I found myself constantly questioning whether my own memories and friendships with the respondents especially in TNUI had influenced the stories that I was telling and the manner in which they were being told. This was the central focus of Linda Perriton’s (2000) article, 'Incestuous Fields: Management Research, Emotion and Data Analysis', where she questioned whether her personal knowledge of the respondents and close relationships with some of them had influenced that way in which she gathered the data and more importantly, analysed it. She states that,

My response to the data drawn from people that I would call 'friends' surprised me. I found myself 'responding' to their data much more easily - finding it easier to read and to analyse. {...} On the page, the data looks thin in terms of description but it had a resonance for me that was rich and influential. It was difficult to consider some parts of the interview transcripts as being bounded by the words on the page. [...] Furthermore, could the fact that there is a pre-existing (usually positive) attachment of some sort between a researcher and some of their research sample ‘contaminate’ the process of research and analysis? (Perriton, 2000: 2.5).
In my research, it was important to identify the different strands of the effect of working with material given by respondents that had become my friends. Did I let my regard for them and my position within the organisation influence their data unfairly when compared to people I interviewed that I did not know as well as I did the staff at TNUI? On the other hand, was I in fact adding to their data by building into it my own memories and reactions to instances they referred to in the interview? The effect of my relationships in the field on the research process as a whole are dealt with in the reflexivity sections. Nevertheless, when it came to analysis the direct effect of these emotional attachments to respondents and data is difficult to quantify or assess.

It is a more nebulous presence than Perriton would have us believe. Indeed, every qualitative researcher could be charged with 'contaminating' the data since a level of rapport and trust has to be established in any interview situation and a relationship of sorts is developed through follow-up interviews, fact checks and further research possibly. In its essence, this struggle between my friendships and personal encounters with members of the organisation and the academic obligations I had to fulfil whilst gathering the data proved to be the biggest source of distress and angst within the study.

2.5 Objectivity and Reflexivity: Incestuous Fields?

Conducting sociological research involves a long unavoidable process of negotiations whether it is between gatekeepers and researchers, the observed and the observer, the writer and the reader. However, the most difficult and most conspicuous negotiations happen between the researcher himself and his/her conscience. Between the ethical implications of the presence of the researcher within the data and subsequent research outcomes. Within my own research, the role of researcher, volunteer, and participant has become intertwined at points. The following is a quote illustrative of this process by McGettigan on his research on the Green Tortoise Bus Company in San Francisco conducted in 2000,
In my role as a "good" researcher, I envisioned my job would be to observe others, whereas the primary objective of those I observed would be to experience the Green Tortoise. I imagined that this distinction would be subtle enough to permit inconspicuous interaction, but also sharp enough to maintain requisite observational detachment. It was as though I planned to attend an avant-garde play wherein I, the lone audience member, had to ensure that the actors remained heedless of their performances.” (McGettigan, 2001: 2.5)

At the beginning of my fieldwork, I also envisioned my role to be only that of an observer and to experience what is involved in working in a small NGO. As a volunteer with the organisation over time, I began to feel that my role with the organisation was perceived as being much more of a practitioner than an academic and as such, I treded potentially dangerous ground by becoming part of the team rather than a detached observer.

At NGO meetings and representative groupings, I represented TNUI and did not present myself as an independent researcher/observer. I allowed myself through this association to occupy the position as both an insider and outsider depending on the context and the manner in which my involvement with TNUI was perceived. This position was therefore nebulous at best. I occupied many different roles within the environment I was working in depending on the context of my presence.

Consequently, my ambiguous position in the organisation blurred the lines between the staff and I, in that, it was unclear whether I was a visitor or a staff member at times. In order to fully understand the implications that this had on the research, one must look at the effects of being a 'detached observer' in ethnographic research. If one must retain critical distance what does this mean to the research process? As May cautions us, too much pondering on ethical implications can lead to sociological sterility, in that, “a descent into the self-referential, calls to reflexivity should be regarded as sensitizing symptoms and not solutions to the issues they raise. To take reflexive questioning too far is to introduce sterility on the part of those who hesitate at the impasse they create… (May, 1999:3.9).
Secondly, one can see within this research how the personality and position of the researcher ultimately affects the outcome of the data collection and the manner in which its analysis is perceived by those studied. As such, fieldwork must be understood as a relational process, and to a certain extent a reflexive approach is desirable and “part of this involves the recognition of our selves as impacting and being impacted upon by the fieldwork” (Gill and McLean, 2000: 3.1). Within this process of reflexivity, I will be analyzing the affect of emotion and data analysis in the field where the ethnographic site becomes much more than just an observed object. This is important to examine because, the physical presence of the researcher as such verifies one way or another, the structure of the research field. The recognition of the political significance and the dynamics of the ethnographic research finally result in all these practices of treating the 'research presence'. From this recognition comes the alternation of the role of the researcher as 'intruder' to that of the 'friend', the 'scientist', the 'ally', the 'stranger', the 'outsider' and the 'enemy'. (Savakis and Tzanakis, 2004:2.13).

Thus, the negotiation becomes not only a matter between the researcher and the way he/she enters the research setting but is a constant process of redefining your position in relation to your own research goals, the needs of the observed and the ethical implications upon the field as a whole. Ultimately, the emphasis should be on the production of knowledge and the production of ‘useable’, ‘real’ data that not only contributes to ‘the field’ but also more importantly to those studied and to the life of the researcher. We cannot deny that, “research would be an intolerable undertaking if the expectation was, like government ministers and royal brides; that individuals had to come to the role free of sin, blame, and approbation.” (Perriton, 2000: 5.7)

Ethical considerations, reflexive concerns, critical distance, objective analysis, detached observation are important grounding concepts within sociological research but should not descend into mere solipsism, navel gazing and self-sanctioning rhetoric for the sake of “good” sociology. Equally, it is important to bear in mind that, “all variants of vulnerable writing that have blossomed in the past two decades have been charged with being self-serving and superficial, full of unnecessary guilt or excessive bravado. This stems from an unwillingness to even consider the possibility that a personal voice, which if creatively...
used, can lead the reader, not into miniature bubbles of navel-gazing, but into the enormous sea of serious social issues.” (Behar, 1996:16)

Whatever angle you look at it from reflexivity, at its core, is a call to locate yourself within the research and to be honest about the ways in which your interpretation in the act of writing the research becomes just that - your interpretation. As Marie Smyth (1999) points out in her account of the ethical implications of researching a highly politicised and sensitive topic,

At best, a researcher must identify his/her position and then proceed to conduct a study as objectively as possible. Passion for the plight of the people or the cause of their struggle is all issues that influence the researcher’s judgement and influence the type of information gathered. Researchers are scientists. They are in pursuit of knowledge. However, they are also humans (Smyth, 1999:24).

This fallibility means that one cannot be entirely accurate in reporting other people’s reality. As May cautions us, “If authors are really reflexive, they would recognise the futility of any attempt to ‘mirror’ reality (May 2000:2.18). At best, all I can hope for within this research is an awareness that in order for the research to hold true to its original aims it must engage with an analytical reflexivity from the case study choice to the data produced through participant observation. Coupled with this is also a recognition of fallibility and the position that,

The idea of the ‘fully reflexive’ researcher is a myth. Indeed, it is of course the classic Cartesian myth: the idea that the truth, indeed the whole truth, is available to us here and now if only we can think clearly and logically. But, as we noted, it is not possible to question all one’s assumptions at once, and questioning assumptions always involves costs as well as potential gains (Hammersley and Gomm, 1997: 4.10).

When discussing the role of the researcher and how it influences the conditions of fieldwork Savvakis and Tzanakis, in their study of two ethnic communities in their homeland of Greece, observed that,
The entry into the research field and the involvement of the researcher with the informants/narrators constitute many significant issues that emerge during qualitatively oriented fieldwork. Many scholars reflect on these issues as vital elements of their inquiries, suggesting that they might highly influence the final research outcome (Savvakis and Tzanakis, 2004: 1.1).

Concerning my case study in South Africa, TNUI, the fact that I spent five days a week for twelve months volunteering in the organisation has undoubtedly affected the research outcomes and the nature of data gathered due to the proximity. I came to volunteer full time with the organisation and as such became an ‘inside outsider’ by working on projects, socialising with the staff and identifying myself with the organisation in Third Sector circles, all whilst compiling my data and observing the organisation and its associates.

As such, I was aware that I had come to be perceived as more as a part of TNUI team than just a visiting researcher from Ireland. I had unwittingly encouraged that. In becoming less of an outsider, I felt I would have better data and a lived experience of working in a South African NGO. In all actuality it served to make the production of the thesis more difficult in terms of the organisation own reaction to the findings.

I believe that my judgement may be perceived as being clouded within the research because I tend to occupy the simultaneous positions of academic, practitioner, a member of the CBO/NGO community and as part of TNUI ‘family’. Presenting myself to my respondents firstly as a volunteer and stating that I have worked in the NGO field has been a strategic decision on my behalf. In part this had something to do with appearing to ‘go native’ in that I was a part of the NGO sector and not a visitor from an academic hut. There are a number of senses or milieux in which ‘going native’ might be thought to be an issue for the research. Within South Africa there is no need for me to ‘go native’ in that the NGO sector in particular is used to foreigners conducting research on the national transition and getting involved in NGO work.

However, as time has passed the length of time I have spent here made people more comfortable with me and with this, I had to take on their expectations with regards to the
final product I was producing and my commitments to my case study organisation and the contacts I had made here during the research. When I say that I have been living here for over 18 months, NGO practitioners and people in general are more open to me and see me less as a ‘interfering foreigner’ and more as a local. This may be based on a shared sense of local knowledge perhaps as well as other factors, which I will cover in the findings chapters.

Therefore, whilst not actively trying to ‘go native’ I have become to a certain extent integrated into the socio-cultural world of Cape Town and South Africa. Nonetheless, despite my ‘integration’ into the local community, the other main group that I had intended to volunteer with decided that I was unsuitable for the position of volunteer shortly after we met. This decision was seemingly based upon the belief that they could only have nationals from the local communities working with the projects and ‘in-the-field’. This meant that it was fine for me to work in the office but not to be seen to be a face of the organisation because I was white and foreign.

The other main reason for ethical concern or investigation, which I wish to explore, is that I had a close friendship with some of the organisation's staff, I have lived with two of its members, and the people I have met through TNUI had become a part of my life in Cape Town. Each staff member and volunteer is encouraged to be open about his or her lives professionally and personally. This turned out to be on reflection possibly the greatest weakness in the organisation as I explain in chapter six and in the epilogue. Initially I was the new daughter of the family, the new foreign relative full of exciting

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26 I experienced this same reaction when living in Belfast, Northern Ireland. In South Africa they have slowly become similar to Northern Ireland in that not only are they ‘researched to death’ but are equally tired of foreign researchers, academics and ‘do-gooders’ asking questions and probing their organisations. I cannot deny that my emphasising to my respondents and those I met in the sector that I have more than just a passing interest in the sector and its workings has influenced the levels of access I have had to people, organisations, and concepts.

27 The irony was increased by the fact that the organisation was run by an Irishman who had no experience of running an NGO, living in an impoverished community, or working with South African government structures, and had only lived in South Africa for two years. In fact, he had come from a very privileged background as the son of a prominent Irish lawyer and politician who helped with much of his fundraising for his organisation. My own background in the development community, as a long term volunteer with various organisations coupled with an extensive knowledge of the NGO literature made me much more qualified than the Irish director. However, I fear that this irony was lost on him.
newness but when the time came to withdraw from the organisation I was the “prodigal daughter” and was called as such by Phillip at a lunch meeting.

Linda Perriton (2000) in her article on researching known respondents points to the issue of emotional investment with research respondents as being central to any analysis of the data that is obtained through these relationships, she states that,

...there are two issues we could usefully explore with students connected to working in incestuous fields. The first is whether or not there are 'penalties' to the researcher in using known recipients in data. [...] The second issue is whether these are issues that must be explained and drawn attention to in the write-up of the research study (Perriton, 2000: 2.5)

When it comes to an analysis of the effect of emotions and relationships upon the research setting there are a number of obvious questions one could pose, such as - Does familiarity breed contempt? According to one commentator,

Friendship and research are a potent mix. And it is a mix that we should perhaps stop being so surprised about. All social science researchers start to suffer from a 'persistence of research habits' and that 'one's subjects become one's friends [and] one's friends become one's subjects' (Perriton, 2000:4.1).

Therefore, is it not the case that there is an inevitability of emotion and relationships becoming part of the research mix. One is taught in the early stages of qualitative research that 'rapport' and establishing a 'relationship' with your respondents is desirable if not essential to generating good ethnographic and qualitative data. It is about trust, insider knowledge, and developing a sense of familiarity with ones data through familiarity with the research subject. One can be reflective of this and its impact upon the research outcomes by just acknowledging the effect of 'knowing' upon the data analysis or the research process.

As Ruth Behar (1996) in her book, The Vulnerable Observer, explains, “Emotion has only recently gotten a foot inside the academy and we still don’t know whether to give it a seminar room, a lecture hall, or just a closet which we can air out every now and then” (Behar, 1996:17). Although it was 'emotion' that ultimately threatened not only my
own sanity but the thesis as a whole due to the organisation responding negatively to the manner in which the organisation was portrayed in my writings. Equally, the emotions had been invested on both sides of trust, expectation, loyalty, disillusionment, and finally anger that came into question and informed the disagreement that occurred towards the end of the writing up period. It was the process of making my way out of the field and accepting responsibility for the research that had been produced that provided the biggest and essentially the most fruitful of all my ethical dilemmas and adventures during the course of the research.

2.6 Negotiating Your Way ‘Out’ of the Field

“Friendship and research are a potent mix” (Perriton, 2000: 3.7), and such was the case during the course of this research. My relationship with the management of the TNUI in terms of being both a volunteer and a researcher has been a difficult mix, in terms of how both positions aligned my loyalties in opposite directions at times. Consequently, either given the conflicting messages of closeness and distance between the organisation and me the process of withdrawing from the ‘field’ proved more difficult than the organisation or I had expected.

In truth, I did not anticipate how I would approach it when I began my research with the organisation. I had read all the books on how to negotiate your ‘way’ into the field and how to handle gatekeepers but I had not prepared myself for negotiating my way out of the ethnographic setting and ‘decommission’ the gatekeeper as it were. Initially, I believed that I could still volunteer with the organisation whilst I was writing-up and analysing the data. However, given the time consuming nature of such work I could not be equally dedicated to both my thesis and TNUI at the same time. I had to return to Ireland in January 2005, and I saw this as my opportunity to remove myself from the organisation in terms of being a full-time volunteer. At this time it was clear to me that I needed critical distance from the organisation and therefore remove myself physically from it in order to get mental and analytical distance.
The result was that TNUI 'family' felt a sense of confusion, disappointment, and abandonment at my frequent absences from events and my general absence from the organisation since March 2005. I sensed that this was also tied into a belief that as they had helped to facilitate my research that I had a loyalty to them first over my research. I had the impression that they were supportive of my doctoral commitments even though this did not sit well with what they perceived to be my loyalties to their volunteer programme and the organisation in general. In what I presume, was an attempt to have some perceived sense of control over my analyses of the organisation the CEO and COO requested that I share some of my preliminary findings with the organisation whilst I was writing up. I consented to this given that I knew that the CEO and COO are very sensitive and protective of any material that criticises or questions the ethos of the organisation.

On Friday July 8th 2005, I met with Liesel to discuss my writing. I have included extracts of this meeting in chapter five also. A full transcript of the field notes written after the meeting is included as Appendix 5. Before the meeting began, we had lunch together at the networking lunch held every Friday and she did not appear to be upset with me. She welcomed me publicly to the lunch as they do with visiting guests and explained to everyone at the lunch that was unfamiliar with me that I was a former volunteer conducting research on the organisation. I had become accustomed to Phillip making small comments on the 'formerness' of my volunteering and absence from the organisation at these lunches so I was relieved that Liesel did not make any comments to that effect on this particular day. Therefore, I was very shocked by what followed in our meeting after lunch.

It was apparent that Liesel was quite agitated at the start of the meeting and immediately began to voice her concerns regarding the draft of the chapter describing the case study. She said that both she and Phillip felt that they could not let the descriptive chapter on TNUI go out as a public document. She said it was "like a cold shower", that she realised when she read the chapter draft that "they didn't take me as seriously as they should have". She expressed feeling unaware that personal comments "made in passing" were being included in the research and those aspects of conversations that were not part of my
recorded interviews were also included. She mentioned that Phillip described reading the
document as “watching yourself on camera when you didn’t realise you were being
filmed.” In essence, she explained that as the “leader” she has to “protect her staff” and
that she felt I had violated that trust.

In addition, they also objected to my personal fieldnotes being included which contained
impressions of TNUI and its staff. The meeting concluded with both of us admitting that
we had learned a valuable lesson from this miscommunication. She said that they have
learned “not to be so friendly” to outside volunteers and be more “businesslike” with
them. Overall, I felt that they had grossly over-reacted and that there was no need for
them to ‘ambush’ me as I saw it and accuse me in essence of being dishonest, obtaining
data covertly and not being open with them about my research. By the end of the meeting
I had agreed to re-write some part of the draft that were factually incorrect.

After this encounter, emotions were high and I felt very disillusioned with the case study.
I felt their reaction was potentially damaging and that my case study data was in jeopardy
as a result. I had never given the organisation the impression that they could draft my
research to suit their own beliefs. Therefore, I decided that I had to withdraw completely
from any contact with the organisation for a period of at least six months. There was no
way that I could have anticipated back in March 2004, when I discussed my research
objectives with them the criticisms or observations that I would have about TNUI when
writing-up and conducting my analysis. Consequently, I could not apologise for not
having their consent to make these comments and include them in the resulting drafts.

Hilhorst (2003) in her research on a Philippine NGO had a similar encounter when they
objected to her findings when she published her research. As she explains in relation to
her case study NGO,

28 She gestured with her arm the act of keeping someone at a distance and not being personal with them. In
addition the CEO has written some quite offensive words across the text on the draft document I had given
them which greatly offended me. I was both shocked and angered by their response and the underhanded
way in which I was approached by them. This I have learned is not an isolated incident and the
management often approach staff in this confrontational manner which jars with their public image and
ethos of being open, tolerant and understanding. See Appendix five for a full account.
Most people were aware that I was working on a thesis, and my interest in the importance of everyday organizing practices was explicit in reports, everyday conversations, and public lectures. It is true, however, that people were not aware of the exact direction of my analysis and the precise way in which I was going to use the data I was collecting. The notion of prior consent does not tally easily with the nature of ethnography where the lines of analysis evolve over time [...] Hence although people were generally aware of my research interest, I could not seek their prior consent about the outcome (Hilhorst, 2003: 231).

When I returned from a visit to Ireland in August 2005, I met again with Liesel, the incident had been forgotten by them, and it appeared that no hard feelings existed. I furnished her with some examples of ethnographic writing so she could see fieldnotes in use and how personal observations are weaved into analysis. The result of this whole situation was that there was some respect and trust lost on my part for Phillip and Liesel largely due to the manner in which they handled the situation and approached me about my work.

Consequently, I felt uncomfortable in the organisation on subsequent visits, even though some members of staff openly expressed their support for me during the time that the situation was unfolding and after. From the point of view of the organisation itself, Phillip and Liesel have undoubtedly learned to be more cautious about future volunteers in that they need to be clearer about the objectives and desired outcomes of both party's involvement.

It was quite clear to me that both the CEO and COO see any criticism of the organisation or its structures as a personal attack on them. There is a general feeling amongst many previous staff members that I interviewed and particularly those who have left the organisation in the period of February 2006 to June 2006 that the management would rather remove problematic staff than resolve staff disputes. One staff member went as far as to say, “once you leave you can never come back and if you do they drain the life out of you so they can control you again”.

Since the strategic planning sessions in early 2006, and as a result of the subsequent changes that the organisation has had to make in line with the strategic recommendations,
the tension between staff and senior management has grown and the changes have been met with some opposition. In addition, due to a lack of funds and the financial crisis that has plagued the organisation for the past eighteen months some projects have been downsized and staff wages are just barely above minimum wage levels, which has also led to a great turnover of staff over the past two years.

I never anticipated that negotiating my way out of TNUI would prove much more difficult and precarious than negotiating my way in had been. The literature I had read on research ethics and the advice from my peers and supervisors had not prepared me for the backlash that exiting the field would create and the ramifications that were felt by both staff and my friends because of my cutting the umbilical cord with TNUI. In the months that have followed the incident has been forgotten. However, the staff members who have recently left the organisation have been very keen to talk to me about their experience in the organisation and have contacted me to air their opinions regarding the decline of the organisation ethos, philosophies, and ultimately its effectiveness in efficient and meaningful service provision within the non-profit sector.
CHAPTER THREE

THE CASE STUDY ORGANISATION
As I have indicated within the methodology chapter, the TNUI is a very complex and multifaceted organisation. It has been in existence for over 21 years and has survived a sequence of major societal and political upheavals and transitions within South Africa. Moreover, during this time it has evolved in terms of its core philosophies, its objectives, missions and its philanthropic responsibilities and loyalties. In both chapters three and six, I will deal with the question of whether the TNUI has been organised around a single or multiple set of functions and socio-political contexts, and whether these have been consistent over time.

This chapter serves to firstly give a descriptive overview of the different aspects of the NGO and those who work in it. It begins with a description of the ‘family’ that is, the organisation’s leaders, its core staff and members. Following this I outline my initial observations of the organisation and how this lat the foundations for the data I gathered and how it informs the local context in which the organisation is placed. Then the chapter gives factual account of the main philosophies that have inspired the organisations origins and core descriptions. The various programmes in which they are engaged in demonstrates the multi-levels that it operates on. Moreover, it highlights the complexity of its transitions through the apartheid era and beyond into the 10th year of the country’s transition to becoming a globalising democracy.

As such this chapter lays the foundations for the proceeding findings chapters which look at these various processes that the TNUI goes through in greater ethnographic and analytical detail within South Africa’s non-profit sector. As a result, we can begin to understand the difficulties and peculiarities of ‘NGO-ing’ in a post-conflict South Africa because, “NGOs are not things, but processes, and instead of asking what an NGO is, the more appropriate question then becomes how ‘NGO-ing’ is done.” (Hilhorst, 2003:5)

The chapter ends by placing these descriptions within the context of a ‘life cycle model of NGOs’ (Korten, 1987) and charts the political and social transition that the organisation has made over its 21 year existence and more so in the period I undertook the research and analysis from 2000 to 2004. This involves focusing on the various levels
that are intertwined within the organisation internally and how they relate to the broader NGO sector in South Africa. In involves not only looking at the organisation’s structures but the culture of the organisation and the atmosphere within, as both a working environment and a transitional form of ‘community’.

3.1 Introducing the TNUI ‘Family’

The dynamics amongst management, staff, volunteers, and members within the organisation is more than just a business arrangement. The idea that those involved with the organisation are part of a ‘family’ is encouraged and is central to the way in which the staff and volunteers interact. Thus, the organisation becomes not only a business but also a space of emotional and familial attachment.

All the staff appears, at a surface level, to have an equal voice in that they are encouraged to be open about any grievances with the senior management. Just as in a family situation, approaching the matriarch is never that simple and oftentimes disgruntled staff are treated as a parent would treat a child. Despite the observation that I made in principle equity on as many levels as possible and is encouraged at all times, in line with the multiple philosophies of the organisation and in line with the discourses of democracy and tolerance, which pervades every aspect of post-apartheid life in South Africa.

Naturally, any NGO/business have its tensions such as lack of funds, in-house disputes and dips in staff morale. In my time with the TNUI, I found that all the project staff and volunteers rally around each other and act as a strong support system. This ‘intimacy’ and ‘family’ type atmosphere can lead to a false sense of security. In general it is this familial sense of respect amongst all in the building which is at the heart of the TNUI’s charm and is the element that captures one the most, not matter how veiled this ease of intimacy may be in all actuality. At first impressions, it is a warm, safe security blanket for its new staff and international volunteers who naturally gravitate towards this hospitable family atmosphere.

In my case, this was taken a step further when the organisation provided me with accommodation as part of my volunteer package. Consequently, I found myself living with two of its staff members, which made
At the time of compiling this research, the TNUI has eight full-time in-house staff and many other partners and project employees outside of the building in local communities and neighbouring provinces. The in-house staff is mainly female with two or three males. In March 2006 the core staff expanded by four to work on the new youth programme but at the time of this data collection the in-house staff remained as described below. However, for the purposes of description I will only describe the in-house employees or core staff that I worked with everyday. These are:

1. Phillip, Chief Executive Officer / Executive Director
2. Liesel, Chief Operations Officer / Executive Director
3. Vivian, Administrator
4. Loronda, Receptionist / Girl Friday
5. Gail, Accountant
6. Sara, Fundraising Officer / PA
7. Tsepho, Youth Project manager
8. Dillan, Project manager and Food Garden Manager

As I have mentioned there are many more partners involved in the projects and programmes that the organisation runs. The largest programme, which employs additional ‘field’ staff as such, is the Food Programme staff, which at the time of compiling this data had three additional full-time staff who was employed locally with other partners in another province, KwaZulu-Natal.

Within the building is also the office of Leon and his wife. Leon is a coloured man in his early fifties and former employee of the TNUI, a Director and was the chair of the Board of Directors until August 2006. Leon has been involved with the organisation for many years and was one of the original staff when the organisation began. He is semi-retired

me privy to aspects of the organisation that I would otherwise not have had access to as an outside volunteer.

At the time of writing, the TNUI NGO was in the process of hiring a few more full-time staff for its youth projects as the funding had just come through for this project. Therefore the organisation is expanding its full-time staff once again which is like extending the family. As such, it is an occasion for celebration and a sign of the possibilities the organisation has for expansion and ultimately survival in the sector.

This youth programme joined in partnership with the TNUI in March. It has already been in existence for over five years. It moved its offices into the building in March 2006. By June 2006 two of its core staff, the programme co-ordinator and the administrator, had resigned and their positions have yet to be filled.

All the staff names have been changed to assure anonymity.
and still takes a very active role in the comings and goings of the organisation. He coordinates various youth programme and initiatives from his office in the TNUI. In addition to Leon, another two smaller NGO rents office space from the TNUI.\(^{33}\)

The TNUI has what I would call a parenting role with these smaller NGOs and CBOs that rent their space. The organisation gives them support as they start up and shares advice, information, and wisdom with these groups. This is an important role for the TNUI as it signals the way forward for the sector as a whole in terms of supporting new NGOs and cultivating partnerships and relationships amongst small NGOs to pool resources, information, wisdom, and energy.

As with most situations like this, the symbiotic young NGO must leave the host and go off to be more independent as was the case with at least one of these organisations. I will elaborate on this process in the chapter six. At the most recent AGM in June 2006 the number of staff had decreased significantly and the chairperson resigned, with two new members joining, putting the number of Directors of the organisation at nine. Liesel and Phillip are the only Executive Directors.

In addition, there has also been a notable decline in membership of the organisation and its associations such as the consumer association. It appears that the organisation has been in decline and is in a position now where it has the opportunity to grow and expand again into a new cycle. However, the tools necessary to make this growth and renewal happen may not be in place, as I will discuss in the proceeding chapters. It is common for small NGOs to go through these cycles of growth and decline, but in a situation of a newly emerging democracy and social structure, these changes and cycles of decline become more acute due to factors, that I will explore in chapter seven and eight.

The two main leaders and Executive Directors of the organisation are Phillip and Liesel.

\(^{33}\) Since this fieldwork was collected, Leon has resigned as Chair of the organisation and as a board member and has sought to retire from the organisation. He was made a Patron of the organisation in August 2006. His absence and resignation are discussed in the epilogue, as it was almost a year after the fieldwork has been collected and happened while revisions were being made to the final thesis script.
PHILLIP, the CEO is a white male aged 65.
The CEO was born in the UK in 1942 but grew up in Rhodesia. Phillip has many talents that have been put to good use over the years. He is a very charismatic character and is very much a 'father figure' in the organisation. He has been a television presenter, a comedian, a musician, a philosopher and an educator. At the core of all his work has been a belief in the power of the Arts and Arts-based education in nation building, reconciliation and building a better life for the marginalised in South Africa. The CEO as I have already outlined, is a dedicated anthroposophist and has a passion for the work of Steiner. Outwardly he resembles a large gnome with a big white beard and the eyes of a child. In a sector where having a black board of directors and a black representative in your organization is the norm Ralph as an old white CEO and described himself to me in our first interview as a “white dinosaur” in the NGO sector.

He has dedicated his life’s energy to promoting putting the “heart back into teaching” and putting arts-based education at the centre of mainstream education across the world. In addition, many of the founding members are educators and most of the board is composed of university lecturers and highly qualified and experienced teachers who approach education in an open-minded and explorative manner, similar to the teaching ethos of Steiner’s Waldorf schools and teaching methods. In all respects, Phillip tries to be the ‘charismatic leader’ and self-appointed muse of the organisation, its spiritual father figure as such. In a sector, where having a black board of directors and a black CEO in your organisation is the norm, Phillip as a white CEO, described himself to me once as a “white dinosaur” in the NGO sector.

Nevertheless, he is respected across the board by his peers of every colour and creed. His dedication and work has led him to befriend some of the top politicians and activists in the country and as such he is well known throughout the non-profit circles in Cape Town. At many meetings that I attended, such as the SANGOCO AGM, as well as community and arts events everyone recalls Phillip as being a hard working and somewhat eccentric character.
There has been much written about the role of the charismatic leader within an organisation and how this affects the workings of the organisation at many levels (Billis and Harris, 1998; Edwards, 1999; Fowler, 2003; Wright, 1996). The CEO is very much the ‘face’ of the TNUI and the father figure. With the flurry of activity amongst the fundraising team and with extra responsibilities being added to Liesel’s workload Phillip is still looked up to as the main leader of the organisation. It appears to me that both the staff and the organisation as a whole need Phillip to remain as the charismatic figurehead of the organisation. When an NGO loses that recognisable face then it can lead to the slow disintegration of an organisation. The CEO as such is an essential part of the ‘packaging’ or cover sheet of the TNUI.

The CEO has more or less removed himself visually from the organisation’s everyday business and the board of Directors has been revamped. The staff has been downsized and more people from the previously disadvantaged groups have been employed thus changing the public face of the organisation to a more ‘representative’ and ‘Africanized’ one. That said the employment of more black staff and having a more diversified face to the organisation is only a small part of the process. Africanisation is a culmination of appealing to state policies regarding domestic funds, the desire to be less dependent on foreign funds and the desire to adapt NGOs in South Africa to their specific local contexts rather than just taking the lead from Northern NGOs.

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34 My own previous experience of the loss of a charismatic figurehead in an organisation illustrates my fears for the TNUI. From June 1996 to June 2000 I volunteered with an organisation in Ireland with a community development organisation. The director of that particular NGO, Mary, was also the figurehead of the organisation. She was known throughout the province for being a strong leader in the voluntary and community sector. Once she left the organisation and retired from the voluntary sector the organisation was never the same again. People did not want to deal with the new director and staff. This woman was the organisation; she represented many things to her clients and staff. I fear the same may happen to the TNUI if Phillip and Liesel retire from the TNUI and do not find someone who embodies the reasons why the TNUI is what it is and why it does what it does.
Liesel, the Chief Operating Officer is a white female in her mid 50's

The other central influence and leader in the TNUI is Liesel. She and Phillip have been married since 1992. I have described her as the “matriarch” of the organisation, which is in line with the family motif in the organisation. She represents the harder, more focused side of the organisation. This is a position that, from my observations I concluded, she has had to take due to trial and error. The leaders of the organisation, in their friendly approachable manner, have often been taken advantage of due to their respect for their employees.

Recent decline in the organisation and financial and staff difficulties have forced Liesel to take control as the main leader in order to give a more focused and hard-line approach to saving the organisation and dealing with staff matters. She is very much behind the drive for professionalising the NGO and formalising arrangements, which up until now have been quite informal, such as staff policies, project evaluations and fundraising strategies. Phillip appears reluctant to employ ‘NGO consultants’ to evaluate the organisation and is generally closed to any criticisms of the organisation.

Liesel, however, does appear to be trying to embrace the strategic changes needed. In my interview with the NGO consultant, Mark, he stated that she was less difficult to work with than Phillip. His main problem with Phillip was that he continuously failed to follow through on suggested changes the consultant made. Mark felt that Phillip “prefers to write about his philosophies and the spiritual ambitions of the organisation rather than the practical everyday running issues”.

Liesel has experience of the professional sector and she comes from a business background which makes it easier for her to engage with the NGO consultants and business strategists they have been consulting with in order to avert another financial crisis. She is a competent and focused businessperson and is much of the energy behind the change and transition in the TNUI. She does a lot of the networking and meeting with government officials and prospective donors. She is also the financial manager and the co-ordinator of many of the organisation’s projects as well as its new fundraising team.
She oversees every aspect of the organisation and is looked to by the staff as the central leader in the organisation.

She has described herself to me as the “dragon” in the organisation however, despite her focused demeanour she is the mother figure and the centre point behind the business and emotional life of the organisation. Phillip is the masthead, as it were, the charismatic side of the partnership. I observed that this division of labour could be quite taxing upon Liesel, who bares the brunt of many of the staff disputes and the responsibility for project management and financial accountability within the organisation. This has been more so the case since the strategic planning for 2006 was put into place and after the threatened closure of the organisation in February 2006.

Liesel is spearheading the three-year plan drawn up by the strategic planning sessions. This plan has been consistently revised since then and has been narrowed down to a six-month emergency plan following the threatened closure of the organisation. She is a central driving force and is optimistic for the plan. As well as overseeing and implementing the strategic planning, she also is in control of fundraising and other matters pertaining to donor contact. Much of the communication that is done with overseas donors is done through the COO. She is in regular correspondence with them.

Given that the TNUI only began receiving actual funding from the government in 1998, these contacts with foreign private donors and grant agencies was essential to the organisation in its early years. Such connections are becoming important again as funding relations with government at present begin to frustrate the organisation due to the lack of governmental efficiency and the tensions associated with broken promises with regards to funding.
The other core members of staff are described as follows:

- **VIVIAN, the Chief Administrator is a coloured female in her mid-40's**

Vivian is the main administrator in the organization. She is in charge of organising and fulfilling all administration duties. She is situated at the main desk in the entrance to the organisation. She has been working for the organization for over ten years since it opened in its current premises. She is also said to be part of the management team, although she explained to me that she feels that this is mainly a symbolic role as Liesel has the final say on all aspects of the running of the organisation.

Vivian’s responsibilities supposed to be increasing as the restructuring process begins within the organisation. She is a single mother of three and is very much the real mother figure in the organisation and in many ways the ‘heart’ of the TNUI family. She has a very warm and caring disposition and took me into her fold from the very first day. In addition to her administrative duties, Vivian also prepares the lunches every Friday and does all the catering for the organisations events. She does not get a wage which reflects these duties, as is the case with many NGO employees.

Since I completed my fieldwork with the organisation Vivian has left the organisation and has gone one to work as an administrator in a local University. She was forced to reapply for her job as part of the restructuring process. Rather than be interviewed for her job with other applicants, Vivian chose to resign after ten years with the organisation as a result of the changes and restructuring process. Consequently, her relationship with the organisation has been strained but she remains an occasional visitor to the organisation and a life-long friend of some of its staff especially with Maria and Loronda. This tension and loss of staff will be explored further in the proceeding chapters.

The main hub of activity within the organisation was the front desk where Vivian and Loronda were situated. My office was close to this and many of my interactions with the staff took place at this desk. In many ways Vivian was the glue that held the staff together at the TNUI. She was a mother figure and also a source constant source of
encouragement and laughter during the difficult and tense periods that accompanied the financial crises and the various headaches that transition had given way to.

- **LORONDA, the Girl Friday is a black female in her mid-20’s**
  Loronda is a black female in her mid twenties and was the only black female employed by the organisation at the time that I was volunteering with them. Since I finished my fieldwork Loronda has also left the organisation to work as a Personal Assistant with a former member of the organisation who runs his own business. When Vivian left, Loronda was promoted to the main administrator's position. However she left after tensions between her and Liesel as a result of the impact the restructuring process was having upon her position within the organisation. She too was told she would have to re-apply for her job in the upcoming new financial year in the organisation.

- **GAIL, the Accountant is a white female in her mid-40’s**
  Gail was employed to be the financial manager to the organisation. I had very little interactions with Gail, who remained in her office most of the time that I was with the organisation and interacted very little with the other staff on a daily basis. She was experiencing many health related personal problems during the time I was researching the organisation, therefore I was unable to formally interview her or get to know her beyond surface level interactions. Gail left the TNUI at the end of 2004 after a series of disagreements with the CEO and COO and due to her general dissatisfaction with her position within the organisation.

- **SARA, the Fundraising Officer and PA is a white female in her early 30’s.**
  Sara is a white woman in her early 30’s. I shared a house with Sara for a period of two months during my fieldwork with the TNUI. Sara’s role within the organisation was not clearly defined. Her main duties involved being Phillip and Liesel’s personal assistant. Her secondary function was to prepare fundraising proposals with Liesel and source potential funders. In addition, she was given the responsibility of keeping fundraising files and a comprehensive database of potential donors. Her formal education is as an English teacher with a specialisation in Waldorf education. Sara is also a Reiki
practitioner. She does not have any formal training in business, NGO management or community development.

Her subsidiary role within the organisation was liaise between the CEO and the other core staff, particularly when it came to arranging management meetings, informing staff of policy changes and organising events. In addition, Sara had the job of compiling the annual reports with Liesel and she would interview or work with the project managers on compiling their contributions to that report. Sara had a desk in the central office with Phillip and Liesel. The other staff members such as the accountant, projects manager and youth officer has offices in a different part of the building, in the external offices leading off the central courtyard. It was my observation that the physical arrangements appeared to echo the hierarchies within the organisation. Consequently, Vivian, Loronda and the other non-managerial staff regarded Sara as being aloof at times and as someone not to be confided in with regards to any complaints about the leaders in the organisation.

- **TSEPHO, the Youth Administrator is a black male in his mid-30’s**

Tsepho is a black male in his late 30’s. Initially he was involved in the teacher upliftment programmes that they ran in the township schools. Since then he had taken charge of the Drum and Dance program when the previous manager, Shane, left due to financial difficulties. Tsepho is the only full-time black male employee within the core staff and the only Xhosa speaker in the organisation. Tsepho would often accompany Phillip and Liesel to events and NGO meetings, socially when a Xhosa speaker or black representative was needed to be seen at these events.

When I finished my fieldwork at the TNUI he had left temporarily due to a lack of funding to employ him but was being reinstated in mid 2005 to head the new youth programme that the TNUI were seeking funding for from the local government. This again was a good strategic decision to have a man of colour as the main project manager for a project seeking local funding. This will be highlighted again in the chapter on africanisation of the sector and the decline of white-run non-profit organisations and projects.
• **DILLAN, the Food Garden’s Manager is a coloured female in her early 60s**

Dillan is a coloured lady in her early 60’s. She is a former nun who left the order after only a few years. She trained as a primary level teacher and a Waldorf kindergarten teacher. She is the project manager for the food gardens; she manages the other part-time staff who work on the project as well as coordinating all the participating schools. In many ways Dillan is the only member of the Novalis team that truly knows what the clients feel about the organisation and what their needs are. This is because she is always visiting the projects, seeing the communities and engaging with them on a consistent basis.

She is very vocal about her concerns over Phillip and Liesel’s distance from their clients both in terms of meeting their needs and service provision. Equally she is very direct about her criticisms of their leadership and the manner in which they run the organisation. She has had a few serious disagreements with the CEO and COO that have led to her almost resigning. At the point if writing Dillan had handed in her notice of resignation and was considering an appeal from Phillip to reconsider her resignation.

• **MARIA, the Housekeeper and is a coloured lady in her late-40’s**

Maria is a coloured woman in her late forties. She is the housekeeper at the TNUI and is responsible for the general cleaning and assisting Vivian with the preparation of food and catering of events. She has a very close relationship with Vivian and was deeply affected when Vivian left the organisation. Maria grew to be quite fond of me also and was very sad when I left the organisation also. The series of upsets has resulted in her seeking employment elsewhere but at the time of writing she was still employed at the TNUI. I often still return to visit Maria at the organisation.

• **Volunteers**

Another important element of the ‘family’ in the organisation are the volunteers who come from all over the world and within South Africa. They are treated just the same as any full-time staff member and are encouraged to be as much a part of the ‘family’ as they wish to be. The non-profit sector depends on volunteerism much more than any
other sector and South Africa is no different. In particular, small NGOs and CBOs cannot afford a large paid staff; as such volunteers become a lifeline and a welcome addition to any organisation struggling to staff projects with very little funding. As with many NGOs in the developing world, the TNUI has had a lot of experience with volunteers who come and go.

In recent years, they have put into place a method for screening volunteers and an introduced induction process. As part of my induction I was invited to visit all their projects, help with events, interact with staff and meet various partners and associates. My main project that I was had to work on as part of my volunteer duties, was the SNAP project (Strategic National Action Plan), a project which aimed to set up a support network for care workers of those children affected and infected by AIDS (A copy of the document outlining the project in Appendices).

Volunteers at the TNUI are an essential part of the ‘family’. There is a problem with short-term volunteers within South Africa and many post-conflict societies in general. Volunteers tend to arrive *en masse* after a humanitarian disaster or in the case of South Africa after the end of apartheid when the country needed volunteers, particularly international volunteers. In total, I volunteered about three to five days a week with the organisation from March 2004 to March 2005. After that, due to my writing-up commitments, I only visited the organisation occasionally to check-in and attend the networking lunches.

During my time volunteering, I became part of the ‘family’ and subsequently the TNUI was my initial of ‘community’ in Cape Town. My social circle primarily consisted of staff, members, and associates of the organisation. As such, even when I left the building the world of the TNUI was with me most of the time. This level of connection afforded me the opportunity of seeing both the positive and shadow parts of the organisation through my volunteering, social relationships with staff and members and by engaging with outsiders who were once members or staff of the organisation. Initially the CEO,
Director, all the staff and its associates embrace each volunteer into the TNUI ‘family’ and they provide a great support network for foreign volunteers such as myself.

The TNUI ‘family’ is not always a happy one. As with any organisation that has its shining points, there are also weaknesses. The main weaknesses or cracks in the organisation’s philosophies and strategies are analysed in greater depth in the findings chapters. They are influenced highly by the particular dynamic that South Africa society and the non-profit sector there finds itself in at present. As well as dealing with the general difficulties that any NGO goes through as it goes into decline, the TNUI has had to deal with factors specific to South Africa and as it undergoes fundamental transitions.

3.2 Spaceships and Seminal Observations

The building that houses the organisation is known as “the spaceship” to the locals and some of its members. The building has a dome-like roof and a white exterior (See Diagram 1 and 2). The actual building says a lot about the organisation in that it is mysterious looking and a bit strange, which also captures the sense of mystery and confusion I felt with regards to the organisation and what its work is. The offices are not traditional in that they are spaced far apart, they are very basic, and they do not have a consistent function, which reflects a lot about the organisation in general.

The central courtyard has the administration office to the right, a couple of smaller offices that are rented by affiliated organisations and smaller NGOs/CBOs and to the left of the courtyard is the main entrance. The reception desk is straight through this door. The rest of the building is one large room almost. It has a large, round central space and the various staff offices and meeting rooms branch off this central space, which is used for art performances and large gatherings. The kitchen is open at the right-hand side of this performance space. The networking lunches and staff meetings generally take place in this area. It is the most central common space within the building.\(^{35}\)

\(^{35}\) Regrettably, there is no internal map available of the building but the exterior images on the next page give one a good overall impression of the building.
Due to this large space, the brightness of the interior building and its location the organisation's rooms and central space are often rented out for holistic fairs and other cultural events such as The Tibetan Festival and the celebrations of the Dali Lamas birthday (in June 2005). The other main source of venue hire is from educational groups wishing to hold meetings or workshops there. This additional revenue is essential to the long-term sustainability of the organisation.

In addition to larger groups, the TNUI rents out its three meeting rooms to various smaller groups and workshops in order to bring in extra income. Such individual groups are composed of alternative therapists, counselling sessions and small-scale workshops. However, the types of workshops and people who use them have to be approved at management meetings first. Those who use the building usually have a specific focus on personal development, counselling, alternative therapies and capacity building.

Diagram 1: A drawing of the TNUI building as seen from the front

The atmosphere then, in line with the architecture, is one of an organised informality. Staffs of all ages and responsibilities mingle. Management meetings sometimes take place in the kitchen but are generally held in Phillip's office. Meetings with those outside of the organisation are by appointment with Phillip but when I first came to the organisation, they had a more 'open-door' policy than they did have at present. There is a general move away from the ease of informality that I experienced when I first
encountered the organisation two years ago and a move towards greater formality and a more business-like approach to staff and public interactions.

*Diagram 2: A photograph of the TNUI with Table Mountain in the background*

The spaces between the different offices and the vastness of the central space are supposed to serve the holistic and free ethos of the organisation. However, I felt that the distances made staff interactions difficult and made the building more of a cold segregated space than a warm, close ‘family’ space. The organisation’s building seemed neither an office nor a home; it was a strange middle place between these two ideals. Most of the ‘real’ conversations or ‘gossiping’ happens around the administrators/receptionist’s desk. In addition, many of the interviews I conducted and conversations I took fieldnotes on were recorded in the kitchen space.

Added to this is the sense of isolation one experiences in the organisation given its geographical location. It is not within walking distance of any main shops or social interaction points; therefore even during one’s lunch break you are largely confined to the
building by the busy main road, which lies outside its gate, and the complete lack of public transport\textsuperscript{36}. From a geographic point of view, the area in which the organisation is located is not very centrally located and is quite a distance away from the some of the projects areas that they work with, such as Khayelitsha and Grabouw and schools in the Overberg.

Its location is difficult for many people to get to without their own method of transport; therefore, visiting groups from impoverished communities have to be bussed in. The TNUI has a small fleet of vehicles, consisting of a car and a small minibus. These vehicles are mostly used for visiting the projects that they run, which are allocated about 30-40 minutes drive from the institute in the Cape Flats and township areas (a map of the areas they work in will be provided in the Appendix I)\textsuperscript{37}. This is one area of concern: the TNUI is quite isolated from the ‘clients’ it works with, which in turn reflects that lack of contact that the senior management have with the clients whose needs they are supposed to be meeting.

In general, in the neighbourhood people tend to think affectionately of the organisation as the spaceship and very few people locally know what is actually done there. Many people I talked to thought it was a religious building; one person I met thought it was a hospital of some sort. The location of the organisation and the lack of publicity it receives locally

\textsuperscript{36} Public transport is very scarce in South Africa. There is only one main train line in the city and public taxis and buses are very unsafe and are not policed. They are notoriously dangerous but the only means of transport for the poor majority of the population. Without your own transport in South Africa you are stranded. It is generally unsafe for white people to travel on trains and public buses due to the very present and real threat of violence.

\textsuperscript{37} The architects of apartheid created physical barriers between the racial groups, which were strategic and still exist today. Even under the new democratic government highways, motorways, railway lines and the lack of public transport serve to keep the impoverished communities distinctly separate from the predominantly rich white suburbs. For an organisation such as the TNUI, it has served them to be situated where they are now in that it is close to the living areas of its founder members, staff, and anthroposophical members. However, it is far removed from the communities it provides funds and services to. Staff who manage projects have to travel to the schools and sites that it has partnerships with. Consequently, it was my observation that the management in particular operated largely in its own world isolated from the opinions and needs of its clients. It appears that NGOs that are based in the townships or close to the communities who work with them have a better chance of survival and of maintaining the regard and trust of the community. On the other hand, the TNUI’s geographical position has enabled them to be removed from local politics in the townships and local power struggle amongst NGOs and activists in these communities, which can benefit their relationships with external donors by allowing them to remain apolitical.
I met with Phillip and Liesel today. I felt like I was at a job interview. I suspected that Liesel was a bit suspicious of me but I understand that she was just making sure I was going to be committed to working with the TNUI. She has quite a cold demeanour at first and gives one the impression of sizing you up, as it were. The building looks unfinished but everyone seemed really friendly and welcoming. There is a sense of isolation about the building. I have been here before but did not recall two years previous the ‘bigness’ of it, as in the space inside. It looks and feels like a spaceship.

The atmosphere is a bit spacey too in that it’s calm, relaxed and yet there’s a buzz of work. Vivian, the receptionist was so nice to me. The CEO was very enthusiastic about me volunteering with them. Our correspondence prior to my arrival was sparse so I guess neither of us knew what to expect. There is a small bit of confusion or miscommunication about the purpose of my visit. I tried to explain it to them that I wanted to conduct research rather than just volunteer. I will explain the situation further at my official ‘volunteer’ meeting on Monday (Extract from Fieldnotes, March 19th 2004).

Despite the strangeness of the building, my first impression of the organisation seems to be quite similar to those people I met during the fieldwork period who came to the organisation for the first time. We all agree that it takes a few visits to the TNUI to begin to understand what its core business actually is and what goes on behind the doors of the individual rooms that are dotted around the building. From the strange origins of the building’s architecture to the way in which all the offices are spaced far away from each other, one gets the impression that there is much more to this organisation than meets the eye and that perhaps one is not supposed to get the whole picture because there is not one integrated solid whole.

As I have already stated repeatedly, the organisation makes an effort to appear open and to espouse an open-minded way of conducting the business of NGO-ing but as one staff member confided to me, “there’s a lot that is not being said, there’s a lot of secrecy and back-biting. What we know and when we know it (she was referring to our proceeding conversation regarding funding sources, job security and general knowledge about the
future of the organisation) is controlled by them (she motions to the CEO and COO’s office). We’re not supposed to ask questions or challenge them. They choose to keep a distance between the project staff regarding such matters” (extract from a conversation with a member of staff, March 2005). As such, the physical spaces within the building and the physical divisions between the senior management and the project staff feed into the mental and cultural barriers in the building.

3.3 Transitional and Organisational Change: The Life Cycles of the TNUI from 2000-2004

The main starting point when looking at the modus operandi an organisation is to look at its life cycle. Within the literature on NGOs, various models of the life cycle of an NGO have been put forward. What this research highlights is that in a post-conflict situation and as portrayed by the ethnographic data, life-cycle models are never as straightforward as some models claim to be. In terms of contesting existing models, the ethnographic data examines a year in the life of an NGO and looks at how this figures in the life cycle of the organisation.

I found that the TNUI’s life cycle could not be neatly framed within some of these models. The reality of lived experience shows that a small NGO fluctuates between periods of barrenness and crisis to periods of ‘fashionable affluence’ and back to crisis again. The motivations behind such transitions are often imposed from outside but one has to allow for internal fluctuations also. One such example of a life cycle model is Kortens’ ‘generations’ model’.

Kortens’ (1987) model of NGO generations takes the life cycle theories with organisational theory as its inspiration. It is a series of stages of development based on incremental learning. The model has three distinct generations;

- Doer – The first generation is the relief and welfare generation. This sees the main role of the NGO as being a “doer”, that is it takes on the delivery of welfare services, relief provisions and attempts to alleviate the immediate causes of poverty and disadvantage rather than getting to solve the root causes.
Mobiliser – The second generation is the community development phase where the NGO focuses more on self-reliance and sustainability in relation to the organisation itself and the groups it works that is, ‘clients’.

Catalyst – The third generation focuses on sustainable systems development where the NGO begins to make changes in terms of institutional and policy contexts and undergoes a transition of sorts. In this phase, the focus is also on developing partnerships with larger organisations or government agencies. It is during this period that the NGO can begin to bridge initiatives with smaller NGOs or CBOs who have become self-reliant.

Fourth generation – Korten later in his work added a fourth generation in which the NGO begins to see itself as apart of a wider social movement and begins to develop an alternative paradigm within the organisation and through initiating changes in public consciousness on both a national and global scale.

Kortens’ four generations as laid out in his work have a linear progression but as many theorist and observers have pointed out (Lewis, 1999) this is not necessarily how it happens and this is the central weakness of his model. Another weakness of Kortens’ four generations is that he does not go into detail as to what motivates these changes or what drives the changing orientation of NGOs.

Models such as Kortens’ do not, as Lewis also argues (Lewis, 2000), bring to life what motivates change in the organisation and what levels of agency an NGO has in relation to its structural and ideological transitions. The model does not look at how the fourth generation of social movements and wider sectoral transitions can lead to the death of an organisation as the ‘movement’ expands and those weaker organisations are forced out of the donor market by competition and failure to evolve in line with donor and sectoral expectations and needs. However, this model is helpful when one puts the TNUI within its context and provides a model to look at its transitional and changing organisational forms over its twenty-one year history.
In its first generation, the TNUI fits Kortens’ model in that its main aim was service provision. In 1989, the organisation received funding from the then National Government who was under pressure to be seen to be supporting social development in South Africa during the Apartheid. As Liesel explained to me in an interview, the TNUI was “one of the few white run locally based NGOs with local employees working in the townships at the time.” This large amount of funding enabled the organisation to expand its premises and begin its service delivery programmes in two main township communities.

The immediate need the identified was the poor educational support and educational facilities available to the poor black population. Under the political circumstances of the time, it was part of the government strategy to keep the black population uneducated so there was an immediate dire need for assistance from NGO to the teachers, students, and general educational facilities. The TNUI began arts based educational programme sin the township schools involving art, drama, music and upliftment and support programmes for teachers.

What is interesting is that the TNUI appears somewhat ‘embarrassed’ about this funding from the Apartheid Government as the leaders make a concerted effort to appear non-political in their organisation and everyday running of it. In all our interviews Phillip stressed that both he and his organisation have managed to ‘remain non-political’ during and after the apartheid years. Therefore, it was never a ‘resistance’ group in political terms but has always strived to change the face of South Africa through the Arts, education, mutual understanding and working to empower impoverished communities.

In his comments on the first draft of my chapter on the organisation he objected to my comments about funding stating that it was “factually incorrect” to say that the TNUI had received funding from government (being the National Party government) prior to 1994. However, I have it on record from an interview with Liesel that they received a large amount of funding for their education projects from the Apartheid Government in 1990.
In this phase, an NGO is focusing on sustainability and self-reliance. With the fall of Apartheid and the creation of a new government NGOs in South Africa were now in a better position to receive funding from overseas parties and the initial aftermath of the 1994 elections saw many donors entering South Africa, as I outlined in chapter four. During this period, funding was in abundance in the TNUI and its staff were at its highest numbers ever in its history. The result of too many staff and too many projects were that tensions rose and there was a battle over leadership within the organisation. As a result some members broke away and formed organisation of their own.

There was no shortage of funding to do so in this period of the South African non-profits sectors history. However, the TNUI began focusing on sustainability measures and ways of generating future incomes. It set up a 'consumers association' in the organisation and began formulating a more coherent sense of the organisation’s ethos and missions. As applications for donor funds became more complex and accountability became more of an issue towards the beginning of the year 2000, the TNUI began to go into a financial dip. At this point sustainability became paramount. Phillip explained to me that this was largely due to a huge amount of funding being pulled from the organisation unexpectedly. He explains that, in 1998 “a major donor was forced by new legislation to redirect funding previously promised to them, to the South African government. Some though we would be forced to close, but we are still here, seven years later!”

In addition to this in early 2001 the NDA (National Development Authority) a major source of local funding, was hit with a huge corruption scandal and all the funds were frozen pending the outcome of the corruption investigations. Consequently, top NDA officials were forced to resign and all previously promised monies had to be reapplied for which was yet another major set back for the TNUI. It was at this point that I first encountered the organisation during my stay in South Africa in the summer of 2001.
• The CATALYST: 1998 to 2007

Kortens describes this as the phase where the organisation undergoes policy and partnership changes. Within the TNUI, these years are marked by huge transitions and financial crises. The organisation was changing in so many ways and this was affected by wider sectoral changes. As chapter four explained, increased competition, new classifications of NGOs and the move from post-conflict solidarity funding from donors to more economic development orientated funds meant NGOs were forced to rethink their initial objectives. For an organisation like the TNUI, it was inevitable that not only would the needs of their clients and communities change but that also the expectations of donors and staff would change.

There is evidence during this period of philosophies being realigned, alliances, networks, and objectives in order to keep the organisation fresh, competitive, and functional for those marginalised people it aims to help, the members of the organisation and the staff within it. The table below illustrates the 'transitions' and policy shifts that began to co-exist within the organisation making it almost schizophrenic and a fertile ground for change and confusion. What is most interesting about this table is that it reflects more than just the internal dualisms and contradictions within the organisation itself but also the wider social and political contradictions that are being confronted daily within the sector as a whole.

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<th>Old</th>
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Sectoral Networks with unifying anti-apartheid principles vs. Disorganised networks with no unifying objectives.

Phillip, the "white dinosaur" and older members of TNUI vs. New members, younger, non-anthroposophical people, black elite

Informal family-like atmosphere TNUI as a 'Family' vs. Business-like formalisation TNUI as a 'product'

Open-door policy Networking and Sharing Capacity-building with other NGOs vs. Competitive project tenders Internal capacity building Crowded market place

Table 1: Illustration of the Dualities and the Multiple Faces on the TNUI

These competing dualities provide us with a possible explanation for TNUI’s failure to capitalise on the third generation movement. Which would see them becoming a catalyst through partnerships with the wider community and collaborating smaller CBOs more, effectively which has contributed largely to their cycles of decline. As such, TNUI has not made it to the fourth generation as it has failed to remobilise itself into a new ‘movement’, even though it terms of its philosophies and project objectives it has framed them in terms of social movement criteria.

- The FOURTH GENERATION: The TNUI as a Social Movement

The anthroposophical aspects of the organisation and its influence on the making of meaning within the organisation’s visions are in many ways seen as being a social movement by the leaders in the organisation. If anything contrary to Kortens model the TNUI modelled itself as a social movement from its very inception and it is this that has perhaps affected its failure to fully mobilise itself within its current transitions and decline. Anthroposophy and the idea of transforming society through educational arts is not a large social movement within South Africa.

Aspects of their programme such as the Beautiful Schools campaign, which encourages proactive involvement of students and teachers and families in community sustainability and diversifying the role of the school within a community, has been part of a social
movement towards diversifying and improving the South African curriculum and support of educators in the country. The TNUI and Phillip have been at the forefront of this movement and it has grown substantially over the past seven years to culminate in a countrywide campaign, which will begin in late 2006.

3.4 Philosophical Phases: From Steiner to ‘ubuntu’

The history of the TNUI is a complex one and multifarious one. Despite having known the organisation and observing it for over a year I still found it difficult to piece together the layers of history and philosophy that make up the TNUI. Therefore, it is easier to understand the evolution of the organisation through its philosophical phases or through the main streams of thought that have influenced change within the organisation in terms of programmatic changes and physical ones.

The TNUI is a non-profit organisation that started out as a discussion group and a philosophical organisation in the late 1970s. Phillip, the CEO, was influenced by the work and teachings of the German philosopher, Rudolph Steiner. He was so passionate about his work and its transformative potential for South Africa, that he and some fellow anthroposophist started the organisation as a think-tank in his garage in 1979. In Phillip’s own words,

The organisation started in my garage in 1979 as a private and personal initiative. In 1981/2, the organisation was conceived by the founding members [he lists the names, which I have erased for anonymity purposes] it would be important for you to know that it was founded as a group effort (although I have always played a leading role) (Extract from interview with Phillip July 19th 2004).

Originally a ‘think-tank’, the organisation evolved into an NPO (Non-Profit Organisation) in the early 1980s and began working on educational programme, which promoted and supported the work of Waldorf Schools (education based on Steiner’s philosophy). They were devising similar educational programme and schemes that could be incorporated into the disadvantaged communities within the troubled South Africa of the time. During the Emergency years and the reign of the apartheid regime, the TNUI
remained steadfast in its commitment to educating the disadvantaged and marginalised communities.

The organisation's name was inspired by the work of a German poet and philosopher dating around 1772-1801. His work and life was quite an apt inspiration for the organisation as it embodies an eclectic mix of German humanism and romanticism with the ideas of African ubuntu, anthroposophy, and the ideals of a new modern democracy in the form of the New South Africa. The anthroposophical influence is the main philosophical phase that has driven the objectives and leaders in the organisation.

The CEO has referred to the German humanist aspects of the organisation as the "cult of anthroposophy" (quote from interview with Phillip), and in many ways it appears to have served the organisation as both a catalyst to developing new programme as well as holding them back from engaging on a different level with donors and clients. A detailed explanation of anthroposophy is difficult given that its origins are elusive; however, it is primarily based upon the work of the German philosopher, Rudolf Steiner.

Steiner, who was of German-Austrian origin, was born on 25 February 1861. In 1901/1902, Steiner developed in an initial form, during the following decade, what he named an "anthroposophical spiritual science", based on the idealistic tradition in philosophy, rooted in the thinking of Aristotle, Plato, and Thomas Aquinas. In 1918, when a revolution took place, not only in Russia, but also in Germany, and threatened to disintegrate the social fabric, Steiner presented suggestions for a conscious threefold differentiation of society as a path for the future. It focused on the development of freedom in the cultural sphere, equality in the sphere of politics and legislation, and a globally oriented brotherhood in the sphere of economy.

Steiner lectured widely on this topic, leading to a movement for social threefolding. In 1919, this led to the founding of the first Waldorf School in Stuttgart at the initiative of Emil Molt, CEO of the Waldorf-Astoria cigarette factory. The school became the model for the Waldorf movement. Today, Steiner's ideas about a conscious threefold
differentiation of society has been one of the main inspirations for the work by one of the recipients of the Alternative Nobel Prize in 2003, Nicanor Perlas, President of the Centre for Alternative Development Initiatives (CADI) in Manila, and other civil society activists. It is its association with anthroposophy and the work of Steiner that makes the TNUI unique and appeals to certain sectors of Cape Town's community. Namely those who have experienced a Waldorf education or are interested in “creating a better nation through the use of arts based education and cultural activities.” (Phillip, June 2004).

Anthroposophy is a human oriented spiritual philosophy. It reflects and speaks to the basic deep spiritual questions of humanity, to our basic artistic needs, to the need to relate to the world out of a scientific attitude of mind, and to the need to develop a relation to the world in complete freedom and based on completely individual judgments and decisions. A more detailed description would possibly point to some basic aspects and levels of anthroposophy.

Firstly, anthroposophy is a spiritual philosophy, mainly developed by Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925) at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Secondly, it is a path of knowledge or spiritual research, developed based on European idealistic philosophy, rooted in the philosophies of Aristotle, Plato, and Thomas Aquinas. On this basis, anthroposophy strives to bridge the clefts that have developed since the middle Ages between the sciences, the arts and the religious strivings of man as the three main areas of human culture, and build the foundation for a synthesis of them for the future. Anthroposophy also is an impulse to nurture the life of the soul in the individual and in human society, meaning among other things to nurture the respect for and interest in other people on a purely human basis independently of their origin and views.

During my time with the TNUI, it was this aspect, which to me seemed more pertinent to the work that is being carried out by the organisation. The TNUI does not identify itself

38 Waldorf or Rudolf Steiner education is based on an anthroposophical view and understanding of the human being, that is, as a being of body, soul and spirit. The education mirrors the basic stages of a child's development from childhood to adulthood, which in general reflects the development of humanity through history from our origin, far back in past times up to the present.
specifically as an “anthroposophical organisation” in an everyday sense. However, to the founding members this element of the organisation is important. Some members of Cape Towns and South Africa’s anthroposophical societies has openly criticised the organisation for moving away from the philosophy that originally inspired the conception of the organisation. The organisation regularly hosts an ubuntu circle, which discusses the ideas of anthroposophy also, and most of the attendees are members of South Africa’s anthroposophical society.

Despite the interest of some of the newer members in the role of anthroposophy, it is largely the domain of the ‘old timers’ as such and is no longer seen as a central component of the organisation’s present day functions and objectives. However, they do try to introduce young and new members to the work of Steiner. When I began my volunteering at the organisation, I was encouraged to read some work of Steiner and the work of other anthroposophists. I had encountered the work of Nicanor Perlas, an anthroposophist. Therefore, I was initially keen to do so. Under the tutelage of Phillip, I tried to wade through some of the reading but found them cumbersome and taking up time, which could have been better employed on my volunteer project and doctoral research.

Other more senior staff, Vivian, also expressed to me their unease with desire of the management to push the work of Steiner as a central focus in the organisation and some refused to attend the weekly discussion group attended by Steiner devotees at the premises, which are hosted and chaired by Phillip. She too also referred to the “cultish” aspects of the Steiner philosophies in the organisation and the manner in which those who are not keen to read his work are frowned upon by the CEO and other members of the executive board. There is a sense that what may have been once the central organising philosophy of the organisation has now become a relic of the past. It has very little place or prominence within the organisation’s new transition as would seem to be the case with

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39 I uncovered these feelings in a conversation with Maureen (18-06-06), a member of the local Anthroposophical Society and a long time member of the TNUI. She is openly critical of Phillips recent lack of engagement with the founding philosophies of the organisation in their current organisational ethos and in the manner in which the organisation presents itself to donors and the public.
such philosophies within the ‘New South Africa’ as I will discuss further in chapters five and six.

There has been a problem of definition and practical application when it comes to the anthroposophical elements of the organisation, which has been an ongoing difficulty for the organisation. The ideas of anthroposophy can be too ‘heady’ and complex. I asked Phillip about the relevance of anthroposophy in the organisation nowadays and whether all the staff understands what it is all about, since it seems so central to the TNUI’s mission and vision for its work. The following is an extract from that interview:

_Aisling:_ How does anthroposophy inform the everyday activities here? Do all the staff understand exactly what its all about?

_The CEO:_ The TNUI is inspired by anthroposophy; it’s not an anthroposophical organisation. {…} It does not identify itself as an anthroposophical organisation. The TNUI started as a branch of the Anthroposophical Society of South Africa in Cape Town in 1978 but after 1981 the TNUI then became separate from the anthroposophical Society.

_Aisling:_ So all the initial staff knew about anthroposophy and the board members also?

_The CEO:_ Yes almost all of them. But you don’t have to be an anthroposophist to work here.

As someone who is not familiar with Steiner’s work, has not read, or absorbed his philosophies, the verses and communal blessings felt out of place for me. They confirmed the ‘cult like’ nature in which the philosophy is sometimes approached within the organisation, in that everyone claims to be in agreement of the anthroposophy ethos but no one apart from the leaders in the organisation or the original Steiner’s followers really understands its significance or use in the everyday running of an efficient NGO.

The reality of the transition is that the organisation has to change its philosophies, its objectives, and its core business in order to survive. This begs the question as to whether in doing so the organisation has already ceased to exist anymore as it has evolved into a new organisation that is becoming far removed from its original guise. Thus, the TNUI has become more removed internally from its origins and consequently can make itself into a more saleable ‘product’ to entice domestic donors and appeal to the
professionalisation demands of the global aid agencies. There is very little evidence left in the organisation of its anthroposophical roots or those who started the organisation.

The next main philosophical strand that was introduced or re-emphasised is the African concept of ubuntu. The TNUI claims in its vision and mission statements and in the ethos of the organisation to embody both the ideals of ubuntu in a practical way in that it informs their projects and programme in conjunction with the philosophy of anthroposophy and the work of Steiner.

It aims to expand the arts into people’s lives in a meaningful way and more importantly into the lives of impoverished communities who were marginalised during apartheid and who continue to be exploited under the present government. The TNUI gives access to a type of education and cultural activities that without the TNUI the ‘clients’ would otherwise not have access to. The recent name change of the organisation to include the word ubuntu in their name signals the perceived importance of practical ubuntu within the organisation and its public image as an ‘African’ NGO.

The CEO has written pamphlets and a book on the role of practical ubuntu on the New South Africa. A brief description of ubuntu to my understanding would be that it is an expression, which has its origin in the concept of umuntu - human being. According to the Bantu philosophy, the human being is divided into two beings: the outside, which exists from the presence of the inside being the inside, and which gives life and shape to the outside. The inside is also understood to be the heart, as such the centre of human personality, feelings, thoughts and human will. This is the centre of human values. It requires an authentic respect for human/individual rights and related values, and an honest appreciation of differences.

Ubuntu (a Zulu word) serves as the spiritual foundation of African societies. It is a unifying vision or worldview enshrined in the Zulu maxim umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu, that is, "a person is a person through other persons.” In essence, this traditional African aphorism articulates a basic respect and compassion for others. It can be interpreted as
both a factual description and a rule of conduct or social ethic. It both describes human being as "being-with-others" and prescribes what "being-with-others" should be all about.

The ubuntu respect for the particularities of the beliefs and practices of others is especially emphasised by a striking translation of *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* - A human being is a human being through (the otherness of) other human beings. For post-apartheid South Africans of all colours, creeds and cultures, ubuntu dictates that, if we were to be human, we need to recognise the genuine otherness of our fellow citizens. That is, we need to acknowledge the diversity of languages, histories, values and customs, all of which constitute South African society.

The combination of Germanic humanistic philosophies and African practical ubuntu has not been as straightforward as the CEO has led me and others to believe. Ubuntu is a difficult term to define as it is context specific and has different cultural meanings within the white and black communities. As such, there is a heady mix of discourses and philosophies in the organisation that makes for very interesting, complicated, and time-consuming philosophical musings.

In the everyday work of running an NGO however there is little time for thinking on such things. When you are applying for funding and meeting deadlines the in and outs of ubuntu or anthroposophy do not take priority in terms of intellectual energies. The work of Steiner or anthroposophy only seems to enter the working day when a verse of Steiner’s is read at the beginning of an AGM or a community verse is said at the beginning of a meeting.

The manner in which this affects the programme and staff will be discussed further in chapter five where the way in which these philosophies inform meaning in the organisation and the way it affects the running of the ‘business’ will be explored. Oftentimes the organisation hides behind its complex philosophies and humanistic ethos in order to avoid change, resist opposition from staff or members and to justify decisions in relation to donors, visitors, patrons and the type of client with which the organisation
prefers to deal with and engage with in terms of service provision and networking associations.

The philosophies that are publicly seen to be influencing the organisation affect the manner in which its peers, members, and more importantly donors see them. Consequently, by changing the organisation’s name to emphasise its leanings towards establishing “practical ubuntu” in South Africa’s non-profit sector shows that the organisation is trying to modernise its philosophies and consequently move further away from its anthroposophical roots. The consequence of this for its older staff and loyal anthroposophical members remains to be seen. As such one can see that the variety of discourses surrounding the philosophical underpinnings of the organisation affect the projects, missions and visions of the organisation which I will outline in the next section.

3.5 Programmatic Phases: Missions, Projects, and Networking

Initially, I was very confused as to what the actual ‘business’ of the organisation was since they appeared to be involved in so many different things and a core focus was difficult to identify, a point which I will elaborate on in chapter five. However, there are some main philosophies and streams of thought, which are central to the TNUI. These are the German humanistic philosophy of anthroposophy and the African philosophy of ubuntu, as outlined in the previous section. In many ways, the organisation aims to influence and inform its projects, work ethic, and vision for the New South Africa as well as its role as a nation-builder in line with these philosophies.

Amongst the staff and associates of the TNUI there are different perceptions of what the TNUI’s “core business” is as well as its central vision. This could be attributed to the mix of old and new staff in the past two years and because of the recent restructuring that is being undertaken within the organisation as people’s roles and relationships change. It has been a tough year for the organisation. This sense of transition and change is reflected in the different conceptions of what it is that the organisation actually does. The

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40 This is the terminology that the NGO consultant that the TNUI hired uses to describe the central raison d’être that the organisation has for existing and this is the term that they use in all their strategic planning documents.
following fieldnotes extract concerns this ‘fuzziness’ about the core meaning within the organisation.

Reflecting on the various meetings I have had this week I’m still unsure about the core meaning of what it is the TNUI actually does. The SNAP project requires vision and mission statements and a lot of details about what it is that the TNUI does and wants to do in terms of long-term goals. Whenever I ask Phillip about these it all still seems very ‘fuzzy’ to me and a bit abstract. I feel that the ‘fuzziness’ in the TNUI’s literature, presentations to donors and proposals may be what is preventing them from engaging with new donors and potential members outside of the organisation. As Leon said the organisation fails to “capture the funders” (Fieldnotes Monday August 2nd 2004).

This sense that the TNUI means many different things to everyone is not a damaging thing as the organisation encompasses many projects, visions, lifestyles and philosophies. However, for the purposes of ‘marketing’ the TNUI and pitching it to donors the consultant has been encouraging them to formulate a more coherent description of its vision and mission that all the staff can relate to and identify. During a discussion with all the staff, the NGO consultant confirmed the fact that everyone had a different idea of the mission and vision of the TNUI and that a single mission statement was needed for all staff to understand.

Equally, it was expressed by all staff that this statement “must be understood by all, be easy to communicate to others and easy to explain” (quote from interview with Mark, the NGO consultant), as this would make publicity and fundraising easier. In recent months I sense a much stronger sense of what the organisation wants to achieve in the future as a result of this strategic planning. There is a definite sense of purpose and a clearer focus present now that was lacking during my period volunteering with them.

The variety of projects, influences, and literature produced by the TNUI about the organisation has left many, including myself, unsure of what the TNUI’s actual core business was. After eight months volunteering with them I was happy to hear a coherent mission statement was being put together. After a series of meetings, the following mission statement and vision statement was drafted. The following is extracted from a
draft document developed by their NGO consultant Mark, which was a result of the strategic planning sessions.

*Mission*: The TNUI envisages a society in which all individuals are empowered and are striving towards their potential, thereby empowering communities.

*Vision*: The TNUI inspires individuals through the provision of art and culture based programme, to unlock their potential and empower communities.

*Philosophical Inspiration*: The TNUI is inspired by global concepts such as ubuntu, Universal Humanism, Spiritual Capital, Agenda 21, and Investing in people.\(^41\)

The difficulty that the staff and particularly the NGO consultant had with these statements is that they are still very vague. One of the issues that has been raised continuously by the fundraising and publicity team is that these concepts are difficult to put into non-professional’s terms and into a language that makes the organisation desirable to both the donor community and the local communities they want to work with. In the present donor/funding environment, you have to be as competitive as possible and this calls for as much clarity as possible. As I began to write up my research findings and a description of the TNUI, I found it difficult to pinpoint one explanation also.

In the TNUI’s case, the strategies that the organisation is employing are constantly shifting depending on the amount of funds that come through from the various promised monies throughout the year. Every time a funder fails to meet its obligations, money is delayed a new six-month, or twelve-month plan is adopted which can be very confusing for the staff. It was my observation from the opinions of staff and the consultant that perhaps a three-year plan was a far too ambitious endeavour for the organisation given the fragility of its financial position last year and the fragile nature of its staff loyalties during the difficult months.

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When it started in 1984, the TNUI focused mainly on cultural projects and ways to empower teachers and schools in marginalised communities during the apartheid years. The black schools were under-funded and on the margins of the educational system, the teachers operating in the schools were struggling to stay motivated given the lack of resources and the political and social climate of the time.

Teachers in the disadvantaged areas approached the TNUI for training and help with developing curriculum, teacher development programme, and general support. According to Liesel, the COO (Chief Operating Officer)\(^{12}\), at this time there was a relative abundance of funding for NGOs that were non-political and providing services for the marginalised communities, that is, filling the gaps the state was no prepared to fill in terms of service provision.

In addition, they were also doing projects with youth programme and teacher upliftment within the marginalised communities. This has remained a central focus of the TNUI. In recent years, they have parented a number of successful Food Garden projects where students and teachers actively got involved in a school food garden, sold produce locally, and used it as an educational tool. It was a source of pride for the school. The TNUI has successfully started and maintained numerous Food Gardens across the Western Province since 1999. During the restructuring process, this project was identified by the NGO consultant as being a key project that could be built upon in terms of capacity building and project development and expansion.

The projects that are currently running at the Institute fall under four main headings: Education, Youth, Civil Society, and Sustainability. These categorisations were developed last year during a meeting, which was redeveloping the TNUI's newsletter and brochure to send to potential funders. The following projects fall into these categories:

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\(^{12}\) Pseudonym of the COO of the TNUI
1. *Education Programme*
   - Beautiful Schools Campaign
   - Drum and Dance
   - Whole Food Gardens
   - Teacher Enrichment
   - Baphumelele Orphanage Food Gardens

2. *Youth Programme*
   - Youth Empowerment and After-School Programme
   - The TNUI ubuntu Choir

3. *Civil Society*
   - Agenda 21 Project
   - Networking and Research

4. *Sustainability*
   - Resource Centre
   - The TNUI Press
   - The TNUI Consumer and Diary Association
   - Venue Hire

Concerning the Orphan Care Project and SNAP, these projects are still in the development stages. The SNAP project may be resurrected on a smaller scale later this year should funding come through. The funding for the main Orphan Care project is still tied up overseas. The NGO consultant has advised the organisation to stick to its “core business and not to put too much emphasis or involvement in the Orphan Care projects” (quote from interview with Mark, September 2004). However, it is a project, which Phillip, Liesel and other staff are passionate about and want to be involved in.

The projects have mostly stayed the same since the organisation began but the TNUI must recognise that it needs to go back to its core business in order to be more efficient and competitive. In other words, it must stick to what it is good at. A new project, the Beautiful Schools Campaign, has brought the institute back into a partnership with the Department of Education and SACE (South African Council of Educators). Prior to this project, they had collaborated with the Dept of Education on a schools campaign but the funding ended in 2000 when there was a fall through of funding to the main projects sponsored by the Department. In 2004, a new Minister for Education took over and the TNUI saw its opportunity to relaunch the Beautiful Schools Project.
In essence, the Beautiful Schools Campaign, launched on October 9th 2004, seeks to “inspire local and rural schools throughout South Africa to improve their circumstances and environment through their own efforts, to empower these schools to aspire to create their own unique character through ownership by the school, community, individually and collectively, to bring the schools and the community together around a campaign therefore empowering a community and contributing to nation-building”, the programme is targeting poor schools and seeks to implement projects that will give the students and teachers pride in their schools (Coetzee, 2005:10). There is a type of competition between the schools involved at the end of each school year where they are rewarded when they excel at their development plans. The rewards vary from equipment to monetary donations to school funds.

The TNUI had planned to have the project up and running in full by June 2005 but at the time of writing-up this organisation had not yet received these promised monies. There is a strong emphasis placed in theory on the importance of community spirit and communication and teamwork in the TNUI. The philosophy is difficult to put into action and in my time at the organisation, I observed that very little networking was done beyond emailing and the intermittent meeting at the organisation with other social partners.

Internally, communication within the in-house ‘community’ and regular staff meetings are encouraged. This is in-keeping with the informal, family-like atmosphere. Equally, there has not been a comprehensive systematic evaluation done on the organisation’s projects by an independent observer or consultant, which is necessary in many organisations in order to assess the way forward for individual projects as well as the general levels of service delivery that the organisation provides (Fowler, 2003).

With regards to the levels of networking done by the organisation there is little done beyond the organisation by its general staff and much of the networking is done by Liesel or Phillip. Informal networking is the main source of peer and member support that the organisation engages in. Every Friday, the TNUI hosts a community lunch called the
'gobble and gossip' lunch. This lunch is open to all associates and visitors to the organisation. Mostly it is a time for informally meeting people involved in projects, visiting donors, and various passers by who are involved in this type of NGO work.

Oftentimes these lunches are the main source of networking done in the organisation. In fact, many of the contacts I made and much of the data I collected have been at these Friday lunches. The informal atmosphere allows much information circulation and gives people an opportunity to ‘break-bread’ as it were with project partners and fellow staff members. These lunches have been a source of financial concern and as a result, the organisation asks for a donation of R20 per person (about 2 euros) for the lunches, which up until her resignation in February 2006, were prepared by the organisation’s administrator.

The Friday lunches are seen as being the most positive aspect of the organisation and allow the staff to mingle in a more relaxed atmosphere than the rest of the week allows. The TNUI receives many foreign visitors as it has a network of contacts across Europe. In a way it is like a family lunch where family members, aka staff, bring friends, associates, peers or close friends to meet the family aka the TNUI. This is the atmosphere that they wish to create and have done successfully.

Consequently, there is an open, informal and personalised atmosphere, which encourages the staff to bring family members or other relevant contacts. The informal atmosphere of these lunches and ‘family’ gatherings gives rise to a great hub of information-sharing, gossip and intellectual exchanges. The mix of visiting members, donors, volunteers, associates and friends of the organisation is another event, which makes the TNUI unique. It is often the main source of sharing and networking within the organisation.

As with any NGO, the organisation is constantly organizing fundraising events on a small scale and celebrations such as birthdays of staff and volunteers and occasions such as holidays, festivals and celebrating the success of various projects following an evaluation. Whatever the venue there is always a sense of the importance of the ‘social’
world in TNUI, which again ties in with the ‘family’ motif. With all in-house events or project related events the whole team of staff rally together and are accorded responsibilities and roles within the celebration.

3.6 A Typical Case Study?

To say that the case study is a ‘typical’ NGO would be misleading, in that there are so many different dimensions of NGO, which are culturally specific as Gidron et. al (2002) outline in their comparative study of PCROs in post-war societies. However, the TNUI is typical of an NGO undergoing structural and philosophical change as a result of changing socio-political and economic climates. It is fair and reasonable given my experience of working in NGOs in post-war countries and first world countries and the descriptive literature available on Southern NGOs to say that the TNUI is typical of a small NGO undergoing change and transition in South Africa.

Its history and portrait is illustrative of an organisation that has spanned the past two decades and has operated throughout the struggle against apartheid and after. It has had to change and evolve in line with the wider societal changes. Its origins were inspired by international philosophies and initially it was largely funded by foreign donors as the non-profit sector during apartheid was not favourably funded by the then ruling National Party. It is typical of the organisations that were set up mostly by white people with foreign monies of a humanitarian nature during the early 1980s (Swilling, 2000; Mangai and Naidoo, 2004).

Although the organisation started as a philosophical society, it quickly transformed into a service provider to disadvantaged communities as a gap was identified in the educational infrastructure of South Africa at the time under the rule of apartheid. Initially the TNUI sought to provide support to teachers in the poor black areas and has grown into providing services in fields relating to Aids and Aids Orphans as well as developing self-sustainable communities in the marginalised areas through project support, capacity building with smaller CBOs and training local workers to manage the projects themselves.
When one looks at the trajectory of other small NGOs in South Africa, they have had a similar growth pattern to this. Of the many small NGOs I encountered through networking here all of them have experienced a similar growth pattern into different areas, which tended to grow from peace and reconciliation/humanitarian projects during the apartheid days and its initial aftermath to more focused concerns post-apartheid such as AIDS prevention, orphan care, Black Economic Empowerment and educational projects. Much of the direction of this growth has been spurred by donor interests as much as it has by changing communal needs (Pugh, 2000, Fowler, 2003, Large, 2001).

As an example of an organisation undergoing significant changes as a result of the post-war situation in South Africa, the TNUI is a good example of the challenges and changes that are imposed upon and generated within the non-profit sector in the new South Africa. The organisation has had to professionalize, remobilise itself, and dealt with the new demands that policies such as BEE (Black Economic Empowerment) and race quotas place upon every aspect of South African society at present. They have had to rethink every aspect of their organisation from their core business and target market to recruiting a more racially diverse staff. They have had to reposition the core staff and figureheads of the organisation whilst reshaping the NGO into a saleable and marketable product as the non-profit sector gets more competitive and funding gets more scarce.

In many ways, the TNUI is typical of the organisations that I have worked with in Northern Ireland, South Africa, Cyprus, and other post-war countries. The family-type atmosphere, the charismatic leaders, the struggle to survive financially, and the constant state of flux for me is typical of the organisations that I deal with all the time during my time here in South Africa and during my time in Northern Ireland. They deal with many of the same issues and at its heart, it is run by a group of individuals that have had to be adaptable and flexible in the face of the increasing pressures and demands that post-conflict reconstruction and remobilisation brings to the sector.

The organisation is representative of those groups that are largely sidetracked by the research on development NGOs and the role of civil society in South Africa at the end of
the first decade of the transition. As regards size, the organisation has typically had a small core staff of ten or less with additions over the years but the core staff has been consistent. Originally, when I set out to do this research I wanted to look at small organisations with limited budgets and whose capacity needs was not as straightforward as larger NGOs. The literature I had read and the research I had come across on development in post-conflict societies tended to look more so at large multinational NGOs and organisations, which were well established and had many branches nationally within a given country.

Methodologically defining these groups can be difficult, in theory however these groups tend to be primarily a ‘members based’ organisation heavily reliant on volunteers. They are based within small communities and are usually led by the local activists and those who have not successfully made the transition into the new governmental structures, as is the case in many of the small NGOs/CBOs in South Africa. The working definition used in this study of small NGOs and their function within the Third Sector network of NGOs is as follows:

...they may be formally or informally organised. Members are driven by subjective interests, and the extent of organised activities and numbers and individuals participating will vary over time as the situations they face change. They have potential to build and rebuild communication amongst local people and national or international structures if necessary. A crucial element in this communication role is the potential to act as a channel for resources that might not otherwise reach local areas (Crowthers, 2002: 8).

In addition to size I categorised small NGOs as those organisations that were operating on a small budget of less than $100,000 or R1 Million (South Africa Rand) within one calendar year and whose funding was a cocktail of small donors rather than one large one. The TNUI operates on a budget not much more than this. Small NGOs invariably have a cocktail of funding for various sources rather than one large donor. Given the limited capacities that they have to meet the demands of the larger donors such as USAID, small NGOs also tend to be funded by private philanthropy organisations or the corporate sector. Given that I wished to see how the private sector was engaging with the NGOs in the new environment, this also made the TNUI a good example of such endeavours.
However, the organisation is unique in many respects even though at first glance it appears quite typical of any other struggling NGO. The fieldwork and study that ensued highlighted the particular aspects of the organisation that have combined with the general challenges to culminate in its decline and its difficulties during the time I spent there. Aspects of the organisation such as its combined philosophies of anthroposophy and African holism through ubuntu create a measured amount of confusion within the organisation and amongst staff as well as amongst its donors. In addition, there is a particular work ethic and informality, which is unique to the organisation.

Whilst its response to financial crisis and organisational decline is the same as one would expect in any other NGO (such as hiring an NGO consultant, revising fundraising techniques and engaging in a cumbersome process of professionalisation and strategic overhauling) the TNUI is unique in the way it approaches such changes and in the way in which it creates meaning around these processes and changes. This is the central theme of the next chapter, which illustrates how the personality of the organisation affects the way in which it approaches the processes of professionalisation and Africanisation as well as the mechanisms it has put into place to remobilise the organisation and integrate itself into a changing and transitional non-profit sector.

In many ways the TNUI has become unrecognisable to not only its members and its staff but more worryingly to its leaders as it moves further away from its original founding philosophies and objectives and becomes more mainstreamed into the sector. As such it loses its identity as it becomes a more typical case study of a small NGO in decline. As such, the TNUI’s greatest struggle is to maintain an independent identity whilst accepting that it has to become more mainstream and typical in order to attract donors and engage local domestic support from government and private investors. Its uniqueness has ultimately culminated to make it less viable as an NGO. The more typical it becomes the greater its chances are for survival. This is perhaps the greatest irony, in that, the TNUI’s main strength and weakness is that it is not ‘typical’ enough to capture donors and network effectively.
4.1 The Socio-Political Origins of the Non-Profit Sector in South Africa

Since the political transition in the early 1990s, and with the establishment of a democratic government, South Africa has aspired to a political culture of inclusive dialogue and peaceful conflict resolution. In South Africa under apartheid, activists had a very narrow space in which to pursue peaceful, progressive change. Just about the only options available to them were non-governmental organisation advocacy and activism for peace, reconciliation and negotiation between conflicting parties on the basis of mutual recognition, and the use of dispute-resolution strategies in conflicts at national and sub national levels.

Civil society in South Africa during the anti-apartheid movement formed what could be termed ‘a multi-organisational field’. As the components of the multi-organisational field interacted, a collectively engendered consequence became discernible. These organisations, “overlapped and combined, influence and penetrated each other, evolved together, and eventually came to project a new ‘emergent reality’ – namely, a virtual non-racial democratic South Africa” (Taylor, 2002:84). In South Africa, the definition and role of civil society, “resided very much in the eyes of the beholder” (Taylor, 2002: 89).

The concept was made to describe “politically independent social movements or a robust locally constituted voluntary sector or everything from a little jazz collective to a multi-million rand company” (Marais, 1998:202). Statistically, the Third Sector is a R9.3 billion industry. The total of the operating expenditures of all South Africa’s NGOs was R9.3 billion in 1998, representing 1.2 per cent of the 1998 gross domestic product. It is a major employer. The non-profit sector employed the equivalent of 645,316 workers (made up of full-time, part-time, and volunteer workers). This is 9 per cent of the formal non-agricultural workforce, or 7.6 per cent of the total non-agricultural workforce, which is inclusive of the informal sector. Just over half of the time that workers in the non-profit sector put in is paid for, and just less than half is voluntary.

Total employment in the sector in 1999 exceeded the number of employees in many major economic sectors. In total, it is a relatively larger sector than in most developed
countries. According to a recent survey on non-profit organisations across the globe, South Africa’s non-profit workforce is larger than the average among the 28 countries that they studied, which included Eastern Europe and Central America.

The historical and social development of civil society in South Africa had been fraught with high expectations and many disappointments. It has gone from being glorified by the international community to being close to ridiculed by the present government. One commentator describes the position of the non-profit sector in South Africa as follows,

Caught between the insistence by right-wing forces on the supremacy of the market, and the insistence of traditional left-wing forces on the supremacy of the state, elements in civil society have had to carve a new niche for themselves. They have been assisted in this task by the growing international concern with the failure of established development paradigms, and the need to come up with creative alternatives to the conceptual dichotomies that have dominated the field for decades. Civil society has been celebrated as the answer to the inequalities generated by the market on the one hand, and the bureaucratic ossification generated by the state on the other (CASE/SANGOCO, 1999:10).

In the 1980s the notion of ‘the people’ was seen as a unified whole, which does not allow for much internal differentiation and diversity. That ‘the people’ are composed of different groups, with sometimes overlapping and sometimes contradictory interests, which cannot always be collapsed into a larger unity, is a notion that is still rarely recognised in South Africa. During the early 1990s, larger NGOs began to establish themselves as a sector. This involved building networks and coalitions, and carving a place for themselves alongside the state and political movements.

In the run-up to the elections, the NGO sector played an important role in co-ordinating voter education programme all over the country and more importantly lending credibility to local activists who were setting their sights on parliamentary positions. In contributing to the process of holding free and fair elections, the primary goal of many NGOs was realised – a democratic South Africa. Ironically, this achievement served to plunge NGOs into the deep identity crisis that has afflicted them in the post-1994 period.
From this point onwards, the civics began to put greater emphasis on their non-partisanship and institutional autonomy from the ANC, while remaining in alliance with it. Recognising the problems involved in having close relations with the ANC, the civics decided not to disband and join the local ANC branches, but to initiate instead a process of consolidation and institutionalisation of their structures. This culminated in the establishment of SANGOCO (the South African NGO Coalition) in March 1992, which provided the civics with an institutional power base from which to secure their independence from the ANC. This was to prove to be a difficult transition for smaller community-based groups, who are largely at the mercy of government funding.

According to many of the commentaries on the role of the non-profit sector in the struggle against apartheid, NGOs were central to the mobilisation ‘movement’ during apartheid, but post-apartheid their position has become tenuous and inconsistent (Gidron et al, 2002; Marais, 1998). This is due to the changes that have been imposed upon them by the government and the internal changes that post-war reconstruction has brought upon them. Analysts have, “tempered the praises sung to autonomous, community-based organisations by reminding that they were principally mobilisation organisations and to convert them into development-orientated instruments would prove difficult” (Marais, 1998:200).

Yet many of these CBOs still remain outside the ‘development-orientated’ category and continue to seek to mobilise communities in the new South Africa. This creates many challenges for them in terms of creative funding proposals, maintaining the communities’ confidence in their representation and developing new means of communicating, and negotiating with the new government. Where NGOs are perceived as being too close to government, they may lose their credibility as representatives of community voices, especially where those voices need to express dissatisfaction with government performance and delivery.

NGOs may find it difficult to provide simultaneous support roles to communities and government, with conflicting demands on their loyalties. This may lead to, “community
frustration and "beneficiary dissonance" when expectations are not met. People may lose trust in both NGOs and government, leaving them no outlet for their frustrations. This, in turn, leads to disillusionment with democracy, lower voter, and civic participation." (Camay and Gordon, 2002:23). This has been the greatest challenge for post-apartheid civil society in South Africa.

The government now believes that the non-profit sector's role as a service provider is diminishing significantly and the ANC have taken a rather negative view of civil society and the potential of its involvement in sustaining the 'new' South Africa. In a report on the National Development Agency an official is quoted as saying that, "the government sees civil society as a 'high risk' group composed of people who complain and want grants and a better share of something, and who are not accountable, equipped or professional. That within the ANC there appears to be an apathetic attitude towards NGOs in that the latter are said to not have a mandate from the electorate. It has also been alleged that the govt. does not regard the non-profit sector seriously enough" (Gardner and Macan 2003: 21).

Post-apartheid there have been many obstacles that the non-profit sector has had to navigate. To quote one commentator at length,

Having laid the groundwork for South Africa's fledgling democracy, the popular movement has been struggling to find its footing in transition. Buffeted by changes, neither its mass-based organisations nor the array of NGOs that function in their support have evaded the dilemmas thrown up by internal dysfunctions, funding crises, political incoherence, and overall strategic disorientation. Recuperation has been complicated by the constantly shifting contexts in which these organisations operate. While not in crisis, they are in flux and prone to a pervasive mood of disengagement and disorientation termed 'post-liberation depression' by some. Among the many causes, one can discern...the alienating effects of discreet and remote negotiation processes, misgivings about the abilities of existing organisations to service people's needs and the confusion about those organs' role in post-apartheid society (Marais, 1998: 206).

This implies that NGOs in certain sectors must continue to monitor and challenge the state to ensure that new policies are adhered to and that the promised service delivery
reaches those most in need. Nonetheless, much effort was still required to build a democratic political culture, protect citizen rights, and encourage citizens to fulfil their obligations, and to hold government accountable (Camay and Gordon, 2002).

So how does a new democratic state relate to a sector that emerged in the course of a struggle for democracy, and shared the goal of bringing democracy about, but continues to exist independently of the new political structures? In addition, more importantly how does civil society react to being drained of activists by the government, who in turn can become a nemesis to the communities from which they were plucked? A distinct discourse accompanies all these developments within South Africa and afflicts the Third Sector in any post-conflict countries. Once the activists and politicians become aligned outside of the exigency of representing and meeting the needs of local communities a massive power struggle begins between the government and civil society.

There are three elements or components to this new language of power. The first is comprised of a labyrinth of buzzwords, which are derived from the “New South African political lexicon.” These include ‘development’, ‘reconstruction’, ‘diversity’, ‘capacity building’, ‘consultation’, to name but a few. The incessant buzzing of these words ensures that their effectiveness becomes questionable and drains them of their cumulative value, but they are present in all policy documents under various guises. The second element is the “language of respectability” used by activists to legitimise their new political positions and aspirations (Marais, 1998: 211).

The final component manifests itself in a move from an explicitly political and value-laden approach, to an approach increasingly dominated by a technocratic and ostensibly politically neutral discourse. In their combination, all three components contribute to greater acceptability of the new system of relations between NGOs and the government domestically as well as internationally (CASE/SANGOCO, 1998). However, this report published by SANGOCO also points to the idea that,
Advocates of participatory democracy and active involvement of civil society in the process of governance have not managed to counter the current emphasis on representative democracy and corporatist arrangements. As is frequently the case in South Africa, the language used in political discourse is attractive, but its meaning is vague and widely open to interpretation. Terms such as participation, grassroots, and community, are frequently used but rarely given solid substance (SANGOCO, 199:49).

One relationship, which the South African non-profit sector has exploited to its advantage, is that between the business sector and civil society. There is a concerted effort within the business community to try to support community development as much as possible. Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) has its own theorists and body of work but in real terms, it has been the source of sustainable funding for many small NGOs in South Africa.

Similar attempts have been made in Northern Ireland but not with much success. In 1999-2000, self-generated income accounted for 34 per cent of the total revenue within the non-profit sector, which in monetary terms amounts to R4.6 billion. Although this is significant in South African terms, it is considerably lower than in other countries in the John Hopkins comparative study.

This is unsurprising given that most of the other countries have large, developed, middle classes with a higher capacity to pay NGOs for services than in South Africa. The government contributed 42 per cent or R5.8 billion. The South African government’s contribution to the non-profit sector was higher than in most countries in the John Hopkins comparative study, the average being 39 per cent, but not as high as in Western Europe where the average is 50 per cent. The R5.8 billion includes foreign government Overseas Development Aid (ODA). It has been reliably estimated that at most R500 million of ODA actually found its way to NGOs that is, less than 10 per cent of public sector support for the non-profit sector came from ODA.

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44 See Osborne and Courtney, 2002
45 This is largely within larger NGOs. Statistics on CBOs in South Africa are still difficult to find, partly due to the increasingly heterogeneous nature of these groups.
As regards the private sector, it is estimated that it contributed nearly R3 billion, which is almost 25 per cent of the non-profit sector’s revenue. This level of private sector funding is one of the highest among the 28 countries yet again. The explanation has much to do with the high level of funding for NGOs from the corporate sector. The bulk of private sector funding went to health, development and housing, and education and research (Swilling, 2002). It is difficult to obtain figures on the funding structures of small NGOs/CBOs within South Africa, especially within the townships outside the main centers of Johannesburg and Capetown.

However, the move towards domestic funding of NGOs and away from foreign donors is a central component of ANC policy in relation to the sector and its future sustainability and growth. Moreover the tensions between the state and the non-profit sector do not originate in the new shift but also in the governments need to at least appear to be providing competent service delivery to disadvantaged communities and as such filling the deficit that foreign aid has filled for so long in South Africa. This move implies, ...

...abandoning mobilising and overt political activities in favour of delivering development, a process that requires reorienting organisational objectives towards project development and implementation and participation in policy-making. It demands new skills, organisational forms, new constituencies and even a new ethos. It also calls in question the sheer relevance of some organisations when the state is seen to appear better equipped to perform their tasks (Marais, 1998:209).

This adds to the tensions that are building between the governmental and non-profit sectors and influences greatly the push for professionalisation and the development of a more domestic African-centred mode of development by the government, whilst the NGOs try to avoid the tyranny of expertise.
4.2 Professionalisation and ‘Corporatisation’ of the Third Sector

Corporate Responsibility is one of the new phrases being used by the corporate sector to justify and encourage investment in the Third Sector in developing countries. Since the mid 1990s, it is a term that has become very popular and has become a source of virtue for large businesses and organisations. In its essence, the marriage of private investment with the public interest is about being seen to be giving back to the society one gains profit from. CSR, “if it is nothing else, is the tribute that capitalism everywhere pays to virtue” (Crook, 2005: 3). It is part of the process of professionalisation and the adoption of business sector practices within the non-profit sector in South Africa.

The rise of corporate philanthropy in South Africa and many other post-war countries raises new opportunities for the Third Sector and calls for a closer look at how strategic partnerships between civil society and the businesses can serve the needs of both sectors. It is important to look at elements of the private sector, such as business principles or strategic planning, and how they are fast becoming an essential part of transforming your NGO to make it more effective, competitive, and sustainable.

This is illustrated by looking at the strategic planning that TNUI underwent early this year and is a going to be a continual process throughout the next three years. Behind all these investigations, we must bear in mind the following questions: Is development funding from corporate social investment programme merely a form of marketing or branding? Has it become a way of advertising the social conscience of commerce in South Africa and will the non-profit sector benefit from adapting and exploiting the tools of business?

Discourse and practices associated with Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) have escalated and evolved rapidly in recent years. Global interest in CSR expanded in the 1990s and spread to many developing countries via processes, policies, and institutions often associated with globalisation. While firms are increasingly adopting CSR initiatives, the dynamics of Corporate Social Responsibility and Corporate Environmental Responsibility (CER) vary considerably.
Regardless of whether this involvement is referred to as CSI (Corporate Social Investment), CSR, corporate citizenship, or corporate sustainability, the private sector should play a pivotal role in ensuring that human rights and economic justice for all are rigorously pursued. One of the world’s foremost CSR networks and organisations is the World Business Council for Sustainable Development. Its membership is made up of 175 big multinationals, including Shell, Dow Chemical, Ford, General Motors, Procter and Gamble and Time Warner.

The United Nations is particularly keen on CSR, as part of a broad approach to global governance. It continues to promote it Global Compact, launched at the World Economic Forum in 1999. This initiative aims to draw together businesses and business organisations, NGOs, the UN and other international agencies. The goal of this new ‘tripartism’ is to “underpin the free and open market system with stable and just societies.” Almost all CSR advocates are passionate about ‘sustainable development’. The idea is strongly endorsed by governments everywhere and institutions like the UN, IMF, World Bank and indeed anybody with a desire to be thought well of. It has become an organising principle for the whole CSR movement. Emphasis is laid on environmental protection and on responsible behaviour towards workers and communities in developing countries.

The Giving List, published by The Guardian newspaper showed that the charitable contributions of FTSE 100 companies (including gifts in kind, staff time donated to charitable causes and related management costs) averaged at just 0.97% of pre-tax profits. Big firms nowadays are called upon to be good corporate citizens, and they all want to show that they are, which marks a significant victory in the battle of ideas. The winners are the charities, NGOs and other elements of civil society.

CSR comes in a variety of forms. Judged by results, it may be win-win, borrowed virtue, delusional or pernicious. Judged by motives, it may be done in good faith or bad faith, out of conviction, boredom, or vanity, by genuinely well-intentioned business leaders or by cynical bosses looking to dupe their consumers. But invariably and dangerously it is underpinned by mixed-up economics. (Crook, 2005: 10).
CSR was not invented by civil society to get money out of the private sector; it goes back a long way. What they did do was push it up higher onto the corporate agenda. CSR is an industry in its own right and a flourishing profession as well. However, it is best to bear in mind that perhaps, "corporate philanthropy is philanthropy with other people's money – which is not philanthropy at all" (Crook, 2005:8).

Another element of CSR is how it fits into the concept of social threefolding and social partnerships in the new democracy. Social threefolding takes all three sectors of society – Civil society/Third Sector, the State / Government Sector, Business Sector – and looks at how all three can retain their distinct identities whilst operating in a three-folded relationship (See Table 1). As such, the surplus from the business sector is not seen as charity but as an investment in the Third Sector. Equally, the role of the government is to provide incentive to business to share its profits. Social threefolding is beginning to show itself in South Africa, which will be elaborated upon in the next section.

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South Africa is becoming one of the most prosperous countries on the African continent and the most successful democracy in Africa. It is globalising in an unrestrained manner, some would say it is too fast. Governmental policy and business practices have fully embraced the might of capitalism and globalisation. Investment, both foreign and domestic, is everywhere with new buildings and businesses popping up daily. There is a feeling that this newfound wealth is still being allocated to specific sections of South
African society, namely the new black elite, but economic development is happening nonetheless.

The success of South Africa's transition and new democratic structures has become a great marketing ploy and selling feature to investors. In essence the 'New South Africa', the 'Rainbow Nation' has become less of a cliché now and more of a marketing scheme. “Proudly South African” logos appear upon anything and everything South African. Last year “10 years of Freedom” was another logo stuck onto everything. South Africa has grasped the value of branding the nation and is about to exploit it to its fullest potential.

In 1992, the Institute of Directors in Southern Africa published the King Report on Corporate Governance in South Africa, introducing the notion of stakeholders into the business lexicon. When the Institute issued a revised and updated version of the King Report in 2002 (King II), they included a full chapter on Integrated Sustainability Reporting, including the requirement that every company should report at least annually on the nature and extent of its social, transformation, ethical, safety, health and environmental management policies and practices (IoDSA, 2002). King II recommends that organisations report on a triple bottom line and not on financial performance only.

The triple bottom line refers to social, economic, and environmental aspects. The environmental aspects include the effect that the product or services produced by the company have on the environment. Social aspects involve values, ethics, and the reciprocal relationship with stakeholders other than the shareowners of the company. Economic aspects refer to the financial performance of the company. The way in which a company should report on the triple bottom line is recorded in the Global Reporting Initiative.

46 The King Two report on Corporate Governance is a 254-page document. The full document is too long to include in an appendix therefore you can read it through the following link http://general.uj.ac.za/infosci/scipsa/king-report-on-corp-gov.pdf
Although adoption of the code remains voluntary, the Johannesburg Securities Exchange (JSE) has subsequently made King II a listing requirement. The impact of this is clear in KPMG’s (2004) survey of the 154 companies listed on the JSE’s All Share Index, which shows that 65% now report annually on sustainability-related issues and 77% reference some form of internal code of ethics. Similarly, research of the JSE top 200 companies shows that nearly 60% claim to have already fully adopted the requirements of King II, while more than 90% claim they will fully comply in the future (Visser, 2004).

In terms of corporate philanthropy, it is estimated that the total expenditure on corporate social investment in South Africa for the 2003 financial year amounted to R2.35 billion, 6.8% higher than in 2002. Based on the total CSI budget of a sample of 100 leading corporate grantmakers, the average CSI budget per company in 2003 was R13 million. In terms of the priority issues, education funding made up 39% of CSI spend in 2003, up from 35% in 2000, while spending on health (including HIV/AIDS) was around 10% in 2003, a similar proportion to support for job creation initiatives.

Other areas, in order of declining budget proportion are training, social development, arts and culture, community and rural development, environment, sports development, safety and security and housing (Visser, 2004). To summarise in the words of King II:

...successful governance in the world of the 21st century requires companies to adopt an inclusive approach that takes the community, its customers, its employees, and its suppliers into consideration when developing the company strategy. This inclusive approach requires that the purpose of the company be defined and that the values by which it will operate are identified and communicated to all stakeholders. The relationship between the company and its stakeholders must be mutually beneficial. The company must be open to institutional activism and there must be greater emphasis on the non-financial aspects of its performance. Boards must apply the test of fairness, accountability, responsibility, and transparency in all acts or omissions and be accountable to the company but responsive and responsible towards the company's identified stakeholders. The correct balance between conformance and performance must be struck (IoDSA, 2002: 22)

The South Africa Foundation is an "association of South Africa’s largest corporations and major multinational companies with a significant presence in South Africa." It is a
good example of the large corporate philanthropy organisations that have been formed in South Africa over the past few years. The foundation recently commissioned a report entitled: *Business in Change: Corporate Citizenship in South Africa - Making Business Work for the Poor*. Published in June 2004 this document contains a wealth of statistical information based on the findings from a survey of participating members from the South Africa Foundation.47

4.3 NGOs vs. CBOs: Surviving a Crowded Market Place

When one looks at the changing nature of the Third Sector in a post-conflict situation one of the more obvious changes that one observes in with the functions of NGOs from their humanitarian starting points during a conflict to a more philanthropic role where the emphasis is on the NGO as a service provider. Such a shift in terms of function also entails redefining and reclassifying NGOs in accordance with these new roles and standards. The data has shown that the case study organisation in particular has had to undergo various structural changes in order to become a more efficient and competitive NGO.

This chapter examines the new classifications of NGO that are appearing in South Africa and that I encountered during my fieldwork. Moreover, it looks at how the emergence of more CBOs in South Africa signals a particular shift towards a more 'African' orientated form of NGO. It is important to understand what it is that is unique about the emergent CBOs in post-conflict South Africa and what their relationship is with other NGOs. Mostly, these organisations are supported by large NGOs who act as a capacity builder with them. However, their relationship with smaller NGOs is problematic particularly when it comes to competing for resources and legitimacy in the eyes of the local government coffers and international donors.

The idea that NGOs are being pushed or encouraged through governmental policies and donor expectations to become more aligned with domestic resource sources and less dependent on foreign funds and influence is inherent within this new climate of

47 Report available at www.safoundation.org.za
competition. These two pressures combine to create a competition not only for resources but also more importantly for legitimisation which plays an important role in the organisation’s future sustainability. The chapter ends by problematising this concept and returns to the data which addresses the issue of how one actually goes about ‘Africanising’ your NGO in addition to an analysis of how the TNUI has dealt with this process. Defining the general nature of the Third Sector is quite difficult given the numerous terms that could be applied to the average non-profit organisation. At first glance, there is a veritable minefield of acronyms. What exactly actors who operate within an NGO, INGO, NPEO, NPO, CBO or CSO have in common, and to what extent these terms have the same meaning in different contexts is not clear.

It may be that being part of the broader Third Sector involves the assumption that all are there to provide a service for the greater good of the society without a profit incentive. Within a post-conflict society the sector will also undergo significant changes as the nature of service provision moves from humanitarian relief to reconstruction to sustainable development.

At present, within South Africa the emphasis is on black economic empowerment, sustainable development and empowering formerly disadvantaged communities. This shift has also been reflected quite notably within the non-profit sector with regards to ‘Africanising’ development and re-establishing the role of foreign donor funds within the new South Africa. It then follows that the existing categorisations and the state of the sector will change in line with these new demands.

Organisational labels can lay claim to having a moral as well as legal and social components. The terms applied to these organisations are also affected by the nature of the society in which they are situated and the objectives of the organisations themselves. This study looks specifically at small NGOs and CBOs within a transitional society, in broader terms these organisations are development NGOs and are part of a larger project of nation building in South Africa. One commentator described the voluntary and non-
profit sector in Northern Ireland as a “crowded market place” (Harbison, 2000: 12) and the same can be said for the non-profit sector in South Africa.

The competition for funding and legitimisation is fierce within the sector and no more so than between CBOs and NGOs. The letters you use to describe your organisation can predetermine the type of funding you can have access to and the manner in which you operate within any given community or as a service provider to particular communities and clients. The elements of organisational insecurity, competitive pressures, and fiscal uncertainty are evident in every NGO and operate at a microscopic level in the relationships that exist between competing organisations and classifications within the non-profit sector in general.

As such, when the NGO industry becomes so robust that it begins to become a victim of its own success, it creates greater competition as well as new types and categories of non-profit organisations. While local NGOs often work well together in times of crisis, the literature indicates that they tend to fall out when the general situation improves (Camay and Gordon, 2002; CASE, 1998; Kotze, 2000). In South Africa, NGOs had many differences but were able to co-operate because all were opposed to apartheid. After the new government was elected, the differences became much more important, and cooperation got harder.

The proliferation of NGOs operating in the sector has grown significantly over the past ten years in South Africa and globally the humanitarian relief and reconstruction ‘business’ is a substantial industry. Given the very short-term nature of contracts, funding resources and turnover of volunteers and staff there is a powerful level of constraint put upon organisations. By choosing its claim-bearing labels carefully and using them to their maximum advantage, an organisation can increase its levels of legitimacy, numbers of clients and access to resources. This is a strategy that the TNUI has had to incorporate into its ‘life-cycle’ and strategic plans.
organisation. It was hoped that through my work I could update them on what was happening in civil society circles. In the meantime, the organisation has attempted at creating better networking opportunities over the past couple of years. Some have been more successful than others have. The networking lunches in the organisation every week are an ongoing success and Phillip and Liesel are constantly hosting visiting academics, practitioners, donors, volunteers, and members at the TNUI.

The problem is not in numbers but in maintaining the interest of these visitors and maintaining a relationship after the initial networking moment has passed. Leon commented that this is the main weakness in the organisation’s networking capacities. He said that, “People come in (to TNUI) and engage with us but we can’t keep their interest, (pause) it’s hard to maintain it.” In general, there is a lack of follow through on networking opportunities throughout the sector and the case study organisation was just as prone to such apathy and obstacles when it came to maintaining and growing networks. One such example was an attempt by the organisation to create a network that was much needed amongst care workers working in orphanages.

Therefore, I got the opportunity to test my theory on networks and the processes involved in setting up one by taking part in the creation of the network called the SNAP (Strategic National Action Plan) network. In retrospect, I do admit to being very naive in thinking that setting up a strategic network was easy in a small area of Cape Town. The TNUI had organised in February 2004 a meeting for care worker’s organisations around the Western Cape to discuss how such a network would best serve the needs of the care workers. As a result of this workshop a decision was made that the TNUI would take responsibility to set up this network and manage it with its strategic partners. I arrived just after this meeting had taken place and saw it as an opportunity for me to get first hand experience of networking in South Africa.

After many attempts to organise a follow-up meeting to get those interested in being part of the network I became very disillusioned with the project and the concept. I found that Phillip was very unclear as to how the network would be achieved in realistic terms.
"more for the money than the cause" (Leon), has affected the quality of networking within the sector. Some of the previous staff in the organisation has gone on to set up on their own and as black Africans they have had better access to funding possibilities than their former employers have at present.

The CEO also explained to me that the TNUI used to be a hub of civil society networking. I understand from conversations with older members of staff, former staff and associates that the organisation’s relationships with other civil society activists were much stronger five years ago than they are at present.

One such former employee, Freddy, was employed specifically to work on civil society networking and issues but he was let go by the organisation when they were no longer able to secure funding to fund the project he was working on. This project could have been an important contribution to civil society issues nationally but lack of funding suspended it. This project was based upon a South African version of Agenda 21. In 2002, Phillip presented a document on the problems within South African civil society at the world summit and consequently he was consulted by government on issues.

The document had analysed South Africa's threefolding potential with the state and business sectors by using the Agenda 21 framework and the work of a Philippine civil society activist, Nicanor Perlas. Freddy and Phillip worked on this project. This particular project got me interested in the organisation back in 2001 when I first encountered them. I had hoped to work on this project when I volunteered with the organisation but they still have not been able to find the funding to continue the work and it remains suspended to this day.

Apart from the South African Agenda 21 project the TNUI was actively involved in local civil society initiatives in the mid to late 1990s whilst also working with new NEPAD guidelines on rebuilding African civil society and remobilising South African civil society. During my time volunteering it was hoped that through my work I would be able to contribute to the level of civil society networking that was happening in the
the meetings as they could only fund the first meeting and the TNUI could not afford to finance any travel funds for other network meetings. Yet again, it took months to receive the minutes of this meeting and the TNUI had not heard from the Network since September 2004.

Many of the key respondents that I interviewed pointed to the need for a common unifying issue as the solution for the future remobilisation of non-profit networks. They stated that effective networking must be thematic in order for it to work, and in order for it to be sustainable so that groups like the Peace Centre and the TNUI can come together with like minded organisations. Many of the participants at the focus group meeting in the TNUI, and those NGO practitioners I networked with, agreed that it is important to connect as NGOs not just because “we are all struggling for funds”, (quote from focus group, June 2004), but because they are willing to work together to pool resources. In doing so, NGOs can mobilise their mutual benefits and consequently, reduce duplication of projects which waste resources.

This was substantiated in an interview that I conducted with an NGO leader who had almost retired from the sector in 2001 due to the pressures of resource competition and the lack of solidarity amongst her colleagues. She pointed to the problems of duplication amongst NGOs and as such, she believes that “that’s why networking is essential”. She also said that she can “see how NGOs put off networking because if you’re duplicating then your not going to get funding so it’s better to remain inconspicuous or out of networks so then no one knows what you’re doing”(From Interview with Clare, Sunday June 6th 2004).

On a practical level, the TNUI is a good example of how networks have changed over the past ten years since apartheid ended. I gathered from both Leon and Phillip that at various points in its history it has been a hub of networking on civil society issues, adult education, resource information and environmental issues. In addition, the shifts in the organisation reflect much of the drain of activists into parliament that occurs in a transitional society. Equally, the introduction of NGO practitioners, who are doing it
Most of the new networks or partnerships that are being set up at present are issues-based, and bring organisations together under a specific banner. As part of my volunteer duties on the SNAP project with the TNUI, I attended a series of meetings in Johannesburg and Cape Town regarding the creation of an Aids organisations network. Right to Care, an Aids advocacy organisation, was hosting the network and the first meeting took place in the Jo'burg offices of SANGOCO, which was quite symbolic. There are no shortages of Aids Networks in South Africa and it is quite a competitive terrain as well as being an expansive one given the seriousness of the Aids pandemic here.

The purpose of this meeting was not just to set up another information network but also to create a series of strategic partnerships for funding, partnerships on projects, learning opportunities and for more communication between practitioners. As usual mostly the larger NGOs and major players in the South Africa non-profit sector attended the meeting. The extract from my fieldnotes below outlines the attendees:

I went to Jo’burg for a meeting on Thursday 17th June from 4pm to 6pm. The purpose of meeting was to discuss a national network for organisations dealing with HIV/Aids related issues. Attending were members from COSATU, SANGOCO, HIVAN, Aids Consortium, MINDSET, SANNAC, CHAIN/ NACOSA, Right to Care. Right to Care organised it and meeting was held in SANGOCO head offices (Fieldnotes: 21st June 2004)

There were only two representatives from smaller, localised NGOs, one being myself representing TNUI. There was a significant lack of CBOs present. This is largely because smaller organisations cannot spare the staff to travel to these meetings, even though Right to Care paid for travel expenses. In addition, the information was sent out by email and many smaller groups have limited email access and do not check it regularly. A colleague and I raised this point during the meeting.

Whilst the larger NGOs seemed sympathetic to this issue they ended the discussion by stating, “We should engage more with grassroots” (Fieldnotes, June 21st) but did not venture to suggest how this was to be done. Subsequently, I could not attend anymore of
It is difficult in Cape Town to get the sector as a whole to make time to gather and discuss issues, share information and talk about the state of the sector and what must be done to change it. Of all the meetings I attended they all had poor turnouts and the same group of people always turned up to the event: the group of stalwarts who are dedicated to remobilising South Africa’s non-profit sector and reigniting a sense of solidarity and unity amongst civil society groups. One such example was a series of meetings that Leon and I tried to organise at the TNUI to discuss these issues, which failed miserably, as I have previously outlined in the methodology chapter.

Networking is preferred in an email format rather than meetings. This lack of turnout can also be attributed to the lack of networking that the TNUI is doing at present. Both Phillip and Leon agreed that before the transition it was much easier to get people to gather at the institute to discuss issues and attend seminars but “everyone is far too busy looking after themselves now to work together” (Leon). Despite the low turnout, though the workshops did yield some results in the form of peoples opinions on the state of the sector. Those that did attend the focus groups on the “state of the sector” were vocal in their complaints about the workings of civil society in South Africa at present.

The main issues and key quotes that came up were,

- That “most meetings such as this are organised to talk about change but are mostly just “talkshops” where people leave after and nothing is followed up”,
- That civil society and the non-profit sector needs to “engage in a more critical way with the state”, that civil society must be “remobilised in order to make the state accountable again”.
- There is a lack of information about the networks that are out there, that “many smaller less ‘connected’ NGOs find it difficult to attend civil society meetings and often hear of them after the fact”,
- That there is a need for a “central co-ordinating body for civil society groups” and non-profit organisations. This led to a discussion about the demise as such of SANGOCO (There was a SANGOCO representative at the meeting.)

57 The first workshop/ focus group was on Thursday the 24th of June at the TNUI
The second focus group took place on Thursday the 26th August
58 Extracted from transcripts of the meeting taken on 26th June and Transcribed on 30th August 2004
Aisling: What advice do you have to offer to NGOs to entice more donors and get better access to funds?

Freddy: Network! It's hard to do but important to persevere with. It is also important to write decent proposals. Donors are more understanding and lenient when receiving poorly written proposals from CBOs, but, there should be no excuse for, you know, long-running NGOs. The older, I mean more established organisations sometimes become lazy, you know, with time and then they neglect to tidy up the documents. And proposals can be criticised for putting too much emphasis on activities, instead of on results.

Through my case study, I obtained first-hand experience of networking as a small NGO in South Africa. I volunteered on a programme, which aimed to create a small network initially amongst care workers of Aids orphans, which consequently, it was hoped, would branch into a larger national network. During my fieldwork, I attended meetings with provincial government about civil society initiatives, meetings of local civil society networks and various workshops / talk shops on reorganising and revitalising the non-profit sector and civil society networks in the Western Province (For a map of the Western Province, see Appendix 1).

After assessing my experiences and analysing the data gathered at such meetings, I concluded that studying the networks and trying to create one is much more complex than I had initially thought. Moreover, I saw first-hand the difficulties that even well established NGOs have with organising and co-ordinating networking within the sector and the lack of any strong organising principle around which they can rally.

The observations I made and conversations I had with activists and NGO staff indicated that civil society networks in present day South Africa and especially within the Western Cape are less motivated by collective need than they were ten years ago. Non-profit networks and civil society groups have become more individualised, in that they cater for certain aspects of the non-profit sector with networks for housing organisations, CBOs, Aids organisations and so on.

56 Pseudonym
same faces, the same NGO consultants, the same activists-turned-politicians and the same rhetoric engulfed us all concerning the role of civil society and the non-profit sector in rebuilding South Africa and moving it on into the next ten The best networking, as the empirical data shows, takes place in informal and spontaneous settings.

Therefore, the challenge really shifts towards developing an informal culture of interaction that is conducive to exchange at various levels. It is also important that it have the potential to create the foundation for stronger partnerships, similar to the informal networking that was done during the struggle against the apartheid regime. This is how much of the networking was done before the sector became more formalised, computerised, and institutionalised.

Forming partnerships with other organisations is the way to go if you want your NGO to be more competitive, sustainable, and attractive in the eyes of the donor agencies. Whilst filling out a funding proposal for USAID with the TNUI I saw that a whole section of the application concerns partnerships that the organisation has in general with other NGOs and the partners that are part of the programme seeking funding. Other such proposals that I worked on such as the one for Youth Programme and a proposal for a bakery in a township, that I did for a colleague of the TNUI, also needed a detailed account of partnerships.

Donors have very specific ideas of what they want when it comes to proposals and projects they wish to sponsor. It is therefore important for organisations to share their experiences of different funding systems and dealings with common donor agencies. The following is an extract from an interview I conducted with a former employee of the TNUI and other NGOs in South Africa which illustrates why networking is a must and a means for organisations to help each other be more sustainable and ultimately more successful.
government and as a result many others, such as “traditional or 'struggle' type NGOs” are overlooked (Fieldnotes August 14th).

In general, though there was a sense of excitement in the room that SANGOCO were coming back to the Western Province. Many people at the meeting expressed a desire for some coherence in civil society again and that many groups needed a collective sense of coherence. They also said that they had all been “disappointed” with SANGOCO over the past few years. In particular, they referred to corruption allegations and that it had become disorganised and lost a lot of respect and favour in civil society circles.

I felt that many of the older participants longed for a sense of being attached to a ‘movement’ again, that reviving SANGOCO may signal a return to the glory days of effective civil society. Considering that SANGOCO used to have strong links with the ANC, this anticipation had foundations, and there was a sense of beginning a new revolution as such at the meeting. The meeting left me with the impression that SANGOCO must make its lines of communication with small NGOs and CBO more effective and consistent in order to revitalise its organisation and renew its membership base.

At the end of the meeting, the SANGOCO representative stated that the organisation would be producing an “annual list of donors,” an “index of poverty and development” and a “database of members to assist in networking and information sharing (SANGOCO Western Cape Newsletter, Vol. 1, August 2004). To date none of this information has been set up on its website nor has the information as how to access this database been sent to the participants of the AGM. This is typical of my experience of the outcomes of such meetings during my fieldwork in Cape Town: people leave and the momentum is forgotten.

The only thing that appeared to be consistent in all of the meetings was the complaints that were being made and the people who attended. Cape Town is quite a small place when it comes to the ‘faces of civil society’. At each meeting I came to recognise the
contributing to the general sense of disorganisation, rather than disempowerment, that the sector is experiencing. Coupled with these practical changes is the notable lack of a central organising body, which Powell points to as being central to the network forms of exchange.

Consequently, I found that this has had knock-on effects for the lack of information dissemination amongst NGOs and more importantly between the non-profit sector and governmental bodies. There was evidence of some strategic gatherings and meetings of non-profit organisations but attendance was low and invitations tended to be extended to the same large NGOs and between existing peer networks. These people are the ‘familiar faces’ that attend all the civil society meetings but the general NGO population is not represented at these meetings and the small NGO sector and the CBOs are definitely underrepresented.

In particular, I recall one of the main networking meetings I attended was with SANGOCO (The South African NGO Coalition), which used to have a large membership but its membership and sectoral status has dwindled significantly over the past ten years. The primary agenda for the meeting was to revitalise the presence of SANGOCO in the Western Province and to reignite membership, which had slumped over the past five years. SANGOCO had also elected a new CEO who chaired the meeting. The TNUI used to be a member of SANGOCO but their membership has lapsed. Liesel attributed this to “lack of leadership, focus and lack of vision” in old NGO networks.

In her speech at the SANGOCO AGM on August 14th 2004, Zanele Twala, CEO of SANGOCO, stressed the need to get grassroots organisations more involved again in the organisation and to support them more at meetings and national levels. In the meeting, they split up the room into small groups to discuss, “What do NGOs and CBOs want from SANGOCO?” The main issue that arose in my small group was the problems that CBOs and particularly rural groups were having communicating and relating to the local government in their area, “which they believed affected the delivery of local mandates” (Fieldnotes, August 14th). Many people felt that some NGOs are “favoured” by local
I came to understand the changes that had been made to networks, and how they had been weakened, through interviews with ex-civil society activists and those members of the case-study organisation that had been working in the sector over the past 30 years. In particular, I spoke extensively with a seasoned civil society activist and NGO leader who have become disillusioned with the power of civil society and the non-profit sector in present day South Africa. Leon was the chair of the Board of Directors of the TNUI and has worked with the organisation since its early days. He has been a community activist for over thirty years and is seen as TNUI’s ‘civil society’ man. He describes himself as “semi-retired.”

Leon has a passion for civil society in South Africa. He is constantly brainstorming on ways to reignite the networks and takes part in many civil society initiatives in Cape Town and beyond. Leon mourns the loss of the “solidarity” that was shared in the old networks and the “lack of loyalty” amongst activists now. He explained that during the “struggle,” there were “powerful networks” which use the resources of the people “on the ground.” However, Leon explains that, “After the struggle people forgot how to work together...you know...technology intervened and there were no more individual conversations. Networking was done by faxes and emails, computers.” (Leon, Sept 6th 164)

This problem has deeply affected the networks in South Africa. According to Leon, the civil society networks have become over formalised and isolated. There is a sense of loss about person-to-person contact. An example of this was that I found it difficult to get interviews with people face-to-face within the non-profit sector. In the end, I ended up with lots of emails, unreturned phone calls, and excuses. As a result, one gets a picture of a highly separated and disorganised civil society. Leon was not surprised by this when I told him this and he expressed sadness at the loss of solidarity, friendship, and togetherness in the non-profit sector now. There is a breakdown of communication that is

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54 At the time of writing up this final draft of the thesis, Leon had retired from the TNUI and the Board of Directors.
55 These quotes are taken from two key interviews with Leon. The first took place on August the 6th at 9am in the TNUI and the second on September 6th 2004 at 9am in the TNUI also.
that South Africa’s non-profit sector has been encountering in terms of the lack of solidarity and remobilisation efforts in the wake of the transition.

It is important to understand the historical context of networking in South Africa, which I have alluded to in previous chapters, in order to understand the changes that have had to be made and how they have led to the weakening of pre-existing networks and the isolationism that afflicts NGOs within the sector at present. One of the central research aims within this study was to look at the changing role of networks in South Africa’s non-profit sector from its apartheid days to the present post-apartheid situation.

In particular, the process of formalisation and professionalisation forces one to reconsider networks within the sector and how they have evolved or changed strengthened or weakened, if they have become more sustainable or defunct as a result of the new societal transitions and the processes of change and reconstruction. I wanted to see whether these civil society networks and their representative bodies were still as unified as the international community and fellow practitioners overseas were being led to believe.

By looking at the evolving role of networking within the case study organisation’s existence and the state of existing networks within non-profit circles the data allowed me to assess the relative strength or weakness of these networks and how useful they are to small NGOs such as the TNUI, by assisting them in the challenges that formalising the sector entails.

The map of non-profit sector networks has grown, as illustrated through the growth of CBOs in South Africa, but the networks are smaller, more disparate and are held together by mutual benefit more so than solidarity as they were prior to the transition. This problem is apparent in most post-conflict or transitional non-profit sectors. As Edwards’ comments, “There are signs that NGOs are losing touch with the values of social solidarity which originally motivated them as they move further and further into the market and its orthodoxies.” (Edwards, 1999:266)
However, NGO/beneficiary relationships often suffer from a lack of development beyond a fleeting engagement to determine needs. Much could be done to forge longer term partnerships that could inform an organisation’s focus thereby ensuring a vision that is responsive to changing contexts. This matter is fast becoming an important indicator of accountability and impact.

However, establishing and building relationships requires an investment of time and an appreciation for the art of networking. The findings demonstrate that both are lacking in the NGO sector and in particular within the TNUI and small NGOs similar to it. Prioritising networking means that it needs to become an activity that is integrated into the programmatic objectives of an organisation. The biggest obstacle to this is that it is not something that donors are keen to fund, especially if networking happens outside of formal events.

Therefore, it struck me that possibly the best way for the sector to mobilise more resources would be to remobilise their networks and begin to use these network connection to generate a more sustainable and internal source of income for NGOs. This would confirm Powell’s ideas that network forms of economic exchange when combined with market sources, are somewhat more successful forms of resource generation within specific contexts, of which non-profit alliances would be one. Powell explains that networks occur in situations where, “certain forms of exchange are more social – that is more dependent on relationships, mutual benefit and reputation – as well as less guided by a formal authority.” (Powell, 1990: 302)

Within the Third Sector it would appear that this form of economic exchange is more suitable than appealing to hierarchies (donors) or markets (corporate investment) as market exchanges do not engender “strong bonds of altruistic attachment” (Powell, 1990: 310). According to Powell, “network forms of resource allocation, individual units exist not by themselves, but in relation to other units. These relationships take considerable efforts to establish and sustain, thus they constrain both partners ability to adapt to changing circumstances” (Powell, 1990: 303), which would also explain the difficulties
4.4 Familiar Faces and Disorganised Spaces: Networking in Practice

There is a phrase within non-profit sector circles that sums up the ideal relationship between NGOs when networking; it is “fundraising is friend-raising”. This is not often the reality though. The importance of building strong relationships with your peers and colleagues within the non-profit sector for financial sustainability is a topic that always inspires interest in the NGO world. However, in recent times, the issue of relationship building for sustainability beyond traditional donor engagement is a subject gaining interest.

In this age of scarce resources, donor fatigue and the need for innovation in resource mobilisation, an organisation’s survival seems to depend not only on relationships with donors, but also with its peers, beneficiaries and other stakeholders for reasons that include strategic campaigning, fundraising and impact. There are many factors driving this new agenda, including donor priorities.

From a peer group perspective, the development of relationships between NGOs brings enormous benefits, including peer recognition, which strengthens organisational integrity, encourages the sharing of resources, and attracts funding. More significantly, peer relationship building is becoming very important for the long-term relevance and survival of the local NGO sector that has been labelled as fragmented and lacking coordination and influence.

Donors in particular are keen on the notion of strategic partnerships between peer organisations or similar types of NGOs where allocated funds have a complementary and supposedly reinforcing effect. Many donors argue that their budgets are shrinking and that it makes more sense to fund synergies across organisations to avoid duplication and potential dilution of efforts. Perhaps the most significant relationships are those that contribute to organisational accountability and impact. These are the relationships that NGOs have traditionally had with their beneficiaries, which are considered important for determining their needs and priorities.
According to the World Bank, CBOs (also referred to as grassroots organisations or people’s organisations) are distinct in nature and purpose from other NGOs. While national and international organisations are "intermediary" NGOs (which are formed to serve others) CBOs are normally "membership" organisations made up of a group of individuals who have joined to further their own interests (for example, women’s groups, credit circles, youth clubs, cooperatives and farmer associations). In the context of bank-financed activities, national or international NGOs are normally contracted to deliver services, design projects or conduct research.

My fieldwork encounters with CBOs indicated that they are more likely to be the recipients of project goods and services. In projects, which promote participatory development, grassroots organisations play the key function of providing an institutional framework for beneficiary participation. The Fahamu report affirms this by explaining that CBOs might, for example, be consulted during design to ensure that project goals reflect beneficiary interests; undertake the implementation of community-level project components; or receive funds to design and implement sub-projects (Malena, 1995:2). Despite this elaborate definition, the Fahamu report concludes that,

...the use of a generic description that adequately defines a CBO is therefore not in widespread use in the literature, and where such definitions have been attempted and used, they appear to have a variety of shortcomings [...] Finding an acceptable working definition of a CBO is therefore clearly highly problematic, despite the fact that the term continues to be used regularly. (Mangai and Naidoo, 2004: 99).

Apart from their obvious capacity needs this report also highlights a finding of this research that CBOs are becoming more and more ‘fashionable’ and are fast outnumbering NGOs. They are caught up in a situation where being informal gives them more room to manoeuvre but less access to formal funding opportunities and networking possibilities. CBOs want to retain the autonomy that they have had by remaining small but yet building their capacity as regards administrative activities and fundraising strategies.
building in South Africa, Jeremy Seekings has drawn attention to the tendency for such literature to be generic and to focus on CSOs (Civil Society Organisations) in general rather than CBOs in particular, and for much literature on the subject to remain unpublished (Seekings, 2001:7). Seekings argues that there is a significant lack of materials generated either by donors or by NGOs and CBOs on evaluating capacity over the long-term (Seekings, 2001: 5).

To date only one major study has been done on CBOs in South Africa. Fahamu, a civil society organisation, conducted a large-scale research project into CBOs in Southern Africa covering five countries – Tanzania, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, and Mozambique. According to the report the term CBO has been used in Southern Africa only since the late 1990s due to the growing interest in the development community in the work of “community-based organisations” (CBOs). Many agencies have sought to provide grants to enable these organisations to grow and become effective in the delivery of services to their constituencies.

The main thrust of the report is to assess the needs of CBOs and how they are perceived within Southern Africa and their role within the non-profit sector as a whole. Mainly the report focuses on the information technology and training needs of CBOs summed up in the term ‘capacity building’. Within the report, one of the main problems they address is how to define CBOs and their role. This has equally been a source of consternation within my own research. They offer their own definition of it being “grassroots organisation” but they also analyse the ‘official’ definitions given by such organisations as the World Bank and CIVICUS.

53 Established in 1997 as a not-for-profit organisation, Fahamu has played a pioneering role in using the new information and communication technologies to support capacity building and networking between civil society and human rights organisations. Fahamu SA was established in 2002 in Durban, South Africa as a separate registered trust under South Africa law. Fahamu seeks to enable civil society organisations to use information and communications technologies to influence social policy by disseminating information about their work; managing effective websites; making their information available on online databases; receiving news and information on development and social justice; and engaging them in debate and discussion on social policy. Fahamu also uses information and communication technologies to provide distance learning courses aimed at strengthening the capacity of human rights and civil society organisations to be effective in achieving their goals (Extract from their report see Mangai and Naidoo, 2004 in Bibliography.)
whole sector of ‘NGO Consultants’ and developmental experts being drafted into the CBOs, which I will explore in more detail in chapter seven.

Despite this flurry of activity, the CBO sector as such is largely undocumented and there is very little statistical information available on the size of this group and the numbers of CBOs around the Province and South Africa. Questions revolve largely around the use of the term CBO in South Africa and since when has it been used? With the exception of CIVICUS’s extensive survey of civil society organisations in one country – South Africa – there is surprisingly little empirical information about CBOs in Southern Africa. What kind of work do CBOs do? What is the nature of these organisations?

The effects of a strong or weak socio-civil dimension along the conflict continuum are more acutely felt at the local level. This is due to the involvement of the local communities in the initial stages of the peace processes within conflict areas. The huge number of these organisations in the cultural sector must surely be significant, especially given that they are dependent almost entirely on volunteers, attract very little funding from the state and are concentrated in the poorest communities (Swilling, 2002:13).

Given the numbers of CBOs in South Africa, it is surprising that there is so little literature on their particular capacity-building needs, suggesting that such needs have not been adequately evaluated. In a paper assessing the evaluation of long term CBO capacity-

CBOs who support the development of their communities and are committed to improving the way they operate by reviewing, evaluating, planning, and reorganising their programme and structures. In essence we seek to support CBOs in their own processes, so that they can be more effective.” (Extract from Newsletter, Quoting Ninnette Eliasov, Director of Connections.) Their mission statement is as follows: Our mission is to promote social and economic development in South Africa by providing specialised Organisational Development (OD) services to community workers and CBOs including consultancy, training, networking, and support (Extracted from their promotional leaflet. Website: www.connectionsafrica.org.za

51 In his book, Civil Wars, Civil Peace (1998) Rupesinghe he refers to the ‘continuum of conflict’ which is present in any post-war society or a society moving from a situation of war to one of peace not matter how fragile this may be. There are many stages along the conflict continuum that societies tend to progress to or regress to in some cases, that war and peace exist at opposite ends of the same scale. According to Rupesinghe, there are five distinct stages of conflict, hostility, and peace. 1) Durable peace, 2) Stable peace, 3) Unstable peace, 4) Crisis-low-intensity conflict, 5) Crisis – high-intensity conflict.

52 Exceptions to this are those countries with ethnic conflicts in the developing world. In Northern Ireland for example much of the funding received comes from the British state and the EU.
must retain networking connections with local government for purposes of funding and to
co-ordinate networking events with commerce and private investors.

On May 6th I attended a workshop hosted by the City Council on developing a civil
society forum. The event was held within City Chambers and was poorly attended. I have
found that events for civil society networking that are hosted by local government are
poorly attended. This is coupled with a general sense of distrust of local politicians and
provincial political agendas amongst smaller NGOs and CBOs in particular who want to
be seen to be doing it on their own without having to rely on political connections.

The TNUli has never been an overtly political organisation but has retained a working
level of contact with local government especially given the turn to resourcing domestic
funding and two new projects within the organisation are set to receive funding from
Provincial government and City Council monies.

This scramble for legitimisation has caused CBOs to begin formalising themselves. There
are many organisations being established recently to facilitate a supportive role to these
informal organisations and help them with the legal requirements to register as an NGO.
In addition, they aim to help with capacity building, networking, training for fundraising,
management training, and establishing constitutions for the organisations as well as
mission statements, funding proposals and setting out a clear distinction between them
and other organisations within their communities. Two such local examples in Caper
Town are The Non-Profit Consortium49 and Connections50. This has also given rise to a

relations between the Third Sector and the ANC government, which is unstable, unhealthy, and quite
childish at times.

49The Non-Profit partnership was founded in 1998, through a partnership between key civil society
organisations. In July 2002 the NNP was incorporated as a Section 21 Company when it began to operate
as an independent entity. A new corporate identity was designed when a decision was taken to trade with
the organisation’s registered name – “the Non-Profit Consortium”. Its main objectives are, “to influence the
outcomes of laws that affect civil society such as the Income Tax Act, to form strategic partnerships with
civil society organisations, the effective dissemination of sustainability information to civil society
organisations especially CBOs and the formation of strategic relationships with Government.” (Extract
from Interview with the EXD Tracy Fortune, August 6th 2004) website: www.npc.org.za

50‘Connections’ is a registered non-profit organisation founded in 2002 that “seeks to promote social and
economic development.” It offers specialised OD (Organisational Development) services for community
workers and CBOs. According to one of its directors, Ninnette, ‘Connections’ services are available for
an expression of social capital that can be promoted and managed for development’” (de Berry, 2003:5).

Furthermore, despite the countless number of organisational labels within the Third Sector one has to be very careful with these labels as they all have claim-bearing baggage and, ‘the outcome of these struggles over which organisations are entitled to call themselves NGO may have far reaching consequences for the funding, room for manoeuvre and even the very existence of organisations’” (Hilhorst, 2005:5). The main reason for this juggling act is the need for legitimisation and keeping up with the ‘fashions and changing trends amongst donor agencies. In South Africa, legitimisation has always made the difference between a successful NGO and a struggling one. To quote Hilhorst at length,

Acquiring legitimisation as ‘an organisation that is doing good for the development of others’ is no easy job. It entails first convincing others that a situation or population needs development. Secondly, it requires convincing others that the intervention of the NGO is indispensable and appropriate, and that it has no self-interest in the envisaged programme. Thirdly, it requires convincing others that the NGO is able and reliable, in other words trustworthy, and capable of carrying out the intervention. For NGO actors, the legitimisation of their organisation is a matter of (organisational) survival. The main asset of an NGO is its reputation as an organisation doing well for the development of others and earning and upholding this reputation is a crucial aspect of the art of NGO-ing (Hilhorst, 2005:8).

Legitimisation has also much to do with the predominant discourse of the time within the non-profit sector regarding the types of projects one is engaged in, which is funding them and the criteria one must meet in order to secure this funding and these projects. In South Africa, political affiliation to the ANC is no longer a prerequisite to being a player in civil society as it was during apartheid. Many organisations are apolitical, although one

48 CBOs may be the exception in that being rooted in the poorer township communities political ties are still part of the community infrastructure and oftentimes the NGOs have been set up in conjunction with ANC members who were formerly community activist prior to 1994. NGOs outside of the exigencies of the townships for the most part try to retain their independence from the state but when you are competing for funding surely the funds coming from the state entail a certain amount of allegiance, that is it is improbable that funding will go to organisations that are vocal in their opposition to the new government or critical of the way they are currently running the country. This is a point I will return to when discussing that state of
background of societal debate and discourse in South Africa. The aim for non-racialism in South Africa has been difficult to achieve; racial categorisation and classification is very much part of everyday life and this is reflected in the ‘Africanisation’ of the sector as I will discuss in the next section.

There is a problem with definition here and the concept of community in South Africa has to face up to the fact that it ignores the difficulty of definition and that what people see as ‘community’ is not always synonymous with grassroots locality. This was a lesson I learned quickly during my fieldwork as I came up against the barrage of labels for groups and the differences in what I saw and what the people I met and groups I worked with within the sector saw as ‘community’.

The NGO sector needs to look at the way in which it uses the term ‘community’ and develop a more relevant concept of community with which they to work with and incorporate into their ethos, objectives and agendas. In South Africa the idea of ‘community’ has become too distorted and abused to be taken for granted or treated as a benign inclusion in funding proposals and the jargon they feed donors and clients alike.

Given that the needs of the various different communities in South Africa have changed dramatically over the past ten years the concept must be used in such a context as to demonstrate this. I found during my fieldwork that the term was bandied about with no real regard for the implications of its use and that both groups and individuals used the concept to justify or legitimise certain actions or agendas within its organisation and the sector in general.

In addition, there needs to be a distinction made by CBOs as to whether they are turning to the grassroots communities themselves to facilitate people-centred development or if they are positing local grassroots community action with an automatic and legitimate moral credibility. These distinctions are important because, ‘when NGOs seek to link with existing CBOs or GROs (Grass Roots Organisations the sense of ‘community’ with whom they wish to work is of a unified group of people who already have an initiative,
Within sociology the study of ‘community’ has been largely the domain of the ‘community studies’ group or discipline. The concept of community has become part of most research-based disciplines on societal formation, societal changes, and studies of socio-economics. The overuse of the term ‘community’ and its romantic attachments of building and bridging social gaps can be a dangerous endeavour. Researchers are cautioned to, “the dangers of romanticising community life, finding and reporting solidarity and co-operation and ignoring the schism and conflict in local social life, highlighting the positive, celebrated sides of communities and neglecting their oppressive and coercive aspects” (Crow and Allan, 1994:2).

By researching Small NGOs/CBOs and non-profit grassroots organisations in post-war societies it is hoped that it will shed light on an neglected area and offer, “powerful ways of thinking about one of the primary vehicles of change at local levels, community or neighbourhood organisations” (Milofsky, 1998:2). Within small NGOs and CBO, community plays an important role. The case-study organisation that I have chosen centres its projects, objectives, and mission on a sense of community that extends beyond the walls of the organisation and into the clients its represents, its staff, associates, and members. With it, the concept of community has important implications for these NGOs in terms of their structures, management, and survival in a transitional Third Sector (de Berry, 20004).

The concept of community can be distorted in many senses within a society and the Third Sector is just as culpable for manipulating the concept as I outlined in the opening chapters. In South Africa, the concept has connotations of race, and socio-economic grouping and is tied in with grassroots-level mobilisations. There have been attempts to revamp the idea to include any community in the country, the community that exists in each NGO, in different residential areas of the Western Cape and so on.

However, I saw no evidence during my fieldwork that the old notions of the concept of ‘community’, which is used to mobilise the marginalised communities against the white community and the rich, was evolving into anything but this or fading into the
itself as a small NGO engaged in educational and developmental work. Recent restructuring has led the organisation to stress again its main role as an ENPO (Educational Non Profit Organisation), which was the label under which it began its work in 1984.

What my previous research on community organisations in Northern Ireland and my pilot work for this study showed however, was that organisations with larger budgets and more staff identify themselves as CBOs which fits my earlier definition – a small budget, based within a grassroots community and working with grassroots activists and organisations (McCormack, 2000; Harbison, 2002; McCarron, 2003; Cochrane and Dunn, 2002).

The difference can also be said to originate in the way in which the concept of ‘community’ is viewed within both countries. ‘Community’ in Northern Ireland positions you between the two main traditions of Catholic and Protestant. Whereas in South Africa it is a term used to refer to impoverished areas or more so grassroots level action or initiatives. It has a more practical use as a concept in terms of legitimisation and classification within the non-profit sector. It also has associations with social movements as ‘community’ was an important mobilising concept during the fight against apartheid. The marginalised communities in South Africa were famous during the struggle for their protests against the apartheid government and for mobilising the ‘community’ against injustices and to fight for democracy.

Many see a close connection between civil society and the idea of community to the point that the word ‘community’ has become synonymous with the concept of civil society. The unit of analysis within this study is that of civil society groups or non-profit sector voluntary organisations that are not only based within a community setting but are promoted as and geared towards a concept of ‘community’, which aims to espouse the ideals of unity, solidarity, regeneration and reconciliation. Although it is well known for its buzzwords of exclusion such as exclusive, ethnic, reinforcing, and solidarity in its double-barrelled form. Thus, the idea of what constitutes ‘community’ and how it is incorporated into the discourses surrounding post-conflict civil society must be explored.
It is the very idea of classifications and legitimisation which help determine the success or otherwise of an NGO undergoing transition or structural adjustments. It is important to further research and to the future of Third Sector studies that the competition between NGOs is recognised. More importantly, however, is an understanding of how classification, competition and legitimisation push the organisations to interact in particular with donors and more importantly its peers and colleagues in the sector.

The process of labelling an organisation reflects the nature of the programme, the organisation's objectives and mission as well as the type of service provision an organisation is engaged in and the type of 'client' it is providing it to. You may call an organisation an NGO but is it a small NGO, or a CBO? Is it part of an international organisation or is it an organic community project? There can be much confusion as to what an organisation is from an outsider's point of view and even amongst its own staff.

My own experience is one of having a definition prior to entering the field which did not correspond with the actual reality I was faced with. Before I began my volunteer work and participant observation with TNUI I would have defined it as a CBO in accordance with my first definition that I had garnered through the literature reviews and research conducted prior to entering the field. However, TNUI does not define itself as a CBO.

During an interview with Phillip, when I asked him whether the TNUI was a CBO he quickly said, "No, it is an NPO (Non-Profit Educational Organisation)" (Phillip, June 24th 2004). In my previous estimations prior to entering the field I would have thought this enough to classify an NGO as a CBO. However, as I was soon to learn during my fieldwork, there is no coherent solid classification for a CBO and in South Africa it is much different than in Northern Ireland or in the textbooks I had consulted during my literature review.

In South Africa, the term CBO is used to describe the informal NGOs set up mostly in the very impoverished communities. In terms of size and capacity, the organisations are small, ill-equipped, mostly unregistered and located within the townships. The TNUI sees
Setting up networks is a very difficult thing for a small NGO to do. They have very limited capacities to do so. My fieldwork identified a desire amongst smaller NGOs to get together with other groups experiencing the same struggles as they do, sharing information, and learning from each other.

As Freddy quite rightly pointed out, “there needs to be a stronger incentive than just getting to know each other” for such interactions, otherwise organisations find it hard to motivate themselves “to spare the little time they have beyond their own NGO to visit with or work with other NGOs” (Interview with Freddy September 17th 2004). As I have already illustrated, on the few occasions where I attempted to set up meetings with other activists and NGO practitioners at the TNUI there was a small turnout and little interest shown. This was because these meetings have to be set up after work hours and the organisation that I was organising the meetings to take place in, namely the case study, is geographically isolated also.

As such, these findings lead one to argue that in order for NGOs to survive and become more sustainable they should engage more effectively and succinctly in networking opportunities and establish stronger and more cohesive networks. In addition, the findings question the type of incentives that can be given to organisations to network more effectively in South Africa’s non-profit sector. As Powell’s work suggests there must be an economic exchange incentive and a sense of reciprocity. He lists three essential factors that a network needs in order for it to be as effective as markets or hierarchies. Powell’s (1990: 306) three factors, which are critical to networks, are:

1. Know-how, which is the sharing of skills and information, training and experience. The exchange of distinctive competencies.
2. The demand for speed, which points to the ability to innovate and translate ideas into products quickly.
3. Trust, which is a sense of solidarity and generalised reciprocity.
It would appear from the data gathered and conversations with key people in the sector that NGO networks in South Africa have the “know-how” and the ability to adapt to the new socio-economic situation. This ability demonstrates a certain degree of proficiency with innovation but the transformation of their ideas into concrete ‘products” has been difficult, particularly for small NGOs such as the TNUI as the next section will illustrate. As regards trust, solidarity and reciprocity, as the findings highlight these elements were more prominent during the apartheid years and the initial post-conflict period but have dissipated somewhat over the past ten years. It would follow then that in order to strengthen networks and thus contribute more effectively to the economic resources of the sector NGOs in South Africa must remobilise these dormant factors of “demand for speed” and “reciprocity.”

According to the Fahamu report59, 28 per cent of the CBOs surveyed by were started by another organisation. This demonstrates the growing trend for more established NGOs to take CBOs under their wing for various reasons and to facilitate the growth of the CBO sector. During my fieldwork I attended a meeting of The Non-Profit Consortium, on the 6th August 2004. It would be considered to be a ‘big brother’ organisation in that it helps small NGOs and CBOs increase their capacity building levels and assists them with training and evaluation. When an organisation is computer illiterate, has not got fax or email facilities and no full time administrator then fundraising and meeting the needs of the target group efficiently is difficult.

Many of the small organisations represented at this meeting were glad to have larger NGOs in a new ‘big brother’ role. Nonetheless, they were keen to hold onto a sense of ownership over their project and keeping it within the communities. Naturally, this is coupled also with a fear of losing their jobs if their project or cause is deemed in effective. There was room on the agenda for feedback from organisations that had worked with the NGO consortium. One of the main items that The NGO Consortium was praised for by the representative from Connections was “its workshops on registering

your NGO and how to legalise all your activities” (Fieldnotes, August 6th 204). For groups with a limited capacity this is often a mammoth task.

In the past twelve-months, with the creation of groups such as The Non-Profit Consortium and others like it, there is a sense that CBOs are being called to formalise their structures and fall in line with the increased accountability measures that are being imposed upon the sector both internally and externally. As a result, it has become increasingly fashionable to refer to your group as a ‘CBO’ to garner more attention and funding. As they begin to formalise more they become a new market for funds normally reserved for larger NGOs and those with greater structural and social capacities.

Many studies have pointed to the need for larger NGOs to have a capacity building role in relation to smaller groups and this seems to be part of the restructuring process that is being undertaken in South Africa as the non-profit sector strives to become more organised and unified. The TNUI sees itself as facilitating smaller projects within the marginalised communities even though it is not a large NGO by any means. It fundraises for and does capacity building work with many projects based within certain grassroots communities.

As such, in this new climate of organisational competition and legitimisation, CBOs have become the new NGOs. During the apartheid years, NGOs sprouted up to provide a platform for the movement against apartheid and largely as a conduit for the ANC. Many organisations also like the TNUI were not part of this movement directly, in terms of politics, but were instrumental in building the foundations for change in South Africa. As the non-profit sector moves past the first decade of democracy and is thoroughly enmeshed in its transition, some would even say that the transition is over and now the real change must begin. Once again, as with any point of change, there is a call for it to happen from below but change has become apathetic here now and, “it has become everyone else’s responsibility. No one seems to want to take charge” (Quote from interview with former non-profit sector activist, Freddy, August 2004).
This is illustrated in the various networking meetings I have attended amongst grassroots NGOs. The meeting I attended on May 6th 2004, was to discuss the formation of a local civil society forum to network all the various development forums in the different communities in Cape Town. The meeting was poorly attended despite transport costs being supplied, it was badly organised. Its main purpose was to gather the main community based forums in Cape Town and bring them into a wider civic forum to debate and work on general Province and countrywide problems in communities and civil society, or so the blurb went. My final reflection on the meeting was that,

"The discussion began as one about networking but very quickly descended into a discussion about money and which development NGOs were getting the most and how it was being distributed. There was quite a competitive atmosphere. My small group discussion ended up in a heated ramble about who was getting the most money and if politics was involved. One group member asked out rightly if the Khayelitsha Group was "political." The actual reason for being there was to amalgamate the forum, which was lost on the participants that no one had explained it to them. Just typical. When I expressed this view to Phillip afterwards he agreed that the meeting was "a waste of time and resources," that it could have been more productive." (Fieldnotes, May 6th 2005)

CBOs are just another step along the way to redefining the civil society structures and yet another player in the game of fundraising and donor support. There is a sense that in order to remobilise civil society the non-profit sector must re-engage with the grassroots communities. This point was highlighted at the SANGOCO AGM, which attended in July 2004. What remains to be discussed, researched, addressed is how to establish the roles of these CBOs within the sector, and how NGOs, large and small can work to support them whilst also competing with them for funds, projects, legitimacy and credibility.

Networking amongst all those in the non-profit sector is essential for a healthy relationship to develop between CBOs and NGOs. The nature of the relationship at present seems to be parasitic rather than symbiotic, which is how the CBOs are perceived at present. Clear boundaries need to be established to prevent CBOs biting the hands that feed them. This leads us to yet other grey areas concerning CBOs. Does a CBO eventually become an NGO and do they want to? How does the average NGO practitioner feel about the rise of the CBO? Is it a threat or another chink in the already
fractured armour of civil society networks within South Africa? The heterogeneity of the NGO sector is more readily apparent now.

A more congenial level of networking being done between these larger NGOs and their smaller counterparts would be more productive. Networking for networking’s sake is counterproductive and feeds into the apathy and pre-existing tensions between NGOs in the sector. There appears to me based upon my empirical research a reluctance for groups to really help each other grow if it means that the other NGO may part ways with its Big Brother at its expense by competing for funds with them or biting the and the feeds them in the many ways that this can be done.

To quote Ron and Cooley again, if the NGOs and CBOs “were members of a purely normatively driven and robust global civil society, we might expect them to cooperate, pool resources, and share information.” (Ron and Cooley, 2003:17). However, given the concentration of contractors within the sector competitors conceal information and act unilaterally. This leads to duplication and collective inefficiencies when the focus of the NGO shifts too far from the services they are supposed to provide and the clients they are to provide them too.

In order for small NGOs and CBOs to co-exist happily and aid each other in capacity growth there needs to be a more cognitive change in their behaviour towards each other. In his recommendations for the future of relations between struggling NGOs in Northern Ireland Harbison called for “greater complementarity” (Harbison, 2000: 15) amongst these groups in terms of their resources, objectives and goals rather than competing against each other or defining their boundaries to close to their own individual agendas. The same can be said for these groups in South Africa and across the Third Sector globally.

The growth of capacity building relationships between established NGOs and smaller organisations or CBOs begs the following questions. Have NGOs become victims of their own success by helping CBOs be established and in doing so do themselves out of jobs
and money? Does the opening out of the concept of CBOs and their formalisation ease the sense of isolationism amongst organisations the NGO sector or does it add to it as the sector becomes more saturated but less solid with few unifying principles and conflicting solidarities? Do these ‘big brother and little brother’ partnerships have a constructive role in the remobilisation that desperately needs to happen? These questions constantly arose for me during the course of my fieldwork with every meeting I attended with NGO umbrella bodies, at every civil society event I networked at and when I saw the manner in which my own case study organisation dealt with its smaller ‘little brother’ NGOs.

However, the relationship between the capacity building NGOs and emergent CBOs will remain fraught as competition grows and the more ‘Africanised’ and ‘representative’ CBOs begin to dominate the funding environment as seems to be the case according to the data I collected and the general feeling of growth and change within the sector as a whole. The rush to set up community based organisations in South Africa runs the risk of creating an almost ‘ghettoised’ non-profit sector within community development. As Harvey (2000) pointed out in his study of the voluntary and community sector in Northern Ireland, the insularity of community development in Northern Ireland has resulted in the community sector becoming a victim of its own success and creates greater isolation amongst NGOs. Subsequently, fewer networking opportunities are created or the development of capacity building between communities. He explains that,

...the view was broadly held that the community development profession and field in Northern Ireland was isolated, conservative, parochial, averse to risk, ghettoised, dominated by the two different political traditions in which workers operated, insular and not aware of developments in Great Britain, the Republic of Ireland or continental Europe. There were many reasons for this: the proliferation of small community-based projects, a competitive and territorial funding environment conducive to sharing, and the imperative of project survival. Endless short-term project money had stymied creative thinking. Community development workers were measured by their ability to ‘get a community centre’ because the parish next door had one too. The focus on community development was on the delivery of services, rather than the development of communities (Harvey, 2003: 32-33).
As such the CBOs within South Africa’s black more impoverished ‘African’
communities risk a similar fate as the competitive and ‘territorial’ nature of funding and
legitimisation take its toll on the non-profit sector. The Africanisation of the sector
directly feeds into this relationship and the capacity building incentives within the sector.
As with the NGOs in Northern Ireland, once the small NGO become parochialised and
isolated by the process of Africanisation and the privileging of CBOs over them by
donors and governmental funds they will “become passive and lacked the ability to
mobilise” (Harvey, 2003:32-33) as has clearly been the case with my case study
organisation the TNUI.

An analysis of this data and the case study experience shows that the emergence of CBOs
as a new competitive force in the non-profit sector is directly linked to the push for a
more African-orientated and funded Third Sector. This widens the field of funding and
resource possibilities for the sector as a whole, if these new initiatives are channelled into
the reconstruction and growth process in a productive manner. This would assume that
CBOs and NGOs could develop a mutually beneficial relationship, which sees them
aiding each other in terms of capacity building and reducing duplicity of projects and
service provisions.
CHAPTER FIVE

AFRICANISING THE NGO SECTOR
5.1 Africanisation and Legitimisation

Africanisation is an understandable idea within the framework of the ‘New South Africa’s’ socio-political agendas and in the context of the new call for a continent-wide push for African development by Africans in line with NEPAD’s objectives. I take ‘Africanisation’ to mean the process through which an organisation goes to fall in line with new Black Economic Empowerment policies, dealing with new domestic government funding structures, thus giving a more representative face to an NGOs staff, projects and objectives to make the sector more ‘African’ centred by focusing on development “for Africans and by Africans”. (Mbeki, 2005)

However, the most important practical question that has arisen within this research is how do such discourses translate in real terms? That is given the many discourses that pulse through the society and the Third Sector, as outlined in chapter two and chapter five, it remains to see how these discourses and rhetoric are filtered down through an organisation primarily run by white people even though their clients are black and coloured\(^6\). Equally, it is interesting to note how they are negotiated and incorporated into an organisation’s ethos and their fundraising restructuring strategies.

It is a difficult thing to change the culture of an organisation, particularly when it was the culture of struggle and solidarity that defined it during the apartheid era. In terms of TNUI, it was found that its particular culture and philosophies as described in chapter five have made the incorporation of such policies difficult and has forced a change in not only the objectives and core business of the organisation but also has affected the cultural aspects of the organisation. These have not necessarily been negative changes. The move towards ‘Africanising’ ones NGO can add to the culture of the organisation in exciting and opportunistic ways as I will illustrate in the final section of this chapter. However, the manner in which the directives and policies are imposed upon an organisation gives

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\(^6\) This again refers to the racial group in South Africa called Coloured or Cape Coloured. They are a mixed race who descend from the Malaysian slaves originally brought into the Western Cape of South Africa during the Dutch colonial period. The coloured population is mainly concentrated in the Western Cape of South Africa. (See map in Appendix of the Western Cape)
rise to difficulties regarding the organisation’s core philosophies and the way in which the organisation presents itself to its donors.

In order to assess the practical implications of such processes one must consider how such policies can contribute toward a greater knowledge of the culture of the sector and more importantly the development of South Africa notions of the Third Sector. Lewis (2004) in his work on NGOs in the developing world and in Africa in particular asks us to consider the more adaptive approach to the use of the concept of civil society in Africa. He encourages one to look at the localised versions of the concept in certain African contexts.

In South Africa, the idea of people power and a strong civil society was bound up in the culture of a struggle and the fight against apartheid. With the absence of such solidarity now amongst those involved in the non-profit sector and the lack of a unified struggle, what is the culture of the sector now? It would seem that the state would prefer the sector to remobilise itself around the concept of Africaness and a return to autonomy from foreign influences.

Although its leadership is white, the TNUI works with many black associates and has a large network of connections and affiliates within the black community. It is by no means an ‘all-white’ organisation in terms of its members and clients. Phillip explained to me when I spoke to them about my findings on white run NGOs that the TNUI has always had a full spectrum of genders and races on its Board of Directors. Equally, its programmes are based in black and coloured communities. Therefore, the task of employing more black staff was not met with resistance within the organisation nor was it a drastic change in their core objectives. It was merely a numbers game to one extent and I believe it was important to have a more diversified core full-time staff for the sake of the future of the organisation.

I did not sense any concrete awareness amongst the staff of the organisation of being ‘Africanised’, this process has been more subtle but there was a definite awareness of it
being 'professionalised' and becoming more formal as it descended into a further financial crisis at the beginning of this year. As I will explain in the final section of this chapter, there were a series of changes and shifts within the organisation, which in my analysis, formulated this process of Africanisation. It was a term and an observation based on my own analysis and data gathered. However, that said I did observe that there was general acknowledgement that the people filling the jobs of those who left during the restructuring period such as Vivian, Sara and myself be replaced preferably by black African employees.

The employment of more black staff and having the face of an organisation being more diversified is only a small part of the process. An essentialising notion of culture as seen in notions such as ‘diversity management’ or ‘economic empowerment’ or ‘cultural tolerance’ and the quotas system in South Africa sports organisations and within the workplace as we have seen in the re-structuring of TNUI. The ‘Africaness’ of NGOs is an issue that came up constantly within the research and within the case study organisation. As one respondent commented, “NGOs have experienced difficulties in shedding their white image.” (Extract from interview with a former civil society activist, September 2004) As the case study data showed, the organisation has made its name more ‘African’ in order to attract more donors and to appear more ‘black’ to local domestic and governmental aid agencies.

This feeds into Lewis work on the role that Northern NGO agendas have in Southern non-profit sectors. Many of the small NGOs in South Africa receive funding from overseas and as the data shows, the amount of funding from foreign donors is decreasing (Lewis, 2002). What matters is, how the agendas of Northern donors and NGO bodies affect the work being done at a local level in South Africa, and if they are really influencing local NGO agendas negatively? How African does an NGO have to be to claim its own levels of agency from foreign donors? As the findings on donor agencies suggest, the relationship between foreign aid agencies and South Africa NGOs has changed significantly over the past five years as the levels of competition, accountability
and formalisation increase. It is important for small NGOs in South Africa to link local realities with emerging global.

More importantly, as the relationship between the non-profit sector and the state continues to deteriorate in South Africa one must consider what effect this tension will have on aid agreements between the government and foreign donors. As the data shows, much of the international funds are now being directed away from small NGOs directly and into government coffers. Underlying this ‘Africanisation’ of the non-profit sector in South Africa are some basic questions that are informed by the emerging body of work on Southern NGOs and the role of international agencies in African development. If there is a fundamental difference in the way in which the concept of civil society should be used in Africa, then surely the presence of foreign funds within an organisation carries westernised expectations, which negate its Africaness?

The Africanisation of the sector implies a process, which calls on present day NGOs to source their funds domestically, to appear to be more ‘African’ and less dependent on foreign funds. In addition, this process involves a focus on improving and realigning relations between the state and the South Africa non-profit sector, which have been historically strained before and after the apartheid era. The relationship between the new government and the non-profit sector is as fraught as it ever was and the call on NGOs to be more ‘African’ is directly correlated to these tensions. The development of NGOs in Africa is a hotly contested debate and much of the literature surrounding it has focused on the role of Western donor agendas and Northern development goals in Southern based organisations.

In addition, there is a growing body of work on the usefulness of the concept of civil society to African societies and if indeed, Northern notions of the voluntary sector can be readily applied to the African context. These debates have informed many aspects of my research in a myriad of ways and the data uncovered during this research, feeds directly into this growing field of theoretical and practical debate. This study looks at how the concept has changed in not only a post-war society but also the practical changes and
uses of the concept in a globalising South Africa. The data brings a descriptive and practical look at the concept of the ‘Africaness’ within NGOs and how such an idea is bandied about to serve the purposes of various social actors.

Within this research there has been uncovered a more insidious project of the ‘Africanisation’ of NGOs and how it plays a part in the transitions facing the South Africa non-profit sector. In particular, the process of making ones NGO more ‘African’ implies that the organisation is simultaneously making itself more government and donor friendly. Indeed, the ethnographic data gathered from TNUI indicated that the process of making the organisation more ‘African’ was an important part of their strategic plan. Even though this process was not blatant, it was insinuated in many of the changes being made to its public face and within its funding and networking proposals.

Calls for a more ‘African’ non-profit sector have come from all corners. The government has directly attacked the agendas of foreign donors and indirectly it is focusing domestic funds to those organisations that are more ‘black’ and more focused on domestic alliances. Equally, from within the non-profit sector, there is a call on organisations to fill the funding deficit from foreign donors by focusing their efforts on enticing and engaging with domestic donors and local private sector philanthropists. This refers to the new resources available from the business sector in the form of CSR, as discussed in chapter two and eight. However, the most open call for more ‘African’ Third Sector has come from the South African President himself.

President Thabo Mbeki recently criticised NGOs that receive the bulk of their funding from overseas as being too influenced by foreign agendas and criticized them for employing foreign staff. This was not an unexpected criticism as the tensions between the government and local NGOs have increased over the past twelve-months. Communications between both groups have been dogged by allegations of inefficiency, frustrations with service provision and the effect of many broken promises on behalf of the government and their general and failure to deliver on them. The President's statements were made in the context of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM)
consultative conference in Johannesburg, which concerned the African Union’s peer review of South Africa and civil society’s push for greater representation on the panel to review the state of governance in the country.

President Mbeki’s views reiterate government’s ambivalent line on NGOs, particularly on matters related to contested development strategy and NGOs’ oversight role. This is not the first time that a South African president has criticised civil society in the country. In a speech to the ANC’s 50th National Conference in December 1997, Nelson Mandela, usually renowned for supporting a strong independent civil society, made a scathing attack in which he accused elements within the NGO sector of working with foreign donors to undermine the government and its development programme.

The majority of NGOs in South Africa, are committed to improving the lives of Africans in respect of health, education, security, and employment. Equally, NGOs that are funded by the international donor community do strongly promote and implement the government’s public policies. Even where a donor country may disagree with an aspect of South African public policy, embassies tend to fund NGOs and projects that dialogue with and meliorate government policy rather than undermine it.

However if President Mbeki’s veiled attack on foreign donors is asking whether there are NGOs that have been in existence for decades and are yet to fully navigate their way through the challenges and opportunities of racial transformation, the issue takes on a new light and he seems to have a point. Furthermore, as these views command considerable weight in South Africa, one must also consider the more cynical reasoning behind such assertions, which ask whether such a generalised critique would serve to undermine the credibility and legitimacy of NGOs in the eyes of communities with which they work?

NGOs mostly could try harder in respect to representivity or at least make representivity a central concern in a more open and less politically correct way. BEE policies are a reality of everyday life in South Africa. Therefore, an organisation should not sugar-coat
the moves that are made to make the or more ‘African’ such as employing more Black employees and making the presence of foreign representatives or agendas more insidious and less vocal within the organisation. The funding and expenditure of NGOs must be scrupulously transparent as well as their agendas and the representivity of those they aim to be helping within the organisation.

The other implied question posed by President Mbeki was whether South African NGOs are prepared to pursue agendas funded by the international donor community regardless of whether they are in the interests of South Africa and Africa. Such comments do nothing to encourage foreign donors or entice them to work with the government on social development. At the heart of this debate is the question of whether there were truly ‘African’ NGOs in South Africa. By asking this, one is implying that the foreign money that funds them and the foreign people who work in them are not ‘African’ enough. This again feeds into the trend amongst NGOs in South Africa to be more ‘African’ and more ‘black’. This has many implications for the continued existence of many NGOs who are becoming more reliant on domestic funding and as such have to pander to domestic agendas, which are heavily influenced and driven by BEE (Black Economic Empowerment) policies and rhetoric.

A central component of this debate is the continued presence of foreign aid in South Africa as it enters the second decade of its new democratic state. There is clearly a discontinuity between the views of the new ANC government in the early 1990s and its present day position with regard to the role and significance of foreign aid for the provision of services within the country. Larger foreign funded NGOs are less vulnerable to such attacks. It is the small NGO and the CBOs who are largely at the mercy of donor favour and must choose the lesser of two evils between repackaging their programme to appeal to foreign agencies agendas or to develop stronger local relationships with the government and corporate sector.

As the data has shown, and as outlined in chapter seven, the relationship between the donor and the small NGO has had to adapt itself to the changing discourses and
expectations that have presented themselves during the transition. These changes are an essential part of the transition that organisations have had to undergo on a daily basis within an NGO and form a significant party of the reality of their survival. As such, both the foreign donor and the NGO, have to engage in a mutually beneficial game where a product is produced and a moral profit is made on both sides.

When one looks closer at the relationship between smaller NGOs and Northern donor agencies, the question arises as to whether it is a reciprocally accountable relationship. Moreover, it is important to think about the possibility that direct funding between foreign donors and South African NGOs does in fact increase donor instrumentalisation of southern NGOs, as Mbeki seems to be suggesting in his remarks. Furthermore, if an NGO allies itself to donor policies how do we disentangle the influences of donor finance, from recently liberalised state policies, from a change in leadership of the NGO?

Edwards and Hulme (1997) acknowledge the danger of such interactions when they ask if NGOs, “have moved too close too donors?” (1997:281). They explain that, “closer identification of NGOs with external interests may make it more difficult for them to establish longer term relationships with national governments and domestic sources of support. It is on these relationships that the legitimacy of NGOs and GROs ultimately depends, at least if the organisations concerned see themselves as more than service providers on contract to governments and donors” (Edwards and Hulme, 1997: 282). They go one to say that, “perhaps now is the time to turn the spotlight on NGOs themselves. But if they grow ‘too close for comfort’, NGOs, like Icarus before them, may plummet to the ground when the heat of the donors melts the wax in their wings” (Edwards and Hulme, 1997:284).

It would then follow that if ‘Africanising’ your NGO refers to sourcing funds domestically and entering into more benign contracts with the local government, then perhaps this is the best possible path for the future survival of the small NGO. In practical terms for organisations such as TNUI, this implies that significant strategic changes have had to be made to their fundraising programme and those they approach for funding.
opportunities. There has been a shift in attentions to domestic funders and more importantly, attempts have been made to share and disseminate resource information amongst like-minded organisations, although these networking opportunities are few. Equally, the presence of more members of the previously disadvantaged communities on the fundraising team will aid fundraising efforts with local government and businesses. In addition, it will give the organisation a more ‘evolved’ and ‘Africanised’ image to accompany the new programme that it is hoping to implement over the next twelve-months, as outlined in the early findings chapters.

The emergence of CBOs as a more marketable and definable category in the non-profit sector is an important part of this process. They tie in with the idea of community in a more tangible way and are easily identifiable in terms of donor interest and state policies as they are situated within the disadvantaged areas. They are within the community and run by those within the communities themselves. This is a positive development in terms of giving communities their own sense of agency and making NGOs more accessible to impoverished areas.

Consequently, there would appear to be some logical then behind the assumption that those people from within the communities can identify the needs of those they represent succinctly than outsiders, foreigners or those who are not from within the community could. However, one must be cautious not to over state the merits of CBOs as the only purveyors of the communities service provisions needs. As the data presented in the next section will show, there is a legitimate place for the input of more established NGOs, in what I refer to as a ‘big brother’ role, who can assist CBOs in training, capacity building and formalising their organisation to become more competitive and subsequently, more sustainable.

The relationship between those who run the NGO and the clients, as well as with the donors, is an issue that concerns much of the literature on post-war reconstruction. Particularly, in a country such as South Africa, where aid involvement has been an important part of the transition and the fall of the apartheid regime. In a situation where
the international community has had such a vocal and large role in the end of apartheid
the task of redefining these relations and roles in the new South Africa is a delicate one
and the non-profit sector to a large extent is stuck in the middle between the state and
foreign agendas. In terms of the case study, this process is not an easy or natural one
particularly when the culture of the organisation cannot be changed so dramatically to
accommodate such changes. In addition, the appeals to non-racialism that the New South
Africa was built on jar with this new call for a more African non-profit sector and African
development when in an insidious manner the term ‘Africanising’ becomes synonymous
with ‘blackening’ your organisation.

Such actions not only affect the culture of the organisation that is trying to accommodate
such change but it also affects the culture of the whole sector. More importantly, it is
essential in terms of the case study organisation, for them to understand how such
opposing ideals of non-racialism and Africanisation operate on an organisational level in
its everyday experiences of dealing with clients, members, donors, and state bodies. The
next section will look at the translation of the competing discourses into real terms and
how it relates to a wider field of organisational studies and the ethnography of an NGO in
transition.

5.2 Transitional Resources: Donor Aid in the New South Africa
As outlined in chapter two, post-conflict donor aid undergoes shifts in terms of priorities
and interests. In the case of South Africa the initial post-conflict phase of funding was
primarily aimed at instant relief and humanitarian work as well as facilitating the
reconciliation process between the formerly disadvantaged communities, their former
oppressors and the new democratic state (Seekings, 2001). During the apartheid regime
and over the past ten post-apartheid years South Africa has been heavily dependent on
foreign aid and developmental funds from international partners. In the past, this
arrangement was much easier to deal with in terms of administration and accountability
than local sources of funds, which remain dogged by ‘red tape’ and bureaucracy, as I will
illustrate in a later section. As Cochrane and Dunn (2002) explain (as quoted earlier in
chapter two):
In the 1980s or the earlier stages of funding, foreign funding was so desirable as it came with minimal constraints... donors granted them a high degree of autonomy in pursuing their missions and activities. In particular, South African P/CRO's appeared to have few constraints and very relaxed, if any, reporting requirements... (Cochrane and Dunn, 2002: 180).

Therefore, with the introduction of concepts such as sustainable development, accountability through professionalisation and formalising funding procedures, the average NGO has had to re-educate itself with regards to changing donor needs, expectations and interests.

Coupled with these new arrangements is the pervasive ‘culture of entitlement’ that still exists in South Africa, which has wide implications for the NGO sector as discussed repeatedly throughout this document. It also has implications for the mode in which state funds and capacity building amongst impoverished communities is approached and implemented. Even though the ‘struggle’ has ended, there is a heavy reliance on foreign funders and international support to contribute financially to the reconstruction of the nation as I explained in chapter six. Consequently, even though donor relations with NGOs are changing, the non-profit sector is far from being in a situation where it can act independently from international donor aid and the emergent domestic resources.

With this in mind, the research questions relating to resources in small NGOs aimed to address how these changing contexts have affected the manner in which aid is allocated to such organisations and moreover how the NGOs sense of agency has developed in line with these transitions. These findings on changing funding structures within small NGOs highlight the changes that have been made, in terms of both infrastructure and programme objectives within an organisation so as to maintain a sustainable resource relationship with existing donors.

This is heavily reliant on donor interests and as I outlined in chapter two and in the descriptive chapter on the TNUI, donor interests predict where aid is going to and what causes are “fashionable” enough, to use Pugh’s (2000) term again, to receive donor

\[PCROs\] – Peace and Conflict Resolution Organisations
attentions. In South Africa’s case, it is not that the donor community has forgotten them but as it enters its twelfth year of democracy South Africa’s stable peace and relative economic growth has put it further down on the priority list for humanitarian or reconstructive funds.

This is one of the central questions that informed this research and my desire to understand the workings of NGOs in more depth in post-war societies. I wanted to know what happens internally within an NGO when it is not seen as being “sexy” enough anymore or not “fashionable” in terms of causes that grab the headlines. As a result, funds dwindle and they have to restructure their organisational objectives and programmes to suit donor interests. I also experienced this when working in community groups in Cyprus. In this particular situation it was impossible to get donor funds for work on the effect of the conflict on women’s lives and rights in Cyprus, but it was easy to get money to look at the effect of EU integration on women’s lives. This was so because at the time, April 2001, the topic of EU integration was ‘fashionable’ in the country and seen as a more useful area of research to local donors and EU funding bodies.

By exploring the duality of discourses that are at play within these changes and highlighting the effect of changing the donor/recipient interface on the case study NGO, I aim to address in this chapter the levels of agency that small NGOs have in relation to the funding interfaces and how this relationship can grow to form a system of mutual benefit and capital exchange in an increasingly competitive funding environment. In addition, by examining the various fundraising initiatives that the organisation is engaged in one can see just how complicated the relationship gets as both the organisation and its funders try to keep up in a sector that is evolving in a fast and furious way.

The data shows that in order to survive an NGO will realign its agendas, objectives and focuses so as to make the most of resources available to it and its access to future funding possibilities, as well as establishing mutually beneficial relationships within the sector amongst its peers and colleagues with regards to information dissemination and pooling.
of resources. When I began my fieldwork with the TNUI, it was in the midst of the first of two main funding crises I experienced while volunteering with them. At this stage (March 2004), they were undergoing a series of strategic meetings to put together a plan to implement the changes that I have just listed.

By observing the changes that they were being implemented, as a consequence of the strategic decisions that were being made in order to secure more desperately needed funds, I was able to explore the research questions relating to the changing nature of the donor interface and what levels of agency small NGOs now have in the midst of these transitions. An exploration of the manner in which NGOs can manipulate donor jargon and expectations in order to get access to resources is central to these findings and highlight the exchange of power between NGOs and donors, which is often underestimated. In line with the ethnographic context of the research, the findings also explore the issue of agency within the TNUI and the nature of its relationship with donors as portrayed through the idea of a donor interface.

Agency, as theorised by Bourdieu, is the way in which we challenge and change the structuring effects of discourse. This research presupposes that NGOs are not mere dupes of the donor agencies. They have agency and use discourses to exercise it as well as adapting accountability and transparency issues to suit their own agendas within the organisation. There is a complex exchange system going on between financial capital and symbolic capital. Equally, the levels of agency that those working in the organisations have in bending the discourses to their own needs and realities is different.

This is displayed in the data gathered whilst writing funding proposals and attending fundraising meetings during my fieldwork. NGOs and those involved in ‘wooing’ donors now how to adapt, exploit and manipulate donor discourses in order to make a proposal more attractive. The use of buzzwords, statements, marketing tactics, and vast quantities of rhetoric can sway many donors. This involves a level of competency at playing the donors at their own game and vice versa. This will be illustrated in more depth when I analyse my participation in writing funding proposals for the TNUI.
The most obvious change I observed in the nature of this relationship was that the international donor agencies in particular are going directly to the new democratic governments with their funding, which is supposed to trickle down to the NGO sector via its various departments. During the struggle against apartheid and in the initial post-conflict period, most donor arrangements for humanitarian and reconstructive aid were directly between the donor and the NGO (Gidron, et al, 2002; Kotze, 2002). Bi-lateral agreements tend to have gone this way. Nevertheless, there are still many private philanthropists who fund NGOs directly but more so it is the smaller NGOs that can access this funding as intends to be of a small amount.

As I have demonstrated in the literature review there is a tendency for donors to resist funding ‘process’ by pulling out of a funding contract post-conflict. There has been much debate on the airwaves in Cape Town and amongst NGO practitioners about the effectiveness of these new arrangements. At a recent AGM of SANGOCO (South African NGO Coalition) in the Western Cape they talked about the uneven distribution of funds from the NDA (National Development Agency), which is the main source of NGO funding. It has been marred by corruption charges and misuse of funds. It has recently been revamped with new staff and more accountability measures, so whether it becomes a more effective conduit than its predecessors remains to be seen. The regionalisation of funding is also a contentious issue.

Within my research, I have identified two main knock-on effects of this shifting relationship. Firstly, the TNUI is being forced to source more funds domestically and attempt to engage and forge partnerships with the private sector through corporate investment. The volunteer work I conducted with the TNUI was mainly focused on identifying and developing local funding sources within South Africa and more importantly developing funding partnerships with corporate funding schemes. Secondly, the TNUI is undergoing significant restructuring processes in terms of the services they are providing, the communities they are targeting and their relationship with the state post-apartheid. This involves taking into account the changing nature of social need in South Africa and figuring in new aspects of the country’s new democratic
structures. This has led to a situation where both the government and NGO practitioners are looking for ways to source the funds for NGOs domestically and to rely less on international donor agencies. An example is the state-driven initiative to increase the levels of corporate philanthropy in South Africa through the idea of corporate social responsibility, as highlighted in the last section of chapter two.

In May 2004, the South African government published the *King Two Report*, which amongst its many recommendations encouraged greater levels of corporate social investment in the civil society sector. Relationships with the state regarding funding are just as complicated as those with the private sector and foreign donors. When sourcing domestic funds one has to ask is it better to go with the devil you know? That is, to choose between foreign donors and state funds if one has the choice. This is the basic question that groups such as the TNUI ask themselves.

The relationship between state funds and local NGOs has changed considerably in South Africa over the past ten years. More significantly, the funds from the international donor community that were once going directly to grassroots NGOs are now being channelled through state bodies, who in turn allocate these monies to the non-profit sector in South Africa. This involves a certain level of negotiation between the state and the non-profit sector. In any post-conflict situation, negotiating with the new 'democratic' government is unknown territory to the NGO sector.

Developing a trusting and fair relationship is important as the two come together to fill the service provision gap created by apartheid. However, state relations with the non-profit sector in relation to funding issues have been complicated and strained in South Africa. The activists and community workers I spoke to attributed this to inefficient allocation of funds, corruption allegations, and misspent money, coupled with a general sense of distrust of the state and a sense of frustration at their apathetic approach to civil society engagement and capacity-building for the NGO sector.

As a result of corruption allegations, misspent funds hearings and submissions by state funding bodies were made to the Portfolio Committee on Trade and Industry in Cape
Town in March 2003. In this meeting, it was indicated that there was a total of R3.4 billion of unspent funds belonging to five of the statutory funding bodies as the table below illustrates. This illustrates the level of inefficiencies at a state level about allocating funding and developing partnerships with the NGO sector. It also points to the potential for the state coffers to deal with the funding crisis within the sector.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Institution</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Funds Available</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RDP Fund</td>
<td>Treasury</td>
<td>R923 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Provincial</td>
<td>Donor Support</td>
<td>R190 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth Fund</td>
<td>Public Entity</td>
<td>R1 million over 5 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDA</td>
<td>Public Entity</td>
<td>R425 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Lotteries</td>
<td>Public Entity</td>
<td>R1.65 billion as at 31st March 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>R3.4 billion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table taken from the *Non-Profit Consortium Annual report 2004* p.6

Much of the delay in allocating funds is blamed on a lack of administrative capacity on behalf of the state but the bigger problem is that many small NGOs do not have the administrative capacity to fill out the complicated funding forms, or the time to chase up promised funds, or enough resources to tide them over until the delayed funds come through, as I will illustrate in chapter seven which focuses specifically on the ethnographic data relating to the donor interface which I gathered and observed in the case-study NGO.
5.3 Africanising Your NGO: Strategising Change and Mobilising Implementation

The idea or process of ‘Africanising’ your NGO affects every aspect of the organisation. It is becoming increasingly difficult for small local NGOs to operate in South Africa without falling in line with governmental expectations and BEE policies. An important question, which must be addressed, is what does it mean to be an ‘African NGO’ not only to the organisation itself but also what it means for a donor to sponsor an ‘African NGO’, for the state to support and partner with one and what it means to be Africanising the non-profit sector as a whole. It appears to me, that the sector is beginning to address these issues but in an unconscious manner. Nevertheless, in real terms I sensed that NGOs are dealing with this question on a daily basis.

As the case study data illustrates, it has implications across the board right down to the very name of an organisation. By renaming the organisation from the TNI to the TNUI in order to include to word ‘Ubuntu’ the organisation was quite clearly stamping its ‘Africaness’ onto its name and consequently portraying its Africaness upfront to donors, clients and most importantly local investors. The reality is that many groups are unable to secure funding and are consequently, forced to close or restructure their NGOs to be more ‘African’ that is, ‘black’. They have to bear in mind the new agendas of the state upon whom they rely primarily for domestic funding.

In addition, they have to keep in line with the international standards their foreign donors expect, whilst maintaining their interest in their projects and programme to ensure continued funding. As the case study demonstrates, Africanising your NGO has implications for your projects, staff, core business, sustainability, relationships with domestic donors, and your ability to tender for governmental grants and contracts.

The idea of Africanising your organisation is problematic given that it is not an obvious part of the process of sectoral growth and change post-apartheid. The competition and shifts in donor interests however, have been directly affected by governmental policies relating to a more ‘African’ centred form of development and resource allocation as
outlined in previous sections. Admittedly, at no time did anyone in the TNUI refer to the processes of ‘Africanisation’.

What Phillip, Liesel and Dillan pointed to, in various conversations regarding the changes in the sector, was the redundancy of ‘white’ figureheads in NGOs and the increasingly difficult challenges associated with dealing with domestic funders whilst simultaneously being pressurised to phase out foreign funds. On a more insidious level, amongst the general staff, I did record comments relating to the organisation not being “black” enough and “out of touch with what the majority of the population needs”. In addition, one staff member commented on the largely white middle to upper class membership that the organisation has and that the management tend to be too distanced from the townships and the clients. Members of the communities that the TNUI are providing non-profit services too are rarely seen at the organisation. This is reflected in the notable absence of interactions with the clients within my fieldwork and subsequent findings.

The ethnographic data illustrates a series of changes and moves that were made in and by the organisation which hint at the process of Africanisation. The interviews I conducted with activists in the sector and the observations I made at various NGO meetings and civil society indabas also point towards a systematic shift towards a more African-orientated sector. It was only after piecing these changes together that I began to see it as such a process, the implications of which I will explore in the conclusion. Although I have highlighted some of these changes in previous sections and chapters for the purposes of clarity I will summarise them here.

The CEO and founder of the TNUI has been writing about practical applications of the African philosophy of ubuntu for some time but only over the past couple of years the organisation has been writing these ideas into their fundraising documents and organisational philosophies in a more blatant manner. The most obvious example of this, as I have already mentioned, has been the change of the organisation’s name to include

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62 African word for a gathering or a forum, many civil society and NGO meetings I attended here are commonly referred to as an Indaba. This again illustrates the localising of the concepts around forums and civil action in line with the philosophy of ubuntu.
the word 'ubuntu' in the title. The additional purpose of this would be to soften the very German and unusual name of the organisation\textsuperscript{63}, so that it is less alien to the local donors. The word ubuntu is directly linking the organisation to a more 'African' centred audience and makes it more identifiable to local donors as an 'African-centred NGO'.

In addition to the name change in almost every interview I conducted with the CEO, he repeatedly referred to his diminishing role in the organisation due to being 'a white dinosaur'. He also explained that he does not like meeting with donors any longer and more specifically, explained that they needed to adapt their organisation to appeal more to the domestic donors. Another former non-white board member stated that the organisation was "not black enough" to attract donors and publicity and that as a result of being "out of touch" with the "majority of the population" they were failing to "attract new young staff and or maintaining their interest" due to their outdated programme and "white image".

On a more strategic level, there was an attempt to engage more with the local city council and domestic government donors by launching a youth programme involving the city council which automatically entails more new black staff. During this time, when I attended the networking lunches, I noticed that the numbers of black African visitors had increased significantly and that some of them would be future staff members. However this initiative failed to launch and the people I had met were not hired. The TNUI still has a mostly white staff with the majority of volunteers coming from overseas. It would have been advantageous to re-interview the staff at the TNUI after I had pieced together this concept and ask them directly if they felt these changes were part of a bigger project of making the organisation more 'African'.

However, at the time that this concept arose in my analysis, my relations with the organisation were significantly strained as a result of the incident outlined in the methodology chapters. Given the broken relationship I had at the time with the senior

\textsuperscript{63} Initially the organisation had agreed to allow me to name them in the thesis so as to illustrate properly the name change and the anthroposophical origins of the organisation. However in order to guarantee full protection of confidentiality I am unable to do so.
management I judged it best not to put the rest of the staff in a difficult position by re-interviewing them. However, I recorded non-verbatim fieldnotes on conversations I had with staff after my official volunteer work had ended with the organisation which confirmed some of my findings relating to the nature of the changes in staff and philosophies that the organisation was making.

During the process of analysing the data and writing up the findings I began to see a pattern within the TNUI and the sector in general, which I began to call the ‘Africanisation’ of the organisation and the sector. In line with the idea of remobilising the sector and the organisations into the new period beyond the transition, it appears that the future of the sector is to adapt its ideas regarding civil society, fundraising and donor sponsored programme to suit the specific needs of an African and a South African population. The sector has been influenced heavily for too long by foreign interests and monies. However, the process through which this is to happen and the manner in which it is dealt with on an ideological, political and practical level remains to be seen.
CHAPTER SIX

AN NGO IN TRANSITION:

PERSONALITY VS. PRACTICALITY
The basic descriptive outline of the TNUI gives rise to a series of questions regarding the central theme within their organisation and indeed, if there is one core objective within its framework. Therefore, this chapter begins by looking at the various ‘cores’ or philosophies and how they combine to form the base of the organisation. This involves problematising the organisation’s main objectives and the understanding that the staff and management have of these philosophies. Moreover, this chapter takes the descriptive data to another level of analysis by asking the question as to who shapes meaning within the organisation rather than what social forces provide it with its vision.

By examining the interactions between management and junior staff to the interactions with donors and members, the fine line between philosophy and practicality is drawn. This refers to the disjoint between what the organisation espouses to be doing and what its projects and programme actually achieve. It demonstrates the strategic changes that it has had to implement in order to make this disjuncture less apparent and less damaging to the future relations with donors and fundraising, which ultimately affects the future sustainability of the organisation.

The chapter then looks at how these forces combine within the personality of the organisation. Given that the organisation’s main aim is to provide a human face to service provision and embody ubuntu, in line with its ‘family’ motif, I refer to the essence of the organisation as its ‘personality’, as it is changeable and almost schizophrenic at times. One can define personality as a “distinctive personal character” and it is the culture of the organisation that is made up by the distinctive personalities of its staff that make the organisation at times appear more as a living character or perhaps a caricature of an NGO in transition. It is this ‘personality’ of the organisation that has caused it to romanticise its fate, which subsequently can lead to its demise. As such, the chapter ends by looking at how this romanticisation of the transition that the NGO sector is undergoing can lead to the decline of small NGOs.

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64 As defined in The Concise Oxford Dictionary, 7th Edition
6.1 Mapping the Construction of Meaning

In order to appreciate the complexity of NGOs and their organisational dynamics it is helpful to focus on NGOs as, “open-ended processes rather than models of organisation and theoretical concepts that fit strict definitions and boundaries.” (Hilhorst, 2003: 212)

An NGO does not operate in isolation. It is influenced and shaped by its peers, political climate, and the cultural differences within the organisation and the shifting patterns of social change in the society around it. Third Sector literature tends to view NGOs as being outcomes of political and historical processes or arising in response to the needs of marginalised sections of the population that are not being met by the state. In other words, it arises out of the gaps in service provision left by the state; which is particularly the case in a post-war society or a nation undergoing significant democratic change.

Much of the literature on NGOs, underplays the level of agency that an NGO has in relation to the state and donors as well as the social forces around them. As Hilhorst explains in her book, *The Real World of NGOs*,

> The importance of the notion of multiple-realities for researchers cannot be overestimated. Without systematically realizing that there is more to NGO-ing than the single reality displayed in reports and interviews with managers, one cannot account for the changes occurring through time and for inconsistencies occurring in practice. Moreover taking the identity of NGOs for granted diverts the attention away from the power processes in these organisations (Hilhorst, 2004: 217).

By examining the internal dynamics of an NGO, one can get a better understanding of what actors within NGOs do and how they put theories of development and non-profit work into practice. A portrait is painted of an organisation that takes an active role in defining and redefining exactly what it means to be in transition and how an NGO navigates the various possibilities and difficulties that this entails. During the course of this research, the multi-dimensionality of NGOs became a central finding. The literature on the structural capacities of NGOs fails to capture the three-dimensional aspects of an NGO in its everyday reality, a fact donors and the state alike should take into consideration. In order to assess the real state of the sector one should begin with a focus on social actors and the personalities that influence the sector through their NGOs.
As I have outlined in the descriptive chapter, the TNUI is an NGO that focuses on educational transformation through the arts primarily but has worked with other projects over its twenty-one year existence. During this time, it has adopted and integrated many different discourses, theories, and philosophies. In turn, this has influenced the types of people that have crossed its path and the type of projects it has invested in. Within the organisation's ethos, one finds a multiplicity of discourses and philosophies that intersect and inform each other. In practical terms, this has affected the staff, the 'culture' of TNUI and the manner in which it is perceived by its patrons, clients and peers.

This can be seen in an examination of the various discourses that are at play within the organisation. In addition, it is illustrated through a closer look at the various social interfaces that exist in the organisation and how they are informed by interpretations of what it is and what it does. Ultimately by doing this one can get an idea of how meaning is formed within the organisation and how the social actors who shape meaning in the organisation contribute to the reality experienced by those operating within the NGO.

As the introductory chapters discussed in a post-conflict society there are many competing discourses and philosophies of the new nation, some more dominant than others are. Within South Africa the main discourses that are at play, appear to be that of multiculturalism, empowerment of formerly disadvantaged communities through affirmative action and embracing the forces of globalisation as South Africa becomes one of the fastest growing African economies. All these discourses converge in various ways to influence the personality not only of a society but also of organisations and the services they provide. The socio-civic dimension of post-conflict reconstruction of a society places a lot of responsibility on the NGO/Third Sector to mediate between these discourses and develop ways of adapting them to the needs and wants of society and the work they do.

When one thinks of a personality one thinks of the psychology behind it, how it manifests itself in different social circumstances and how personalities adapt to changing environments. If personality is defined as a distinctive personal character then the
philosophies and the projects as well as objectives and missions give the TNUI its own distinct 'personality' beyond its typical NGO characteristics. Within this research, it is hoped that the NGO can be seen as a personality in progress, ever changing and undergoing a transition. In terms of socio-civic responses to the transition, the real world of the NGO serves also as an amalgamation of multiple and competing discourses coupled with the need to survive the post-conflict reconstruction period.

Discourses and the labels attached to them can empower or disempower an organisation just as much as they can justify and demystify it. One has to be very careful when dealing with donor agencies and government departments with which discourses are pandered to and which are to be manipulated. In general the concept of the Third Sector and civil society easily becomes an 'analytical hat stand' on which many different arguments are opportunistically placed. There has been a tendency among development policy makers to pick and choose among the many different understandings of civil society in order to operationalise the concept, with the result that 'a simplified set of arguments has been imported into northern aid policy' (Van Rooy, 1998).

The same follows with the discourses surrounding reconstruction and nation building in a post-war society, such as South Africa. Given the loaded nature of such terminology it is no wonder that the claim bearing label of 'NGO' comes under equal pressure. Thus, an inquiry into the actual discourses that are put into practice in everyday interactions is an important one. The label NGO relates to the ideal of community sacrifice for the greater good and other such clichés. As the Third Sector globally is being pushed to bring NGOs closer to the private sector, to make them more accountable, sustainable, marketable and more palatable to the changing needs of the donors, the gap between running an NGO and a business grows narrower.

Equally, an NGO is more than the sum of its projects and philosophies. It is the product of its management, staff, clients, and its modus operandi as it were, not to mention the manner in which it is perceived by the public, the clients, the donors and the local government. This issue is particularly acute in South Africa where provincial politics and
transitional politics impedes upon every aspect of civil society and the non-profit sector primarily in terms of seeking domestic funding and local private sector investment. Many NGOs are now trying to operate beyond this type of politics and are non-partisan. This is a difficult transition. TNUI has always been non-partisan. However, the non-profit sector or civil society network has weakened as the activists during apartheid became politicians. As the ANC began to take over the service provision roles that civil society provided under apartheid, the NGOs began to distance their objectives more from local politics. Nevertheless, they do call on such contacts to a certain extent at times when they need to secure domestic funds. It can become a vicious circle that is best avoided.

The organisation was initially based upon the principles of transforming a society and education through the use of the Arts. Thus organisation began as an NGO promoting the use of the arts in mainstream education. It gave teacher training courses and supported smaller organisations and schools who wished to use arts based education more. As the organisation has grown and its projects grown also it has moved with the general air within South Africa of change. It has always acknowledged the role of ubuntu – the African philosophy of community and individual potential – in its organisation and projects.

As a result of the evolution of the organisation the role of 'ubuntu' in its core philosophy and mission become more pronounced and Phillip has written a book on 'practical ubuntu'. The name of the organisation has changed this year to reflect this and it is dedicated to communicating the practical aspects of ubuntu to its staff and clients and patrons more clearly. This was an essential part of the recent strategic planning and retraining received in January 2005 with the NGO consultant who was drafted in to engage the organisation in a three-year strategic plan.

The other main stream running through the organisation is the support of and promotion of alternative lifestyles, economics and social structures. It rents out its rooms to those who would be considered to be practising a 'New Age' lifestyle, those who practice alternative therapies such as moon cycles, alternative counselling, personal development,
healing workshops such as Rekki and other such endeavours. This is also a source of income for the organisation. It is also rented out by groups running small workshops on educational training but in general it does tend to be used by counselling trainers and ‘New Age’ therapists. The organisation is a very open minded one and supports any group or person who embraces the philosophy of empowerment through the arts and contributing to the wholeness of the human being and his/her potential.

The networking lunches, social events and project campaigns have all sections and levels of South African society represented. Nevertheless in the Western Cape in particular those involved in the alternative trading community, the alternative lifestyles and personal development workshops do tend to be middle to upper middle class white people, and these strata of society make up much of its members, customers and staff. This is an issue that has to be addressed by the organisation. They have members from outside this stratum but there needs to be a more concerted effort to engage with other sections of society in terms of its members rather than just to those who they provide services to. By ‘marketing’ itself better it can achieve this; it just needs a wider audience.

The combination of these ‘philosophies’ or streams in the organisation can be very confusing to those outside of the TNUI when they first come into the fold. When I began my volunteer work part of my initiation was to read and learn about anthroposophy. However, I found the material of Steiner upon whose work the philosophy is based, very difficult to read and viewed it as being quiet disconnected. I found it hard to see how this German Philosophers work had a practical application to the Aids orphan work that I was doing at TNUI.

During my year at TNUI, I read two articles and three chapters of a book on the philosophy but found it uninteresting and not useful to the actual volunteer work I was doing. It was supposed to give me context to the organisation. However, apart from Phillip, Liesel, some of the board members and a couple of senior staff, there was little evidence that anyone else in the organisation really understands what anthroposophy is on more than a surface level, or the intricacies of its links with practice. There is too
much 'philosophy' in the organisation's objectives and project rationales, there needs to be a more practical impact based analysis of their objectives and agendas. These then need to be articulated in a manner that is digestible, not only to the donors, but to the organisation’s own staff and more importantly their clients.

The emphasis on complex philosophical foundations affects the organisation on many levels. One of the main criticisms made by the fundraising team and the NGO consultant was that the literature being produced by Phillip for donors and clients was too “over their heads.” It was laden with philosophical literature on how ubuntu and TNUI' philosophies help the wider community and add to nation building in a New South Africa, but nothing concretely practical or enticing for donors and patrons. The main concern appeared to be that the TNUI marketing line needed to be clearer and more practical, a point that I will elaborate on in a later section.

These multiple philosophies and discourses in the organisation also impact the manner in which the staff views it. In the strategic planning in January 2005, there was no concrete consensus initially on what it is that TNUI actually represents. This is a natural occurrence since every member of staff would define this according to their roles, but according to the draft report written by the NGO consultant, the role of anthroposophy did not figure largely in the responses.

In the initial stages of this research, I became interested in the work of an anthroposophist, Nicanor Perlas. At the time that I discovered his work on civil society and the Third Sector in a globalising world, I was not aware that he was an anthroposophist. His merit for me lay in what appeared to be a practical application of social threefolding in the Philippines. His work with the non-profit sector and the Government in the Philippines had managed to bring them together at a table to devise a plan for mutual benefit for their version of the Agenda 21 directives. I first encountered his work during a visit to TNUI in 2002 and pursued an interest in his work through his organisation in the Philippines thereafter.
When I began my volunteer work in TNUI, I expected to see Perlas’ model in application in South Africa through TNUI’s own Agenda 21 plan. However yet again before lay an example of how anthroposophical understandings of issues such as the non-profit sector and civil society do not translate very easily into practical realities. The language in the document and discussions of Perlas’ work were too abstract and impractical. I could see why the project had lost its appeal to funders and why it was difficult for Phillip to ‘market’ it as a practical results-orientated project. As a result, I became disillusioned with the practical merits of Perlas’ work. As an inspiration to a working model in the Philippines, I could see how it worked but its ability to be translated cross-culturally and globally was not as successful as I had originally hoped it would be.

The reality of the transition is that the organisation has to change its philosophies, its objectives, and its core business in order to survive. This begs the question as to whether in doing so the organisation has already ceased to exist anymore as it has evolved into a new organisation far removed from its original guise. The TNUI started back in 1981 as an anthroposophical society. It then evolved into an educational NGO during the apartheid years. Subsequently, it has become involved in the ‘AIDS NGO’ scene. However, its focus is on promoting programme based on improving schools, assisting educators in impoverished areas and creating opportunities for dialogue amongst the marginalised youth. Thus, the TNUI has become more distanced from its origins. This will perhaps enable it to market itself into a more saleable ‘product’ to entice domestic donors and appeal to the professionalisation demands of the global aid agencies.

There is very little evidence left in the organisation of its anthroposophical roots or those who started the organisation. The CEO has more or less removed himself visually from the organisation’s everyday business and the board of Directors has been revamped. The staff has been downsized and more black have been employed, thus changing the public face of the organisation to a more ‘representative’ and ‘Africanised’ one. This brings us to the question of who shapes ‘meaning’ in TNUI. In other words, one speculates as to what are the overriding discourses that inform ‘culture’ within the organisation and who are the key people in the organisation that inform these discourses. From Phillip to the
board, to the COO and the administrators, they all have a role in defining the culture of the office and organisation. In terms of discourses of expertise, these are perpetuated by the senior management and the donors. Given his dedication to the philosophy of anthroposophy, Phillip has long influenced the way in which meaning is shaped and approached in the organisation in line with his anthroposophical beliefs.

Since I returned to the organisation in March 2004, after the first stage of strategic planning had been done, I sensed a more organised and professionalised atmosphere in the organisation and a flurry of activity around marketing TNUI, fundraising in more practical ways, networking and putting together sustainable three-year plans. Equally, there was a level of sterility introduced in that the warmth of the organisation had dwindled slightly, the building as well as the general atmosphere was cold, and the management appeared to be very distant from the long-term staff there.

In addition, the CEO had removed himself physically from the main hub of the organisation, which is the central office. It is now occupied by Liesel and the financial assistants. He now occupies a smaller more isolated office where he can dedicate himself more to his writing without being disturbed. He has taken a back seat as it were in the running of the organisation. However, he continues to play the role of the figurehead when needed. He also explained that he does not attend donor meetings anymore because he is “not black enough.” In general, he has removed himself as the public face of the organisation to a certain extent and this has had a trickle-down effect on the organisation’s general atmosphere, which I will discuss in the final section.

The shift in atmosphere I believe is due to this more business-like and focused approach to running the organisation this year. At its basest level, the TNUI is simply another NGO that is weathering a transition from a successful NGO to an abundant one, which means that formalisation, strategic planning, networking and organisational procedure, which have become the buzzwords for the transition. This occurs, “at certain points in time, particular NGO discourses indeed succeed in effecting a certain closure of alternative readings of situations and relations. More than fashions, these discourses are effective in
recreating the past, stipulating policy for the present, reshaping organisational forms and practices, including, excluding and reshuffling people’s relations (Hilhorst, 2005: 5). However, the failure to remobilise effectively through strategic planning coupled with the slow pace of formalisation, has taken its toll on staff morale and their relations with senior management.

6.2 Social Interfaces and Multiple Realities

Social interfaces provide a valuable way of looking at and conceptualising interdependent discourses in an NGO. One can define them as, “occurring at points where different, and often conflicting, life worlds or social fields interact.” (Hilhorst, 2003: 81). There are numerous social interfaces with an organisation. How staff, donors and clients interact at these social interfaces is influenced by the personality and philosophies present within the organisation as well as the leadership within the organisation.

In her study of a Filipino NGO Hilhorst (2004) describes how meaning was situated within these interfaces and how these points of collaboration were important insights into the world of the staff. She explains that,

When the multiple realities of NGOs are confusing to observers, they must also be for staff. How do the varying meanings of NGOs interact, conflict or converge, and how can NGO people define what is the more appropriate for particular times and spaces? This is not often subject to explicit reflection (Hilhorst, 2005:6)

Social interfaces in TNUI extend from the community networking lunches held every Friday to the various events that are held for fundraising, launches of projects and personal celebrations such as birthdays of staff and volunteers. I attended many such meetings and events in my time with the organisation. At the different social interfaces, one finds meeting points of different discourses, agendas, objectives and challenges for power or agency. Most of the interface points within the organisation happen within the building itself and on site at their various projects.
As such, many different meanings and discourses have pervaded the organisation and its projects, objectives and everyday activities. It has reached its period of maturity along the way. Just as with the personality motif, TNUI has grown from infancy to adulthood in a very difficult socio-political environment, from the turmoil of the apartheid years to new dawn of possibilities post-1994. Therefore as a case study and an organisation, it is a good example of a small NGO weathering the storms of Third Sector transitions, post-conflict reconstruction and demanding funding environments.

By launching The Beautiful Schools Campaign again, the organisation was going back to its roots as it were by launching its first major educational project since the late 1990s. There was a sense that those helping-out with the event had to be professional enough to impress the government officials and donors present whilst also adding an element of fun and entertainment which TNUI has in all its events. Cultural events and the involvement of various aspects of the ‘Arts’ is central to all of TNUI’s events which yet again adds to its uniqueness as much as it does to its eccentricities.

The TNUI is equally well known within the non-profit sector community for its fundraising concerts with local musicians and its Drum and Dance concerts with disadvantaged youth from impoverished areas therefore, there is always an element of including the arts even in the most formal of events. The discourses of comradery and fun and ‘Rainbowism’ mixed with the discourses surrounding NGO expertise, development planning and strategic analysis were all successfully coupled in one event.

An important social interface is the networking lunch held every Friday, which has been nicknamed the ‘Gobble and Gossip’ lunches. The main purpose is to give staff and volunteers a social time to meet with members of the organisation, interact with groups of new volunteers, peers from the NGO community and old members or previous staff. In addition, when there is a meeting with a donor or potential donor they are invited to lunch first. More often than not, there is a visitor from overseas as Liesel and Phillip have a reliable network of overseas connections, fundraisers, and colleagues. I myself was introduced officially to everyone in the organisation at one such lunch.
As one colleague, Thandi commented, the lunches give one the impression that "it's a supportive and happy place to work, but after the lunch is over it's back to work and the smiles wear off." She said that when she first came to the lunch before she started her internship she believed it was like that every day but now she looks forward to Fridays when she can "pretend to be a happy family." The lack of resources, the constant push for professionalisation and formalising relationships as well as new employee manuals and procedures has culminated in a general feeling of dissatisfaction and unease amongst the junior staff particularly and in my own experience amongst the volunteers also.

There is a lot of surface-level praise and harmony but the cracks are there amongst the staff who feel overwrought by the new structures and employee policies, which are quite draconian but perhaps necessary at the time for the organisation's survival. One issue, which has caused a lot of consternation, was the new employee manual and staff policies. There were a series of complaints made regarding these new procedures. More notably, clauses within the manual such as prohibiting staff from working at any other organisation whilst employed by TNUI and confidentiality clauses did not sit well with the staff.

However, it was the constant reference to the staff "upholding the ethos and philosophy" of the organisation that caused the most disturbances. It appeared to be restricting the freethinking, freedom of expression ethos that the organisation is supposed to espouse. Moreover, the manual stipulates that staff be obligated to participate in various courses, one of which was a more philosophical lecture series than a practical skills training course, which staff objected to. Subsequently, given the more relaxed atmosphere of the lunches, they are a favourite interaction point amongst members, staff, and friends of the organisation.

People are encouraged to mix at the tables and any new guests introduce themselves at the start, which can be quite intimidating. I have found that the most interesting things I

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Pseudonym. Thandi, a black female in her mid twenties, was employed after the major restructuring of the staff in January 2005 as a personal assistant to the new youth training project managers that the organisation was starting.
have learned about the organisation itself and civil society networking in South African
have been at these lunches, where you meet countless people from home and abroad who
are all joined together mostly by the world of NGOs and work in the non-profit sector.

As I have indicated with the story about the new employment policies despite the
seemingly informality of social interaction on a surface level there is at any one time
conflicting atmospheres of business-like formality mixed with a playfulness of spirit. The
organisation is at any one time a symbol of the rainbow nation with all its colours and
discourses but is still seen largely by outsiders and its members as a white NGO with
‘New Agey’ alternative-type activities happening inside it. For example, many of my
acquaintances and peers outside of the organisation ask me frequently what TNUI
actually does and suggest that it looks strange, an almost cult like building from the
outside.

Even the staff can be unsure at times, about what the organisation’s main core business
is. It can be a heady cocktail of meanings and musings. To illustrate this point with a
quote from Hilhorst,

The notion of multiple realities may shift one of the most poignant questions
asked in NGO research, which is the question of how and why NGO practice
diverts from rhetoric or policy. Rather that asking why NGOs do not live up to
their promises, the more relevant question may be how NGO management and
staff members arrive at a certain coherence in practice given the multiple binds
and lifeworlds in which they operate. How do managers and staff deal with
multiple realities? (Hilhorst, 2005:13)

So how do the staff, management, volunteers, and members of TNUI make sense of the
innumerable meanings and discourses that inform and shape the multiple personalities of
the organisation? To answer this, one must look at the transitions that have occurred
within the organisation and to its daily activities within the sector and externally. By
placing the transitions in context and examining their weak points, one can see the
interface where the reality of working in an organisation, whilst still trying to be true to
its ethos occurs. It is also important to look at the changing role of individuals within the
organisation.
During my time with the organisation there were many changes concerning staff and members. The Board of Directors changed with a new chairman being put into place and some new Directors replacing ones that resigned. Since then, this chairman has also resigned and retired from the organisation which was quite a shock for staff, the CEO and COO alike. There were also shifts in staff with some new employees starting in March 2005 on new projects well as other staff leaving existing projects to branch out on their own. Another important aspect of the personality of the organisation is the other smaller NGOs and CBOs that TNUI supports. Within this group, there were also some changes with an existing group leaving to set up on its own as was discussed in a previous chapter.

The manner in which these changes have affected staff has varied and more changes are on the horizon. When January 2006 approached, the organisation began preparing for another overhaul of its existing staff. Four of the organisation’s long time employees were informed in late 2005 that their contracts would be up for review in January. In addition, they were informed that their jobs would be advertised publicly for other candidates to be interviewed for their positions.

This is part of the new restructuring and strategic planning that has taken place that year. It was also due to the growing dissatisfaction that some staff had with the changes and more so the new attitudes of the senior management and the increasingly “controlling” atmosphere. This is a more drastic shift or transition that the organisation will have to go through, the results, and effects of which may not be known fully until later in 2006. Such changes of this scale have not occurred in the organisation since the mid-1990s.

The voices and opinions of the clients of TNUI are a notable omission within the case study. It was beyond the scope of this thesis to go in-depth on the client’s evaluation of the NGO; as such, a strategic decision was made to concentrate more so on the internal dynamics of the organisation and its peers. In hindsight, this may not have been the best decision as it leaves an important voice unheard. The omission was influenced by the

\[\text{Quote from a staff member 26th August 2005.}\]
general attitude towards the clients within the NGO and I found within the literature that the client's opinions are often relegated to evaluations conducted for the donor or to get general feedback for the organisation itself.

6.3 Romanticisation and Reconstruction: The Decline of the South African NGO?

The life cycle models and the life line of TNUI illustrate the dangers of romanticising change and not allowing for anomalies within the cycle of progress and change. The romantic notion that 'all will work out in the end' or that by doing good deeds in the form of NGO-ing that people will always want to give you money is an attitude that has been unkind to small NGOs, just like it has to the TNUI, and has the potential to become the most self-destructive aspect of its personality.

The data shows that there is a direct correlation between the tendency to romanticise the transition and the 'crisis' that the sector finds itself in the middle of. The romanticisation of the sector feeds into the impressions given of a crisis in the sector post-conflict in terms of solidarities and donor funding structures. The 'crisis mentality' in both the pilot study of Northern Ireland and in South Africa is not a myth. However, the level of crisis and desperation as well as the heightened sense of redundancy is overly romanticised by NGOs and made more acute by the lack of a central unifying concept in the sector as a whole and amongst local networks.

This notion of solidarity as it was once expressed during the fight against apartheid has many romantic attachments to it and is a term that can be used in contesting contexts. During the research, I sensed this disunity at the networking meetings I attended and saw how it affected the manner in which peers interacted within the sector. The combination of heightened competition, lack of communications and growing divisions between larger NGOs and CBOs has led to a situation where the sector is stuck in a bit of a rut and as such, this stagnation has led to the sense of crisis that I identified in the introductory chapters.
As the research data illustrates, there are renewed attempts to strengthen old solidarity networks such as SANGOCO and other local level community networks. There is an emphasis on individual community forums in marginalised areas to come together on similar agendas and to co-ordinate efforts on a provincial and citywide level. Coupled with this is the new generation of 'big brother' organisations such as the Non-Profit Consortium and capacity Building NGOs such as those initiatives that TNUI is involved with.

These various initiatives demonstrate a renewed belief in the power of networking and finding some common ground to remobilise civil society and the Third Sector around once again. The 'glory' days can never be recaptured. The sector does not have such a big fight to fight anymore but the huge war against Aids, poverty, violent crime and bridging the eternal divide between the various racial and ethnic groups in South Africa continues to give the Third Sector an unlimited potential for unifying forces and solidarities.

With this in mind, it would appear that the sector is not in a major crisis position. The crisis of funding is merely a global downturn that is affecting every aspect of the global Third Sector as the international comparative studies that are emerging show. The crisis in terms of unifying forces is not as bad as it seems. There may not be an obvious central unifying force or issue within the sector up to now but as the state becomes increasingly critical of the non-profit sector this could provide the sector with the rallying point that they desperately need.

As the data shows there have been attempts within the Western Cape to bring the non-profit actors together within a form of civic forum. The enthusiasm for such an endeavour is not inspiring but it is the first step towards remobilising the sector to a more advantageous position in South Africa's society and in its future relations with the state and corporate sector. Through the ethnographic data gathered and the observational material from such forums and meetings, the research has shown that in practical terms the sector is not in terminal decline. It is undergoing significant transitions and changes. With the introduction of new stakeholders in the form of domestic donor agencies and
corporate social philanthropy the game board has expanded and the expansion of the sector into a productive industry is well underway. How the myths of crises and the realities of these transitions manifest themselves is shown in TNUI data and analysis.

The state of the sector and the extent to which it has had to change has been overly romanticised and possibly over-simplified by those within the sector itself and also by the states response to the rapid decline in international donor interest and subsequent funding. As in the literature on the socio-civic dimension of post-war reconstruction, the role of civil society and voluntary organisations is often oversimplified due to the lack of knowledge of how these organisations are actually run and what the everyday challenges are that they face. Within the organisation itself, the realities of dwindling funds and the crises that arise with can also be over shot by romantic notions of the good overcoming the bad. There is a belief that if an organisation is desperate enough they will find a donor somewhere somehow and oftentimes an organisation is willing to sell its soul in order to secure such monies.

Fortunately, TNUI has prevailed as much as it can without pandering to donor requests. However, it has added its fair share of romanticisation to the difficult situations that it has had to face over the past 24 months. It has also had to undergo a severe reality check and dispel these romantic notions in order to strategically plan and take hold of the organisation’s destiny and future prospects. The organisation has lived hand to mouth as it were for the past couple of years and eventually, the rose-coloured glasses have to come off and the realities of a sector in turmoil have to seep through the cracks and force change upon the organisation, its members, and clients as a whole.

Nevertheless, despite sectoral attempts to remobilise its members and its issues, TNUI has found itself in a position that is all too familiar to small NGOs in the sector at present. Its lack of sustainable funding and inability to keep pace with the transition has left the organisation struggling to remain open and it has had to let some of its core staff go since January 2006 in order to cut costs and mitigate future losses.
The romanticisation of the sector as a whole is one task that needs to be addressed but the romantic notions of survival against all odds and the reliance on people power to provide future incentives to exist are issues that do afflict the everyday life of a small NGO and are ultimately leading to its demise and decline. It is sad when an organisation that has managed to weather the various social and political storms of the apartheid regime and the initial transition now finds itself in a position where it is deemed dispensable not only by its donor agencies but also by the democratic government, which is comprised of many ex-activists and civil society heroes.

This situation is a culmination of a number of co-existing processes of which the tendency to romanticise the organisation objectives and future possibilities is one. As chapter seven highlights, the organisation has had to undergo a ‘personality’ change and in line with changing donor expectations and formalisation demands, it has had to rethink the philosophies behind the organisation and in turn realign its discourses and project objectives in line with such changes. The old reliance on an appeal to humanism and the greater good of the new rainbow nation is too romantic and unrealistic. It does not appeal to the new discourses on sustainability, accountability, and feasibility, which are called for by not only the foreign aid agencies but also more so the local domestic donors who want to see measurable outcomes of their aid.

The TNUI has had to become more ‘donor’ friendly and more ‘client’ friendly and make its literature, its objectives, and the language surrounding the core business of the organisation less “over the heads” of the people it is aiming to attract and purporting to be representing. This has been a difficult transition for the organisation and any romantic notions of the universe providing it with what it needs need to be replaced with more realistic goals and strategies for surviving in a highly competitive and strangled resource pool. However, with the slow pace of change and the loss of old staff these changes are proving possibly more challenging than anticipated and may ultimately led to the closure of the organisation. As it stands, it has downsized its staff significantly and it is only a matter of time before its programme are affected in this manner also, if they cannot secure better and more abundant funding.
Taking all this into account I was able to get an understanding of what the transition and the errant life-cycles have meant to the organisation in terms of its core philosophies and more importantly how these dualities have coloured the manner in which the staff, donors and clients view the organisation. There are two sides to the organisation and much of the tensions are hidden behind a more congenial portrayal of successful philanthropy at work. Given the vast societal and psychological changes that South Africans have had to undergo over the past ten years it is inevitable that these pressures and changes will be reflected in every workplace and in every cultural setting in some way or other.

The schizophrenic nature of TNUI has a lot to do also with the pressures of formalisation in the guise of professionalising and also the tensions to become more ‘African’ centred and more resourceful with domestic funding. In terms of interpreting the social interfaces and the personality of TNUI one can see that the manner in which knowledge is controlled within the organisation is undoubtedly affecting not only the internal dynamics but also the manner in which they approach these issues of corporate philanthropy and funding.

6.4 Implementing Change and Developing Capacity

The year of 2004 - 2005 was a difficult one for TNUI and this has been reflected in the atmosphere in the building and amongst staff at times. It was a difficult financial year as well as being a year where change was needed and new approaches were being sought to old problems. The financial strain and pressure for change has manifested itself in a sense of panic and desperation concerning funding and a sense of urgency when it comes to implement change and a new strategic plan to take the organisation into a new and more prosperous cycle.

The strategic planning that was conducted in 2004-2005 was a direct result of these small crises that presented themselves during that year. The greatest amount of energy has been spent on generating resources. During the period between December 2003 and August 2004 dozens of funding proposals were composed, ‘begging letters’ sent to donors, information packs compiled and directory searches conducted in order to help with the
cash-flow crisis. The lack of response that these efforts engendered from donors and the dwindling funds contributed to a downtrodden atmosphere towards the end of 2003, which carried into the beginning of 2004.

As we approached the end of 2005, this tension has eased slightly following the consultancy session early this year although there is still a sense of urgency regarding funding. As I will outline in the chapter seven, their approach to fundraising and developing resources within the organisation has changed and adapted to what is available to them and the donors to whom they have access. The sense of crisis within the organisation during this difficult year was fuelled by a few problems that arose, mostly out of lack of funds or a delay in funds that had been promised to the organisation. This has been mostly due to the long waiting periods that the organisation has had to endure with regards to funding from donor agencies that have approved their proposals.

For example, following the launch of The Beautiful Schools campaign in November 2004 the organisation had been promised considerable funding from the Department of Education. In addition funding was promised from the City Council for the new youth programme that would employ Tsepho full time within the organisation. This was a great boost for finances, morale, and the organisation as a whole. However, this money was delayed and this caused a lot of stress for those involved. After much ado, the funds finally came through to the organisation in September of 2005 even though they were supposed to have been made available by the city council in June 2005. The money from the Department of Education had still not been handed down at the time of writing.

This is a problem that every NGO has to go through. Oftentimes, it can be from six months to a year after your funding proposal has been approved to get the funds. Issues such as accountability and sustainability are made even more difficult due to these blunders and delays. It is difficult to stall employees and clients while you are waiting to collect funds.

67 Pseudonym
As such, 2005 has been an ambiguous year for the organisation. It has fluctuated between engaging with new ideas and structures, whilst also dealing with the continual problems that are associated with adapting to change and the uncertainty that any organisation with limited, dwindling funds contends. A lack of resources and a 'crisis' with funding is not something that the organisation is unfamiliar with. As with any NGO within its life cycle, it will experience these difficulties as the market for donors fluctuates.

Oftentimes as with the case of TNUI, the organisation is at the mercy of donors concerning waiting for funds and 2005 so far has been characterised by this waiting game. In addition to problems with domestic state funds, the group is also waiting for funds that have been promised for three years now from America. There were many occasions during my year volunteering with the organisation, where they were waiting for funds to come through.

For example, the Orphan Care project has been reorganised and refocused due to the lack of funding that came through to support the larger project. This money, as mentioned above, from North America has been delayed now by almost two years with no sign of it coming through yet. TNUI has done what many NGOs, particularly smaller ones, have to do when funds are delayed or do not come through: they refocus, readjust programme and shift their priorities.

The strategic planning in January gave the organisation a chance to refocus its core business to use funds more efficiently. Nevertheless the short-term nature of funding is a feature of every Third Sector globally and particularly in post-conflict countries where donors are fickle and their presence is usually withdrawn rapidly once the society has stabilised itself post-war. This is just one of the many transitions and periods of uncertainty that the organisation has had to go through over its 21-year history.

It is important to analyse how the multiple realities within the organisation have been affected by these changes and how the nature of the transitions have created new aspects to add to these. Given the multiple realities, discourses, social interfaces, and meanings within the organisation one wonder if there is any one reality or truth at any one time
within the organisation. With this in mind, one has to ask if these transitions are organic or imposed externally. If so, what makes the organisation ripe for change and can the transition cause the organisation to descend into chaos or rise from its ashes?

The duality of the organisation is apparent at every level, which makes answering such questions difficult and ambiguous. Some are unique to the organisation but others are present within the general transition that the entire non-profit sector is undergoing in South Africa in general. In some cases the old and new seem to co-exist together no matter how confusing that may be. They may even complement each other but in most cases being an NGO in transition means casting away the old to make way for the new. There is a sense of weighing up what worked in the past with what needs to work in the present as the organisation moves through the process of transition.

The main concern is that some of the staff expressed to me was that these changes should not be at the expense of the organisation’s charismatic character, or that the transition results in the demise of this character, which gives the organisation its uniqueness and quirky edge. The tensions and insecurity that such changes being can threaten the stability of the organisation and lend it to disrupting the internal relationships between staff, management, and members.

Yet despite the imminent expansion of the Beautiful Schools campaign and the large sum of donor funds which would accompany it, the organisation still found itself once again in a transitional six-month planning and restructuring period from June 2006. Before it could go back to concentrating on its main tasks of educational upliftment and curriculum growth due to looming resource windfalls, it had to regroup for a further six months and prepare itself carefully for the expansion. Kortens’ model does not leave room for such manoeuvres. The very nature of the sector or industry of non-profit work is very changeable and is given to periods of prosperity and scarcity, but the post-conflict situation makes short-term donor contracts and the fading interests of local state involvement in an organisation’s survival more nefarious, as the literature on the socio-civic dimension of post-war reconstruction in the introductory chapters outlined.
CHAPTER SEVEN

FINANCING DECLINE

AND

FUNDING 'PROCESS'
The role of resources and the changing climate of competition in post-conflict societies is an issue that requires more attention, in terms of how these changes affect the everyday business of NGO-ing and the long-term possibilities for Third Sector sustainability. The presence of donor agencies and the flow of donor aid into a country undergoing transition are pivotal to the manner in which the society and its non-profit sector deals with the changes and challenges posed to them. The intricacies of donor relations with NGOs were outlined in chapter two, where I demonstrated the fine line between solidarity funding and reconstructive funds.

This research argues that an understanding of the motivations behind changing funding patterns and the affect these changes have had on small NGOs approach to donors and fundraising is important. Furthermore, within the fieldwork the conflict between donor agendas and NGO capacities is highlighted continuously. These findings are primarily based upon the volunteer work I conducted with the case study, which involved writing to donors, meeting with them and developing new strategies for fundraising for the organisation’s donor requirements.

This chapter begins by looking at changing donor relationships and how they are connected to the drive for professionalisation. Through the case study material, it also examines how the impact of programmatic change and the changing philosophies within an organisation can affect the nature of funds needed. It highlights how donor funding is central to the survival of the small NGO. In addition, the chapter takes Hilhorst’s (2000) idea of donor interfaces and examines how the donor interface is set up and manipulated by the NGO in line with donor interests and NGO desires or needs.

In doing so, one can see how the position of the small NGO in relation to its donor funds and the main types of funding it receives is heavily dependent upon the wider socio-political climate of the country and its state. As such, this chapter ends by looking at the mismatches and contradictions between donors and NGOs and more significantly, how these external changes in relations with international and domestic donors have forced the formalisation of the sector. In essence, the findings support the argument that small NGOs have had to restructure their organisation significantly in reaction to changing
donor relations. This has meant that they have had to re-establish links with the new
democratic government and develop relations with corporate bodies in order to sustain
themselves and build a base for future resources within the sector. Moreover, the data
supports the view that these changes have led to a crisis within small NGOs as seen
through the case study material, which ultimately affects the possible decline of the small
NGO in South Africa.

7.1 Cycles of Abundance and Survival

The most basic question that repeatedly came up in fundraising discussions within the
TNUI and Third Sector meetings I attended was “what are the biggest challenges facing
NGOs today? And, more importantly what are the challenges that the NGOs face in terms
of funding?” (Fieldnotes, April 20th 2005). One of the main observations that I have made
is that there is a certain level of ‘disconnect’ amongst small NGOs in the sector about
what donor agencies really expect of them. This may be due to lack of information
dissemination due to increased resource competition and the increasing insularity
amongst NGOs in South Africa’s non-profit sector.

Post-conflict the donor community in any given post-war country faces various
challenges. More notably, they now have to deal with a new democratic government and
the bi-lateral agreements that such an arrangement entails. As such, the existing donors
have to work with NGOs in a rapidly changing environment, develop new relations with
the state, and gauge the competition as it were from new donors entering the calm after
the storm as well as opportunistic entrepreneurs who may want to sideline the NGO
sector and consequently the donor community also.

Specifically, within South Africa, I noticed during my fieldwork period and time
networking within the sector that there is a lack of information on donor networks or a
coherent comprehensive database of donor agencies and the projects they support. This
problem feeds into the issues that will be highlighted in chapter eight on general levels of
dissatisfaction with networking in South Africa and a later section in this chapter
concerning my fieldwork experience of fundraising. Consequently, many groups are
aware of funding and donors do not tend to seek out projects, groups must seek them out.

This is coupled with a perceived sense of donor fatigue with the fundraisers within organisations such as the TNUI, which may affect the level of advertising, and promotion that they do concerning available funds. Therefore, the challenge is also on the donors to encourage and guide the NGOs they support to develop networks, become more donor ‘savvy’ and open up new lines of communications between donor agencies and the recipients of their resources. Another important challenge facing donors is the ability to form strategic partnerships from which funding resources can flow. Developing and nurturing partnerships in the donor arena is relatively difficult given an atmosphere of limited trust between partners.

The COO of the TNUI explained to me that an ongoing problem that she has witnessed when dealing with donor agencies is that “they simply do not talk to each other enough” and share information. This boils down to wider networking implications as I have previously mentioned. The other much talked about challenge facing most donors is the rerouting of international aid to the democratically elected government. Some dreadful repercussions have resulted from this new funding arrangement where aid flows directly into state coffers. It will appear as if the state simply cannot absorb all the funds and a lot of money remains unspent. This situation raises serious questions about the impact of international aid on poor communities.

A notable omission from this discussion is data relating to the donors’ perceptions of these changes and without such data; it is difficult to say exactly what the expectations of the donors are in a more exact manner. However, this research is taken from the point of view of the NGO and the feedback they receive from the donors. In order to survive and adapt successfully to changing resource environments it is the job of the NGO to be able to anticipate the donor’s wants and needs and to use this knowledge to ‘capture’ them, their funds, and the hope of long-term sustainable relations with such agencies.
Through the example of the TNUI and other fundraising schemes I encountered, I experienced the interplay of NGO agency and donor manipulations, which make the interface a fluid concept and oftentimes a battleground for much needed resources. The TNUI is an interesting case study in that it has experienced years of funding abundance and funding crises as it did during my fieldwork with them. It has redefined its ‘core’ business, undertaken strategic planning, taken on new business principles, restructured its staff and projects. It has done so in order to meet not only the changing nature of the demand for their services but more so the fluctuating financial state of the organisation due to unstable funding sources and the overall changing funding climate which redefines the objectives needed to survive as an NGO.

In terms of accountability, the restructuring, strategic planning and panic over funding may not look good but the organisation in reality has no choice but to hop from one donor to the other. Consistent funding for any small NGO is difficult. One way in which the TNUI and many small NGOs in a similar situation negotiate the demands that inconsistent funds and accountability measures from donors bring to them, is to conduct strategic planning. This enables them to view the organisation as a marketable product and run it in essence like a profit-making business where the profit you earn as such is the funding you bring in.68

When I discussed the organisation’s funding situation and the fluctuating state of financial ‘crisis’ it finds itself in the CEO, Phillip, described it to me in the cycles that the TNUI has had to go through. He said that he saw “the organisation moving in seven year cycles”, where “it goes through cycles of change” in relation to not only its programme but more importantly cycles of abundance with funds and cycles of financial drought. Given that the organisation is twenty-one years in existence there have been roughly three main ‘funding’ cycles within the organisation. The table below is a summary of the

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68 Fundraising in the Third Sector has become a profitable job for the fundraiser. A disturbing trend in South Africa and other countries is to give fundraisers commission on the amount of money they bring into an NGO, therefore the staff makes a profit, and a profit incentive is surely against the core principles of running an NGO.
primary donors during those periods and how both the CEO and COO described these phases in the TNUI’s growth.

*Table 1: Cycles of Funding in the TNUI*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cycle of Funding</th>
<th>Financial State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South African Donors: The IDT (Independent Development Trust)</td>
<td>Abundant period- emphasis on international donors. Up to 20 fulltime staff, Educational Programme and Teacher ‘Upliftment’ and Training, “fast and furious” transformation, TNUI growing “too fast,” internal management conflict and staff “burnout.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 2: 1991 – 1998</td>
<td>“Survival track”, NGO and State tensions, Overseas funders sought, Funding corruption and govt tenders going to larger NGOs with more capacity, Donors beginning to “adopt ANC objectives”, focus on “domestic funding”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South African Donors: Golden Arrow Foundation, NDA (National Development Authority), Overseas Donors: EU, Japan, Germany, Sweden (Funds from Charitable organisations and Government Bi-lateral Schemes)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 3 : 1999-2006</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South African Donors: NDA, National Lottery, Golden Arrow Foundation Overseas Donors: Germany, Sweden, EU</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 2: List of the TNUI’s Donors for 2004 and 2005*[^1]

| City of Cape Town Arts and Culture, SA | National Lottery Distribution Trust Fund, South Africa |
| Cardiff High School, UK | Standard Bank Foundation, South Africa |
| Cultural Commission, South Africa | Vodacom Foundation, South Africa |
| Freunde der Erziehungskunst, Germany | Young Falcons, Denmark. |
| Fulton Trust | Anonymous Donor USA |
| GLS Bank, Germany | Anonymous Donor USA |
| National Arts Council, South Africa | |

[^1]: For the purposes of anonymity the organisation have requested that I do not include a full list of their donors. However, the primary donors have been included in this list.
The tables illustrate how the sources of funds have changed and developed through the various phases of the NGOs' history. The first cycle from roughly 1981 to the early nineties was a period of growth for the organisation. During this period, as Liesel explained to me, the main source of funding was from the local government (then ruled by the National Party). This money came from the IDT, which was a fund set up to divide out surplus money to NGOs and those working with educational projects, like the TNUI. During this phase the TNUI began to focus more on educational projects with disadvantaged communities, helping teachers in the townships mainly through conducting arts-based projects, and arts-based curriculum development with them.

However after 1994, the main sources of funding were coming from overseas, "from the Japanese government, Germany, Sweden and Norway," (Liesel, September 8th 2004) and the TNUI moved into a period of "frantic growth" as Liesel described it. She explained that the organisation was now becoming overwhelmed by its projects and that it was growing "too fast" which ultimately led to "burnout" and "internal conflicts between management." At this point, the TNUI was working beyond its capacity levels with over 20 full-time staff compared to the eight full-time staff it currently has.

However, as I have explained in previous sections, towards the end of the 1990s the international donor aid flowing into South Africa began to decrease as it was channelled into government coffers. According to Liesel, from about 2001 onwards foreign donors began to align their objectives more with the ANC's and the criteria for receiving funds and the accountability measures and application procedures changed. Funding documents became more complex and you had to "pass certain checklists", which were "influenced by ANC objectives" (Quote from Liesel, September 6th, 2004). An interpretation of the ANC's new BEE and funding policies implied that, the TNUI was not "black enough" anymore to maintain some international donor interest. In addition, if you wanted to deal with these new donor objectives and government policies then you needed a "black board completely, if you want to get the money you need more black board members" (Liesel, September 6th 2004).
In order to deal with these issues from 2001 onwards the TNUI entered another cycle or phase of financial change and crisis. During the time, I was in the organisation (2004-2005) and when I visited in early 2001, the organisation was in a dire financial situation and was looking at new strategies for fundraising. During this time the realised that they needed to approach donors differently and that they needed “to develop relationships with mid-range donors, the medium size philanthropic trusts that could be supporting us”. As such in December 2002 they began a systematic approach to “developing an international infrastructure for fundraising” and appealing to new types of overseas donors that are operate on the same capacity scale as small NGOs and the TNUI does.

Liesel admitted that their old approach of approaching big international philanthropists like USAID and the Kellogg Foundation for example was counterproductive as the TNUI was “just not big enough” to attract such donors. Liesel quite aptly summed up this phase in the organisation when she described it as a “survival track.” At this time, the TNUI began to approach sourcing funds with a different mindset, which focused more on realistic organisational capacities and a more thoughtful and cautioned approach to fundraising and locating suitable donors.

An example of this new approach was an occasion when Liesel went to Johannesburg for two days to make contacts with potential donors. Her mission was to see what was available was out in the sector in terms of NGO partnerships and local domestic donors, as well as getting information on the general funding climate. This follows the earlier quote from her stating that they were trying to develop a more concise approach to sourcing donors and a more practical one, which matched the TNUI’s capacities. The following is an extract from fieldnotes after a conversation with Liesel regarding that trip.

Liesel met with 13 donors in two days. She went up to Jo’burg hired a driver and spent two days ‘knocking on doors’, as it were. General feedback on the meetings was that all meetings bore some fruit even if it was contacts and names. She feels that developing a relationship with them rather than just asking for money is a better approach to networking. This has become a central approach of the TNUI’s fundraising strategy it appears which is a good thing (Field Notes Wednesday 20th April 2005)
In general, the TNUI has weathered the storm of uncertainty regarding funding and the short-term nature of such arrangements. It has managed to do what most small NGOs cannot do – survive and flourish at the same time. After 21 years the TNUI’s mission now is to make the funding game less uncertain and more sustainable. Sustainability in itself is a tricky and slippery slope to climb. It sounds much easier than it actually is. The financial reports from the past two years in the TNUI, as illustrated in the tables 1-3 below, give a good overview of the versatility of the organisation but also the nebulous nature of income versus expenditure when you are relying mainly on donor funding in a non-profit sector.

With regards to how much of this funding is from the new democratic state, in general, the TNUI tries to source funds beyond governmental bodies but given the shortage of other funds it has become necessary to work with government funds. Since 1994, a few bodies and funds have been set up by the new government to be allocated to NGOs and CBOs, the main ones being The National Lottery Fund and allocations from the NDA. Since 1994, the TNUI has received some funds from the government. The first slice of government funding was via the TNDT (Transitional National Development Trust) in 1998 and from the NDA (National Development Authority) in 2002. It has received funds intermittently from the National Lottery Fund also. All other funding has been from foreign donors and grant agencies. The exceptions have been a few private local patrons, membership donations, and longstanding local corporate donors such as the Golden Arrow Foundation.

Table 3: Income and Expenditure. Annual Report 2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>R1,741,845</td>
<td>R1,801,369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditure</td>
<td>R1,809,458</td>
<td>R1,953,933</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I requested similar statistics for the past ten years from the organisation repeatedly but they failed to provide me with such material. I was informed that I could use stats from the annual reports that were issued during the period that I was present in the organisation and not previous years.
Table 4: Breakdown of Expenditure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expenditure</th>
<th>2003</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Staff</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Programme</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buildings</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Income Sources 2002, 2003, 2004

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Income</th>
<th>% 2002</th>
<th>% 2003</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Donations</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venue Hire</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They also have income generating mechanisms in place such as venue hire within the building, a consumer organisation selling organic vegetables and other organic food products, and income generated from membership of the organisations. However, there are dangers associated with running an NGO like a business. NGOs run the risk of being co-opted by marketing strategies and profit incentives in order to sustain an income for the organisation. NGOs need to retain their room for manoeuvre to adapt, innovate, and maintain a range of accountabilities with different constituencies. The danger is that NGOs will lose or fail to develop the ability to negotiate key power holders and build wider alliances and networks (Lewis, 2003).
7.2 The Donor / Recipient Interface: Practical Fundraising and Strategic Change

From my observations, the approach that the TNUI has taken to fundraising in the time that I spent with them has varied from frantic desperation to a calmer approach to strategic investigation. When I arrived in the organisation, they had just come out the other end of a very difficult period of fundraising in December 2003 and were formulating a 'plan of attack' for the forthcoming year. In general, my first impression was that the organisation operated hand to mouth in that they did not plan enough in advance for fundraising and that just like any other small NGO they had limited funds available for developing programme or creating existing ones. In the year of volunteering, I observed that the organisation was managing to get to grips with a strategic approach to fundraising.

One of their main fundraising and funding resource weaknesses is that the organisation needs to market itself more towards the donors whilst still maintaining the agency that it has at present. One member of the TNUI’s board of Directors commented that, “the organisation just isn’t good at capturing the funders.” (Leon, September 6th, 2004) What he meant by this is that you need to hold their attention by constantly reinvigorating the programme and pitching more inviting proposals to the donor agencies, in other words you have to ‘woo’ them to a certain extent. Capturing the donors is all about marketing and hiding behind concepts such as nation-building, civil society, capacity-building, and affirmative action.

My observations in the TNUI, and at the various non-profit gatherings I attended, led me to surmise that when it comes to garnering donor interest you must manipulate the jargon that they have created themselves in order to capture them. However, in doing so the organisation can become ‘captured’ itself to a certain extent by negating its own sense of agency in relation to the donor / recipient interface. There is a need to make programme and proposals ‘fashionable’ enough for the donors. This is particularly the case with foreign donors who want to see that funds are still needed in South Africa. Thus it is the NGOs job to make funding proposals more ‘acceptable’ to the domestic donors in terms
of the involvement of “formerly disadvantaged’ communities and black ownership of the project.

As I illustrated in chapter two, that when it comes to a post-conflict situation, it is difficult to keep funders ‘captured’, especially those who encountered an organisation during the conflict or in the initial post-war period. As the nation becomes more ‘peaceful’, keeping donors interested becomes more difficult. The process that funding goes through in terms of sustaining the donor’s interest post-conflict is not that complicated. As I have explained previously, the funding in general moves from initial humanitarian aid to peace-building to social funding.

Funding then goes to NGOs, “favoured by donors who provide extensive funding and leave them with problems of rapid growth and formalisation,” resulting in the NGO experiencing a short period of “fashionable affluence” (Lewis, 2000:4). Naturally, there are many ways in which an organisation can capture a donor and recent trends point to professionalisation; that is, the donors are easier to capture if the organisation more professionalised. As Pugh explains,

The dominant funding culture, expressed by the largest donors, is to prefer concrete schemes, often literally, because they are more open to accountancy, reports, and standardised formats. According to one observer’s characterisation of funders they “like to go for big visual proof and elaborate evaluation reports – doing up things along the road then putting stickers on”, but having little concept of the social impact of the process.” (Pugh, 2000: 114)

It is important to maintain a healthy relationship with the donor throughout the post-conflict period and through the development phases of the NGO in general. Donors themselves often prefer to stick to one organisation after a level of rapport, trust, and efficiency has been developed between them. Funders are often under pressure to act quickly, or spend funds by certain deadlines, and where there is an existing relationship with an NGO, or where a new NGO is able to meet the basic procedural requirements fastest (e.g. project proposals in the correct format) they will have a head start on other funding applicants. 

Diagram 1 is an example of a typical fundraising proposal form. This
form is typical of the current requirements of donors in that now they are asking for
details of social partnerships, sustainability measures, and specifics on evaluation and
who will monitor the impact of the project that funds are being sought for.

One effect of this, recorded in many instances, is a sort of ‘hoop-jumping’ activity, in
which NGOs successfully create the image of meeting funders’ requirements and thus
gain access to resources, whether or not their projected image and plans are likely to meet
the promises. This is a sort of corruption. However, such actions are reinforced when
funders rely heavily on objective, bureaucratic, and often centrally produced criteria,
rather than on good old-fashioned, sustained contact between skilled and experienced
staff and local partners, both NGOs and others familiar with a local situation.

The most interesting data that I draw on came from my experience of working on a
fundraising project called SNAP for the TNUI. Whilst volunteering on this project I was
able to meet with a potential donor, write a funding proposal in conjunction with the CEO
and COO, engage with the fundraising team, and observe how practical fundraising is
done within the TNUI. Moreover, I had the opportunity to explore the intricacies of the
donor / recipient interface (See Extract 1 on the next page from the SNAP Report for
details of the project)\footnote{A full copy of the SNAP Funding proposal that I wrote is contained in Appendix 5.}

The SNAP project failed to take off as such due to a number of reasons. Firstly, there was
only Phillip and I working on it and I was only a volunteer, therefore it was not at the top
of the list as regards projects that needed immediate attention. Naturally, it was not a
priority given that existing projects needed more attention as regards funding and
evaluation. Secondly, the SNAP project was not unique in that other larger organisations
such as Western cape NACOSA (National Aids Coalition of South Africa) were
beginning to set up a local network themselves. Therefore there was no need to ‘reinvent
the wheel’, as it were, making the development of SNAP even more difficult. The main
reason why it was difficult or even impossible to get the basics of the proposal started
was lack of funding.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Title Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Title, date, project’s name, organisation’s name, and contact details.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2. Executive Summary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is the essence of the project?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What need is the project targeting?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How will the project be implemented?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How much funding is requested?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3. Need and Rationale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is the need?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What evidence is there of the need?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why should the need be satisfied?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is currently being done (by other organisations?) to satisfy the need?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4. Project Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What are the objectives of the project?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who is the target group and what is their profile?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Will the target group accept the project and have they been consulted in the design of the project?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are the timeframes of the project?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are the general activities of the project? (describe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are the targets / measurable outcomes of the project?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the budget for the project and why is the project cost-effective?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5. Implementing Agency/Organisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is the organisation’s vision?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are the general objectives of the organisation?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What other projects / programme is the organisation implementing?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why is this organisation best suited to implement this project?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How is the organisation structured?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the legal status of the organisation (Section 21 company, trust, voluntary association, NPO status, PBO Status etc.)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How credible is the organisation and project (history summary and key achievements)?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6. Strategic Partnerships</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Who are the project partners (other organisations involved in the implementation of the project and organisations working to address the same need)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the nature of these relationships?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>7. Sustainability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Will this project ever become self-sustainable and, if so, then what is being done to achieve this?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>8. Monitoring and Evaluation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How will the progress of the project be monitored?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How will it be determined if the objectives have been met (what methodology)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Will any external evaluations be conducted?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>9. Assumptions and Risks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What are the assumptions on which the project’s success is based?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are the risks involved and what steps will be taken to reduce these risks?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are the contingency plans?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(This Project Plan was developed by Mark Coetzee, an NGO Consultant. It has been reproduced here from his website www.icms.org.za with his permission)
Extract 1: SNAP Proposal Description and Outline

Strategic National Action Plan (SNAP)

Introduction:
In South Africa, a group of people are hard at work putting together complex proposals to meet an unprecedented social situation. The crisis is arising from the Aids epidemic, which is leaving uninfected and infected children without fundamental care or prospects for the future. Statistical projections differ widely, but what is certain is that there will be a nationwide problem involving possibly millions and there is a great and undisputed need to prepare to meet it (The Human Sciences Research Council predicts an astounding 6 million orphaned children by 2013 in South Africa alone.)

It is estimated that by 2010, orphans will comprise 9-12% of South African total population. This is more or less 3.6 to 4.5 million children. Faced with the reality of the growing number of orphans in the congested “squatter-camps” and areas of economic deprivation, including rural areas, sectorial networks of child care organisations such as “CINDI” in KZN and “CHAIN” in the Western Cape have arisen to identify needs and provide support for children in distress. The use of the term “child-headed family” is a terrible admission of the problem confronting South Africa.

As the NGO sector itself continues to swell the need for establishing local networks and support systems between these organisations is becoming more obvious. As part of this new strategy to deal with this social situation there is a need for all those who are working with abandoned and orphaned children to come together to achieve better communication amongst themselves and to create the added power and effectiveness that working together can give these NGOs and in particular grassroots CBOs. Equally important is a need for grassroots organisations such as these to begin to come together to form a national coalition to inform both the government and international community of the realities of the Orphaned children situation and especially its impact on local communities throughout South Africa.

Need and Rationale:

In 2000, a strategic workshop NGO X72 identified that all service organisation in South Africa would need to make a contribution towards the orphan crisis due to its magnitude. In November 2002, TNUI was approached by an agency representing a group of anonymous donors who wished to support initiatives for orphaned and abandoned children in South Africa. Due to its long history of innovative educational programme and a successful record of accomplishment with development projects TNUI was chosen as an appropriate candidate. In March 2003 the TNUI completed a project proposal which outlined a strategic plan for the development of care centers through expanding training facilities, building extensions onto existing orphanages and incorporating a long-term educational capacities within the children’s homes. It also envisage providing volunteers for the care centres, which include nurses, childcare workers and administrative assistants. The training of these volunteers has already begun and will expand once the remainder of the donor funding comes through.

The SNAP workshops in both KZN and the Western Cape revealed the need for comprehensive child care training based upon TNUI “Putting the Heart back into Teaching” programme. The workshops also revealed the need for individual care workers to experience cultural sharing together. Both workshops were opened and closed with prayer and the workshop process was punctuated by singing. Participants requested that cultural activities be included as they felt ‘affirmed’ in their profession as childcare workers with a cultural identity that is inspiring and uplifting when so much is called from them in their work. Parenting training would also be helpful for the grandmothers and assistants working with ‘children at risk’.

If a network such as SNAP existed then it would open up opportunities for Aids orphan care workers to network with each other, exchange information regarding funding opportunities, resources and general issues which would bring them in from the margins and give them a distinct voice in the sea of organisations dealing with HIV/ Aids related issues.

---

72 Pseudonym
As part of my duties with the SNAP project I sourced a potential donor that may be interested in supporting the project. I found this donor on the internet. I was told by Phillip to try to find a donor and given limited guidance on where to look for one. This epitomises the haphazard manner in which the project was dealt with. I contacted the donor and arranged a meeting with him when he was visiting Cape Town to source potential partners. We emailed back and forth for about three months and then he came to visit. The donor represented a large body of corporate philanthropists from Texas, USA.

He explained that he was coming to South Africa to source potential NGOs and organisations that they could work with as the foundation’s Aids Initiative was a new venture. The Rodinian Foundation, as it was called, was assessing possible donor connections with organisations working with Aids issues. He claimed that he had a significant amount of money to distribute to projects working with Aids issues in South Africa.

On meeting him, he stated that his organisation could, “only fund organisations working with anti-retroviral promotion and the money was to set up clinics, pay for anti-retrovirals and set up a fundraising pop concert”. He had no funds to give the TNUI and could not see a means for us to work together. This was despite the fact that he had been emailed the full proposal for the Aids orphans’ project to set up residential orphanages with educational facilities. He had also been given a full annual report on the work the organisation does, a financial statement, a full list of projects and given all this information he waited three months to tell us that he could not help us. I was angered by the encounter, but Phillip who came to the meeting with me, is an old hand at such meetings and went back to drawing board straight away unperturbed. This epitomises for me many of the meetings I have had with donors and funding agencies over the past five years.

In essence, the objectives of the donor are not communicated clearly enough to a group prior to a proposal being accepted for a review. When you get to meet a donor who is actively looking to give away money, you enter the meeting with your hopes gathered
and then the 'BUT' comes as the donor lays down additional requirements. It is almost like going to a job interview and being given a different job description to the one you applied for. Such meetings can be very demoralising for those from the NGO meeting with the donor. It is important that an NGO and its representatives maintain a balance of power at such meetings and in general when dealing with the donor / recipient social interface (Hilhorst, 2004; Lewis, 2004; Fowler, 2001).

As Liesel explained to me afterwards, “you have to develop a thick skin when you are dealing with donor organisations.” The best approach is to meet with donors for the purpose of developing a relationship with them and a networking function rather than just when they have money to offer. As such, you have to go out and sell a product. The biggest challenge the TNUI faces is to develop itself as a ‘sellable’ product, to market itself as a worthy investment amongst the swarm of NGOs are more appealing to donors in terms of their objectives, political connections, race of their staff, the area/community that they are based in and ultimately the level of advertising and a ‘feel good factor’ that the donor gets 73.

This experience confirmed the initial research questions regarding the changing nature of donor / recipient relations post-conflict and highlighted the different levels of agency that both parties experience within this interface. The argument relating to the role of donors in the new sectoral and democratic arrangements in South Africa is that they have adapted their interests and priorities and the NGOs have had to adapt in line with this new situation. For small NGOs such as the TNUI, adapting projects, objectives and their ‘core’ projects to access better and new funding sources is more difficult than it would be

73 Since I ceased volunteering on the SNAP project in November 2004, it has been undergoing review and may be changed to get a more ‘doable’ project together. It was temporarily shelved. The Aids orphan projects are viewed by the management as an important part of the TNUI’s future development and expansion. However, it has been recommended to them by their consultant that the organisation completes its strategic plan and solidifies funding for its existing projects before expanding into putting the Aids Orphan Care plan into an actual reality. At the time of writing this, the TNUI is still waiting on the funds to come through from North America for the orphan project. They have been waiting almost three years now for it to be drawn down and until it comes or an alternative source of funding can be found the project.
for larger NGOs with more capacity and better resources to facilitate these changes. Moreover, as the interviews with Liesel highlighted, small NGOs have had to rethink the types of donors that they are approaching as the ones which they had received funds from in the second phase of their funding, in the initial post-apartheid period, were now dealing with government structures and more established and ‘profitable’ NGOs in terms of their output, capacities and accountability. What this also shows us is that the levels of agency that the NGOs have themselves is dependent on the type of donor they are engaged with, with differences occurring primarily between overseas and domestic donors. As such, the data and my observations point to a distinction between the international donor interface and a domestic donor interface.

The experience of the TNUI was that although sourcing international donors involved much more creativity and networking these encounters according to Phillip and Liesel had “much less red tape involved” and bureaucracy than dealing with domestic governmental donors. With regards to productive and established domestic funders, the TNUI has had better luck with local corporate funders which points back to the important role of the private sector in the future sustainability of the smaller NGOs that are under the radar of large philanthropic organisations and big government contracts.

Consequently, the donor interface is the main site of change within the relationship. The various “hoop-jumping activities” that are involved in these shifting interests have changed also to challenge the small NGO thus forcing it to rethink its fundraising strategies and develop better capacities for sustainability. This encourages them to think beyond the ‘culture of entitlement’ that has tended to plague the sector into a more productive period. This leads the way for the changes that I will discuss in chapter seven. As a consequence of rethinking the donor relationship, small NGOs are formalising their structures more and turning to alternative funding sources such as the private sector and using the concepts of sectoral networking for sustainability more effectively.
7.3 Funding 'Process' and Financing the Decline of the Small NGO

The highly competitive nature of funding the non-profit sector means that the donors have to be highly selective at a local level when it comes to giving out contracts to small NGOs and grassroots organisations. The most important data gathered finds that in order for small NGOs to survive in a post-conflict funding environment they have had to restructure, readapt, and revise existing objectives and projects. This has been necessary to 'capture' new donors whilst still maintaining the interest of existing ones. For NGOs such as the TNUI, who have been in existence for over 21 years, this means that they need to constantly update their programme in order to maintain the patronage of donors that developed relationships with during apartheid, its initial aftermath, and now. This is no easy task and involves greater levels of fundraising skill of programmatic flexibility, which can put a lot of strain on an organisation and more importantly its staff.

In South Africa, there has been a significant shift in the criteria that donors require from funding proposals and successful proposals are fewer than they were in the initial post-conflict period. This point is contextualised within the report quoted in chapter one, conducted by the World Bank, on the effectiveness of post-conflict aid. To quote Collier and Hoeffler again they explain that,

...during the first three post-conflict years absorptive capacity is no greater than normal, but that in the rest of the first decade it is approximately double its normal level. Thus, ideally, aid should phase in during the decade. Historically aid has not been larger in post-conflict societies, and indeed, it has tended to taper out over the course of the decade (Collier and Hoeffler, 2002: 1).

Thus, a focus on the nature of funding towards the end of the first decade of peace is essential in order to predict future relations or to comment on the real state of the non-profit sector in South Africa or any post-conflict society for that matter. More importantly, the findings of this research highlight that as well as analysing the absorptive capacity of aid as the amount tapers out post-war. Then one must look at the effectiveness of funding as a whole process and in particular, how it reflects upon social impact on a more long-term basis than typical analysis usually allows for.
This report failed to take this into account as well as neglecting to mention that funding patterns follow funding trends also. As a small NGO in transition, you not only have to figure out how the donors have changed but how global funding trends have dictated to donor agencies where their money is going to and how it is to be spent. In order for the relationship to grow and be more productive between NGOs and donors there needs to be more clarity on these issues.

For example in South Africa, as I have explained in previous sections, the Aids pandemic has given rise to a flurry of projects, programme, organisations and lobbying groups to name but a few, who are getting project and issue specific funding. Many international donors are branching out into the Aids issues specifically and redirecting funds that were initially allocated for reconciliation funding but are now focusing on Aids projects. A case in point is a local peace group in Cape Town. The Peace Centre began its life as a centre for reconciliation work and peace-building initiatives. This groups has now had to restructure completely and bring the 'Aids issue' to the fore more purely in order to get more funding.

At the time, I interviewed the director he explained that there is “just no money available for peace building anymore.” He went onto explain that the organisation has had to make the peacebuilding aspects and reconciliation aspects of their work more insidious and re-prioritise funding resources to satisfy the requirements of particular donors. In addition to the lack of availability, the group has missed any reconciliation funding to a larger NGO, which is associated with a very prominent South African peacemaker. The smaller groups cannot compete with its prestige. As such, they are redeveloping projects, downplaying initial focuses, whilst still trying to stay true to their original goals and objectives.

All the organisations that I visited and those who worked in them that I spoke to are very aware of the emphasis on “fashionable causes” (Pugh, 2001) within aid budgets and that projects and issues need to “grabs the headlines” (Pugh, 2001:116), although it takes a lot of work and writing of proposals in order to get the money. It is my belief that in order to

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74 Pseudonym of organisation.
make this process less intimidating, competitive and fickle the funding criteria has to be less nebulous and more open, simplified and manageable for the NGOs. Consequently, it will be easier for the donor as well to identify worthy projects and sustainable ones when their funding proposals and structures are more informed and are fully aware of the system that feeds the donor/recipient relationship. In South Africa, there has been so much corruption, suspicion and closed doors concerning where funds are being spent that it is very difficult to know who is culpable as was the case with the recent corruption and misspent funds scandals involving the main source of social funds in South Africa, the National Development Agency (Gardner and Macan, 2003).

This highlights the need for increasing levels for clarity and openness concerning donor fund allocations within the NGO sector that is, who allocates them and how they are being spent. Now that donors are more inclined to make bilateral arrangements with the South African government rather than give money directly to NGOs, a system must be put into place where the government and NGOs can negotiate their needs and resources effectively. To date, no such structure exists although there have been some misdirected attempts at engaging government and the Third Sector on funding issues.

It is an important recommendation of this research that in order for the Third Sector to survive and for funding structures to improve, relations with the state and its involvement in resourcing the sector must be scrutinised on a more honest, open level and in much more detail than has been done to date. A similar need for transparency was identified in research conducted on the Third Sector in Northern Ireland. In a report published by Northern Ireland’s voluntary sector watchdog, NICVA, McCarron comments that in relation to resources and funding structures,

It is felt that funding selection procedures should be opened up, simplified, and in general become more accountable and transparent. There is a perception that a small number of key people are involved in decision-making within large number of funding bodies. Funders should consider involving local people in their decision-making (McCarron, 2002:7).
This is coupled with attempts by the government in Northern Ireland to intervene and draw up ways in which it can improve relations between the government and voluntary sector. More importantly, the body that they set up called the Taskforce on Resourcing the Voluntary and Community Sector was given the task of reporting on ways in which social investment by the state sector could be improved also through a more effective relationship with NGOs and community groups.

In the document produced by the Department for Social Development called Pathways for Change, the authors drew attention to the changing nature of funding available at present to organisations. They also highlighted how these changes need to be understood in context in order for groups and the sector as a whole to adapt to them. Moreover, they pointed to the role of the state in understanding the sector more and improving communications on the sector’s needs and capacity concerns (Taskforce, 2003).

My conversations with leading civil society and Third Sector activists indicates that there has yet to be any such major research or concerted attempts made by the government in South Africa to engage with the NGO sector on how it can improve relations and facilitate better access to resources. The ANC government has been quite open about its tensions with the non-profit sector and its suspicions with regards to foreign funding and foreign agendas. There is a danger of the South African government isolating itself by being critical of foreign donor agencies and the NGOs, who rely heavily on the existence of international donor aid.

This brings us back to the central issue that affects the small NGO, which is how it juggles the twin contradictions of changing their programme and reviving their objectives whilst also utilising less funds to do so in order to attract more. Consequently, it is my observation that the small NGO finds itself in a situation where donors will only fund dynamic projects, but in doing so, they are financing the decline of the NGO if it is not able to develop the new capacity levels to be successful in securing such funds. This serves to reinforce Large’s (2001) observation, that was explored in chapter two and repeated here, that donors are willing to fund the outcomes of change but not the
processes involved in bringing about such transformations. She uses an example from the NGO sector to illustrate her point. To quote her at length,

The dominant "global" funding culture is to prefer concrete schemes with tight project outlines and clear time cycles [...] An Indonesian team of mediators accepted by the major warring communities on Ambon Island in Maluku applied for funds to enable regular cross-community visits and upkeep for a small office which would offer information, support, transmission of messages and a safe place for reconciliation and recovery meetings. They received a letter from a high profile donor, which offered application details for computers but said, "We do not fund Process." [...] NGO workers need to be braver and more imaginative in their requests for funding for processes (as opposed to projects); the challenge for us is to design staged or rolling reviews that are acceptable to the bureaucrats while delivering what is really needed. (Large, 2001: 2-4)

The future of funding within the sector seems to be leaning towards the need for money for groups such as the TNUI to professionalise and formalise. However, obtaining funds for these specific processes is difficult. One way that the TNUI manage this is to seek funds from donors with whom they have long existing contact with or pre-established funding arrangements whilst still developing strategies to engage new donors.

According to the COO, the international donors they receive funds from are often easier to deal with in this context and are more open to these 'rolling' proposals. Liesel explained to me that, despite the formalisation that international donors call for in terms of sustainability, accountability and measured outcomes there remains “much less red tape involved in obtaining funds from them”. She also explained that that they (the donors) are willing to give funds to help with capacity-building once it is worked into a sustainable proposal as one part of the project rather than its central focus. For small NGOs such as the TNUI working with established links its often much more appealing than local sources as I have highlighted in a prior section, even though this may not be the most effective way of dealing with the sectoral shortage of funds in the long term.

However, this can give rise to laziness when it comes to proposals when organisations have a pre-existing funding relationship with a donor. They may presume that the agency has knowledge of the organisation’s objectives and designs. This can work in their favour
when it allows their proposals to be fast tracked. However, from the point of view of new donor proposals it entails much more work on behalf of the organisation to construct detailed proposals and for them not to just recycle old proposals, as was common practice in the TNUI and many other small NGOs that I have worked with. Crowther’s (2001) quote from chapter two is illustrative of this. She explains that,

...funders are often under pressure to act quickly, or spend funds by certain deadlines, and where there is an existing relationship with an NGO, or where a new NGO is able to meet the basic procedural requirements fastest (e.g. project proposals in the correct format) they will have a head start on other funding applicants. One effect of this, recorded in many instances, is a sort of 'hoop-jumping' activity, in which NGOs successfully create the image of meeting funders' requirements and thus gain access to resources, whether or not their projected image and plans are likely to meet the promises (Crowther, 2001:17).

Based on the findings presented in this chapter one is then compelled to ask the question as to whether or not this funding of ‘product’ over ‘process’, which includes capacity-building and the long-term sustainability is in actuality contributing to the decline of the small NGO? A focus on the harder more practical aspects of project impact is important but in only funding organisations that have the capacities to produce large projects with a multitude of partners and administrative capacities. It is also important for them that having aligned its objectives with ANC policies, the donor community is serving to finance the growth of larger multi-national NGOs and more political South African NGOs at the expense of small scale service providers similar to the TNUI.

In answering this question the sector and individual NGOs can garner a better understanding of the changing nature of the donor/recipient interface, the shifting levels of donor interest and NGO agency as well as gauging the future sustainability of NGO resources. The data from the case-study organisation has shown that obtaining resources from one’s NGO involves a constantly tricky process of interpreting donor interests, mastering funding jargon and reproducing proposals in line with both governmental and donor policies, whilst simultaneously maintaining some level of agency and control over the main objectives and service provisions of the organisation.

Chapter eight will look in detail at this concept of the NGO as a ‘product’ and formalising the sector which leads to the production of acceptable levels of social impact which will is aimed at the donors.
As such, the research presents evidence that changing funding climates are not just simply down to the transitional state of the government or donor demands post-conflict but it is in an additional interplay of a number of forces and issues, which involves the changing capacities of the NGO itself, as well as the transitioning sector as a whole.

This research has found that the adoption of business strategies coupled with formalisation of your NGO is a strategy that small NGOs and CBOs are adopting in order to diversify resources and gain access to better and more sustainable funding sources. With the introduction of private sector forces in the form of corporate philanthropy and marketing strategies from the business world, this research found that NGOs are beginning to make themselves more profitable in terms of long-term goals and measurable outcomes from projects and philanthropic endeavours.

The culmination of these new strategies, input from the business world and its experts as well as corporate investment into the non-profit sector is referred to as the professionalisation or formalisation of the sector. This serves to make an NGO more ‘marketable’ not only to local government investors but more importantly, to the corporate world that is now beginning to take an interest in the future of the Third Sector, as I outlined in chapter two.

It is helpful to look at these new developments in line with Powell’s (1990) idea of exchange relationships, which differentiate between networks, markets, and hierarchies. The hierarchy that the NGOs deal with are the seen as the donors and the governments, the traditional sources of funding and economic sustainability for the sector. However, two alternative arenas for resource investigation for NGOs is the market and networks. Powell’s models of markets, sees them as the private sector and business-like aspects of resource sourcing. A market-orientated approach to resource allocation manifests itself within NGOs in the adoption of business strategies and the introduction of corporate philanthropy and CSR monies into their funding sources.
Powell defines networks as “co-ordinating forms of economic activity” that act as alternatives to markets and hierarchies. Networks have been in existence for many years within South Africa’s non-profit sector but in view of Powell’s model, we get to see them as alternative exchange mechanisms for NGOs. As such, the idea of networks in accordance with this model is epitomised in the concept of a non-profit sector and sectoral networking.

In this chapter, we will look at the concept of networks within South Africa and explore the role they play in the sectoral transition and future sustainability of NGOs as well as the possibilities they have to be a more creative and beneficial source of funding as opposed to the traditional fundraising strategies, which targets donors and government coffers. It is also important to put South Africa non-profit networks within their historical context for as Powell suggests that, “from a sociologist’s perspective it makes little sense to separate organisational behaviour from its social, political, and historical context. To make serious progress in understanding the diversity of organisation forms we need arguments that are more historically contingent and context dependent (Powell, 1990: 304).

In terms of market exchanges and the emerging role that they are playing in the future of the non-profit sector in South Africa and the survival of small NGOs, the chapter aims to address the idea of NGOs as ‘products’ and how the ‘marketing’ of the non-profit sector to the corporate world has affected its change and growth. Firstly, I examine what is meant by the formalisation of the sector and how adopting a ‘market’ approach has affected small NGOs in the sector, as illustrated through the case study and other events.

The evolution of networking and NGO relations with the private sector or the ‘market’ is then illustrated through case-study material and data gathered from various networking events and occasions I observed during my fieldwork as well as interviews with key ‘networkers’ within the case study organisation. Within this analysis, the research problematises the idea of transforming an NGO in a ‘product’ and what this entails. It examines the internal and external pressures for formalisation that have contributed to

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these changes and the reactions of both the case study and the sector as a whole to such interventions. The chapter closes by probing the seemingly contradictory idea of producing profitable and measurable outcomes in the non-profit sector and what implications that has for the decline of the small NGO. In addition, in light of Powell’s (1990) model of network and market exchange relationships, the chapter finishes by asking what the future of resource mobilisation and networks is for the small NGO and if network remobilisation is the solution for long-term sustainability.

years of democracy.

7.4 Products and Markets: The ‘Business’ of NGO-ing

NGOs are increasingly being co-opted by donors, governments and their clients into operating their organisations as businesses to make them more sustainable, competitive, marketable, and profitable. My discussions with the CEO and COO of the TNUI found that they are being called on to do so by increased competition for funds, more stringent accountability measures from donors, new legislative procedures.

This is further compounded by the desire of NGO actors to modernise and remobilise the Third Sector into a more sustainable and marketable concept and sector. Furthermore, there is a new orthodoxy behind ‘mainstream donor thinking’, which views NGOs as businesses. Consequently, I observed that private sector skills such as quality control, product design, and marketing strategies are being adopted into the everyday practices of the NGO in order to engage more successfully as a business, as well as an NGO, with market forces.

From top level to bottom level, the management in NGOs are increasingly drawing upon approaches taken from a combination of different more business-orientated sources. The vast diversity of NGOs means that the ‘mix’ will be different for each NGO, and that this mix may also change as the organisation evolves, takes new decisions and develops new strategies. Over time, some NGOs may move closer towards the market sector and sell services in order to become sustainable, while others may choose to rely on a more value-
based, voluntaristic motivation to their work and remain true to founding principles.”

(Lewis, 1999:193)

When I first encountered the TNUI in 2001, they were coming to the end of a ‘funding’ abundance. The organisation had managed to secure sufficient resources to run their programme but it was much less than they had had in previous years. In March 2001, they had also downsized their staff in order to survive financially and to focus on core projects. When I returned in March 2004 the organisation was in the middle of a severe funding shortage and was in ‘crisis’ as it were. The CEO and fundraising staff were frantically churning out funding proposals to any funder that they could make contact with. This ‘crisis’ escalated to a situation where, by the end of 2004, the organisation was desperate to secure funding for its projects. Subsequently, it was decided in December 2004, that the organisation needed to rethink its fundraising strategies and,

…refoCUS its staff, redefine its objectives, take stock of the ‘crisis’ situation it was continually finding itself in, and to revitalise the organisation as it was becoming jaded, staff were feeling downtrodden and there was a general feeling of discontent at the end of the year.” (Fieldnotes, November 27th 2004).

It was hoped that 2005 would bring about a better year for TNUI. At the annual AGM held at the TNUI on June 31st 2004, the financial situation was outlined as disappointing and an area of growing concern. A culmination of funding crises, inefficient fundraising, escalating programme costs, and changing staff had brought the TNUI to a stage where it has been forced to reorganise, restrapegise, and redirect it energies and focuses within the organisation. In other words, it began to see that in order for it to survive it had to professionalise, change its strategies, and bring in the experts as it were.

The main strategy that they have employed to do this is by consulting an NGO consultant. The COO, Liesel, explained to me that by bringing in the consultant the organisation could engage in strategy workshops with the staff. In doing so they could draw up new mission statements, objective directives and to make the ‘business’ of the organisation more succinct and clear to the funders, staff and communities which they
serve in order to make the organisation more successful in the coming years. As such both the CEO and COO recognised that they needed to update their NGO skills and get a more businesslike and current insight into the business of NGO-ing in South Africa’s struggling funding climate. There has been a growth of the number of NGO consultants in the industry in recent years as small NGOs like the TNUI try to modernise and regain a foothold in the sector.

Currently, there is a large industry of NGO consultants in the South African job market. During my fieldwork, I encountered many ‘experts’ who actually had very little practical NGO experience and even less formal development training. This is not uncommon amongst the CBO community in particular where people run organisations with little or no formal business or organisational training. In my experience, many of the more established ‘consultants’ have previously run NGOs during the struggle, are usually community activists or white NGO practitioners who find themselves jobless as a result of the affirmative action policies operating at present within South Africa.

These individuals are tailoring their training specifically to those NGOs that are struggling to restructure or achieve strategic goals. Their fundamental task, when engaging with these small NGOs, is to ‘market’ the organisation and get the staff and the organisation to imagine itself as a product. The central task that faces the TNUI now is how to market itself as a product as such to the donors and government departments.

During my time observing the organisation they had just begun to engage with an NGO consultant, Mark\(^7\), on a more regular basis and in a more determined manner than it appears they had done previously. The sense of crisis and desperation within the organisation in relation to funding had obviously given rise to this new focus. There was awareness amongst the staff of the futility of all this planning and strategising if there

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\(^7\) Mark, the consultant who worked with TNUI, is a young man in his early thirties yet he has an impressive client list already, working with some of the larger more prominent NGOs in the province. He has both a business background and degrees and has branched now into the development field. Mark is a good example of business professionals who are making the transition into NGO consultancy work. It is becoming a lucrative area as many NGOs begin to feel the pinch of waning funding resources.
were no funds to sustain the organisation and to pay the consultants. I got the impression from many of the staff that they saw these meeting and workshops as a nuisance and an inconvenient part of their day. Some staff were more vocal about the organisation’s ‘unmarketability’ than others were.

One of the main criticisms that Leon had was, the lack of marketing and “publicity” in the TNUI. Leon remarked during an interview that the TNUI “needs to get out there. It needs to get media involved and network more. Its voice is unheard. It is not getting its message out anymore. There is no networking being done on a level that will mean something” (Extract from interview with Leon, August 6th 2004).

How the ‘outside’ world views NGOs, that is, how the business world views NGOs can be damaging to the sector. As Lewis explains, “what can be seen by some as flexibility and spontaneity by some people can be easily viewed as amateurish by others.” (Lewis, 2003: 84) The voluntary sector has long been plagued by its own internal insecurities as well as dealing with pressures from the ‘outside’ community.

Even from the point of view of careers, those who work in the non-profit sector are often see as not having ‘real’ jobs, because their incentive is not a profit-making one. The task of the new generation of NGO consultants is to ‘capture’ the donors and ‘capturing the donors’ is not an easy endeavour. This new niche in the market is evolving out of the increasingly tough accountability measures. This involves conceptualising the NGO as a business that is in essence accountable to its shareholders/ stakeholders. This is a fair request and can have benefits for the future of the South Africa non-profit sector and the Third Sector internationally.

Whilst the majority of NGO actors I interviewed and observed, felt that donors need to make a better effort in recognising long term impact of their interventions in NGO work, there is a growing awareness that one of the donors central concerns of late are the social capital indicators which serve as ‘profit margins’ or more so profit indicators. This
follows the line of thinking that there should be a specification of the ‘added-value’ associated with funding non-profit and voluntary organisations.

The last dimension is a crucial area for measurement. It cannot be assumed that community and voluntary organisations by their very nature, will automatically deliver such benefit (Lewis, 2000; Morrissey et al, 2002). However, all of the NGO leaders and management that I spoke to believed that, it would “take a lot more than just remarketing” to make the organisation more sustainable or “appealing to donors” and more importantly to the clients.

Towards the end of my fieldwork, the discussions with the staff gave me the impression that they were jaded by the constant pressures for change without any real results, such as increased funds or improved working relations. In the business arena, if you want to make your product more appealing in the business world you repackage it, make it more visually appealing, and add new, improved ingredients. It follows then that by adding more staff from disadvantaged communities the TNUI becomes more appealing to local donors. Equally, by making their philosophies more digestible to their clients they are maintaining demand for the supply of their services. Finally, by restructuring the staff and inner realities within the organisation the ingredients are combined in a new way. The TNUI has attempted all of this to varying degrees of success. By adapting the organisation to make it more ‘African’, it has changed the wrapping but the inner essence remains the same.

Sectoral and organisational formalisation through the adoption of business sector approaches to management, resource investigation and general leadership within an NGO in South Africa was and is inevitable. As the literature on global civil society and the global Third Sector illustrates, professionalisation of the sector globally is a significant measure, which must be taken in order for it to diversify and become more self-sustainable (Keane, 2001; Perlas, 2000). This brings us back to Cooley and Ron (2002) in their article on “The NGO Scramble,” where they point to the role that marketisation of
non-profit organisations because of increased competition and scramble for contracts will have upon the changing face on the Third Sector. They explain that,

...the proliferation of NGOs and INGOs operating in the same sector, along with the marketisation of their activities, is radically transforming certain sectors of the humanitarian relief world. In addition, hundred of smaller NGOs are seeking entry to the aid and relief market, hoping to raise funds for future work but raising their flags in the media saturated humanitarian ‘hot spots’ is difficult (Cooley and Ron, 2002: 12)

Therefore, in order to “raise their flags” NGOs have to adopt more normative business principles and avoid the type of dysfunctional organisational behaviour that competitive tenders and poor project implementation engenders. Such measures include registering your NGO with the local government, hiring NGO consultants to fast-track organisational change and strategic planning and generally transforming the culture of entitlement that exists within NGOs. If anything this new drive towards restructuring and operating on a more business-like level will reduce the isolationism that has appeared to take hold of the small NGOs and CBOs operating in the sector.

Given the elevated levels of competition and accountability that the average NGO has to contend with in the present non-profit climate; the everyday running of your organisation becomes more than just a strategy for survival; it becomes a more integrated approach to the ‘business’ of NGO-ing. Traditionally, the business sector did not view NGOs as distinctive organisations (Wright, 1996; Lewis, 2000) whereas now NGOs are being viewed as potential sights for the emergence of new business strategies and the revisioning of NGO outputs as measurable products, which will satisfy donor demands for measurable levels of social investment and impact.

In practical terms, for NGOs such as the TNUI, this has been translated into strategic meetings and the introduction of consultations with NGO experts who specialise in formalising and ‘marketing’ NGOs into more competitive and productive market players. However, as the data from the TNUI demonstrates, these principles are easy to put into words but not necessarily into practice. The TNUI has to have the capacities to transform
their organisation in such a manner as to involve better administrative skills, more specialised staff and re-envisioning the objectives of the staff and the organisation in light of the new ‘business’ plans and product developments. For it to work all the staff need to be equally informed and part of the process.

Unfortunately, those who cannot envision the changes are left behind or forced to weather the “transitions” within the TNUI as best they can whilst retaining their philanthropic and humanitarian priorities in the face of monetary and strategic crises and concerns. The increasing levels of formalisation within the non-profit sector and the adoption of business sector policies and models leads us to question what the long-term impact of these changes will be for the sector.

The case study material gives us a small indication of the problems that are arising in this process but the ultimate outcomes of these new strategies are yet to be fully appreciated or understood. In terms of the TNUI, it is my observation that they are struggling to develop their ‘business strategies’ whilst still staying true to their original organisational philosophies of informality and operating an open, nurturing working environment. It is also unclear as to how they propose to show the impact of their projects in line with these new strategies and marketing objectives.

Both a networking approach and entering a more market-orientated form of resource exchange require significant efforts in the form of increasing networking opportunities and employing a more structured and businesslike approach to managing ones NGO and resources. Therefore, the next section will assess the alternatives that the small NGO has to the ‘hierarchies’ of the donors and the government and how they can possibly combine to compliment each other.
7.5 Sustainability through Profitability and Reciprocity

This chapter has demonstrated that there is a significant transition occurring amongst NGO networks in South Africa. This has had consequences for the small NGO in terms of opportunities to access funding and the ability to access a more integrated and strategic approach to networking within an organisation. The data gathered from various networking meetings attended, and the observational material from networking within the case study organisation, has shown evidence of weakness in networks within South Africa’s non-profit sector. This leads us to argue that a strengthening of networks or challenging existing approaches to networking within an NGO may help it to manage its financial crises more successfully and ultimately led to a more sustainable manner of obtaining donor information and collaborating on projects. In addition, the data highlights the need for a remobilisation of trust amongst NGOs between each other and with existing networking bodies such as SANGOCO or the Non-Profit Consortium.

The initial research question proposed that networking and the existence of solidarities tends to wane or weaken post-conflict. The data is consistent with this argument. However, in addition, the data points to the benefits that an NGO can attain from remobilising its networking opportunities with its peers as well as adopting a more strategic approach to networks with regards to fundraising and ‘marketing’ their work. This brings us to another finding, which relates to the research question involving the new ways in which NGOs are organising themselves in order to become more competitive and to fill the funding gap as donor interest in South Africa decreases.

The marketisation of NGOs and their services as ‘products’ is an aspect of the NGO transition that affords organisations the greatest opportunity for change and improving resource availability within the sector. The adoption of business-like principles and practices into a small NGO is not an easy task as the data gathered from the TNUI has proved. However, the sector in general is being forced to become more professionalised and formalised in the face of greater resource competition and the introduction of corporate forms of social investment into the non-profit sector.
The model of markets, hierarchies, and networks forms of exchange that Powell (1990) established provides an interesting framework in which to place these findings. By doing so one can illustrate how networking within South Africa’s non-profit sector offers NGOs the possibility of combining these issues that are at the heart of small NGO transitions that is increasing formalisation and reawakening networks and sectoral solidarities amongst NGOs. More importantly this framework raises questions as to the true potential of networking and how greater productivity or profitability in terms of capacity within an organisation can lead to more sustainable sources of funds for an NGO and essentially helping the sector ease itself out of its financial and structural ‘crisis’.

The necessity of networks should not be looked at in terms of being an alternative source of financial resources, as most monies still need to come from donors/government (the hierarchy) or private investors (the market), but as providing the essential resources “whose value is not easily measured”, in those “circumstances where there is a need for efficient, reliable information” (Powell, 1990: 308). Moreover, as well as information about available donor and market resources a non-profit network can also share important information about project trends which can help smaller NGOs avoid duplication and increase organisational and sectoral capacities through such coalitions.

Equally important, is the idea that through adopting a more integrated network approach the non-profit sector can have access to perhaps its most valuable resource as it continues to undergo a transition – trust. If indeed the lack of solidarity or common unifying principles were responsible for the present levels of dissatisfaction with current networks as the findings suggest then a remobilisation of trust would be a mutually beneficial development.

The problem with this suggestion is that the concept of autonomy comes into question and the issues of who gets the power from such networks become central to the relative success or failure of such networks. This in turn then influences the possibilities of re-establishing higher levels of trust in the sector. Such complications in remobilising NGO networks and solidarities is then further which is further compounded by the historical
difficulties that non-profit networks have had in South Africa which questions whether or not it will be possible to rebuild solidarity and trust.

However, the most important contribution to Powell’s models is found in observing the way in which engaging with different exchanges modes affects the internal dynamics within an organisation. In his seminal article on networks, markets, and hierarchies, Powell sets out a research agenda that asks for more analysis of how the different forms of economic exchange affect behavioural differences within organisations. In addition, he points to the importance of more knowledge on how information is processed through networks and how learning is sustained as a result of this exchange.

The data gathered from the TNUI adds to this body of work by displaying how emergent market forms of exchanges and changing network forms have affected the internal workings of the NGO and more importantly how this has impacted upon organisational ‘learning’ and strategising. For example, Powell (1990) outlines the key differences between markets, hierarchies, and networks. One key difference relates to the tone or climate of the organisation. An organisation that is driven by market exchanges is “precise and suspicious” whereas an organisation driven by network exchanges looks to mutual benefit and the value of relationships as opposed to the value of the goods that are to be exchanged. Given this insight it would appear that it their efforts to be more ‘market-driven’ the TNUI has forgone some of its ‘networking’ charms to become more precise and less open ended and in doing so is putting a hierarchy in place where the climate within the organisation is becoming formalised and bureaucratic.
CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION
8.1 Processes of Reconstruction and Transition in South Africa's NGOs

This dissertation is a contribution to the sociology of post-conflict reconstruction, and the development of NGOs within the processes of reconstruction. It centres on a case study of a small NGO, using an actor-centred research design. This study has sought to assess how the post-apartheid political and social environment has affected funding and structural change within non-profit organisations. It has looked at the practicalities of operating a small NGO in South Africa.

It has also examined how the drive for formalisation, professionalisation through adopting business principles and strategic change within the non-profit sector has served to undermine the viability of a NGOs existence. These processes, coupled with the mainstreaming of donor interests within the sector, have culminated within this research in the story of a small NGO struggling to survive the subsequent changing socio-political and sectoral climates. It is an ethnographic story not only of organisational survival but also of sectoral change and remobilisation within South Africa’s non-profit or Third sector.

The processes of reconstruction that follow a period of conflict are complex and are mostly case specific (Gidron et. al, 2002, Lederach, 1997, 1998). They permeate and affect every aspect of a society but for the purposes of this study the focus is on the socio-civic dimension of post-war reconstruction, that is, the role of civil society and the non-profit sector in the transition. In relation to the non-profit sector, the transition and sectoral reconstruction has called for a systematic approach to formalising and remobilising the sector to meet the growing challenges of a globalising South Africa.

By using both a case study approach to assess these challenges and an actor-centred study, one gets a sense of the practical implications of what reconstruction means in the new climate of competition, formalisation, professionalism, and reclassification. This study of such an NGO in transition assesses empirically these processes in action and how they combine to create a living crisis within an organisation that has struggled to continue its work in post-conflict South Africa. By looking at the impact of the transition
in action upon the roles of the donors and the NGO actors, this study has investigated how far the sector is in decline and what the future holds for the small NGO in the South Africa non-profit sector.

Hilhorst (2004) argues that, in order for one to fully appreciate the world of NGOs one must look at the realities of ‘NGO-ing’ and the everyday actions of the people and processes that this entails. She explains that,

The case for the crucial importance of everyday practices for understanding NGOs is founded theoretically and methodologically in actor orientation. People reflect upon their experiences and what happens around them, and use their knowledge and capabilities to interpret and respond to development. This means that we cannot study the social without studying the actors, but also that we cannot study the people without studying the social. Organisational policies, cultures and accountabilities, just as much as larger processes of law, politics, culture, history and economics that enable or constrain social life, do not work upon people but through them...We must observe the way NGO actors deal with NGO-ing (Hilhorst, 2004: 214).

This study has highlighted the differences between theory and practice in the Third Sector. Moreover, the focus on the actual transitions that an organisation has had to traverse over a limited twelve-month period, gives a fresh and practical perspective on the theories on post-conflict reconstruction and Third Sector development in South Africa. By observing the way in which this particular group of people “deal with NGO-ing”, the data portrays an organisation in turmoil as well as transition. The research takes this portrait beyond a simply descriptive portrayal of the challenges of transition and aims to give one a larger picture of a group of people within the non-profit sector who are possibly becoming extinct.

Through its ethnographic methodology, this study begins to address the gap between the theories and the reality that are applied to the non-profit sector and the role of NGOs in a post-conflict setting. Forging a working relationship between academics and practitioners is essential to the future of good research in the area and this study brings together these two perspectives in an honest, reflexive, and exploratory manner. As Billis and Harris
explain, “Unless we cross the ‘turf’ and engage in real debate with those who work in the sector we shall end up talking to ourselves through the medium of scholarly journals” (Billis and Harris, 1998: 3).

One of the central findings in the study illustrates this point in that, it examines the interaction between the theories of non-racialism being promoted in South Africa and the realities of Africanisation in various socio-civic and political sectors. The evidence gathered from the case study material suggests that the dual process of Africanising development and professionalising the sector are the main challenges being faced by South Africa NGOs in relation to redefining their objectives and their ethos. By doing so, they come to reflect a more ‘African’ centred approach to development as well as diversify their funding beyond the international agencies and donors from whom they received humanitarian funds from during the apartheid era.

The processes of Africanisation and formalisation through increased accountability measures, greater market competition, affirmative action policies and new domestic funding criteria have had a direct impact upon small NGOs in particular, as they struggle to keep up with the pace of sectoral growth and resource competition. Moreover, it is the pressures of these imposed changes and symptoms of the transition themselves, which are mostly external to the non-profit sector, which have undermined the viability of a small NGO working in a transitional post-conflict situation. In essence small NGOs have had to take on certain practises to survive which may conflict with their own commitments and original organisational objectives.

The study uncovers the central obstacles that a small NGO faces in line with these pressures and assesses the structural and cultural impacts of such processes. The changes that are being imposed upon the organisation in terms of ideology to suit the new government’s policies and new strategic planning to satisfy the donors push the organisation into a restructuring phase, which creates various levels of uncertainty and turmoil within an organisation. This was the case with TNUI when they had to make significant changes, such as employing business consultants, to revive their strategic
objectives, fundraisers to reformulate funding proposals and introduce new board and staff members in order to make it more representative and donor friendly.

These processes and challenges are affecting the future of the non-profit sector in South Africa and more succinctly, the future of small NGOs founded by white people who are unable to cope with the pace of the transition and the changes that such processes involve.

At the heart of the sectoral changes that were occurring in South Africa’s non-profit sector, is the idea that African development should be determined and executed by Africans. This case-study research serves as an interesting look at the specific usefulness of such concepts as civil society and the Third Sector in an African context, as well as illustrating the emergence of a new discourse of African development that is seeking to be more autonomous and distanced from its western origins.

In order to shift the organisation’s core objectives and sustain its funding sources it has also had to formalise and professionalise. Given that, the TNUI still receives most of its funds from overseas donors the competition becomes a more looming concept. Consequently, the organisation was forced to professionalise and become more formal in order to maintain donor interest and make the organisation more marketable for prospective donors. In my time with the organisation, Liesel was constantly arranging for staff members to visit fundraising networks in Sweden, Germany and England as well as hosting many colleagues and donor associates from these countries within the organisation in South Africa. The organisation’s foreign network is central to its survival and sustainability as the red tape and bureaucracy involved in applying for and receiving domestic money makes it to bothersome and impractical to rely on local donors.

As I explained in chapter eight, more targeted accountability is necessary for NGOs to generate greater capacities within the organisation will also garner more support from their donor agencies. In the initial post-conflict period, donors rush into a situation and flood the sector with monies and projects. At present, within South Africa, after ten years,
the focus shifts to how NGOs have used these initial inputs in order to strengthen their organisations and add to the remobilisation and maturation of the sector into a productive industry. However, much of the literature on socio-civic reconstruction fails to outline how these new processes translate into organisational change and more over how they relate to the particular culture and capacities of a small NGO in such as post-conflict situation. Both Pugh (2000) and Large (1999) do recognise the inevitability of such changes and the stabilising effects they can have on the sector in terms of sustainability and future projections. Nonetheless, they fail to capture how these processes are applied in actuality to an organisation and what happens when an NGO cannot cope with such processes, as was the case with the organisation analysed in this study.

The professionalisation or formalisation of the Third Sector is not unique to South Africa nor is it only symptomatic of post-war societies. It is a process that is happening to voluntary sector organisations across the world to varying degrees. However, my own experience of working in small non-profit organisations in developed and developing countries has shown me that the time-frame within which these changes must be responded to is crucial with regard to the survival of the smaller groups with limited capacities in terms of staff, resources and infrastructure. It appears that such changes are more productive and less traumatic for an organisation when they can take control of the change process themselves and integrate it slowly into their own everyday running of the NGO.

The argument is not that Africans employed during professionalisation cannot be professional. The contradictions between Africanisation and professionalisation come rather from the government’s hostility to foreign donors and the professional and formalised processes through which they wish to operate. The data shows that the TNUI struggled to deal with the two seemingly contradictory goals of professionalisation so as to fit in with the expectations of international donors whilst simultaneously pandering to the local governments Africanisation requirements regarding local funding criteria and policies. The processes of Africanisation and professionalisation do indeed appear to contradict each other.
The pressure for Africanisation comes from government and professionalisation pressures from competitors and foreign donors. Given that the government is critical of foreign donors the pressures are inherently contradictory. The data suggested that the confusing interrelation of these two main pressures culminated in the possible closure of the case study and may possibly lead to a future decline of the small NGO if the contradictions can not be reconciled or at least made more attainable to NGOs with limited capacities for change and restructuring. In other respects, both Africanisation and professionalisation have certain features in common. Both seem antithetical to the universalistic liberal humanism that once to have inspired TNUI in the form of anthroposophy.

Equally, they would seem to jar with the universalism and liberal humanism that forms elements of civil society as seen in a discussion of the usefulness of civil society as a concept in post-war reconstruction in chapter one. Both also tend to undermine the informal atmosphere within the organisation, by challenging its habitus in the name of criteria of legitimacy that are external to the organisation. It is this adverse clash of philosophies and concepts of development that have lead to difficulties with embracing change and enforcing strategic change effectively within the organisation.

Dealing with the fallout of the contradictory pressures of change in the forms presented here becomes a personalised one, when one takes it to the level of an individual organisation. Once the reality of change and transition had set into the organisation the story of the crisis in the TNUI, and became one of priorities and interests not just from the point of view of the NGO itself but also in relation to its clients, members, staff and leaders perspectives. The organisation has had to change in order to survive on its own merits rather than the agendas of external parties in the form of donors and governmental policies. However, despite the introduction of strategic planning, the hiring of consultants, launching new programme and downsizing its core staff, the organisation has found it difficult to adapt to the challenges that were thrown at it.
It is a difficult thing to change the culture of an organisation particularly when it was heavily influenced by the pervading culture of the sector in terms of the unifying sense of struggle and solidarity that defined it during apartheid. In terms of the TNUI, it was found that its particular culture and philosophies, as described in Chapter 5, have made the incorporation of such policies difficult and has forced a change in not only the objectives and core business of the organisation but also has affected the socio-cultural aspects of the organisation.

According to Susan Wright in her analysis of the anthropology of organisations, an organisation can justify its discourses by referring to its culture (Wright, 1996). In terms of the TNUI, their core philosophy was one of liberal German humanism in the form of its anthroposophical origins. In terms of the world of NGO-ing, this translated into a very open way of conducting business and a strong commitment to volunteerism, a commitment to creating a harmony within the organisation in terms of staff relations and encouraging leadership and equality amongst all staff and volunteers.

In general, the emergent literature on global civil society and comparative nature of the Third Sector is more critical in scope than the literature that emerged in the early 1990s on NGOs in developing countries and the role of civil society after the cold war. This new literature aims to look at NGOs in a more critical manner. Examples of work, such as Lewis (2001), takes this criticism a step further by looking specifically at the differences between Northern and Southern conceptions of the voluntary and non-profit sectors.

This research provides an additional dimension to theoretical convergence between North and South, where South Africa’s experiences may be looked at comparatively in relation to a range of countries such as Northern Ireland, East Timor, or Eastern Europe. A focus on the changing nature of the voluntary sector is also important for how the ‘outside’ world views NGOs, which is how the business world views NGOs, which can be damaging to the sector. Even from the point of view of careers, those who work in the
non-profit sector are often see as not having ‘real’ jobs, because their incentive is not a profit-making one.

As such, the findings on the professionalisation and formalisation of the sector within South Africa highlight the issues surrounding the marketability of NGOs in Africa and post-war development. Moreover, they uncover the particularities of their objectives and the interrelations with the new globalising business and governmental sectors, which is an area that is gathering more attention within Third Sector studies in Africa (Anheier, 2004 and Perlas, 2002).

Regarding the findings on networks within South Africa’s non-profit sector, and the manner in which small NGOs participate in them, the data showed us that those operating within the sector have identified a need to remobilise such networks and strengthen bonds of reciprocity amongst NGOs and with CBOs. In chapter six, the research highlighted the tensions that exist between NGOs and the emergent classification of CBOs within South Africa. As such, a focus on mainstreaming the interactions between these new community non-profit formations and established NGOs is important to the future diversification and capacity building possibilities within the sector.

Moreover, strengthening and establishing more networks based on mutual benefits may act as a better source of information dissemination than smaller NGOs have access to at present. In addition, chapter eight explores this concept of remobilising networks further by illustrating the alternative ways in which they can be viewed by NGOs beyond just solidarity bonds and ‘talk shops’. By framing the findings around ideas of networks as alternative forms of exchange within NGOs, it introduces us to the potential of networks as a source of more sustainable possibilities for diversifying resources within the sector through corporate philanthropy and better networking.

The central hypothesis of this research was that grassroots NGOs, who were seemingly lauded as the harbingers of the new democracies, appeared to be undergoing a period of decline and crisis as a direct result of the transitional processes of post-conflict
reconstruction that their sector and society was undertaking. As such, the research set out to see if indeed this was the case and to uncover or explore the various factors that attributed to these processes and changes, with South Africa as its main case study. In addition, the research aimed to address the cycles of prosperity and decline that post-conflict civil society and the Third Sector appears to undergo and why this is so.

By examining these cycles and the causes, the research attempts to explain how NGOs are surviving this period of reconstruction and remobilisation a decade on and what the implications of these struggles are for the future of the non-profit sector in transitional societies. In line with my original objectives, the research portrays in an ethnographic and realistic manner, the everyday work of small grassroots NGOs. This approach allowed the data to illustrate the mechanisms used by NGO actors in dealing with the challenges of the sectoral transition and the sequences of decline that have been brought about by the pressures to formalise their organisation, diversify their resources and fall in line with new governmental policies and changing international donor interests.

Consequently, the research has shown that there are significant pressures external to the NGO, which have undermined the viability of small NGOs in post-conflict situations. This portrait of a white-run NGO in transition is an important contribution to the study of NGOs and transitional reconstruction in post-war societies, as well as informing different aspects of the sociology of development in African countries and post-conflict situations.

A reflection on how individual actors within an NGO deal with external pressures for change, as well as the internal demand for formalisation and diversification, is an important contribution to an analysis of the future of small NGOs in South Africa. It is also an important starting point for one to understand how their role within the non-profit sector and the wider society has changed. Furthermore, it gives us an insight into what the sector as a whole has achieved as part of the transition because, “attention for the inner working of NGOs is important in several ways. The inner realities make the ultimate difference in how NGOs relate to their clients and what they achieve (Hilhorst, 2005: 7)."
Nevertheless, despite all the literature reviewed and the initial research questions and hypotheses that were formulated, the research brought up unexpected findings and disproved some of my earlier assumptions before entering the field. Firstly, the main finding that I did not expect was the number of internal pressures in the sector, which have contributed to the perceived ‘crisis’ and sectoral tensions. The initial research questions aimed to look at how the external hierarchies such as donors and governments were weakening the sector but as the data has shown internal pressures between NGOs, CBOs and amongst networks have also heightened the sense of competition, disharmony, and mistrust in the non-profit sector.

I did not anticipate so much internal tensions amongst organisations and the voluntary isolationism amongst NGOs, which was caused by greater resource competition and weakened bonds of solidarity and reciprocity. I found that overall, the non-profit or Third Sector is not deep in crisis, or that organisations and morale are in a simultaneous state of collapse. Most respondents felt that, in order for it to envisage itself as a more successful player in the new South Africa, the sector should acknowledge their mistakes and accept responsibility for what they have contributed internally towards the decline. In doing so, they would be better equipped to remobilise the sector to develop better resource mobilisation and dissemination of information, as I outlined in chapter eight.

The case study of the TNUI, a small NGO that has been in existence in South Africa for over twenty-one years, proved an interesting example of an NGO in transition and possible decline. The case study data provided the research with a rich array of findings and insights into the everyday challenges and triumphs involved in organisational change in a sector under great pressures, both internally and externally. The data gathered in the TNUI illustrated how these internal and external pressures impact upon an NGO in practice and more importantly how it affects the staff and leaders within an NGO.

The actor-orientated approach of this research was a very important part of the overall achievement of the research. It fulfilled the primary objective of the study, which was to explore the gaps between theory and practice in the Third Sector. In addition, it served to
highlight the difference between the theoretical literature that is produced on NGOs in post-war situations and the more ethnographic accounts and a grassroots level of analysis of hands-on survival and transition within a post-war non-profit sector.

However, because of this emphasis on the internal dynamics of small NGOs in crisis, the study failed to deliver a more integrated understanding of how donor roles have changed within this new climate of transition and what their opinions and interests are. An analysis of the donor's criteria for supporting projects, and how the transition has affected their funding allocations, would have been beneficial to the study. This is an area, as I have already stated in the previous section, which I will be proposing as further research, which needs to be done in order to make a more holistic contribution to the study of post-conflict Third Sectors and the future of small NGOs in transitional societies.

The second finding, which was unexpected, was the central role that race and the racialisation of funding and transition objectives has played within the transition in South Africa. The Africanisation of the Third Sector and the process of Africanising your NGO played a very real part in the cumulative decline that the case study organisation was experiencing. Although it was never a conscious acknowledgement the various objectives regarding names changes pointed to a definite push to make the organisation more appealing to local donors through greater racial representivity and BEE policies. Measures such as employing more staff of colour and making the board more representative confirm these assumptions.

Consequently, the research, which was pointing to a slowly progressive sectoral decline of small NGOs in South Africa, became more about the rapid decline of white run NGOs. More interestingly was the connection that could then be made between the influence of these Africanisation processes upon problems facing these NGOs who were falling between the gaps left by the change from international donors solidarity funding to more economic-development orientated local funding initiatives.
8.2 The TNUI: An NGO Divorced from Reality?

If the findings point to the roles of corporatisation, africanisation and the professionalisation of small NGOs as culminating in the demise of the TNUI as an organisation then the next question is to ask what are small NGOs doing to combat or incorporate these processes for the betterment of the organisation and the services it provides. More importantly, in the context of this study, one has to ask if the TNUI is really committed to implementing change in view of these transitions. This then begs the question as to whether they are in actuality divorced from the reality of the failed promises of the ‘rainbow nation’ and the real challenges that africanisation policies and BEE overhauls pose to them.

Both the findings and the comments of both staff and members of the organisation suggest that the core problem lies with the strategies and objectives of the leadership and their continuing struggle for sustainable funding. The main challenge that the TNUI’s leadership face is that they do not fully appreciate that the decline is shaped by these processes and the subsequent the changing sectoral contexts. As a result, they are denying its impact on the organisation.

In many ways, the inner everyday tensions, conflicts, and triumphs in the TNUI reflect the wider divisions that are occurring not only in the non-profit sector but also within South Africa’s struggle to follow through and implement every aspect of its post-democratic promises. For example, within the organisation there have always been those who are tuned into certain realities and those who cling tirelessly to aspirations and outdated philosophies. A central illustrative example is that of the two main male role models within the organisation, that of Phillip and Leon.

Whilst they are steadfast friends and colleagues, Leon has long played the realist and the motivator and despite many setbacks has remained loyal to the TNUI. Phillip has been the philosopher and academic figurehead. Leon is always looking for new and innovative ways to change the structures of the organisation and the projects that the sector as a whole is focusing on through his workshops, work out in the communities and his wide
network of NGO peers and political activists. Phillip on the other hand, as the data suggests, always looks to others to deal with the shortfalls in reality whilst he theorises on the next move forward.

The juxtaposition of these two forces within the organisation epitomises the struggle that they deal with everyday between struggling to stay afloat whilst hanging onto to heavy water laden principles. In the end, it appears that it was the clash of Leon’s dynamism with Phillip’s stagnation that lead to his resignation from the broad and subsequent retirement from NGO work with the organisation. This has been a significant emotional and mental drain on the leaders and more so the staff of the organisation which has fed into their subsequent decline. What it highlights is that TNUI is unable to embrace the dualisms (as outlined in the table on pages 100-101 and repeated here again) or even accept their often unhappy co-existence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old</th>
<th>vs.</th>
<th>New</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anthroposophy and teachings of Steiner</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>Practical ubuntu, Rainbowism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White organisation</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>Black affirmative action policies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGOs</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>CBOs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old civil society networks</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>New social networks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International philanthropy</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>Corporate Social Responsibility</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overseas donor networks</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>Domestic fundraising and donors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International fundraising</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>State-sponsored development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sectoral Networks with unifying anti-apartheid principles</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>Disorganised networks with no unifying objectives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phillip, the “white dinosaur” and older members of TNUI</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>New members, younger, non-anthroposophical people, black elite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal family-like atmosphere</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>Business-like formalisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TNUI as a ‘Family’</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>TNUI as a ‘product’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open-door policy</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>Competitive project tenders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Networking and Sharing</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>Internal capacity building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capacity-building with other NGOs</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>Crowded market place</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
By returning to this table, one can see that it represents the entire transition that the organisation is undergoing and is reflective of the challenges that the sector faces on an ongoing basis. This is particularly the case for those NGOs who have been long in existence before the transition and are now being forced out of the non-profit ‘market’ by newer, more racially and socially representative and more donor-friendly CBO’s.

In a period of twelve-months, from December 2005 to February 2006, the TNUI was forced to rethink its core philosophies, its pervading organisational culture and its relations with staff, associates and clients in order to survive, sustain and succeed. It had been a fast and steep learning curve for all involved, particularly since February 2006 when the organisation was in a dire financial crisis and almost began its process of closing down due to a continued delay in promised funds. This has been a consistent problem for the organisation, it is symptomatic of local government inefficiencies, and the strain that delayed funds put upon an NGO.

In real terms, the changes that the organisation has undergone, as documented in the findings chapters, have been a major wake-up call for the organisation. The experiences of the TNUI reveal much about the role of NGOs in post-war settings. As with the literature on the socio-civic function of the voluntary sector, this study illustrates that NGOs cannot be seen simply as ‘harbingers of a new liberal civil society’ (Cooley and Ron, 2002: 36), but are now organisations driven by material incentives and financial considerations which are increasingly more pressing than liberal-democratic norms. Therefore, in answer to the question posed at the beginning of the section, the TNUI is not completely divorced from the reality of change but it is becoming increasingly distanced from those elements which are necessary for its survival that is, its clients, its members and more importantly its core business and principles.

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77 A comment on this threatened closure and the events that led up to it will follow in the postscript.
8.3 Limits of the Research/ Further Research

Within this particular body of research, there were many limits and restrictions, which affected the outcomes. Despite the extensive duration of the fieldwork from March 2004 to December 2005, there were some substantive limits to the research and the data collected.

The most obvious limit was the difficulties of studying a small organisation when external pressures were mounting upon it. The financial crises after December 2005, coupled with the various structural changes in the organisation such as staff changes, combined to make collecting additional data after the official fieldwork period difficult. This was due to the strategic planning and restructuring that the organisation had to undertake in response to the financial crisis, which would determine the future existence of the organisation and its programme. During this period, the organisation was closed off to visitors and the strategic planning meetings were strictly staff only.

Generally, the organisation was more open and willing to participate in the research when it was in a calmer period and was open to being probed and acting as a gatekeeper to respondents and other contacts within the sector. During its difficult periods the staff, management, and volunteers were under significant strain which made researching the organisation more difficult and less amenable to non-expert advice or inquiries. In addition, the personal difficulties I encountered with the management as outlined in the methodology chapter, when they were unsatisfied with the preliminary findings, led to strained relations with them for some time after the incident occurred. Consequently, further data collection and follow-up interviews were not easy to procure and any communications with the organisation following the upset were more guarded and less open than they had been previously.

The personal difficulties I experienced with the organisation stemmed from the dual role I was presented with as both a volunteer with the organisation and an outside researcher. When one is studying a small organisation the boundaries between the personal and the professional more difficult to determine and enforce as I explained in detail in chapter
As a volunteer, I was privy to situations and conversations that I would possibly not have had access to as just a researcher.

My role as a volunteer made me appear less of a voyeur and more as a staff member or family member despite the fact that these were not the initial intentions or motivations behind my volunteer work. My decision to volunteer with the organisation was suggested by the CEO when I first approached the organisation to study them for my fieldwork. I saw it as an opportunity to not only meet respondents and gather more data but also felt it would lead to richer ethnographic data and situations. The tension between these two roles affected the data I collected and the findings I produced in many ways as I have previously outlined. An example of this was the manner in which they denied me access to any further information pertaining to financial records or donors after my initial fieldwork period.

Another significant limit to the study was that, I had chosen to study one organisation in depth rather than have a group of NGOs from which to generalise. Given the in-depth knowledge that I had of the organisation due to the prolonged fieldwork, it may seem difficult to generalise from the material gathered about the state of the NGO sector as a whole. Through my involvement with the organisation, I had the opportunity to encounter dozens of other small NGOs in the area in a similar situation. However, certain findings in relation to the philosophies of the organisation and its donor base are case specific.

Despite the particularities of the TNUI, it is largely a typical case study of a struggling NGO. Regardless of its founding philosophies and specific programme, it is dealing with the same financial, structural, and social difficulties that many other small NGOs are facing. Through my contact with NGO peers and colleagues, I understood that the case study organisation was not much different from any other organisation. However, had I included one or two more case studies into the research, it would have made generalisations more sustainable and credible. There were also practical difficulties in achieving the degree of intensive ethnographic participation achieved for the TNUI for other organisations.
The obvious omission of the attitudes and feelings of the clients of the organisation to whom their services are provided and who participate in the TNUI’s programme is an area that requires further exploration. A detailed analysis of the clients was beyond the scope of this study and as such, it is a limitation of the research. Such information if it was explored and assessed would be invaluable to the organisation itself. Client satisfaction and their evaluation of the programme that the TNUI conducts with them is something the organisation is paying more attention to and is an area that donors are more frequently requiring data on as it reflects the ‘profit’ that they receive in terms of impact assessment and how the ‘product’; is being received by the disadvantaged communities.

This again feeds into the earlier discussion of professionalising the sector and making NGOs not only more accountable to the donors but more importantly to their clients. Equally important, in terms of further research, is the attitudes and views of the donor agencies themselves to the restructuring of small NGOs, the addition of business practices into the sector and its response to the South African governments recent policies in relation to affirmative action and Africanising development.

As ‘Africanisation’, as a concept, only came clear to me during analysis of data and writing up I could not interview those donors and agencies that fund TNUI on their impressions of the changes the organisation needed to make and were undergoing during the period of my fieldwork. I did not get to speak directly with local government representatives about their feelings towards foreign donors. This is a regretful omission and a definite area for further research.
POSTSCRIPT

Who Cares Whether Your Organisation Survives or Not?
It may seem to be a rhetorical question, but the answer to who cares whether your organisation survives or not has wide implications beyond more than just its core staff. The various stakeholders from staff to clients, members to donors are all affected and all have differing degrees of affection or interest in an NGO. For me, the TNUI was a more than just an object of study. I was touched by the staff and the work they were doing, as well as the struggles the organisation was going through. In many ways, to me and those I interviewed and observed, it was more than just an organisation, more than just an office and definitely more than just a service provider.

Therefore, I felt very bad when I heard in February 2006 that it was on the brink of closing after the end of a particularly bad financial year due to lack of funds and very low staff morale. It was a sad moment in terms of both my research and on a personal note. It reminded me of a quote by Ruth Behar in her book *The Vulnerable Observer* (1996) where she says, “Call it sentimental, call it Victorian and nineteenth century, but I say anthropology that doesn’t break your heart just isn’t worth doing anymore (Behar, 1996: 177). At the time of reading this, it struck me as being over-sentimental and an exaggeration but considering the amount of time and energy I had invested in the TNUI the situation was in many ways heartbreaking.

However, in May 2006, some funds came through and a significant amount of money has been promised from a donor in Europe and is hopefully on its way into the TNUI’s bank accounts by the end of October 2006. Therefore, it seems fitting to comment on the threatened closure of the organisation that occurred in February 2006 and how the management and staff of the TNUI have once again succeeded in surviving to enter a new cycle of funding. Moreover, the tenacity of the senior management, Phillip and Liesel have once again astounded me as they persevered through a very difficult twelve months to emerge with a new plan for the next cycle in TNUI’s life and a renewed sense of leadership.

In June 2006 on a visit to the organisation, Liesel asked if I was available to help for a few weeks in the organisation as they were undergoing a major transition as a result of
the shortage of funds and they needed some extra hands as it were. A number of key ‘in-house’ staff namely the two administrators, Liesel’s personal assistant, the Chairman of the Board and the financial manager had left the organisation. Two of the staff members that had left had been with the organisation for over ten years. Therefore, old familiar faces such as mine were welcomed back and provided some sense of continuity for the remaining staff. I saw this as a perfect opportunity to assess the impact of the threatened closure and the changes it has brought to the organisation.

As one of the administrators had left unexpectedly, I was given the position of temporary administrator and to help Liesel with some fundraising activities until new permanent staff could be employed. This gave me the chance to talk to the remaining staff about the effect of the financial downturn on them and their projects as well as the downsizing of personnel. More importantly, I was able to get an overall view of what changes the crisis had effected within the organisation and see how they recovered from the threatened closure particularly in the face of mounting tensions, financial pressures, changeable donor interests, and fluctuating loyalties, which have been tested many times during the transition. Thus, on Monday July 1st 2006 I returned to the TNUI for a period of four weeks.

My general experience of returning to the organisation was a mixed one in that there were a lot of tensions being caused by the ‘transitions’ that were being imposed externally upon the organisation and internally upon the staff by management as a result of its financial crisis. The absence of staff that I had befriended during my fieldwork period made my first few days back at the organisation feel strange and empty. There was a notable tension within the organisation due to the introduction of new staff and the downsizing of existing projects. In addition, all the staff had been told that their jobs were only secure for another six months unless the promised monies came through. Therefore, staff morale was at an all time low and new staff were entering the organisation under a cloud of uncertainty.
However, as always there was an underlying air of optimism that the monies needed would come through. The project leaders of the food gardens, the Aids orphan projects and the Drum and Dance programme were optimistic and still quite busy with their work, which was continuing despite the financial strain and job insecurity. The positive attitudes of the core staff in the TNUI have always inspired me and from that point of view, I was happy to see that their spirit and passion for the work they were doing was still evident.

The difficult situation that the TNUI found themselves in raises many questions that can be applied to the general issues surrounding the closure of an NGO and what is left in its aftermath. As extensive as the literature is on the world of NGOs, "very little attention is paid to what happens to the staff, members and clients when an organisation’s run is threatened by closure", or abruptly ends due to lack of funds (Billis and Harris, 1998).

In such a situation, the organisation is forced to ask itself a plethora of questions such as how much does the organisation really matter to the local authorities or a specific funder? How committed are the staff, board, and volunteers and moreover what is the basis of their commitment? Is the organisation providing anything distinctive to or users, members and clients? All the answers to these questions are ones that the management need to think carefully on when they have recovered from the ‘crisis’ and draw from them to assess the real impact of closure, should it ever come to that gain. Perhaps this knowledge will motivate donors to continue funds or at least motivate staff to remain optimistic and loyal to the organisation.

However, when it comes down to the bare question of who will really be affected by the closure of the organisation it appears to me that it is the clients who have the most invested in the NGOs existence. During my time with the organisation I noticed that the CEO and COO in particular were very much divorced from the opinions of the people they work with on their expectations and evaluations of the organisation. The only people who really knew what the people involved in their projects felt about the TNUI was
Dillan, Leon and to some extent Tsepho. These are the people who work everyday out in the field on the various projects the organisation sponsors and runs.

It is quite surprising that for an organisation in such disarray that they have never conducted a comprehensive evaluation of the clients needs and how the relationships with communities and individuals has changed over the course of the organisations history.

Towards the end of my fieldwork with the TNUI, I visited a high school that the organisation has been involved with for over 15 years in Bongolethu. This encounter with the principal, Albert, encapsulated for me the heartache and disappointment experienced by the clients and communities when an organisation closes or is unable to maintain projects with them due to funding shortages.

Albert is a gentle and friendly black man in his early forties and typifies many of the principals in Cape Town who had such hope for the transition after 1994. However, the education system is grossly under funded and the teachers are desperately underpaid which has led to tense relations between the teachers and the government. Consequently, they turn to NGOs to help them and fill the gap left by governmental apathy towards teacher upliftment and improving facilities in the schools.

The TNUI’s first project with this school in the early 1990’s was part of an Arts based curriculum programme where they did drum and dance with the students, after school arts activities and support meetings for the staff. Albert has had a long relationship with the leaders and the CEO of the TNUI. I spoke to Albert at length about the projects that the TNUI have been involved with at the school and we talked more about the past projects than the present ones.

He explained to me that “when the TNUI is in abundance the relationship is best and when its not then the schools suffers also”, this is not an isolated case. The early projects had a lot of funding and the TNUI injected a new atmosphere of optimism and excitement in the school, particularly amongst the staff. Albert said that he “looks to the

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78 Pseudonym
organization to see if new projects are coming up to get involved in”, however shortages of funding and an expanding portfolio has meant that Albert and his school are not at the top of the TNUI’s priorities list. Nevertheless, despite the lack of ongoing projects with the school Albert remains loyal to the TNUI and the CEO regularly takes visitors out to this school to show them one of the organisations success stories without acknowledging the tone of disappointment in Albert’s voice or the air of empty expectations and promises.

Often in development organization the groups come into a community and do great things and then pull out leaving the community bewildered. It was Albert’s honesty about how depressing it was for him and the teachers when the first Novalis project finished because money was tight that left a last impression on me. So the answer to the question as to who really cares if the TNUI survives or not is the clients, those people who depend on these small NGOs to give them hope when the government and state service providers have both failed and ignored them. Of course, there are many other individuals who will care but the core group are those people like Albert who have built up relationships of trust, community and oftentimes dependency with NGOs such as the TNUI who have been in existence right through the whole transition from Apartheid to the ANC’s new majoritarian state.
Appendix 1
A Map of the Cape Peninsula

Provinces of South Africa

Northern Province
North West
Free State
Kwa Zulu Natal
Lesotho
Eastern Cape
Western Cape

NB Lesotho is not a province, it is a nation
Appendix 2
Chronology of Events in South Africa

1486 Portuguese explorer Bartholomew Diaz rounds the Cape
1652 Dutch settlement under Jan van Riebeeck at the Cape
1688 Arrival of French Huguenot settlers at the Cape
1795 First British occupation of the Cape
1805 Second British occupation of the Cape
1836 Beginning of the Great Trek of Afrikaners into the interior.
1854 Orange Free State gains independence as a Boer Republic.
1899 Boer War begins
1902 Boer war ends
1910 Union of South Africa founded with merging of the conquered Boer republics of Transvaal and Orange Free State and the British colonies of the Cape of Good Hope and Natal.
1911 South African Party founded by Louis Botha
1912 ANC founded to resist Native Land Act
1913 Afrikaner National Party founded.
1948 Nationalist-Afrikaner Party coalition wins election on apartheid platform. Malan becomes Prime Minister.
1950 Groups Areas Act passed.
1952 ANC’s defiance campaign begins.
1953 Nationalists win election with increased majority.
1961 South Africa becomes a Republic outside of the Commonwealth.
1964 Mandela sentenced to life imprisonment.
1966 Verwoerd assassinated. Nationalists win election with increased majority again.
1976 Soweto student uprising begins.
1977 Steve Biko dies.

1989 President Botha suffers a stroke, resigns and F.W. de Klerk takes over as party leader. President Botha meets with prisoner Mandela. In August of this year Botha resigns as president and de Klerk takes over.

1990 President de Klerk announces unbanning of ANC, PAC, SACP and other black political organisations.

1990 February 11th Nelson Mandela released.

1990 May, The way to negotiations charted by the Groote Schur Accord.

1992 Hostel wars begin when Zulu hostel dwellers murder 38 people in Boipatong massacre.

1993 Chris Hani, general secretary of the SACP (South Africa Communist Party) assassinated.

1993 November, the National Council adopts an Interim Constitution.

1994 April 27, South Africa’s first democratic elections.

1994 May 10th Nelson Mandela inaugurated as the first President of a democratic South Africa.

1995 December, TRC formed and in April 1996 the TRC hearings begin in East London.


1999 ANC wins election and Thabo Mbeki inaugurated as President.

1999 October, Mbeki warns against the dangers of AZT (anti-retroviral medication for those with HIV) in a parliamentary speech.

2002 Mbeki develops the Millenium Africa Development Plan into the NEPAD (New Partnership for Africa’s Development) plan, proposing that the G-8 developed nations give aid to Africa in return for guarantees of democracy, good governance and financial discipline.

2002 April, Cabinet announces the acceptance of the usefulness of anti-retroviral drugs in treating HIV/Aids. Mbeki withdraws from the debate.

2002 The African Union is launched in Durban.
Appendix 3

The State of the Sector: A Comparative Portrait of Sectoral Transition

For the purposes of illustrating the nature of a changing Third Sector in a post-war country I have chosen to describe in a comparative sense the changing roles and relations within the non-profit sector in both Northern Ireland and South Africa. Although this research is an ethnographic study of the South African non-profit sector, I believe that a further illustration of the state of the sector in another post-war country gives the research more depth and puts it into a global and comparative perspective.

The community and voluntary sector in Northern Ireland has progressed along a difficult path of funding changes, ceasefires and political turmoil since the ‘Troubles’ began in 1968. The ‘glory days’ of Northern Irish civil society was in the 1980s with the launch of the civil rights movements and the human rights marches for greater rights and an end to the institutionalised discrimination against Catholic Nationalists by the British government and the Unionist population of Northern Ireland. Following the Anglo-Irish Agreement in 1979, the voluntary sector became more formalised with the birth of the community relations council and solidarity funding to the nationalist community became widespread. There was a concerted effort on behalf of this body to begin a process of reconciliation between the two communities.

After the ceasefires of 1994 and the subsequent consociational settlement called The Belfast Agreement, a large amount of funding for reconciliation and reconstruction came from the EU Special Fund. However, most of the aid still came from the British Government despite nationalist attempts to raise its money in America and abroad. Funding the voluntary sector has become a central concern locally as funds from international communities, the EU and solidarity sources wanes. Peace work in Northern Ireland, as in South Africa, struggles to find funding and as a result has had to restructure itself to cater for the ‘economic development’ market even though the need for reconciliation work still exists.
In Northern Ireland, there are an estimated 4,000 - 5,000 voluntary and community organisations with about 83,000 employees and a total income in the order of £657m. 31.1 per cent of these organisations describe themselves as ‘community organisations’. The total paid workforce of the whole sector is estimated at 29,168 (16,092 full-time, 13,076 part-time) though it is not possible to get an accurate breakdown of those who could be considered community development workers. It is estimated that there are about a thousand community development workers in Northern Ireland.

Recent research carried out by NICVA (2002), Squaring the Circle, suggests that there may be as many as 18.8 per cent of the organisations in the voluntary and community sector, which fulfil a resource, support, network or umbrella function within the sector. According to the research, the provision of advice, advocacy and information services, as well as education and training, are all clearly a more common feature of networks than other types of groups.

Community and voluntary sector organisations involved in peace and conflict resolution work in Northern Ireland can be divided into three groups according to whether they work with both Unionist and Nationalist communities and, if so, how they conduct their work. As regards funding the non-profit sector, last year it received £64.4 million stg from the European Union Structural Funds. The EU Special Programme for Peace and Reconciliation gave the most at £44 million stg; £13.3m came from the National Lottery and an estimated £11.3m from the International Fund for Ireland. These are the largest donors; there are many more private and smaller donor agencies, but the numbers are declining rapidly.

These figures prove that the community and voluntary sector is a huge industry in Northern Ireland and is coming under increasing pressure from international donors and increasing apathy within local communities. The largest amount of community and voluntary sector funding came from the British State. Consequently, community groups, particularly nationalist groups, can be compromised by this political patronage by the

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79 The statistics were taken from a pamphlet called ‘State of the sector III’ published by NICVA in 2002
British state. This is not a rare occurrence as many groups have had to source funds that are “external to their members and constituencies” (Guelke, 2003:76), as is the case with many NGOs in South Africa and in particular in the case study NGO portrayed in this study.

The income distribution on voluntary organisations in Northern Ireland has changed significantly over the past four years for smaller organisations, with an annual turnover of less than £10,000. These community groups are experiencing a sharp fall of over 60 per cent in income, while larger organisations, with incomes between £100,000 – £200,000 experiencing increases of around 70 per cent. Organisations with a turnover of £250,000 – £500,000 also experienced an increase in income of over 50 per cent. There is particular concern about the prospects of smaller, mostly community organisations, which tended to be primarily volunteer-based, with a turnover of less than £100,000, which make up the majority of the voluntary sector (Osborne and Courtney, 2002: 9).

Equally, there are perceptions of a ‘crowded market place’, which creates confusion among key stakeholders and generates additional administrative overheads, both for the funder and for the applicants. Many community and voluntary sector applicants, for example, depend on a “cocktail of funding” from different sources for a single project and this funding is predominantly of a short-term nature. In April 2000, Jeremy Harbison completed a report, *The Harbison Report: A Consultation Document on funding for the Voluntary Sector in Northern Ireland*, which outlined the changes that needed to be made to the sector as regards sustainability and accountability and gave an accurate description of the current state of the sector.

One of Harbison’s main concerns in the report was the survival of smaller community based groups and the need for some form of small grants system to deal with these groups. According to Harbison, the “imminent closure of around 50 per cent of funding measures through the termination of the 1994-1999 EU programme poses an immediate problem for the sector and a threat to the survival of small organisations without alternative funding sources” (Harbison, 2002: 10).
Whilst the divisions between the two communities still exist and violence and terrorism is still very evident on the streets of Northern Ireland there is a need to bring the two communities together to agree on the state of the community and voluntary sector, especially the small community based groups involved in peace and reconciliation work. There is a considerable degree of overlap in terms of the aims and objectives of many of the programme that are funded by the EU and other sources. This in turn implies a consequent danger of fragmentation of delivery, the potential lack of clear accountability and duplication of effort between the various players.

This is a problem, which I encountered consistently in South Africa also, where donors as well as NGO partners were becoming jaded with the wastefulness of project duplication. Strategically, it “raises issues as to whether there is sufficient evidence of complementarity if Departments and bodies sponsored by them pursue similar objectives and outcomes, often without the whole picture being known” (Harbison, 2002:13). The problem of complementarity, accountability, and sustainability are all intertwined.

In terms of the state of the sector, it is clear that the processes of professionalising the sector and formalising it has taken its toll of the generation of activists and community workers who began their careers at the height of the troubles. At an independent gathering of community workers and development specialists in Northern Ireland (Harvey, 2001), the voluntary sector in Northern Ireland was described as ‘a victim of its own success’, a fate that befalls the voluntary sector in many situations. It could be said that the voluntary sector in Northern Ireland has not been fully developed to the height of its potential. As government structures continue to collapse, whilst political trust and confidence continues to fluctuate and whilst violence continues to mar the streets of Northern Ireland there is evidently still much work to be done at a grassroots level by the voluntary sector and the transition and challenge of change continues.

Comparison is a commonplace feature of political and social commentary. Often coincidence in time between events is enough to inspire the drawing of parallels between developments in different countries. However, the amount of research which has been
carried out on post-war comparisons of the Third Sector is lacking and there is a significant gap in the knowledge of how the Third Sector approaches the issues of post-conflict sustainability and more importantly how civil society in both countries have negotiated the change from organisations of resistance to one of reconstruction.

The comparison between Northern Ireland and South Africa has a long and complex history. One of the main contexts of the comparison has resided in the nature of the armed conflicts in both countries and their colonial history of oppression and institutionalised discrimination in the forms of apartheid in South African and sectarianism in Northern Ireland. Within the field of Third Sector studies and conflict resolution the role of the Third Sector and more notably ‘people power’ in contributing to the end of the armed conflicts in both countries has received a vast amount of attention.

The comparison was quite popular during the early to mid 1990s as South Africa moved towards bringing down the apartheid government and their Northern Irish ‘comrades’ were being brought to the table with Unionist politicians to discuss ceasefires and power-sharing governments. With the creation of the Good Friday Agreement in Belfast in 1998 the references and comparisons to South Africa’s new government and post-conflict situation was taken to a new level. South Africa was now seen as a successful model of conflict transformation and reconciliation in a post-conflict transitional society. It was suggested that other war-torn societies such as Northern Ireland and Israel would aspire to this ‘miracle’ also.

Within the non-profit sector, a whole industry of people began to make connections between civil society groups in Northern Ireland and South Africa. It was quite fashionable for a time to do exchange programme with South Africa with the aim being for the South Africans to proscribe or describe their peace process to the Northern Irish community. There were many such similar enterprises on behalf of the political parties also. In particular Sinn Fein who used the ANC analogy to the point of exhausting it. The comparison was not only used as a tool of legitimisation by the republican politicians but
was trumpeted as a successful example of the power of the ‘people’ and civil society by those in the non-profit sector in both countries.

At the end of the first decade of democracy in South Africa, and as we approach the sixth anniversary of the Good Friday Agreement, the role of the Third Sector in these transitional societies is more ambiguous than it was in the initial post-conflict period. The government has stabilised to a certain degree and more importantly the international spotlight has moved on to areas of more protracted conflicts such as Israel/Palestine. What is equally more prevalent as regards the Northern Ireland/South Africa comparison is that Third Sector industries now have to compete for funding and coverage on an increasingly global level which leaves limited comparisons such as this ineffective and largely redundant.

There are some that argue that the similarities were always spurious at best and some may ask as I have if the comparison between Northern Ireland and South Africa is still viable? A more pertinent question which sums up all these queries is whether or not the comparison is still useful in terms of its uses within the social sciences and the field of Third Sector studies in general? As the saying goes, “Success has many relatives whilst failure is an orphan” and so it was that the comparison between Northern Ireland and South Africa began. Once South Africa came to the international table with its successful model of ‘people power’ and the co-operative constitutional design model was put on offer for other divided societies to take it up, to pass the baton as it were.

Often coincidence in time between events is enough to inspire the drawing of parallels between developments in different countries. The shining torch of consociationalism, political accommodation and reconciliation shone brightly from the shores of South Africa and there were many more people standing on the shores of Northern Ireland who were quite willing to bask in its heat or in the very least harness some of its energy for their own gain to greater or lesser effect.\(^{80}\)

\(^{80}\) The most natural association it would seem was between those parties that represented the oppressed that is the ANC in South Africa and the Irish Republican movement in Northern Ireland with its political
As a peaceful and democratic resolution to the years of bloody and inhuman conflict in South Africa came into view in the early 1990s Sinn Fein and the nationalist knew that they too would have to be seen by the international community to be making some efforts towards peace also, in order to sustain international legitimacy. Therefore, some people may argue that the South African comparison directly influenced the course of political events in Northern Ireland. In spite of this, one commentator cautions us against this optimism and warns against giving too much political currency to the comparison. Prof. Guelke argues that,

It is relatively easy to establish the depth and resonance of the comparison between Northern Ireland and South Africa in the period leading up to the ceasefire and its continuing impact since the ceasefire on political discourse on the Northern Ireland problem. It may be reasonably objected that this does not prove that the comparison has influenced political behaviour (Guelke, 1994:143).

Academics and political commentators have also 'cashed-in' on the comparison. One area in which the South African model has had a direct and far reaching effect on the Northern Irish peace process is in constitutional design and more so in the field of consociational approaches to conflict resolution. Consociationalism, developed from Arend Lijphart’s study of the Netherlands in *The Politics of Accommodation*, (1968), advances a system of consensual multi-ethnic power sharing as opposed to majority rule. In terms of the Third Sector the comparison has largely resided in an emphasis on

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81 Lijphart’s system is summed up by the infamous phrase, “high social fences make good political neighbours” (Lijphart, 1977). Implicit within the system of consociationalism is the acceptance that ethnic divisions are concrete ethnic blocs. Consequently, “consociationalism is problematic in that it fails to address complex social dynamics and cannot adequately explain how and why deeply divided societies, like Northern Ireland and South Africa, should be understood in terms of ethnicity” (Taylor, 1991:2). The consociational model formed the basis for the Good Friday Agreement also known as the Belfast Agreement and was the model that initially brought the ANC into government with the National Party before the ANC formed a majoritarian government in 1999. The basic argument is that a plural deeply
the 'power of the people' and the role which civil society and in particular P/CRO's (Peace and Conflict Resolution Organisations) played in the peace process and the downfall of the apartheid government. Comparisons have been made between the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland and South Africa and the role and strength of the community activist and community leaders. ANC activists, South African community leaders and worker, NGO experts and community relations experts all consulted each other and were flown to Northern Ireland on various occasions on the lead up to the signing of the Good Friday Agreement in April 1998.

The Third Sector’s perceived success in both countries was heralded as successful models of conflict resolution and people power (Cochrane and Dunn, 2002) There have been a few pieces of research that have aimed to measure actual levels of effectiveness that P/CRO’s had on bringing and end to conflict and mobilising peace (Gidron et. al, 2002). Most of this research points to that fact that whilst in South Africa and Northern Ireland it was mostly particular events such as the Sharpeville Massacre in South Africa and bombings campaigns in Northern Ireland that actually gave leaders the impetus to take a leap of faith and negotiate, the Third Sector did at least slow the course of violence by engaging with the grassroots levels of the divided communities and engaging with the people upon whom the continuance of peace rested.

This research looks at the way in which the non-profit sector in both countries has changed towards the end of the first decade of peace and even though the institutions with which civil society has to work with now have changed the problems that face both civil societies are virtually the same. The both have to deal with a global downturn in funding opportunities for community based organisations (CBOs) working with the issues of peace and reconciliation in both South Africa and Northern Ireland. Small NGOs/ CBOs form a large part of the non-profit sector in both countries but are largely divided society can become stable and democratic through elite accommodation and co-operation known as a grand coalition. The autonomy of divided groups is in institutionally guaranteed and there is strong respect for principles of proportionality as well as mutual veto rights. Since its initial formulation in the late 1960's consociationalism has led to a highly influential school of studies and consociational engineering has been marketed as a genuinely attractive option to address the intractable ethnic divisions of Northern Ireland and South Africa.
invisible in the statistics or in studies done on the NGO sector in transitional countries. Small NGOs/ CBOs in both South Africa and Northern Ireland are under threat from larger NGOs and shifts in governmental policies and international funding structures to fund more economically viable and accountable projects and organisations. Small NGOs/ CBOs in both countries are badly organised in terms of networking and pooling resources to get the most efficient use of funding and donor relationships.

Therefore, whilst the usefulness of conducting a wide scale comparative piece of research was questionable to me there are still ways in which being mindful of the shared experiences with both Third Sector’s can inform this research and the manner in which I have analysed the data I received in South Africa. Given the research that I have done on Northern Ireland, both at an undergraduate and postgraduate level, as well as living there for two years comparing similar elements of the non-profit sector and society in both countries is inevitable within this research, the analysis and the manner in which the whole feel of the piece is informed.
Appendix 4
Strategic National Action Plan (SNAP)
The TNUI

Project Description:
As it stands presently, we envisage two main stages in the SNAP project. Firstly a ‘Needs Analysis’ research project, which will assess the structures, organisations and needs of the grassroots groups in firstly the Western Cape and subsequently on a national level. Secondly, after the needs of the network members has been assessed, SNAP will begin to organise network meetings and clusters of representatives at a local level, then provincial and finally in the form of a national representative body.

SNAP aims to bring these organisations together to discuss the issues of orphaned children in South Africa, to talk about funding opportunities, Needs Analysis issues and how to work more efficiently with the government whilst also effectively informing them of the orphan crisis that is upon us and growing. At the heart of SNAP is a belief that if the organisations work together in provincial clusters and then at a national level also they can work as a group to positively influences the future of the orphan problem. SNAP is not merely a discussion forum but also a support network for the workers and staff in these organisations who often feel more isolated and abandoned than the children they care for. Oftentimes workers are so exhausted running their own organisations that they have neither time nor energy to meet with other groups or get an idea of what is happening nationally. There are many ways in which co-ordinating efforts together can benefit the sector as a whole.

The importance of establishing tight local support networks amongst community based organisations cannot be underestimated and is vital to the continued existence and sustainability of the Third Sector in South Africa and globally. There is a body of literature emerging from globalisation studies on global networks; this work has been informed by comparative studies on NGO sectors in transitional societies. Both these bodies of work point to the need to establish strong local networks in order for them to begin to operate and compete at global levels for funding, in order to network for information and knowledge and build a global community of support for NGO work. In particular it is important that those working on Orphan care situations come together globally to debate the issues that affect them all and look at cross-cultural comparisons. Within Africa itself it is important that an emphasis on networking between countries remains a central focus for grassroots groups.

SNAP purposes not only to act as a networking forum but also a training site for CBO workers, an information base for funding opportunities and a lobbying group at local and national levels. The grassroots component of the SNAP project is the reigning principle behind the project. Larger organisations and research bodies fail to incorporate grassroots group in a way that empowers by giving them skills to represent them and grow through communicating with other grassroots organisations. Within The TNUI is a strong emphasis on supporting organic projects in that they are programme that respond directly to needs that emerge organically from within communities and that in turn the projects
involve members from those communities directly. Equally important within SNAP is an emphasis on revitalising the cultural component which is both uplifting and empowering. At both initial SNAP meetings the participants were encouraged to engage in the social aspects of the network which included song and dance and other cultural activities. It is also vital to SNAP that the small groups working in rural areas become the main target audience for the SNAP project for they are often forgotten or isolated by larger NGOs and umbrella bodies working on the AIDS situation in South Africa.

Therefore, there are two main objectives of the SNAP project,

1. To create a network amongst the existing grassroots organisations working with orphaned and abandoned children affected by Aids, which will aim to exchange information regarding funding possibilities, formulate joint funding proposals and general capacity building and support.

2. To provide training and cultural upliftment programme for the care workers, this would involve sourcing access to capacity training initiatives, personal development, administrative skills and opportunities to up skill within the organisation the care worker works in.

As regards the initial stages which will lead to the formulation of these training programme and networks there are two main stages of research,

**Stage 1: Need Analysis Research**

Research must be carried out on the needs of the organisations/groups in terms of physical infrastructure, staff infrastructure, basic everyday needs and looking at shortfalls and funding issues. The needs and issues can be discussed in the form of focus groups. This research will take the form of reviewing existing reports on orphan care situation in South Africa and in particular the Western Cape. It involves meeting with local groups and their co-coordinators, visiting the orphanages and running small focus groups on the issues of support and networking within the sector. This research will then generate a set of further research questions and subsequent data, which will form the basis for setting up the SNAP local, provincial, and national networks.

**Stage 2: Setting up the SNAP network at local, provincial, and national levels**

Firstly, these focus groups will operate at a local level with representatives from the Orphan groups and local government representatives. It is important to SNAP that the government communicates with grassroots level groups dealing with the every day situation of caring for orphaned and abandoned children. Local representatives and members of the SNAP group will then elect representatives to the provincial level and so forth onto a National level. This will create circles within circles with information flowing between each system. It is hoped that this will lead to collaborative efforts between local and regional groups with regards to funding proposals, infrastructure, administration issues and general information regarding the care of the children and everyday issues such as healthcare, budgeting, running cots and most importantly a system of support for the careers and staff at the orphanages and children homes.
It is envisioned that the initial two tiers will be complete in two years. The first tier is the Needs Analysis and national assessment project and the establishment of two pilot networks in the Western Cape and KwaZulu Natal. The second tier is the establishment of the other provincial networks, coordinating a national representative body and begin lobbying work and wide scale dissemination of the data that SNAP has collected and giving presentations nationally on the role of SNAP and the orphan care situation in South Africa. At this stage, we envisage compiling comprehensive Provincial reports and presentations on the orphan care crisis in that particular area with a specific focus on smaller grassroots rural children’s homes and orphanages. The following is the proposed time line for the SNAP project:

1st Tier – Needs Analysis and Two Pilot Networks
During the first quarter of the project, the Needs Analysis on a provincial and national basis will take place. The suggested completion date of this research is March 2005. From March to June, we will begin to set up and establish the two pilot networks in the Western Cape and KwaZulu Natal. By the end of June 2005, we will present the final report to the NDA in the form of the Needs Analysis comprehensive national report and the results from the two pilot networks.

2nd Tier - National network including all provinces
This tier involves disseminating the Needs Analysis results on a national basis, launching the report and disseminating it through the media, presenting it to local grassroots groups and analysing it within the SNAP focus groups. It is important to say also that the Needs Analysis document must be approved by all parties involved before it is published as a final document. The next level of tier two involves engaging the relevant government body in a discussion of the Needs Analysis document and figuring out ways of incorporating the findings into government discourses so as to inform the issues at a policy level. At this stage, we will also be setting up networks in the remaining provinces and organizing a national meeting of the provincial representatives.
APPENDIX 5: Full transcript of the Field Diary written after the dispute with Liesel and Phillip on July 9th, 2005.

• Saturday the 9th of July 2005
I sent three draft chapters to Liesel and Phillip. They had asked at our meeting on 5th July at 9am to see some of my work. They had expressed at this meeting their disappointment with my lack of appearances at The Novalis Ubuntu Institute over the last two months.

I explained this was to do with two things – firstly my lack of transport due to my car being stolen and I was writing my chapters, it was mainly because of the latter. Also since I am no longer volunteering on a project there is no need for me to be there everyday as I no longer had office space and it's a bust time of year so its very pointless just showing up to hang out.

Since I stopped volunteering, I have had to make an appointment with Phillip and Liesel to talk to them a week or so in advance. I am given an hour. I have asked Phillip at this stage numerous times to help me with the chronology of the organisation by giving me historical documents. At this meeting, Anne-lise asked me to volunteer with the 21st Birthday Celebration preparations. I agreed to help a bit.

A meeting was scheduled for the following Friday. I presumed that she meant on the day helping out with food, cleaning, general help but I did not think she meant actually planning the event. As I am writing up and am no longer part of the volunteer team I did not feel obliged to do this.

• Friday the 15th of July – I was supposed to meet with Phillip and Liesel on Thursday the 14th but I cancelled as my partner needed the car to get to work and I felt this was more important for him to earn money than a meeting for me at The Novalis Ubuntu Institute.

I did not know that Phillip would be meeting with us also. I attended the lunch. I arrived at 1pm. At lunch, Liesel did the usual blessing on the meal and asked everyone to introduce themselves. She was friendly as usual. I introduced myself as doing research on Novalis etc. and sat down. She was exceptionally warm to me and this aroused my suspicions slightly at this point as to why she was so focused on me.

At 2pm we had a meeting as a group – Liesel, I, Sara, Nikki and Vivian regarding the party on September 17th. Vivian cannot help out much as she has a darts tournament that day. Liesel asked me how I could help. I said I have no idea of catering stuff here in Cape Town but could help with press releases, marketing, decorating with Dillan, and collecting tickets on the day and anything general on the day. Liesel explained that she wanted me and Nici to help hold the different things together as Liesel and Sara were way too busy to keep on it all the time.
I felt this was asking a bit much of me but said I'd help as much as I can but can't be at The Novalis Ubuntu Institute everyday, once a week I can come in to help with Party stuff.

At 3 pm, I met with Liesel. We were in the main office. She asked if Sara wanted to join us. This was unusual. This makes me see now that obviously Sara knew about Phillip and Liesel's displeasure with my work and had that she herself had read it. This was very hurtful given that Sara is a close friend of mine here and we had had dinner the previous evening with no mention of what was going to happen on Friday.

I asked that Sara not attend as I felt it had nothing to do with her. (It appears to me now that they may be grooming Sarah as a future director – getting her involved more in things.). We decided to meet in the room that was my old office when I volunteered there. I was struck by the symbolism of this.

Liesel asked me how I was. I explained the stressful time I had been having writing up the first findings drafts. Then she said straight up that she was disturbed by the things I had written. She proceeded to explain that she and Phillip had discussed what I had sent them in depth all weekend. Phillip felt that Liesel should not meet with me on her own. Why I have no idea. Maybe both together would have been double impact. But Liesel did and we will all meet together on the 29th July (they chose this faraway date).

She then said that they felt that they could not let the descriptive chapter on the TNUI go out as a public document. She said it was “like a cold shower”, that she realised when she read this that “they didn’t take me this seriously as they should have” and that she regrets becoming “friendly with you”. She felt that she was unaware that personal comments made in passing were being included in the research and aspects of conversations that were not part of my recorded interviews.

She also did not know that I would be using all the staff's names and details of their jobs and lives. I said I would be using pseudonyms anyway in the final document that the only names I would be using are those I asked permission to use and got which were Phillip’s, Liesel, Genny, Marcus and Leonard.

She said that Phillip described reading the document as watching yourself on camera when you didn’t realise you were being filmed. She said as the “leader” she has to “protect her staff” and that she felt I had violated that trust. I found this difficult to believe as all the staff had spoken to me in recorded interviews and on a daily basis about their concerns over the organisation and more so the problems they were experiencing with Liesel and Phillip’s leadership.

I asked her if she was offended by the entire chapter. She said, “No, I’m just not happy with it.” I went on to describe that the very nature of sociological research and ethnography is to use everyday occurrences. She and Phillip objected to my personal
fieldnotes being included which contained impressions of the not only the organisation but its staff, clients, and its everyday comings and goings.

I explained that they are legitimate data sources and have to be included. I reiterated at this point that at no point in the final document would the organisation be named in full and I showed her the pseudonyms that I would be using. In addition I explained that in line with the confidentiality clause the originally signed (which they had a copy of) that they could request a copy of the final document.

The meeting concluded by Liesel insisting I revise the document in line with the changes she wanted. In effect, she said if I changed some things and worked with them on the contents that it would be “ok for them to support me using their name.” I reiterated my earlier point that I did not want and could not use their name in the final document. I again stressed to her that at no point have I been dishonest or covert about what I was doing. I had mentioned on many previous occasions that I make fieldnotes everyday after meetings in the organisation and outside it. That describing the people’s actions in the organisation is important to analyse the roles of social actors in the everyday life of the NGO.

They had issue with some specific issues. The first was my comments on the Orphan care project and the donor agendas. I admitted on reflection that it was written inaccurately with too many personal reflections rather than sociological analyses and I would clarify it to reflect a reflexive analysis.

Secondly, she was perturbed by the suggestion that she has purposefully made the AGM business-like specifically to appease the Board of directors who were grumbling about the casualness of the TNUI in previous AGMS and the length of them. She said this could be damaging to the organization if the board read it, it looks bad, and makes her look unprofessional and she said she did not do it because of that and that she did not know I would be quoting her from a casual conversation.

She constantly brought this up. She could not find this section initially in the print-out she had with her. She reluctantly gave it to me to find as she did not want me to see the comments they has written on the print outs. I saw then that Phillip had written ‘BULLSHIT’ across some sections of the chapter. This shocked, hurt, and disgusted me.

She said that they have learned an important lesson – “not to be so friendly to outside volunteers” and be more “businesslike” with them and give them clear tasks and now what they want to. This pointedly contradicted her earlier objections to my suggestion that she was becoming a more ‘businesslike’ leader at the AGM. She gestured with her arm the act of keeping someone at a distance and not being personal with them.

They both had problems with and my description of Phillip as a “Gnome”. I had also described Liesel as “cold and intimidating at first” but later called her the “spine of the organisation.” I suspect Phillip has issue with me saying he feels sidelined by
changes recently in the organization (which I still believe is true) and with my description of him.

I concluded by saying that I would change anything that was factually incorrect but that I would not be allowing them to edit my analysis. I also assured them that my supervisor would be reading anything I write and would object to any parts that were defamatory or in breach of confidentiality clauses. I also explained quite clearly that I have to include fieldnotes and descriptions. I explained what ‘thick description’ was and why the chapter was not a PR document for the organization but a thick description of all of the essences of the organization which is the area it’s located in, the staff, the building, the leaders, the members, the clients, etc.

Liesel said that Phillip wants to talk to my supervisor. I told them he was on holiday in until September and cannot be contacted until then. The meeting ended with me conceding to change factual inaccuracies and renewed my commitment to my research. I said I believed this research was not only important to the field but to the organisation itself should they choose to look at the findings and comments in a less critical and more constructive manner.

After the meeting, I felt that I needed to hear Phillip’s analysis of the situation before I could properly assess the impact of this disagreement on my research. I emailed Phillip immediately after the meeting and requested we meet sooner than in two weeks time but he said he was not available any other time.

In all, I felt the meeting was an ambush. I was very hurt and shocked by their childish behaviour by being overly friendly to me and then next sticking the knife in. Although now I fully understood, the issues that some of the staff had with them and how their behaviour can jar so much with the ethos of the NGO that they preach daily.

To highlight the contradictory nature of the leadership and approach to conflict I must also include that at the end of the meeting Liesel said they would like to employ me on the orphan care research project when I completed the PhD. This presumed that the funding would come through in time she said. In addition, she asked me if I would like to represent the organisation at a civil society meeting in August. This struck me as strange and hypocritical. I just gritted my teeth, smiled and pretended not to be as angry and upset as I was inside.

- Monday 18th July. - I emailed Liesel and Phillip explaining that I was returning to Ireland for a month or more to sort out my PhD finances and for personal reasons. I said I cannot help with party preparations as a result and that I could not attend the civil society meeting. I asked given that I leave on August the 8th can we meet sooner than the 29th so that we could me a couple of times to resolve these issues before I go. They declined.
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