THE ESTABLISHMENT, ROLE AND CONTRIBUTION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL CIVICS ASSOCIATION (SANCO) IN SOWETO: A QUESTION OF CIVIC INTEREST.

by

BARRY RHULANE HANYANE

submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the subject

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

SUPERVISOR : PROFESSOR J.C. PAUW
JOINT SUPERVISOR : DR. M. ODENDAAL

JUNE 2002

Acknowledgement

This work could not to be made possible without the guidance and advice of Prof. J.C. Pauw, supervisor for this dissertation and his colleague and co-supervisor, Dr. M. Odendaal, both members of the Department of Public Administration at the University of South Africa. I am also indebted to the uncompromising support from colleagues, Dr. A.L. Amtaika and Mr. G. Mathiba, members of the Department of Public Administration at Vista University Soweto Campus. Many thanks to Mr. M. Menu, former vice-president of Sanco Soweto branch and Mr. E. Chauke former chairperson of the Pimville Sub-branch for their valuable input and contribution into this study.

I am especially grateful to the librarian Ms. H. Nepaai and counter-staff of the University of South Africa for their ready assistance and eagerness to help. This work could not be a success without the support of those dear to me. To all my family members, especially my mother, Mrs. B.M. Hanyane, who has been an inspiration to my success, thank you very much. Not forgetting friends and associates who in their own right stood by me in times of trouble.

This work is dedicated to my late father Mr. S. N. Hanyane, former councillor of Tshiawelo (Soweto), my mentor, "guardian friend" and political teacher. *Hanyani mi hanyela ku hanyisa* Your dream will never perish.

Abstract

This dissertation attempts to provide a historical and conceptual exposition of the establishment, role and contribution of Sanco in Soweto. To further the conceptual argument the concept *civic interest* is introduced. In the context of Sanco Soweto's trajectory as a civic association, the concept *civic interest* is defined and utilised as a tool of measurement. The concept has three aspects: individual interests, consensus and the common good. It is used to determine whether or not Sanco Soweto as a civic organisation promoted the interests of the people of Soweto, regardless of their social, economic, cultural and political standing.

It was found that Sanco Soweto promoted the civic interest only in certain respects. Although useful projects were launched, their success remained minimal. Sanco Soweto represented certain social strata better than others. The Branch was closer to professional and semi-professional income earners occupying council houses than the mostly illiterate and poor shack-owners.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1

Purpose and summary of study

Chapter 2

Civic Interest : Theoretical exposition and practical manifestation

Chapter 3

The locus and focus of non-governmental organisations in public administration

Chapter 4

Soweto as an element of space in the realisation of the civic interest in both the pre- and post-apartheid period

Chapter 5

The establishment, role and contribution of Sanco in Soweto

Chapter 6

General conclusion and recommendations

List of Figures

List of Tables

Maps

Chapter 1

Purpose and summary of study

1.1 Introduction

The concept *civic interest* is utilised in this dissertation and defined as that which concerns or is of total benefit to the society in general. According to the researcher the concept *civic interest* is embedded within the discourse of public participation and to a large extent, public policy making. In contrast, the phenomenon of civic interest is perceived as a political activity among individuals and groups of people. Civic interest as a political activity encompasses the role that interest groups play in the articulation of the interests and aspirations of their members. For example, Sanco Soweto was established in order to articulate the interests, demands and aspirations of its members, and to make the immediate local authorities aware of the needs and wants of the residents of Soweto.

Public participation, as part of the civic interest, is considered as an essential building block to any democratic system. Given the South African experience, it is essential that civil society organisations (including non-government organisations, community-based organisations and civic associations) are established, which aim to inculcate a culture of democracy and most importantly, to ensure the representation of citizens. In this instance, the needs, wants and interests of society are catered for by local authorities (and in certain instances the provincial and national authorities) whose responsibility it is to promote the welfare of the people by means of providing public goods, public services and making reasonable policies (Craythorne 1997:97). This chapter introduces the basic overall approach adopted in this investigation of the establishment, role and contribution of Sanco in Soweto. In order to achieve the aforementioned, a basic foundation or platform of investigation must be established. Such steps includes an explanation of the stimulus for the study and nature of the problem to be investigated.

The aim of the study and the subsequent limitations thereof, methodology, terminology and the sequence of study will also be discussed, in an effort to create a foundation for the rest of the study.

1.2 Stimulus

In both the pre- and post-apartheid periods, a number of civic associations were established as a means of expressing discontent at the way civic life in South Africa was conducted, especially in predominantly Black residential areas. The South African National Civics Association (Sanco) is no exception. The establishment of civic associations remains a practical reality in modern-day society. The Sanco Soweto branch with its sub-branches is a reference point in this study. In the South African situation, civic associations have been a voice for civic expression on the problems and the injustices of the local government system and other related problems that the inhabitants of the various communities in South Africa experience. Sanco, as a national civic body with its branches and sub-branches, has been confronted by problems such as rent boycotts, raising costs of municipal tariffs and charges, a high crime rate at municipal level and a lack of or poor standards of service delivery, for example, lack of housing and poor infrastructure and other related problems (Shubane and Madiba 1992:4).

The stimulus for this dissertation emerged out of the philosophical position taken by authors like Shubane and Madiba (1992:1) who suggest that it is essential to investigate *who* civics in general represent. Both authors suggest further that this is an under-researched area that requires extensive investigation and is becoming increasingly important as civics position themselves for future challenges. Such challenges border around, *inter alia*, shifting the focus from anti-apartheid mobilisation to development-oriented organisations as well as representing the needs and interests of particular communities in response to their individual situations and circumstances. Thus, it is essential that imperative, documented and scientific information pertaining in particular to the establishment, role and contribution of Sanco as a civic formation be made available in relation to a particular space or environment, namely Soweto.

The intention of this dissertation is also to explore other aspects of civil society organisation activity such as the activities conducted, membership capacity, funding and also the successes and failures of the organisation. Thus, this dissertation examines the establishment, role and contribution of Sanco in Soweto primarily between the period of 1989 to 1998. In addition, given the now-accepted misconception that civic associations in South Africa are an extension of the arm of government (according to Shubane and Madiba (1992:1)), more research work must be conducted to clear up such misconceptions. This situation has unfortunately led to the perception that civic associations were sometimes perceived as local governments-in-waiting in an attempt to administer local government issues. The researcher is compelled in this instance to shed light in an attempt to clear such possible misconception. Chapter 5 of this dissertation attempts to investigate the role and contribution of the Sanco branch in Soweto, which should not be perceived as similar to that of local authorities, but as an entity of mobilisation and representation.

A possible limiting factor in this research work is that there is often no perceptual distinction between the role played by Sanco and that of local government authorities and agencies, particularly in the historically-bound Black residential areas such as Soweto. This state of affairs is exacerbated by the fact that some officials from Sanco have taken up strategic key positions in local government as municipal councillors or local officials, thus serving the interests of two masters, namely local government and Sanco (Mayekiso 1996:276). As a result, permanent members of local constituencies are subjected to confusion as to who should listen to their grievances and demands when the occasion arises and who should be the provider of public goods and services.

Certain activities that Sanco officials perform tend to override the authority of local authorities. Instances include "authorising" people to invade public or privately-owned land, adjudicating on family-related matters of disputes, passing sentences to alleged perpetrators of criminal doings through the so-called "people's courts" and others (Seekings 1998:221). In recent times, there has been a tendency on the part of Sanco to re-affirm its position as has been the case since the period of 1993 to 1998 in influencing ratepayers to accept or not to accept certain rates and charges.

As such, the situation clouds the area of public decision-making and, to a certain extent, the question of effective and efficient service delivery. However effective and efficient Sanco can become in providing a focus of civic concern in Soweto, their approach to civic matters and issues seems to be parochial in nature. Therefore, it remains important that Sanco's role and contribution in Soweto requie close examination, which if not subjected to public scrutiny, may hamper the consideration given to broad public issues and needs.

1.3 The problem of the study

The aim of this dissertation is to trace the historical developments surrounding the establishment of Sanco in Soweto, its status and image, its role and potential contribution to society. In conducting a background check into the establishment of Sanco, one is compelled to expose amongst other elements, the period of Sanco's formation and consolidation as an organisation, the environmental influences exerted on the formation process (politically and otherwise), the primary motive and objectives of Sanco and related activities. Here, certain questions are asked: Did Sanco Soweto assist in promoting the civic interest of the people of Soweto? What is the civic interest? Is the civic interest a phenomenon? In this dissertation the meaning of the phenomenon of civic interest is explained, while the criterion of representation, *inter alia*, is used in chapter six to determine the extent to which Sanco Soweto assisted in the promotion of the civic interest of the people of Soweto.

Therefore, the meaning of the concept *civic interest* requires analysis and definition in the context of the discussion since the expression "civic interest" has diverse meanings. The meaning this researcher has chosen should be seen to be related to a normative theory or approach which emphasises what ought to be the interest of community or society at large (Hanekom 1987:33). In addition, the relationship between the concept of *civic interest* and the establishment of Sanco should be exposed. It remains imperative to define and provide a comprehensive description and analysis of the relevant "sphere of influence" as proposed in the topic: Soweto as an entity of jurisdiction

and inhabitation. Furthermore, an account has to be provided to the following questions: Was the role and general contribution of Sanco worthy of recognition and acknowledgement by the inhabitants of Soweto and the larger society? If so, did Sanco contribute towards the general development of Soweto in so far as the total well-being of the communities of Soweto is concerned? How well were such contributions received by the public of Soweto? In all these concerns, employable tools have to be identified and used to determine the contribution and role of Sanco. Such include the elements or criteria of popularity of the organisation, success rate of self-initiated projects, the degree of influence over local government policies, the relevant support base, political as well as socio-economic involvement or influences at local level. The above-stated discussion is detailed in chapters five and six respectively of this dissertation.

1.4 Aim of the study

The fundamental aim of this dissertation is to investigate and ascertain the establishment, role and general contribution, both negative and positive, of Sanco in Soweto. Such an investigation will be able to provide a detailed exposition of the question of civic interest in Soweto. Thus, a practically- and theoretically-detailed account should be given in this regard. Secondary to the primary objective, is the provision of an account of the sphere of influence, Soweto, as an entity of inhabitation and an area of jurisdiction.

In the analysis it is important to expose and discuss the contribution of Sanco in Soweto. It is equally important to expose possible misconceptions surrounding the establishment and role (position) of Sanco as perceived to be equal to local authorities in stature and power (Shubane and Madiba 1992:1).

1.5 Demarcation of the study

The demarcation of the study may be viewed as the determination of boundaries which have a direct effect on the flexibility and success of a study. In this case time and place determine the demarcation of boundaries. The time frame of this study is 1989 to 1998. This period is crucial because it offers the researcher an opportunity to explore more information on the role and contribution of Sanco Soweto within the area of jurisdiction of Soweto. This is made possible when considering the establishment, role and contribution of Sanco in Soweto before and after the new political dispensation of 1994, a period which signifies the birth of a democratic South Africa and a period of post-apartheid system. During the pre-apartheid system civic associations, including Sanco Soweto, employed mobilisation tactics to fight against the government of the day at that time. While during the democratic dispensation the above mentioned branch of Sanco Soweto was forced to play the role of a catalyst for social, economic and political development.

A further focus for the demarcation of the study is the place of study. In this study the place is Soweto as the entity of jurisdiction and inhabitation in which this branch of Sanco operates to satisfy the interests and aspirations of its supporters. Soweto is composed of a heterogenous community whose needs and aspirations are diverse. Therefore, it remains essential that such diversity in needs and aspirations should be taken seriously and be perceived as unique to Soweto, different from other historically Black residential areas and influenced by factors such as demographics and topographic and land characteristics. Thus Sanco's approach in attempting to address such needs and satisfy such aspirations should be fitting to the conditions and circumstances prevailing in Soweto, rather than relying on a more universally applied way of addressing such needs, aspirations and interests. However Sanco remains a national body invested with local government interests and other related interests of development, service delivery and economic upliftment, as was demonstrated in 1993 during the Local Government Negotiating Forum where it was fully represented as a non-statutory body (Seekings 1998:209).

Within the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan structure, Soweto remains a "Third World" residential area with relative "Third World problems" such as poor infrastructure, deteriorating standards of public amenities and recreational facilities, high crime rate and unemployment as well as social, economic and political problems. Sanco's role in addressing these problems will be a further focus point of the study.

1.6 Methodology

The method adopted in this dissertation is of both a conceptual and historical nature. In as far as the historical method is concerned the concept *civic interest* is utilised to investigate how the establishment, role and contribution of the Sanco branch in Soweto developed. This in turn requires a historical discussion that traces issues surrounding the establishment, role and contribution of the said branch. The period of study, as mentioned earlier, is between 1989 and 1998. This period covers events from the pre-apartheid era to the dawn of a new democratic dispensation in South Africa. The historical method offers the advantage of effectively addressing the historical significance of the Sanco branch in Soweto as an establishment, while the conceptual approach offers the advantage of examining critical issues (such as representation as part of the civic interest) facing the role and contribution of the said Sanco branch in Soweto.

In dealing with this kind of research, it is imperative that existing literature such as secondary sources of documentation as well as primary sources such as interviews, council files and records should receive the fullest possible examination. Limited literature is available which explores all possible dimensions pertaining to the subject of civic associations, with the endeavour to investigate the establishment, role and contribution of Sanco Soweto branch.

Consequently, efforts should be encouraged by students, scholars and researchers in Political Science and Public Administration to assess and/or research the field of public participation. Retrospectively the study of the formation and modus operandi of civic associations as agencies of citizen

participation, was never explored to its full potential (Craythorne 1997:108). Given the fact that limited information can be obtained from the existing literature, some form of contact either through direct consultations, interviews and or discussion with prominent past and present leaders of Sanco will be pursued with the aim of extracting more relevant information. Furthermore, access to files and documented minutes of meetings of local authorities and Sanco in Soweto will be sought. Published and unpublished literature, books, pamphlets and newspapers, are also used in an effort to strengthen the discussion.

Equally important is the conceptual (not withstanding the historical) method utilised as the basis of focus within which this research initiative can proceed. On the subject of civic interest, an account is given to the meaning, relevance and possible impact of this concept and phenomenon as reflected through public participation within the Soweto community. Such exposition has to take into account the influence of participatory democratic theory (Christenson, Engel, Jacobs, Rejai and Waltzer 1971:194) which emphasises the need to recognise citizens as potentially highly motivated politically, who are able to openly communicate and debate their political views and opinions to others and who should have access to adequate political information in order to make informed decisions. The participatory democratic theory also emphasises the importance of establishing civil society organisations (which include civic associations) in promoting the "good life" of the people.

According to Christenson *et al.* (1971:194) as quoted in Ismail, Bayat and Meyer (1997:28), participatory democratic theory is characterised by certain assumptions. These assumptions include:

- citizens are regarded as highly-motivated politically. This creates the belief that citizens will participate fully and continuously in public life. Thus, through the participation of civil society organisations, democratic rule is guaranteed.

- citizens will have access to adequate political information and will use it for enlightened political decision-making. Furthermore, citizens are able to communicate their political views to others and debate them effectively.

- As many issues as possible are exposed to popular discussion. There is often no rigid demarcation of issue areas in different sectors of an organisation, and boundaries between organisations are flexible and informal (Ismail et al. 1997:28-29).

Given the above factors it is important that equal opportunities be extended to citizens to enhance public participation. In this regard Hill (1974:36) argues that greater social and economic equality is required which is likely to make equal participation possible for citizens. This desire for greater equality would appear to be in tandem with increasing demands for a better life for all, which in this case is imperative for grassroots participation in decision-making.

1.7 Sequence of study

The study is divided into six chapters, each devised with the intention of providing a sound elucidation of the aspects concerned. However, when all chapters are combined, a more logical entity is formed comprising of theoretical as well as practical discussions. Such division of chapters is as follows:

Chapter one deals with the introduction to the dissertation. In this instance a detailed account of the method used in the study is provided. In addition, the sequence of the study, terminology, reference techniques, stimulus, the problem of the study and its aims are discussed in an effort to create a platform of discussion for the rest of the study.

Chapter two focuses on the theoretical as well as the practical exposition of the concept *civic interest*. The context in which the concept exists and sustains itself forms the centre of discussion. The determinants of the concept are also explained.

Chapter three focuses on the <u>locus</u> and focus of non-governmental organisations in public administration. Attention is given on the historical background of non-governmental organisations, both from an international and local point of view. Their traditional roles and functions are also emphasised.

Chapter four places the locus of the discussion within the physical environment, namely Soweto. In essence the area of investigation, which is Soweto, is discussed. A historical background to the establishment of Soweto and the area's changes in administration in both the pre- and post-apartheid periods are discussed. The current demographics and factors such as population density, economic activity (employment and unemployment), levels of dwellings and types of dwellings are outlined.

Chapter five details the historical background to the establishment of Sanco in Soweto. Motives and objectives of the civic movement are discussed. This leads to the need to look at the administrative framework of Sanco as well as the style of management and administration of the said branch. Chapter five also focuses on the role and contribution of Sanco in Soweto. This approach takes issues such as local government restructuring, service delivery matters, rent boycotts and other socio-economic activities into account.

Chapter six serves as a conclusion to the discussion. In this chapter general conclusions and suggestions are, therefore, presented and suggestions for possible further research areas are made.

1.8 Terminology

It is important to consider the significance of the terms used in the dissertation. Chapters two and three provide the explanation of the main terms used in order to avoid misinterpretation. Some of the key terms used in the dissertation include:

(a) "Civic association": It refers to an abridged title assumed by associations of residents of mostly black urban areas. The principal objective of the civic association(s) is to improve the local government arrangements in the urban areas (Cloete 1995:20). Civic associations could be regarded as organisations comparable to ratepayers associations.

(b) "Civic interest": It can be explained as the individual interests which all members of the community share and on which they have reached sufficient consensus about. This definition is discussed at length in section 2.4 of chapter two of this dissertation.

(c) "Common good": This term refers to a condition in which the social and the material interests of members of the population are satisfactory (Cloete 1995:20).

(d) "Consensus": Means a broad agreement whose conditions are accepted by a wide range of individuals or groups (Heywood 1997:10).

(e) "Individual or private interest": This term has many meanings. According to Lane (1993:9) the notion of private interests may denotes egoistic interests. In this dissertation the term private interest is used to refer to interests of individuals of a given community, in this case residents of Soweto.

(f) "Necessary conditions": This term is used to refer to those elements that must prevail in order to allow a particular phenomenon to exist. For example, oxygen is necessary for any form of life to exist.

(g) "Non-governmental organisation": The term refers to a non-profit, non-government, private group, at least partially formalised into an organisation, that an individual joins by choice.

(h) "Public participation": The term is used in this dissertation to denote to the involvement of the residents of Soweto and their community organisations in matters of government, service delivery and their well-being. Public participation is also seen as a sufficient condition in the realisation of the civic interest. It is defined in the context of this dissertation as a sufficient condition which refers to those elements that are secondary to necessary conditions, yet play a critical role in the survival and continuation of a phenomenon. For example people need recognition to lead a productive life in the work place.

(i) "Sufficient conditions": The term is used in this dissertation as referring to conditions that come second to necessary conditions in the realisation of the civic interest.

The above terms should be viewed in this section of the chapter as important. They are used in this dissertation to provide clarity and meaning.

1.9 Reference techniques

The abbreviated Harvard reference method remains one of the most reliable reference techniques and will be used in this study. It entails approaching the dissertation by making reference to authors whose work has been employed in this dissertation, and quoting the surname of the author, year of publication and page number in order to facilitate the method of reference. The list of references at the end of the study will be arranged in alphabetical order, according to the author's surname (Burger 1992:5).

1.10 <u>Conclusion</u>

The stimulus of the dissertation has now been laid out. The realisation of the common good and consensus of Soweto members of communities is central to the question of the promotion of the civic interest. Public participation, as part of civic interest, is considered as an essential building block to any democratic system. It is also an important element in this study and in the realisation of the civic interest. However such realisation is not free from any given problem. The problem of study suffices as there is a need to explore the establishment, role and contribution of Sanco in Soweto between the period of 1989 to 1998. The following question requires answers: Did Sanco Soweto contribute to the total well-being of the communities of Soweto?

The aims of the study, delimitation and limitation of the study and the method used in the study have also been discussed. What is common about the previously mentioned elements of the purpose and summary of study is the fact that the establishment, role and contribution of Sanco Soweto remains the focus of discussion in this dissertation. Both primary and secondary sources of information will be utilised as a basis of discussion. Thus, a historical and conceptual approach will be adopted in this regard in an effort to outline the establishment, role and contribution of Sanco Soweto branch in the area of jurisdiction of Soweto.

Chapter 2

Civic Interest : Theoretical exposition and practical manifestation

2.1 <u>Introduction</u>

This chapter focuses on the theoretical aspects as well as the practical manifestations of the concept of *civic interest*. In general terms public administrators and researchers are always confronted with theoretical as well as practically related questions within the study of public activities. Fortunately, the world of scientific enquiry allows us to understand the difference between a phenomenon and a concept. In this chapter an attempt is made to provide an acceptable meaning, useful to this dissertation, of the concept regardless of its elusive nature. The discussion starts with an explanation of the concept, in narrative form, in the context of the Soweto-Moroka police station's fight against crime within the jurisdiction of southern Soweto within the period of 1989 to 1998.

The significance of this lies not only in observing the practical phenomenon around day to day public activities but also provides a strong argument in support of the realisation of the concept of *civic interest* in its practical form. In essence the activities of this police station can be viewed in the context of realising and protecting the civic interest of the people. Such viewpoint is further supported by identifying the necessary conditions for the existence of the phenomenon as represented in elements such as space, time and public order. Furthermore, the sufficient conditions for the existence of the said phenomenon, such as public participation together with problems of public participation and the associated significance thereof within the realm of civic interest, are discussed.

Local economic development and stability together with ethics and morality complement the already mentioned sufficient conditions and will form part of the discussion.

2.2 Community participation against crime: The case of the Soweto-Moroka police station

Concepts such as the *civic interest* can be elucidated in various ways. Before presenting a conceptual analysis of *civic interest*, one could offer an illustration where the features of this concept are shown in a concrete manner. The necessary conditions prevalent in the illustration include time (the period from 1994 until 1998 when the Moroka Police Forum was formed), the place, Moroka, situated in the southern part of Soweto and the need to preserve order by means of policing the area in collaboration with the immediate community members.

The coming of the democratic dispensation in South Africa after the 1994 general elections heralded not only the birth of a new country, but also new challenges and problems, some of which never had been experienced before. A high crime rate, rising unemployment figures and related problems and challenges were the order of the day. It is here that communities needed to play a more constructive, active role in assisting the legitimate authorities in the fight against crime, especially in the predominantly Black townships. The Soweto-Moroka area is such an area where the Moroka Community Policing Forum was established under the leadership of Inspector Jonathan Mbambo as its co-ordinator (Selby Bokaba 1999/01/28, page 14).

The Moroka Community Policing Forum is the successor to the Consultative Forum initiative that comprised the police, civic associations, sports organisations and respected community leaders. The primary objective of setting up such a structure was to help forge fundamental links based on a partnership with the community within the greater Moroka-Soweto area in the fight against crime (Selby Bokaba 1999/01/28, page 14).The project was officially launched in May 1996 and was facilitated by the office of Mckinsey, an international management consultancy. With approximately 800 to 900 cases reported at the Moroka police station each month, including murder, robbery, hijacking and assaults, there was a great need to facilitate - and especially - the cooperation between the community and the Moroka police station. This meant that the greater Moroka area (Mapetla, Phiri, Senoane, Molapo, Chiawelo, Jabavu, Mofolo Central and South, Dhlamini and Klipspruit Extension 5) would be policed to identify "crime flashpoints", with the assistance of community members as "watch dogs"in crime prevention and monitoring (Selby Bokaba 1999/01/28, page 14).

Another stakeholder was involved in the establishment of the Moroka community police forum. Since 1998 the South African Breweries (SAB) has been providing the Moroka police station with support in terms of computer training skills, a recent donation of a roadblock vehicle and other basic equipment to be able to perform their duties. Training in computer literacy was provided to eight members of the Moroka police station (Selby Bokaba 1999/01/28, page 14). The above case illustrates the significant features (necessary to and sufficient conditions for civic interest) of space, time and order needed to promote the welfare of the people of Soweto. This has been and is made possible by encouraging partnership(s) between stake-holders involved, namely the South African Breweries (SAB), civic associations, the Moroka police station, sports organisations and respected community leaders.

The main objective of such partnership(s) is to maintain order by means of combating crime. This in turn reflects a shift in thinking from that of the apartheid period, when police were viewed with suspicion by community members whom they were supposed to serve. In view of the above discussion it is imperative to discuss what the concept of *civic interest* means. Subsequent to that, a discussion on the phenomenon of civic interest is outlined.

2.3 Historical background to the concept of *civic interest* : Rousseau's perspective

It was Jean Jacques Rousseau, the famous eighteenth-century French philosopher, who provided a foundation for the concept of *civic interest* as used in this dissertation. He accomplished this through his publication of the *Social Contract* in 1762. It was viewed as one of the important works to be produced by Rousseau. Through the *Social Contract* he established and explored the theory of *The General Will* which represented a unique feature about a community within a given territory (Kain 1990: 315).

According to Kain (1990:315), Rousseau argues that there is a clear mechanism by means of which the general will can be realised, that is through a set of institutions and procedures. To understand the general will, Rousseau maintains that there is a need to first understand the concept of sovereignty. The term implies that the sovereign is the highest power and authority and it cannot be limited by any external force. The mandate of the sovereign is therefore to express the general will, that which is always right and never unjust, that which always tend to the common good, the welfare of the whole and equality of all (Kain1990:316).

Rousseau believed that the general will cannot be misinterpreted as the aggregation of private interests. Rather, the aggregation of private interests should be perceived as the sum total of particular interests of the citizens, for instance that which is registered in any ordinary majority vote, and which is not necessarily good for the community. The general will, then, is not the vote of the majority which is explained as the largest number of, for example, votes when there is a selection among two or more choices of candidates in an election (quantitative differences in votes) (Kain 1990: 316).

However, the general will should not be viewed as a disembodied, an abstraction, unconnected to the individual and arising from some mystical source. Instead, the general will should be perceived as the will of individuals. Rousseau's idea manifests itself in the African context in a form of consensus defined as a condition of agreement within a political community on the goals or procedures used to arrive at authoritative decisions. However, consensus cannot be precisely measured and indications of its decline are normally observed as a form of political violence, decline in political participation and the growth of support for anti-establishment movements (Roberts & Edwards 1991:26). For example, the establishment of militant rebel movements such as *Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola* (UNITA) in Angola reflects the decline of consensus in Africa.

Kain (1990:317) maintains that, according to Rousseau, individuals normally have two wills: Firstly, a general and secondly, a particular will. This is similar to saying that while individuals have private interests that they can also be concerned with the general interest as illustrated on the next page:

Figure 1: The Private Interest and The General Will

Sovereignty

▼

Civic Interest
(Citizens)

▲   ▲

Sum of   **General Will**
Individual   **(Consensus)**
Interests (e.g majority vote)
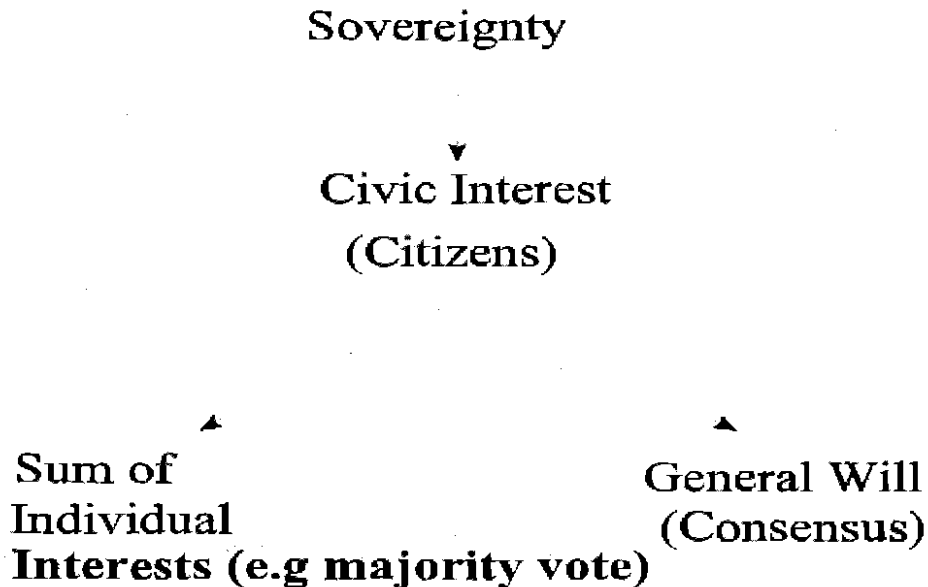
Adapted from (Kain 1990: 317)

2.4 The meaning of the concept of _civic interest._

For theoretical purposes and analysis the concept of the *general will* proposed by Jean Jacques Rousseau, (see paragraph 2.3), has a different meaning to the concept of *civic interest*, discussed in this section and used in this dissertation. The meaning of *civic interest* as a concept within, *inter alia*, the realm of public participation and public policy formulation, renders itself to diverse interpretation . The researcher holds the position that the concept *civic interest* should be seen as that which concerns or is of total benefit to the

society in general. However one has to be alive to the reality that at times the phenomenon of civic interest may not reflect the benefits that the total population may accrue from, say, a prevailing political or even economic system.

Therefore, the civic interest cannot always be to the benefit to all members of society. This was the case with the introduction and preservation of the Apartheid policy of segregation and development from the period of 1924 until the early 90s which benefited the white minority in South Africa. As a result the majority of the Black population was subjected to racial prejudice and other forms of injustice. The dilemma that the civic interest as a phenomenon presents, according to the researcher, is that the phenomenon of civic interest finds its bases of argument in a philosophical viewpoint. In his *Republic and Laws*, Cicero, one of the founding political theorists of the Roman Republic, was of the view that the state depends on the recognition of the rights and mutual obligations that bind the citizens together. For this reason he referred to the state (Sovereignty) as the *"res populi"* or the *"res publica"*, meaning "the affairs of the people". However, Cicero maintained that a state (Sovereign) may at times become tyrannous (consider in this case the socio-political situation in South Africa in the middle of the twentieth century, for example, the introduction of the Apartheid government) and rule its subjects (given the above consideration in South Africa, for example the Black population) by brute force, but in the measure that it does so, loses the true character of a state. This proves that the moral law does not make immorality impossible (Sabine & Thorson 1973: 163).

On the other hand the general will is the process and the result of political activity among individuals and groups of people. Such political activity include, among others, the formation of interest groups (as was and still is the case with regard to the Sanco branch in Soweto) and the consolidation of its very survival within the socio-political environment.

Civic interest as a political activity also encompasses the role played by interest groups in the articulation of the general interests and aspirations of its members . Thus interest groups will always strive or endeavour to articulate the interests of their members as their prime operational function (Hanekom 1987: 32).

As such it can be observed that the concept of *civic interest* can best be regarded as the general will of a given broader community or society within a particular socio-political environment . It is the researcher's opinion that it is important to comment on the distinction of what *individual interest* is as opposed to (common) *civic interest* in order to avoid ambiguity. *Civic interest* can be explained as the individual interests which members of the community share and it represents the common good. In the researcher's opinion, without the elements of the individual interests - consensus and the common good - the concept of *civic interest* can not take shape and be understood. For instance, members of an interest group have to establish an understanding of priority issues at hand and must reach a consensus upon such issues.

This process assists in creating harmony amongst the interest group's members. As a result, a common ground is established aimed at promoting the survival of what is considered good for the well-being of the community. Such instances of civic interest include or can be cited as a workable monetary system, arrangements for minimal standards of health and welfare, education, housing, economic considerations and to a certain extent national security and defence. It is sometimes argued that the existence and functioning of a governmental system as a whole is in the interest of all citizens, hence everything that the government system does is in the civic interest (Held 1970: 99).

The question asked in this regard is, how can the common good be determined? In the researcher's opinion, the common good should be perceived as part and parcel of the *civic interest*. The common good derives its meaning from the medieval applications of the concept of the common good (or "common weal" as it was then known).

According to Roos (1997:34), it was Thomas Aquinas (1225 - 1274) who argued in his *Summa theologica* that there is a concept called *own good of the community (bonum commune)*. He emphasised that in the nature of the human will, a higher good must exist which can be pursued as a goal and not as a means. In the researcher's opinion the *own good of the community* can be equated with the contemporary concept of the *common good*. Both concepts accept certain goals that must be achieved in the realisation of the civic interest. These goals can only be achieved through a combination of activities of individuals and of groups within the community. Thus, the concept of *own good of the community (bonum commune)* is not the sum total of the personal *goods (bona)* of the persons.

The researcher endorses the above-stated position that the civic interest (inclusive of a workable monetary system, minimal standards of health, education, housing and economic considerations) is usually reflected in policies such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme (hereafter referred to as RDP) and would not exist if government was not concerned with the welfare of the South African society. In this regard government has an obligation to satisfy some needs, wants and demands of society. Such an obligation can be undertaken on the condition that government has the capacity (limited resources) to do so (African National Congress 1994:14-16). For theoretical purposes and analysis, a distinction, according to the researcher, can be made between the *civic interest* and Rousseau's concept of the *general will*, as illustrated below:

Table 1: The difference between the *civic interest* and the *general will*

The *General Will* (Jean Jacques Rousseau)	The concept of *Civic Interest*
Survives through a set of institutions and procedures.	Survives through the presence of majority vote and set of institutions.
The general will should be 'general'. Laws must relate equally to all members of society.	It is based on the existence of the common good.
Similarities between *The General Will* and *Civic Interest*	
There must be a Sovereign body with a set of institutions and procedures.	
Differs from individual private interests.	

It is the researcher's opinion that as much as the concept of *civic interest* owes its theoretical influence to Rousseau's concept of the *general will*, there are distinctions that may be drawn between the two. Similarities between the two concepts of the *general will* and *civic interest* can also be drawn as illustrated in table 1 above. It is, however, the concept *civic interest* that the researcher will focus on as it is part of the topic of this dissertation. In this dissertation the concept *civic interest* is used as a tool to determine the degree to which Sanco in Soweto was able to assist in the promotion of the welfare of the people of Soweto. Similarly, the concept *civic interest* may be utilised to determine the extent to which government is able to promote the general welfare of society, namely, the provision of necessary public goods and services.

As explained in table 1, the concept *civic interest* survives through the presence of majority vote, not through a set of private or individual interests, and through a set of institutions. Such institutions are either from the public or private sector. In addition, the concept *civic interest* is also based on the existence of the common good as ideal, defined by Cloete (1995:20) as a condition in which the social and the material interests of members of the population are satisfactory.

In a situation where interest groups are established that are able to articulate the interests of their members, the civic interest may be observed and upheld, particularly in most democratic government systems where the civic interest is taken into account when policies are drawn up and implemented. To a large extent it is impossible to promote the democratic system of rule where the total will of the citizens is suppressed. Thus the rights and liberties of the citizens must be respected by the authorities.

In Rousseau's account of the development of social man in the *Discourse on the Origin And Foundations of Inequality Among Men*, the moral authority of government is derived from the wills of its members (Kain 1990:317). Thus, individuals are under obligation only to legitimate powers, and the legitimacy of government is derived from the legitimacy of a collectivity of individual wills, seeking that which is good. In his analysis, Kain (1990:317) maintains that Rousseau proposes that for the general will to survive there must be four basic conditions aimed at preserving the general will. The first condition is that all citizens must sit on the sovereign body - the legislature - and must vote on all issues and not as factions, associations or parties likely to entertain corporate interests, but as citizens who are able to express their opinions and views independently. However, if it is impossible to eliminate factions, Rousseau maintains that many factions can then be established on an equal footing. As a result all citizens would then have to be adequately informed so that factions and corporate interests do not predominate (Kain 1990:318).

The second condition is that the general will should then be 'general' in its object as well as in its essence. That is, all citizens must be able to arrive at questions that are abstract and universal (objective) before the sovereign body. The third condition is that laws must relate equally to all members of the state as Rousseau stated that 'when a law is proposed in the assembly of the people, what they are being asked is not precisely whether they approve or reject the proposal, but whether it does or does not conform to the general will that is theirs'. Each one expresses his or her "preference" by means of voting, and the declaration of the general will is drawn from the counting of votes (Kain 1990: 317).

When citizens are asked to cast a vote they are usually not being asked to express their particular interests, but they are being asked to engage in a reflective, rational and intellectual inquiry (Kain 1990:318). The fourth and final condition is that all stated laws must be rigorously and equally enforced and all citizens must be able to realise that they are bound by such laws. When they are voting they should take great care to see to it that it is right and equal for all. This was unfortunately not the case during the Apartheid period as eluded to earlier, where the system tended to favour the interests of the white minority. Only whites could vote.

Rousseau's theory perceives a community as a starting point of analysis characterised by a collective good (perceived in this dissertation to be same as a public good) which is not the same thing as the private interests of its members (Sabine & Thorson 1973:541). In essence, the right which each individual has to his own estate is always subordinate to the right which the community has overall. Such individual rights include liberty, equality and property.

2.5 Kenneth Arrow's General Possibility Theorem

In the last paragraph of section 2.4, the phenomenon of private (individual) interests was mentioned, which requires elucidation. It is imperative to provide the meaning of individual or private interests, perceived in this dissertation as the interests that individuals in society have, and that which is opposed to group interests and/or civic interest. In view of the above definition of the individual or private interests, Kenneth Arrow's General Possibility Theorem is utilised with the aim of providing clarity on the meaning of private or individual interests. In his work, "Social Choice and Individual Values", Arrow (1963:29) is of the view that individual interests are usually manifested in what the author referred to as "preference orderings". By preference orderings the above author referred to preferences that individuals have, which are selected and arranged in order of importance. This means that certain individual interests would receive more attention and priority than others. For instance, an individual may prefer to satisfy the need for housing as a higher priority over other needs such as clothing and security.

Notwithstanding the above situation, individual interests are diverse and are usually manifested in individual choices. Thus one man's choice of interest may be different in content and character from that of his fellow countrymen. Consequently, the intertwining of the social welfare function (the capacity to fulfil every citizen's desires) is subjected to possible collapse without fruitful results. According to Cullis and Jones in Pauw (1999:63), the problem is aggregating these individual preferences to guide a collective choice. Thus, there is no satisfactory constitutional rule by which individual preferences may be aggregated and this creates an important obstacle for decision-making in the public sector.

Brown and Jackson in Pauw (1999:63) are of the view that the fact that an ethically satisfactory social choice is barred on formal logical grounds is an important result for the analysis of non-market decision-making and government decision-making in particular. It was also an important result for welfare economics since it affects the very foundation of the social welfare function (Pauw 1999:63). As society is made up of different communities, each community has its own unique needs, demands, expectations and, most essentially, interests. Therefore different communities (as constituting society) will have different interests. Inevitably such differences can also be influenced by factors such as race, social class, creed and possible levels of education. For instance, the interests of the enlightened members of society, who by virtue of their social standing, assume middle-class status in society, would differ from the interests of the less-enlightened members of society. Therefore, it remains important that the civic interest not be determined by one individual disregarding the preference orderings of other individuals within the state.

The choice of fulfilling the most preferred desires are usually presented to society as a set of alternative choices. In elucidating the problem in question, Arrow revived the "paradox of voting" to illustrate the aggregation of individual preference ordering and choice-making (Held 1970:72). Suppose three individuals, as voters, have the following preference:

Table 2: Private/Individual Interests and Preferences

Individuals	Alternatives in order of preference		
A	L	M	S
B	M	S	L
C	S	L	M

Adapted from (Black, Calitz and Steenekamp et al. 1999: 63)

The above case is illustrated by considering the three voters, A, B, and C, each of whom has to choose between three alternative budgets, i.e. a large budget (denoted by L), a moderate budget (denoted by M) and a small budget (denoted by S). Reading the preferences from left to right, individual A, *inter alia*, prefers alternative L to S; individual B prefers M to L and individual C prefers S to M. It is clear from this example that, if alternative budgets are voted for in pairs, a majority of the voters (individual A and individual B) would prefer M to S. Arrow's theory crucially depends on a number of ethical conditions he set for an "acceptable" social choice rule. One such condition is the transitivity condition that is,

$$\text{if } X > Y \text{ and } Y > Z \text{ then } X > Z$$

which means that if X is preferred to Y, and Y is preferred to Z, then X must be preferred to Z (Black et al. 1999:63).

Therefore, by the rule of the transitivity condition, we then say that a majority should prefer L to S. But, from the chart, it is apparent that the majority, individuals B and C , prefers S to L as the majority preference. Hence the inconsistency (or intransitive outcome) in arriving at collective choices from individual ones (Black *et al.* 1999:63). (The reason for this outcome may be explained in that individual/voter C has *extreme preferences*, he/she prefers a small budget to a large one but also prefers the large one to a moderate one. Such a voter does not, when given the choice between any two budgets, consistently prefer a larger budget to a smaller budget, or vice versa (Black *et al.* 1999:63).

Consequently, it becomes impossible to deduce a consistent winner amongst the voters. While the preferences of the individual voters may be consistent, their combined or the community's preferences (as reflected in their voting) will not be consistent if the group of voters include people with extreme preferences. This phenomenon is referred to as the voting paradox (Black *et al.* 1999:64). This assumes that individual choices on personal issues and circumstances will be different in character and content. It illustrates that voting on preferences easily leads to paradoxes. Therefore, preferences cannot be aggregated.

Individuals will always strive to satisfy their immediate goals and preferences rather than the collective good in making choices. Despite the debate about community and social interests, individual interests or choices play a crucial role in eventually establishing both community and societal interests. However, to arrive at collective (common) choices (interests), individual choices will always be an influencing factor in determining, firstly the community choices (interests) and then societal choices (interests) (Black *et al.* 1999:64).

2.6 Why is there a civic interest in civil society?

Certain concerns raised by academics such as Auriacombe and De Beer (1995:145) in Public Administration include, for example, the question of whether there is a civic interest in civil society today? How is the civic interest expressed in the South African public domain? Is civic interest a reality or a myth? Can civic interest be measured or quantified in relative terms with other concepts used in Public Administration and the field of work, such as public policy, accountability and others? If civic interest in civil society can then be defined as the will of the aggregate masses of the people within a defined jurisdiction, one may safely say that such civic interest really exists. This, however, is not the definition proposed by the researcher in this dissertation. A broader meaning of the concept should be encouraged.

However, it becomes equally important to look at what society is, as accommodative of the will of its citizens. According to the German philosophical tradition as represented by Tonnies, Hegel and Max Weber, there are two forms of society: a *Gemeinschaft* and a *Gesellschaft* (Kain 1990:232). In a *Gemeinschaft*, individuals are linked to each other by internal bonds of feeling based upon custom, tradition, habit and religion. They only develop as human beings in and through the social community. This nature of society in this sense is

basic and primary in character. As a result a *Gemeinschaft* precedes individuals at least conceptually. On the other hand, a *Gesellschaft* is characterised by the acceptance of individuals as basic, primary and natural. Society is perceived as artificial, secondary and derivative, and it must satisfy the interests and liberties of all individuals. As a result individuals precede society at least conceptually (Kain 1990:323).

From the above discussion it is the researcher's opinion that in order for the civic interest to exist and sustain itself, a *Gemeinschaft* society must prevail in order to realise the existence and survival of the civic interest. The existence of the civic interest is owed to the characteristics that the *Gesellschaft* kind of society offers, namely, interests of individuals are or must be guaranteed. This is arguably linked to the significance of the existence of necessary and sufficient conditions for the civic interest, as discussed in sub-section 2.7 and 2.9 respectively.

According to the researcher there are a number of reasons for the need for the civic interest in the South African civil society. These reasons may be summarised as follows:

- Firstly, the deterioration of community life in South Africa is becoming more prominent.

- Secondly, the difficulties that citizens have in joining together to combat long standing systematic problems such as crime, poverty, unemployment and other problems, are still being experienced.

- Thirdly, government and non-government agencies are faced with new complex challenges and problems such as a lack of financial resources and other facilities. Without such resources and facilities government and non-government agencies are threatened with the possibility of non-existence. These agencies (including NGOs) supply the public with solutions through facilitating communication between themselves and government structures using modern public relations techniques. For instance, organisations such as Sanco Soweto can use computer internet access and electronic media such as televisions to reach out to residents of Soweto on any public issue that affects their lives. Thus, channels of communication may be used

successfully by non-government agencies to convey their standpoints on various issues to the public, other non-government agencies and government institutions (Du Toit & Van Der Waldt 1997:295). Channels of communication also determine the effectiveness of the flow of information between non-governmental agencies, governmental institutions and the public.

- Fourthly and because of the first three points, it is a fundamental need for citizens to participate in an organised manner in the broad general or public affairs. The establishment of civic organisations such as Sanco primarily in South African urban and peri-urban areas served such purpose.

- Lastly, the need for state intervention through the establishment of statutory bodies is a significant step undertaken by government in order to protect the interests and rights of citizens. To give a few examples in this regard, the office of the Public Protector established in terms of section 5(1) of The Public Protector Act 23 of 1994, serves as a statutory body in providing state intervention where it is required. Provisions are made that the Public Protector may receive, investigate and publish his or her findings on certain complaints lodged by citizens against corrupt public officials. Furthermore, it is the duty of the Public Protector to detect any possible abuse of power, maladministration and corruption and to safeguard the rights and interests of all communities (Craythorne 1997:200-201).

Arguably there are identifiable necessary conditions and sufficient conditions of civic interest in support of the realisation of the civic interest. These conditions are discussed in the next section.

2.7 Necessary conditions of civic interest in an administrative environment

Civic interest as a phenomenon is usually dependent on a number of necessary conditions. Such conditions include, *inter alia*, the elements of space, time and order. Therefore, where civic interest exists, it exists in a place, at a time and within a particular order. Crucial to note is that such conditions can in themselves be perceived as interdependent in practice, particularly when influencing the observation of the phenomenon of civic interest. Alternatively, each condition may be perceived independently as determining aspects of this phenomenon.

2.7.1 Space as a necessary condition of civic interest

Civic interest as a phenomenon cannot exist in a vacuum. In most circumstances it is determined by a number of variables. Chief amongst others is the question of "space". Such space is geographic in nature which in essence dictates what local government and non-governmental organisations should provide as far as public goods and services are concerned. Such provision of goods and services differs from one local government institution to another. This means that service delivery differs between rural, peri-urban and urbanised local areas in response to divergent demands and basic needs (Auriacombe & De Beer 1995: 146). This may be illustrated clearly by the population distribution of Soweto today. According to most estimates the population of Greater Soweto is well over one million. A case in mind is the Human Science and Research Council's (HSRC's) survey conducted in 1993, which exposed the eminent rise in the number of individuals born in Soweto or estimated new arrivals in the city/township from elswhere. These individuals have diverse needs and interests which the authority will have to fulfill and satisfy (Mears & Levin 1996: 634).

2.7.2 Time as a necessary condition of civic interest

The second notable necessary condition of civic interest is pluralistic in nature and assumes a characteristic of "time". This can best be explained by the socio-political belief that today's interest is not necessarily that of tomorrow due to the evolutionary nature of human demands, needs and aspirations in both short and long periods. Needs and interests that characterised the South African society during the Apartheid era have changed due to the transformation of government that took place since 1994. Thus, there is the need to conduct this investigation from 1989 to 1998 as outlined in chapter one above.

The necessary condition of time may be illustrated by the then pressing need to transform local government structures from the old system of segregated development to that of an integrated system of transitional metropolitan councils and their sub-structures for urban and peri-urban areas and transitional local councils, district councils, transitional rural councils and representative councils for rural areas. This kind of transformation and democratisation of local government was determined by the Local Government Transition Act, Act 209 of 1993 and the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, Act 200 of 1993. The above transformation took place between the period of 1994 to 1998.

2.7.3 Order as a necessary condition of civic interest

The third necessary condition of civic interest is the element of order. It results from a multiplicity of social and political interests. These include the need for the majority of citizens to be explicitly satisfied with such order. On the other hand, such order serves as a precondition for the actions of the authorities and the functioning of the public services (Auriacombe & De Beer 1995:146). Without the sustainability of public order, it is always difficult for governments to initiate economic, socio-political programmes and development

projects such as the RDP and the Service Delivery Improvement Programme aimed at facilitating effective service delivery by all needy police stations (Selby Bokaba 1999/01/28, page 14). Thus it becomes important that destabilisation processes such as civil wars, establishment of militant right-wing groups, frequent labour unrest and the occurrence of violence should be discouraged with a view of providing a stable environment of realising the civic interest.

2.8. The necessary conditions of civic interest: Soweto-Moroka police station case study

The already mentioned necessary conditions of civic interest (Space, Time and Order), can collectively be observed and identified in the mentioned case study of the Soweto-Moroka police station as discussed in section 2.2. In relation to the case study, the necessary condition of space can be used to identify the Soweto-Moroka area as a jurisdiction, with identifiable boundaries. Space can be accepted as the equivalent of an area of habitation, subject to the control and influence of authorities, whose community members receive basic services and amenities. One such basic service is to ensure the protection of all community members of that area through crime prevention, crime investigation and law enforcement (Selby Bokaba 1999/01/28, page 14).

The second necessary condition of time is the actual period in which the phenomenon of civic interest can be observed. In this study the observed time period is between 1989 to 1998. As discussed earlier, civic interest is varied in nature and is based on the socio-political belief that today's civic interest is not necessarily reflective of tomorrow's civic interest, and that today's needs, demands and aspirations are also ever changing.

The third necessary condition of civic interest is the element of order which serves as a precondition for the actions of the authorities and the functioning of the public services. In

accordance with section 205(3) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, Act 108 of 1996, it is the responsibility of the South African Police Services to maintain public order (as inclusive of safety and security) and to protect and secure the inhabitants of the Republic. Thus the Soweto-Moroka police station remains a strategic point where public order can be initiated and sustained within the Soweto-Moroka area. Therefore the said police station must uphold its responsibilities of crime prevention, crime monitoring, crime investigation and law enforcement, which are collectively aimed at establishing and sustaining public order.

2.9 Sufficient conditions of civic interest in an administrative environment

The realisation of the civic interest is also dependent on a number of sufficient conditions. Such include public participation, service delivery, economic development and stability, ethics and morality, and labour relations. These conditions will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

2.9.1 Public participation as a sufficient condition of civic interest

The term public participation encompasses the notion of a two way exchange of information between the people/communities (and some times interest groups) and the legitimate government. This is in line with section 152(1) (a) and (e) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996, which emphasises that communities as stakeholders in the local government sphere must be encouraged to participate in the matters of local government. The question asked is, what is then the relationship between the civic interest and public participation?

If it is accepted that the civic interest can be explained as the individual interests which members of the community share and form a consensus upon and is reflected as the common good that the community members share, community awareness and involvement (participation) in matters of government (welfare of citizens) is fundamental.

The potential of interest groups to supply public officials with indispensable information in order to formulate policy issues cannot be ignored. Such information expresses the desires, needs and aspirations of the general public (including citizens and interest groups) which may then be viewed as the aggregate interest of the public. Through conducting surveys, interviews and people holding community meetings, public officials as representatives of the legitimate government can assess the content of civic interest and establish and implement informed decisions within a particular sphere (Brynard 1998:198).

2.9.1.1 Problems associated with public participation within the realm of civic interest

One of the challenges faced by modern democratic government has always been the failure of governments to instil a sense of purpose in its citizens in an attempt to lure such citizens to participate actively in public affairs. Such challenge has unfortunately experienced some degree of problems, which if thoroughly analysed, exposes two sides to the situation. The other side of the coin is that of a lack of commitment on the part of the citizens (lack of enthusiasm) even if opportunities are created for participating in public affairs.

Despite lack of concrete empirical evidence to support the above statement, the majority citizens are of the opinion that most, if not all decisions are imposed upon them by both national government and local authorities (Brynard 1998:3). In the researcher's opinion this is owed to the situation in which there is lack of consultation by government officials with community members. Thus steps should be taken (for instance in scientific investigation) to

determine to what degree opportunities are created for the public including organised civil society to participate. There are, however, interdependent problems which can be singled out for analytical purposes. These include, firstly a lack of enthusiasm on the part of the general public. Sometimes people participate in local elections only if they deem it necessary. In essence people would participate in public affairs (as in local elections) only if their well-being is threatened or affected by local government. Furthermore, citizens would participate in public affairs if such an endeavour were significant to them or if it meant acquiring material, moral and spiritual benefit(s). As a result individuals in any democratic society, both developed and underdeveloped, actually participate actively only during the elections. According to Bekker (1996:67) this situation is likely to develop into civic apathy.

Secondly, ignorance may be viewed as a problem of public participation. South Africa is a developing country with both the rural traditional and the modern way of life. In the recent survey conducted in 1998 by the Centre for Development and Enterprise, there is conclusive evidence that there is disparity between rural and urban areas particularly in developing countries like South Africa (Bernstein 1998:1). The perceived notion is that participation in rural areas has plunged since the 80s, primarily due to ignorance about the affairs of the state. Such state of affairs (ignorance) is due to very little or total lack of knowledge, ineffective community forums as vehicles of public participation and expression and possibly differences in cultural beliefs and heritage (Brynard 1998:4).

Another problem in rural areas faced by traditional leaders at the time with which this study deals, was how to include traditional land holdings in local authority areas. However, such possibilities could create a perception that the status and role of traditional leaders is undermined, particularly their rights of land allocation. The other problem was how Regional Councils, especially in Kwazulu-Natal, would be represented from 1996 onwards, as

influenced by the provisions of the Interim Constitution, Act 200 of 1993, giving traditional leaders *ex-officio* representation in local government in addition to elected members (municipal councillors). The implications of such a situation was that other communities such as farm workers, women and farmers themselves in rural areas could also lay claims for special representation in District Councils. In addition, concerns were also raised as to what structures for representation would finally be established at local level in rural areas in the post-1995 arrangement where all rural areas continued to be represented on proportional representative basis. In recent times there has been a move towards establishing district councils as structures of proportional representation in rural areas. This was made possible through the promulgation of the Local Government Structures Act, Act 117 of 1998, schedule two of chapter six of the said Act.

Thirdly, lack of communication channels may have the potential of discouraging active public participation. A successful mutual relationship between local authorities as the legitimate government and the people who are at the receiving end of public policies and service delivery, should always be on a sound footing. However, in certain instances there are communication breakdowns experienced, as manifested in tendencies such as communication problems, differences in attitudes and expectations and probably feelings of mistrust (Brynard 1998:4).

It is the researcher's opinion that there is a general perception amongst officials to regard citizens merely as clients, consumers and customers and not as political actors within the civil society with certain rights and obligations. Citizens, particularly in modern democracies, are indeed important political role players as they are able to influence policy issues in almost every sector of life. Through the interaction of social units such as families, consumer groups, enterprises and other social formations within a community, public opinion is often formed and expressed through letters addressed to governmental institutions or to elected political

representatives, deputations and public demonstrations. Public participation could lead to a slowing down of policy-making and decision-making in public administration, thus placing undue stress on the efficient performance of public activities. The assimilation of interest groups into the policy-making arena could become an obstruction to the accountability of public institutions, especially if such groups are of the opinion that the professional administrators have a biased view of policy needs (Hanekom 1987:44).

Given the magnitude of such problems associated with public participation, adequate and proper solutions should be initiated and implemented with a certain degree of success. Such solutions include the provision of opportunities to basic public education accessible to all citizens. Secondly, the current scope of participation should be broad to afford all citizens a chance to participate in public affairs (Brynard 1998:4).

2.9.1.2 The significance of public participation within the realm of civic interest

Public participation offers a multiplicity of benefits. Such include the provision of valuable information about the needs and aspirations of local people to public authorities in order to initiate and implement informed decisions. Participation also offers a platform through which to express civic interest with the aim of influencing public managers (as well as councilors) to adopt a particular direction of thinking. Through public participation the general public is informed, involved and educated. As a result, the educated person is enabled to exercise his or her independent judgment and thus made to be aware of the societal problems and difficulties in finding solutions to everyday life's challenges. In this context communal responsibility is promoted. Public participation as the promoter of the realisation of civic interest has the capacity to enhance and consolidate the democratic culture of any aspiring nation. Participation by citizens in local government affairs is the very backbone of a democratic form of government.

On the other hand, through participation, opportunities to influence public affairs and even policy planning as a process are encouraged and sustained. Public participation also has the capacity to balance the demands of central government against those of local government and provincial administration (Brynard 1998:3).

Through public participation, community institutions are created which will enable the citizens to bridge the existing gap between themselves and the public authorities. Such institutions can take the form of ratepayers associations, neighbourhood watch groups, social groupings such as stokvel movements in predominantly black residential areas and the women's clubs. The Moroka Community Policing Forum is one such institution, in which the involvement of both the Moroka-Soweto police service and the community as partners against crime, is significant. Through this initiative, the community of the greater Moroka area (Mapetla, Phiri, Senoane, Chiawelo, Molapo, Jabavu, Mofolo Central and South, Dhlamini and Klipspruit Extension 5) was able to identify the "crime flashpoints". This then allowed the crime unit of the Moroka police station to react with the intention to combat crime and enforce the law (Selby Bokaba 1999/01/28, page 14).

Public participation also serves an instrumental purpose in that it consolidates democratic beliefs (commitment), practices and principles which would otherwise not be observed by the majority of the citizens in a democratic state. If by participating, citizens are able to satisfy their needs, desires and even demands by observing the rules of democracy, then there is all the more reason to support and indeed nurture it.

In practice, public participation constantly reaffirms one's identity and feeling of self-worth and dignity as a citizen, thereby giving effect to the principle of basic equality (Lawrence & Stanton 1999:236). Public participation may also serve as a pacifier to accommodate interest groups which might otherwise be militant in their endeavour to achieve what they believe is

beneficial to society or a societal group. Therefore, public participation can be accepted as the corner stone in the realisation of the civic interest, if needs, demands and aspirations of citizens are to be satisfied by the legitimate authorities. As modern and post-modern societies become organised, civic formations like Sanco (including Sanco-Soweto branch), have a crucial role to play, ensuring that through their participation the shared interests of the citizens is observed and held in a democratic government system (Shubane and Madiba 1992:8).

2.9.2 Socio-economic stability as a sufficient condition of civic interest

Government must recognise the important role that the business community, non-governmental organisations and community based organisations at grassroots level can play in maintaining and encouraging economic development and stability. In the light of the already discussed case study of the Soweto-Moroka police station, the role played by the South African Breweries (SAB) Soweto District remains a significant instance where the business community exerts its influence in ensuring that the set objectives are met. The South African Breweries (SAB) Soweto District has since 1998 provided the Moroka police station with much needed support in terms of the computer training skills, a recent donation of a roadblock vehicle and equipment to the value of R55 000 with the aim of finding a practical solution to curbing crime in the area.

In 1996 to 1997 the Joint Universities Public Management Education Trust , with the assistance of the Business Against Crime embarked on support programme to train station commanders in management and administration skills. The training programme took place at the University of Pretoria which included subjects such as:

●   Learning organisation

- Community policing
- Management and leadership
- Human resources and financial planning
- Human rights policy development

Additionally the Futurekids, a computer learning centre in Pimville Soweto, provided training in basic computer skills to four members of the station. Further, four additional members were also subjected to such training at a 50% discount charge which money was made available by SAB. The Star newspaper was able to donate R5 000 which was used to partition a hall into three offices and a store room converted into an office. (Selby Bokaba 1999/01/28, page 14).

It is important to view the involvement of the private sector as just one of the solutions in an attempt to address inefficiency and ineffectiveness and lack of resources at local government sphere in particular. It is the researcher's opinion that as the public sector tends to do better in policy management and regulation, ensuring continuity and stability of service provision, business tends to do better at performing economic and technical tasks, innovating and replicating experiments and adapting to rapid changes such as globalization. The strengths of both sectors should be combined in an attempt to eradicate problems and challenges of society. Thus, misconceptions of "Business take-over" do not hold much ground and should be dispelled. When government enters into a contract with business, it is shifting only the delivery of services. For instance, if South African Breweries (SAB) Soweto District assists in the training of police men and women, it does not mean that the corporate establishment will take over the responsibility of manpower training of all police men and women in all police stations in Soweto.

2.9.3 Obligation as a sufficient condition of civic interest

The concept *obligation* can best be explained by a two-fold analysis in an attempt to provide a comprehensive, yet functional lay-out of its meaning. The first explanation views the concept from an administrative background, whereas the second view accepts a political approach. According to Barker (1963:164) the concept *obligation* denotes a legal bond in which government is tied to the delivery of services to communities, for example in the realisation of a specific end result. This forms part of an administrative approach to the realisation of the phenomenon.

In terms of this view, local government in particular is continuously subjected to an obligation to perform certain functions (provide basic quality goods and services effectively and efficiently) in order to ensure the well-being of its communities. At local government level such functions include the provision of streets, sidewalks and drainage, cemeteries, parks and recreational centres, water supply, health services, environmental conservation, housing and slum clearance and to protect and secure the inhabitants of the Republic and their property (Gildenhuys 1997:16).

To enable municipalities to meet their obligation towards the consumers, residents and taxpayers, there are key factors to be taken into consideration. These factors are:

- Assessing the customer's needs: It should be kept in mind that the customer is not always a member of the community, but can also be an internal customer within an organisation. An instance of such nature is a public employee who by virtue of his or her qualifications is assigned to support services such as finance and information technology which plays a crucial role in the delivery of services at local government level (Fourie 1998:229).

- <u>Responding to the electorate:</u> Municipalities should be sensitive of the performance of service delivery and they should be able to measure the accomplishment, failures and difficulties associated with service delivery. Thus performance standards and targets should be set followed by monitoring and reviewing of such performance to determine if services are productive, economical, efficient and effective.

- <u>Setting realistic objectives:</u> Every organisation should be able to set realistic and achievable objectives and spell them out in public documents. Such objectives should be quantifiable and measurable in order to guarantee success with the aim of seeking an understanding, acceptance and co-operation of all individuals involved in attaining the objectives of the organisation (Fourie 1998:228).

It is the researcher's opinion that the contractual nature of the obligation towards the citizens is established when a constitution contains a declaration of rights, as is the case with chapter two of The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996. It provides for rights on equality, human dignity, freedom and security of persons, (even during an enforcement of a state of emergency), ownership of property and other rights. In relation to the already outlined case study, chapter 11 of The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996, sections 205(1) to 208 provides important provisions with regard to regulating and managing the police service in South Africa.

At local government level elected representatives (municipal councillors) are also affected by certain obligations which they must observe. Such is based on certain questions asked, such as to whether the councillor's loyalty is to his or her constituency or to the political party to which he or she belongs and as to whether or not he or she is motivated by self-interest (e.g. getting re-elected) or by serving the civic interest of society. (Hanekom

1987:39). As a result the Local Government Transition Act, Act 209 of 1993 schedule 7, established the Code of Conduct for Councillors as contained in section 16(7) of the Act. It states clearly that 'no councillor shall neglect any obligation to the extent that the local authority concerned suffers loss or is in any way prejudiced or improperly or unlawfully burdened with any obligation'.

2.9.4 Ethics and morality as a sufficient condition of civic interest

Public administrators as functionaries of the legitimate authority are always in the forefront of public scrutiny in terms of their public conduct and manner of behaviour. Thus, it remains essential that such public administrators are exposed to the world of public ethics aimed at achieving and promoting efficiency and good administration in the South African public service. Equally importantly, they must also take into account the possible influence of civic interest in the deliberation of public activities and actions.

However, such responsible public administrative actions are impossible to accomplish unless individual administrators are, firstly, able to recognise the moral implications of their administrative decisions and public discretion; secondly, that they understand the demands of their organisation, hierarchic superiors, interest groups, elected officials, professional codes and those of the public in general; thirdly, that administrators are able to reach some consensus on judgements relevant to each of a particular circumstance (Jos 1990:239).

In relation to the case study discussed, the significant roles played by the Moroka Community Policing Forum (CPF) co-ordinator, Inspector Jonathan Mbambo and that of the acting commander for crime prevention, Captain Tom le Grange, symbolise the pressing need to appoint competent public administrators. In such appointments both the co-ordinator

(CPF) and acting commander (Crime prevention) must be vested with the knowledge of public service ethics. In order to ensure that the civic interest is encouraged, nurtured and protected public administrators must be able to develop a firm and flexible character. The following factors must be considered;

- <u>Moral sensitivity</u>, which is the ability of public administrators to recognise the moral implications of even an ambiguous situation.

- <u>Moral understanding</u>, that is the ability of public administrators to reason about these implications.

- <u>Moral courage</u>, which involves the willingness to confront and act on moral issues even where there is substantial pressure to the contrary.

If public administrators acquire moral virtues, does not alone promote a consistent or correct interpretation of the *civic interest*. This will enable public administrator to arm themselves against organisations that promote unthinking, uncritical deference to authority and uncritical deference to civic interest. Thus individual public administrators should be able to overcome both internal impediments (selfishness, greed and self-deception) and various forms of external manipulation (role socialisation and intimidation by superiors co-workers and interest groups) (Jos 1990:242).

In this regard education will of course have a positive role to play, as was the case in 1996-1997 when the Joint Universities Public Management Trust embarked on a training programme for police station commissioners. Thus educational strategies must be designed for encouraging bureaucrats to reflect on South African public administration values in a disciplined and systematic manner.

2.10 Conclusion

From the discussion thus far, one can deduce that the phenomenon civic interest survives through the presence of a set of government and non-government institutions and procedures. Civic interest depends on the existence of identifiable necessary and sufficient conditions within an administrative environment. Such necessary conditions form the basis or foundation (primary) and can be observed in the realisation of the civic interest. The elements of space, time and order form part and parcel of the necessary conditions. The elements of public participation, local economic development and stability, obligation as well as ethics and morality are also conditions that are acquired for the realisation of the civic interest. Having discussed the above, it is, therefore, necessary to discuss the *locus* and focus of non-governmental organisations in public administration. The role of non-governmental organisations will, therefore, be the focal point of Chapter 3.

Chapter 3

The locus and focus of non-governmental organisations in public administration

3.1 Introduction

Having discussed the theoretical exposition of the concept *civic interest* and the practical exposition of the phenomenon of civic interest, focus should now be directed at the establishment and functioning of non-government organisations in public administration. The role and significance of Sanco Soweto, perceived in this dissertation as a non-governmental organisation, informs the significance of this perspective. However, much of the discussion on the role and contribution of Sanco Soweto will be emphasised in chapter 5 of this dissertation. The present chapter gives attention to the historical background of non-governmental organisations (hereinafter referred to as NGOs), both from an international and local point of view. The traditional roles and functions of NGOs will also be emphasised. Furthermore, the chapter also elucidates the topology of NGOs as provided by different authors. In addition, the traditional functions of NGOs will also be emphasised.

3.2 Historical background of non-governmental organisations (NGOs)

According to Clark (1991:29) NGOs existed in various forms before the twentieth century. They existed mostly in industrialised countries of Europe and the developing countries of Asia and the Americas. Most of the early NGOs of developing countries are the result of these countries' struggles for independence. For example, the Gandhian movement for independence in India provided a basis from which NGOs were acknowledged as vehicles for articulating the aspirations and interests of the Hindu majority. A major contribution of this movement was the establishment of handloom weaving centres and other appropriate technology initiatives, schools concentrating on functional education, people's courts that use non-violent pressure to achieve justice for the lowest castes and organisations campaigning for land reform and other aspects of social justice (Clark 1991:29).

NGOs in Europe came onto the scene after World War One. Two examples are the Catholic Church based CARITAS and Save the Children Fund. The consolidation of NGOs gained momentum immediately after World War Two. For instance, the Oxford Committee for Famine and Relief (OXFAM) was established in Britain in 1942 with the aim of relieving famine and poverty (Brits 1995:186). Other examples were the Catholic Relief Services which was established in 1943 and the Co-operative for American Relief Everywhere (CARE) in 1945. Initially, these organisations were engaged in relief work in war-torn Europe but gradually shifted their attention to Third World countries in Africa and elsewhere (Clark 1991:29).

The number of NGOs gradually multiplied during the 1950s and 1960s. They began to concentrate on development activities having realised that it was fruitless to engage in relief activities which merely addressed the symptoms of poverty. What became apparent was the need to tackle the root cause of poverty. It has been said that if you give a man a fish, he has food for the day, but if you teach him to fish, he has food for life. This aptly described the new found role of NGOs of Europe (Clark 1991:30). The European NGOs soon engaged themselves in providing a service to the popular grassroots movements and self-help organisations. However, they paid scant attention to existing village committees and other indigenous community structures. Julius Nyerere, Tanzanian leader in the independence struggle (1961-1985) and one of Africa's elder statesmen, warned (McLean 1993:84):

> To be effective, African civil associations must take care to ensure they approach their work from the point of view of the circumstances, needs and cultures of African people .... It is a mistake to imagine that democracy can be imported like coca-cola or a ready-made garment .... Ideas about democracy and democratic institutions are not divine truths. They have to be acculturated and absorbed into the blood stream of people. The institutions through which these ideas become operational have to grow out of people's own practices and be given a chance to grow in a form natural

to the changing social and economic conditions.

In 1961, OXFAM UK made a policy decision to support indigenous organisations. This meant that more humanitarian support for local communities was forthcoming. In 1970, many NGOs realised the limitations of self-help activities. They now perceived development as a process of liberating the poor not only from their physical oppressors but also from their acceptance of poverty (Clark 1991:31). The Brazilian NGOs pioneered a new approach called "conscientisation", a mixture of political education, social organisation and grassroots development. The aim here was not only to improve living standards but also to encourage the poor to realise that they can overcome their exploitation through mass organisation. The realisation in the 1970s that poverty is political in nature resulted in policy advocacy becoming a new activity of NGOs. The advocacy role of NGOs increased substantially during the 1980s with the networking of advocacy groups from Europe, Asia and the Americas. One of the first of such networks was the International Baby Foods Action Network which began in 1979 with seven NGOs but rapidly increased to 150 NGOs from all parts of the world. These organisations were successful in formulating an international code for the marketing of baby foods (Clark 1991:31-32).

Today NGOs embraces a wide spectrum of individuals and organisations ranging from major trade unions to small women's circles. According to Clark (1991:34-35) there are six schools in the historical development of NGOs, which include:

- Relief and welfare agencies: These are mainly the missionary societies. Example of such an organisation is the South African Council of Churches.

- Technical innovation organisations: These are organisations that operate their own projects in response to solving community problems. They normally tend to be specialists in their chosen field. An example of such an organisation is the Institute for Adult Training.

- Public service contractors: They are contracted to carry out official programmes since it is believed that their size and flexibility enables them to perform their tasks more effectively than government departments. An example of a service contractor is the Mvula Trust, a non-governmental organisation commissioned by the then minister of the Department of Water Affairs Kader Asmal. Its mandate was to undertake an evaluation exercise aimed at determining the extent to which people in rural areas were accessible to water supplies. Mvula's research focused on three different areas of Winterveldt (in the North West), Shemila (Kwazulu-Natal) and Kgobokwane (in Mpumalanga) (Lodge 1999:34).

- Popular development agencies: Most NGOs from Europe, Asia and the Americas concentrate on self-help, social development and grassroots democracy. Organisations falling into the category include the Educational Opportunities Council (EOC).

- Grassroots development organisations: These are NGOs that have originated in the developing countries comprising of members who are poor and oppressed themselves. Some of these organisations receive funds from their European counterparts and governments of their countries. Some civic organisations perform development orientated work and even have development projects that are funded locally and by overseas donors. In this case Sanco's national structure received funds from major sources such as the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) as well the International Centre for the Swedish Labour Movement between 1991 and 1992 (Lodge 1999:87).

- Advocacy groups and networks: These organisations exist mainly for education and lobbying. A good example is the READ Foundation in South Africa aimed at curbing high levels of illiteracy.

The historical development of NGOs has evolved through phases and stages of change until the present day period. However, what has been lacking, according to the researcher, is a discovery of the meaning and *locus* of NGOs within the parameters of administration. Thus, this aspect warrants attention as discussed below in section 3.3.

3.3 Meaning and *locus* of non-governmental organisations (NGOs)

The terms "non-governmental organisation", "private voluntary organisation", "private non-profit organisation", and "voluntary association" are often used as synonyms when referring to organisations that operate outside government. A considerable disagreement exists as to the scope of the phenomenon of non-governmental organisation. Clubs, churches, lodges, benevolent agencies, participating agencies, voluntary and non-profit organisations are often included under the term "non-governmental organisation". Volunteers as well as fully paid experts may be members of a voluntary organisation (Tongswaite and Tips 1988:402). In this context it is the researcher's opinion that a workable definition is that a non-governmental organisation is a non-profit, non-government, private group, at least partially formalised into an organisation, that an individual joins by choice.

Various authors tend to define the term non-governmental organisation in different ways. For example, Mala Singh (1993:23) talks of a "civil society" when referring to NGOs. According to her:

> In its most general usage, civil society would refer to all voluntarily constituted social
> relations, institutions and organisations that are not reducible to the administrative
> grasp of the state.

She also stresses that civil society (a term used by this researcher to denote that sector which is composed of organisations that are not controlled by government and represent the wishes and interests of the people), cannot be separated from political society.

In fact a close intermeshing exists between the two, whether it is friendly or unfriendly (Singh 1993:24). Another author, Carrol (1992:9), prefers to use the terms "grassroots support organisations" (hereafter referred to as GSOs) and "membership support organisations" (hereafter referred to as MSOs) when referring to non-governmental organisations. He states that GSOs and MSOs are two subsets of the broad spectrum of NGOs. He states further that the term "non-governmental organisation" encapsulates hundreds of types of organisations ranging from political action committees to sports clubs.

A distinction between GSOs and MSOs can be made on the basis of ownership and control. In a GSO the members are not the beneficiaries, whilst in an MSO the members are the stakeholders and beneficiaries. MSOs are in fact an extension of the grassroots organisations and are accountable to their base membership. They serve as intermediaries between donors or governments and their base units and constituencies. GSOs are facilitator organisations whose management is made up of professional middle or upper class individuals. They are not controlled by or accountable to their beneficiaries, although some beneficiaries may function as board members or advisers (Carrol 1992:12-13).

Kjaerum (1993:14) distinguishes certain common features that point to the specific place of NGOs within the fabric of democratic society. These features are:

- Voluntary organisations are not the apparatus of the state. They may influence public policy and may receive financial support from the state, but are legally and organisationally independent from the state.

- Non-governmental organisations are not profit oriented organisations operating in the market place. Distinguishing features of a non-governmental organisation are its idealistic mandate and commitment to a cause. They may provide services to their members for free but do not

act as a business entity striving for profit.

●   Voluntary organisations are built by individuals possessing common interests. Their organisational structure is sometimes not formal in the sense that it is self-imposed and represents non-elected groups of people.

●   A distinguishing feature of voluntary organisations is its field of activity. It acts in the grey zone between state and the market.

From the foregoing one cannot undermine the important role played by civic organisations as development agencies. It is for this reason that attention needs to be focused on the different categories of civic organisations or, more briefly, civics. Swilling (1993:23) categorises civic organisational forms in the following way:

●   Grassroots civics: In essence these are civics that have a very organised grassroots base and an accountable leadership within realistic limitations. These civics tend to have street committees that meet regularly, have executive structures, membership in the form of dues with a card system. The leadership is elected by an annual or bi-annual general meeting and constitutes a functional executive that meets and makes decisions that are then implemented (Swilling 1993:23). Grassroots civics usually seek or have substantial funds and enjoy access to the mass media and receives professional/technical assistance from lawyers and service organisations that are engaged in negotiations or developments projects that enable them to "deliver" to their constituencies. The relationship between the leadership and the organised grassroots base tends to be quite tight in terms of reporting back and the level of accountability, while simultaneously leaving the leadership considerable latitude to develop and implement strategies (Swilling 1993:23).

- <u>Populist civics</u>: These are civics that are built around a dominant charismatic person who enjoys substantial grassroots support. The relationship between the leaders and base tends to be via mass meetings characterised by speeches and popular mobilisation around local issues. The result is that accountability is limited as there is an absence of an intermediate leadership stratum between the top leadership and base. Populist civics can often be very good at articulating issues that are of direct concern to the base, but often find it difficult to control the base when it comes to changing strategy or delivering during negotiations. Populist leaders are also quite volatile, often vacillating between being co-opted into deals they do not understand or aggressively boycotting processes that could result in benefits for their constituencies. Militant rhetoric, hastily conceived grand strategies, erratic negotiation styles, substantial although unstable support bases and limited leadership reproduction are indicative of a populist civic (Swilling 1993:23-24).

- <u>A leadership elite civic</u>: This is a type of civic that has strong leadership (sometimes with a charismatic figure at the centre) but a weak support base. The weaknesses of the base are usually due to the failure to organise the base along the lines of grassroots civics or to mobilise the base along populist lines (Swilling 1993:24). Instead, it is fairly common to find local leadership elites who have refused to participate in government structures and who have not been absorbed into the organising culture of the 1980s. Either as eminent, articulate gentlemen or as articulate opportunists, these leadership elites have been known to constitute themselves as a committee that they are often described as a "civic". Such a move is usually initiated without even drafting a constitution. Such leadership brings this "civic" into the civic movement and into negotiations and benefit from being able to deliver without really doing much organisational work to warrant recognition they receive. In some cases leadership elite civics can be captured by quasi-criminal elements who use the civic structure and discourse to legitimise coercive and/or illegal activities with no organised /mobilised grassroots base to counter their power.

- A paper civic: This is a civic that has neither a base nor a consistent leadership structure. This may sound strange but in reality it is true. There are instances where, in certain areas, the name of the civic exists (usually the name of the township with "civic association" after it) and this name is simply invoked when convenient by any leadership element that takes it upon himself/herself to represent the area. In other words, because the concept *civic* is part of accepted discourse in government and private sector circles, the name is used to describe a self-constituted leadership pleading for special interests of various kinds. In certain instances prominent businessmen have participated in forums and negotiations and in order to identify themselves with a general interest of some kind, they say they "come from the civic" (Swilling 1993:24).

- The party-political civic: This is a civic that is simply an extension of the local party-political leadership's organisational base. For instance there are cases where the local African National Congress branch leadership is virtually identical to the local civic leadership. Although this does not mean that the civic is automatically the instrument of the party (especially in cases where it was the leadership who decided to vote out a hostile party leadership that was anti-civic), it does tend to blur the distinction between the roles of political parties and civics and virtually eliminates the chances of members of rival parties joining the civic. In the end, the civic loses its local accountability and becomes another organisational vehicle to achieve party-political ends. It should be noted, however, that party-political civics can have grassroots and/or populist features, and, for that matter, they have already exhibited leadership elite and even paper civic features (Swilling 1993:24-25).

- Developmental civics: These are civics whose organisational *raison d'etre* is directly linked to developmental processes. This can take a number of forms. The most common is in squatter areas where the local squatter committee has evolved into a civic structure of one kind or another. The original committee and later the civic structure is usually formed to negotiate on behalf of the community for the acquisition of basic water and other services.

The success and nature of the delivery of services tends to directly determine the fate, structure and support base of the civic in this circumstances. In some cases, however, civics have been directly established by governmental and/or development agencies to "create" a leadership with whom they can deal with. This is associated with developments in Latin America. Developmental civics may also evolve in more formal urban townships where large-scale development programmes have been implemented by civic structures. However, Swilling (1993:25) warns that there is no single organisational form that corresponds to developmental civics. In some cases, strong grassroots type civic structures have evolved as the civic has become more centrally involved in the development process. There are also many cases where civics are involved in development either as populist, leadership elite or paper civics that have chosen to rubber-stamp development programmes they have no control over.

- Governmental civics:. These are civics that see themselves as the new local government in waiting. In other words, they define themselves in very simple and crude terms: "the councillors are the current government and we will be the next government". This position is founded on a misunderstanding of the relationship between state and government: if the councillors are the state, then it follows that the civic is the new state. However, this confusion has been translated by some civic leaders into a notion that equates civics with "soviets" and then defines them as the embryonic "state-in-the-making"(Swilling 1993:25).

- Branch civic: Since the formation of Sanco there is the new phenomenon of the branch civic, described as the civic that has reconstituted itself into a branch of a unitary association. It follows then that the branch civic simply acts as the local conduit of the national structure, not initiating local campaigns and struggles without this first being agreed to at regional and national level. This issue and others are discussed in chapter 6 of this dissertation. According to Sanco's constitution, below the national executive there are supposed to be regional executives elected by "zonal" representatives who, in turn, are elected by local civics

(Swilling 1993:26). Hence the establishment of Sanco Soweto as the branch of Sanco's national executive structure. However, the situation proves the claim that the civic movement is no longer the sum of its local parts.

New and interesting organisational forms are beginning to emerge at regional and national level. Although Sanco's national structure is still working on programmes to build the institutional capacity of its various organisational levels, significant trends are evident at the "zonal" and "regional levels". A good example is how the Civics Associations of Johannesburg (hereafter referred to as CAJ) has evolved. CAJ is a federation of 12 civics that have opted to retain their constitution (as have its affiliates). In addition to assisting its affiliates build up their capacity (including funding and full time staff), CAJ had compiled a programme and budget for 1993-94 that contained a mission statement, a formally stated set of goals and a set of objectives that required R1 million to finance. CAJ had at that time a Policy Unit that co-ordinated organisational and policy work (including negotiations in the Metropolitan Chamber), and a Development Unit whose mission was to establish a series of development corporations at local level to take control of large scale community-based development programmes (starting with a R250 million five year project to build 20 000 units in the St. Martins Trust area). In addition to raising finance for the projects it was involved in, CAJ went on to take steps in absorbing the technical assistance normally provided by service organisations like PLANACT into its Policy Unit and Development Unit (Swilling 1993:26).

Although the above categorisations do not exhaust all the possibilities, it is reasonable to claim that most civics may be understood in terms of the features ascribed to these categories. However, these categories may well need to change as new formations emerge. In addition, their definition and content are heavily dependent on how the civic movements transform the organisational structures that drives them.

There is also a drive of a rising consciousness at national and local levels of the need for what is referred to as "organisational development" and "strategic planning" (Swilling 1993:26). In other words, the application of management techniques to civic structures in order to help the leadership to fully understand what a nature of the organisations are now and what they should become in the future, remains essential. Thus, both leaders and members of non-governmental organisations should begin to understand the objectives and aims of their respective organisations, a subject of discussion in the next section of this chapter.

3.4 Objectives and aims of non-governmental organisations (NGOs)

Khan and Zafarullah (1987:682-683) state that the objectives of NGOs may be placed in three broad categories which encompass a scope of activities of almost all NGOs in a country. These categories are:

- Human development: this objective is based on a process of self-development by the poor. The role of an NGO is a mere facilitator which assists and stimulates target groups to undertake the job of self-investigation, self-criticism and introspection. The emphasis here is to encourage the poor to take their own decisions and to review and evaluate such decisions when situations so demand.

- Socio-economic development: socio-economic development is only possible with the eradication of economic inequalities and social injustice. South Africa is a classical example where the Apartheid policy of the Nationalist Government has ensured unequal wealth distribution and social suffering in the country. The aim of NGOs here is to ensure the increase in income of the poor so that they enjoy reasonable social security (Khan and Zafarullah 1987:683).

- <u>Micro-social transformation</u>: this important objective is based on the ability of the masses to achieve self-reliance at the grassroots level. Self-determination should be regarded as the inalienable right of the poor. It is logical to assume that self-reliance at the national level is dependent on succeeding to achieve self-reliance at the grassroots level.

NGOs should be people-centred and, thus, aim at assisting, encouraging and helping individuals, communities or groups to improve the quality of their lives through specified activities. Among the first NGOs were the churches with their outreach programmes aiming at providing health, education and welfare services (Govender 1995:42).The South African Council of Churches provides a good example in this regard. According to Govender (1995:42) many NGOs are having a rethink since pure welfare and relief work has limited effect on the quality of life of the poor. Their focus is, therefore, changing from relief and welfare aims to developmental aims. They believe that the emphasis should be on self-help and participation. A number of NGOs are also focussing on networking among developmental actors and co-ordinating and disseminating information.

The Apartheid system in South Africa also led to the growth of NGOs that were aimed at political change as part of the development process. Their focus must now change from protest activities to pure developmental activities since a democratically elected government is now in place. This assertion is expressed by Seekings (1998:2) who claims that civics, in this case Sanco's national structure and its affiliates, have been in the forefront of struggles for radical and social, economic and political change and have been effective champions of boycott tactics. During 1992 and 1993 Sanco's national profile was high especially its influential role in national politics, taking the lead in the negotiated transformation of local government and in initiatives around urban housing and infrastructural development. But since 1993, Sanco's national profile declined. As Sanco leaders themselves acknowledge, the organisation was excluded from key decisions over housing, the government-led Masakhane campaign (primarily concerned with the payment of rents, bond instalments and service charges) and the restructuring of state development agencies.

It has also been marginalised from within corporatist structures like the National Economic Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC), in which the labour movement is strongly represented (Seekings 1998:2). Sanco's leadership has, however, since the early 90s distanced itself from the politics of boycotts. According to the then national president, Mlungisi Hlongwane:

If you want to be an instant revolutionary these days and be involved in boycotts, Sanco is no longer a home for you (Gumede William-Mervin, 1996/12/28).

But it is not clear what kind of a home Sanco does offer. Some of its leaders including Moses Mayekiso have always been in favour of the transformation of the organisation into a vehicle for economic empowerment through business initiatives. Whilst others like Moses Mayekiso's younger brother, Mzwanele, have taken a position that Sanco must transform itself into a radical, socialist movement, to the left and outside of the African National Congress. This issue and other issues are discussed at length in chapter 5 of this dissertation.

The aim of any institution is directly related to the reason for its existence. During the apartheid years in South Africa, people who were affected negatively by the apartheid policy needed support and services in respect of aspects affecting their daily lives. Shubane (1994:34) refers to the civic associations that have been formed in South Africa since 1976. He says that it was right for civics to be formed as part of a broad residence-based resistance to apartheid. However, Shubane points out that resistance was not the main reason for the formation of civics. Rather, it was issues of development, service delivery and issues involving good governance which directly affected local communities to establish civics. He argues that:

... civics had two broad focuses. They took up local issues - bread and butter issues like rent hikes and collective consumption matters - and attempted to build an organisation around them. It is this focus which gave them (civics) their specific local character. Their second area of focus was national political concerns. This was predicated on the fact that local bread and butter issues were shaped by nationally derived power relations, particularly around race. Because of the close link between apartheid policies pursued at a local level, it made little sense for civic associations to attempt to separate local issues from apartheid, i.e. local from national issues.

According to Du Toit and Van der Waldt (1997:283), we can deduce that the aim of non-governmental organisations is to improve living conditions. In other words, NGOs make a concerted effort to promote the fulfilment of essential needs, such as housing, availability of energy resources, the economic empowerment of people, education, health services, welfare services and labour issues. A classificatory topography of non-governmental organisations and their objectives and service-orientation is provided below:

Table 3: Examples of objectives of non-governmental organisations in South Africa

Non-governmental organisation	Objective	Service-orientation
Soweto Civic Association (Later amalgamated into Sanco Soweto branch)	Community representation	Strives to prevent crime in Soweto amongst other things (Kendall 1991:162)
Neighbourhood watches (a result of an agreement among residents in a block)	Crime prevention	Carry out police work by keeping an eye out for suspicious activities in the area and reporting them to the police.

Wattville Concerned Residents Committee (WCRC)	Establishing relations with local authorities.	Tries to do something about the critical housing shortage in the Wattville district (Kendall 1991:162).
Trade unions such as the South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU)	Representation of workers.	Try to promote the wealth of the workers at local government level.
Lions and Rotary	Community development	Services ranging from "Meals-on-Wheels" to education (Kendall 1987:97).
Salvation Army	Providing welfare services	Organises "Soup-kitchens" for the disadvantaged communities, the poor, homeless and disabled people.
Operation Hunger	Relieving starvation	Providing food parcels and other necessities to victims of natural disasters.

Adapted from (Du Toit and Van der Waldt 1997:283-285)

The above table exemplifies the broad spectrum of objectives and services that popular non-governmental organisations undertake as part of their mission. These objectives may range from crime prevention to service delivery of specific services to needy communities. However, NGOs must be established and operate in an atmosphere conducive to survival and success. Thus, it becomes essential that proper mechanisms are put in place to achieve this.

3.5 Role and functions of non-governmental organisations

According to Khan and Zafrullah (1987:683-685), the functions and activities of NGOs may be grouped under four broad headings which include:

- Employment and income generation: this is a major activity of most NGOs in countries such as Bangladesh. The role of NGOs in South Africa is not different to most developing states in Asia, for instance, where there is large scale unemployment and poverty. The target group of this activity includes the landless labourers, poor rural women, destitute women and children. Employment and income generating activities are supported by the provision of credit facilities, training and appropriate technology to target groups.

- Health and family planning: NGOs may provide services such as primary health care, immunisation, provision of essential drugs, health and nutrition education, preventative and curative health care, basic health education, contraceptive delivery, safe water supply environmental sanitation and diarrhoea management. This activity enables the rural poor to become aware of common diseases, their causes, prevention and treatment (Khan & Zafrullah 1987:684).

- Education: this activity includes primary education for poor children, adult education and non-formal education of the poor in order to create awareness among the poor concerning their rights and obligations.

- Organising the poor: the aim of this activity is to enable active participation of the poor in the development process. The task of the NGO is to make the poor aware of the importance of collective action. Reliance on the community's own resources, initiative and strength leads to group cohesion and solidarity. NGOs are established in response to a particular need in a community. This may be unemployment, drought, illiteracy, empowerment of women,

protection of civil rights and so on. NGOs must continually endeavour to do more for a community than what it is presently done. It must be dynamic in nature (Khan and Zafrullah 1987:683-685). The political and socio-economic changes in South Africa since 1990 have led to extensive debate concerning the present and future role of the developmental community. NGOs, as key developmental role players, have now come under spotlight. In South Africa, NGOs will have to prepare themselves for a more challenging future, both in terms of what will be expected of them as developmental role players and how they will have to justify their existence in a more hostile, resource scarce environment (Prodder Newsletter, vol. 5. no. 4 November 1993:1).

Clark (1991:74) further distinguishes three ways in which NGOs can increase their impact on the community; that is, through the function of project replication, building grassroots movements and influencing policy reforms.

3.5.1 Project replication function of non-governmental organisations (NGOs)

In this instance non-governmental organisations utilise experiences of success or failure in one programme to help establish or improve similar programmes. Many NGOs tend to employ tried and tested approaches in this regard. However, it must be remembered that what works well in one situation may not work well in another, it may even be a complete failure. The most important feature of a successful project is its leadership (Clark 1991:74). The leader must be a person of vision, be charismatic, courageous and possess stamina. Unfortunately, leadership qualities cannot be replicated. Successful project growth and replication depends upon finding the right people and giving them the right training. According to Clark (1991:83), when an NGO starts a new project it must be mindful when it is going to withdraw. It is unrealistic to believe that an NGO could lead and fund a project indefinitely. The project can only become sustainable when it becomes self-running and self-financing.

3.5.2 The NGO function of building grassroots movements

Another function of NGOs is building grassroots movements. These grassroots movements have emerged mostly from self-help projects and are perceived as a direct response of local people to local problems. According to Govender (1995:48), NGOs have realised that projects will be more successful if control is vested in the people. The poor are not seen as beneficiaries but as controllers of the development process itself. As individuals, people cannot overcome their poverty. Their biggest strength lies in collective action which gives them immense bargaining power. Their salvation does not lie with funds provided by their foreign friends but within themselves which is their solidarity (Clark 1991:90). According to Clark (1991:90-95), there are certain activities that should be considered when building grassroots movements, and these include:

(a) Start with an activity with which the people are ready to identify with. This helps build community strength.

(b) Inculcate awareness raising and empowerment into the process. Group meetings could be used to discuss the causes of poverty and ways to overcome them. Discussion can also be based on legal rights, the democratic process and other important life skills.

(c) Encourage and develop strong local leadership. NGOs must provide the training opportunities and support structures that empower the leaders.

(d) Encourage groups to plan for themselves. This leads to greater success than in the case of mere empowerment .

(e) Develop action research. Good, reliable information is needed when deciding on a course of action. Since such information is not readily available to the poor, the group's research capacity must be developed.

(f) Prevent early failure. Although the ideal is for groups to be self-determining, the non-governmental organisation must help guard against action which may lead to failure especially in the early stages.

(g) Network with local groups. A single group can only achieve a certain amount of victory, however unified are its members. Larger issues are better fought by similar groups coming together as a coalition (Clark 1991:94).

(h) Build strong communication skills. It is important that group leaders not only mobilise and motivate their members but also communicate effectively with others outside the group. Good communication skill is essential for sharing successful experiences as well as to muster support.

(i) Seek influential allies. A group's case can be strengthened if they obtain the support of politicians, senior officials, judges, journalists and others.

(j) Balance external and internal contributions. External funding can be withdrawn at any point in time. Groups become stronger when they develop self-reliance.

(k) Develop international support where necessary. This becomes useful when there is a strong reprisal from the local elite or the authorities are slow to side with the poor (Clark 1991:95).

Given the above list of activities that must be performed by non-governmental organisations if they are to succeed in building grassroots movements, it is important that non-governmental organisations should regard themselves as partners in eradicating the social ills of society. The role of government and other civil society organisations should not be undermined. Therefore, correct measures such as policies must be put in place to afford non-governmental organisations a chance and place to survive, as this is considered in this dissertation as one of the many aims that NGOs must satisfy.

3.5.3 The non-governmental function of influencing policy reforms

According to Clark (1991:104-105), projects generally fail when the prevailing policy environment does not allow the NGO to work as desired. An approach may be very successful in one country and yet fail in another although the leadership is excellent. The project fails, among others because of government indifference, corruption of officials, state bureaucracy and hostile attitudes of the elites. NGOs should seek reforms in policies, attitudes and practices in order to overcome hurdles. Although this is an uncomfortable path, it is more realistic in the long term. NGOs must also realise that in order to make self-reliant development sustainable, the policy environment should allow it. Local and national policies that hinder sustainable development must be removed and replaced by a supportive development system in which the public, private and voluntary sectors play a co-ordinated role (Clark 1991:104).

Once an NGO has developed a convincing case, it must decide on how it can build up influence. The first step would be to record carefully the non-governmental organisation's direct experience indicating the need the reform. This must be supplemented by research directed at determining whether the problem is of a local or a general nature. The next priority would be to develop the in-house capacity for advocacy of the policy reform. A non-governmental organisation's case should be strengthened by seeking allies. A case becomes more convincing when presented by a strong network of non-governmental organisations. Prominent politicians, respected academics and others with influence are useful in winning a case (Clark 1991:109-110). Thus, good negotiation skills and contact with the right persons are necessary to influence policy reform at both the local and national level.

3.5.4 The non-governmental function of promoting good ethical conduct

Public officials usually serve the interests of the public and are in turn accountable to politicians, who in turn are accountable to society for their actions and those of the public officials under their authority. As a result society's disapproval of how politicians behave and carry out their tasks could result in dismissal from office or failure to be re-elected (Bauer & Van Wyk 1999:56). On the other hand, as soon as politicians and public officials (including officials in non-government agencies and community-based organisations) forsake the civic interest in favour of personal interests or gains, it is more likely that corruption could occur. Such corrupt practice becomes a negative part of the personal interest(s).

This state of affairs may be attributed to the possibility of both politicians and public officials committing themselves to the misuse of their power, disregard certain rules and regulations and in the interest of achieving personal benefits. Thus, it may be accepted that corruption may be identified as one of many effects (negative) of policy-making when identifying and considering the civic interest. Such was the case when in September 1995 the Free State MEC for safety and security reportedly instructed the police to investigate corruption charges against the Sanco branch in Bloemfontein, the construction firm Stocks & Stocks and a consultancy firm. Both companies had tendered for a R60 million shopping mall in Bloemfontein. The tender board included two regional Sanco officials. Minutes of the Sanco Free State working committee for 13 June 1995 record a discussion in which concern was expressed that "Stocks & Stocks had been treated badly" and that this might jeopardise a R150 000 donation it had promised Sanco branch (Lodge 1999:86).

According to Lodge (1999:86), a similar payoff may have been made to a Sanco branch in Vereeniging by another building firm in return for Sanco's "assisting with marketing of a project". However, policy-making also has a positive effect on the civic interest. There are other factors that serve to underpin the role and functions of non-governmental organisations in South Africa.

These may be summarised as conducive circumstances within the public environment, such as the proper conduct of public officials and officials serving in NGOs, and the drive by public organisations to satisfy the needs, satisfying expectations and allaying fears of the population (Du Toit & Van der Waldt 1997:288 - 291). Consequently, the administrative environment as determined by place and time, in which the public officials and politicians as well as NGOs and community-based organisations and other interest groups (considering Sanco as reference) operate, is influenced by economic, technological, geographical and social matters. For instance, Sanco Soweto was influential in the establishment of operation Mpimpa, an anti-crime initiative driven by members of the community, business and the Sanco Soweto branch.

This contribution by the Soweto branch is discussed in chapter 5, section 5.5. Another instance that one might consider is, what if elected municipal authorities would unilaterally increase municipal rates on services and goods provided, without due consideration of the expectations, views and opinions of interest groups as representatives of community members? Such intentions are likely to be met with hostility and disapproval by the intended recipients, consumers of public services and goods. In the researcher's opinion about the field of economics, for instance, the initiative to consider factors such as job creation and investments should also be considered in the light of promoting the civic interest. In considering the needs and wants of members of society with the above mentioned areas of influence, the authorities and NGOs are able to implement and justify their actions in consultation with interests groups. Without the support of interest groups and other stake-holders, government initiatives could fail.

3.5.5 Meeting needs and expectations and allaying fears of the population

Public institutions are established to satisfy the justified needs and expectations of members of a community or society at large. Thus, members of a community or society become aware of a need, and then interest groups (including political parties) and NGOs will start making representations to the authorities to satisfy needs and to large extent, the civic interest. Consider in this instance what

could be useful in line with the role and influence as exerted by Sanco within Soweto as an area of jurisdiction (as will be discussed in chapters 5 and 6). In certain instances members of a community and also a society, tend to experience fears due to the prevailing circumstances in the country. Such circumstances may be politically influenced. Take for instance the fears that have been expressed by interest groups, political parties, religious organisations, and to a certain extent farmers, who represent the interests of the white minority population in the country.

According to Du Toit & Van der Waldt (1997:290), one of the fears expressed at the provincial and local government sphere by Afrikaans-speaking people, is that Afrikaans-speaking children might not have mother-tongue education with a cultural content in schools in the future. These fears were brought to the attention of the government through NGOs such as the South African Foundation for Education and Training (SAFET), the Transvaal Teachers Association (TTA), the Freedom Front and the then National Party. This led to negotiations between all the mentioned interest groups and government which resulted in providing a clause in the new Constitution in which the state is compelled to consider single-medium schools. Unfortunately, this attempt alone does not seem to allay the fears of the majority of Afrikaans-speaking people. The negotiations preceding the amendment to the education clause shows clearly that interaction between NGOs and government institutions can influence policy-making (Du Toit & Van der Waldt 1997:291).

In the case of Sanco Soweto, residents of Soweto on the north-eastern side in particular, could not understand the relationship between Sanco Soweto branch (including the sub-branches) and the branches of the African National Congress. Some people regarded the alliance as political, whilst others felt that supporting an alternative civic body in the area was the right thing to do. In Jabavu and Meadowlands for instance, residents chose to support and rely on the services of the Parent-Teacher Association rather than the local sub-branches of Sanco within the area (Lodge 1998:93).

3.5.6 Conveying requests and making demands to the authorities

NGOs are important sources for conveying requests and making demands on behalf of members of communities that they represent. They also play a major role in policy-making process and the activities of government institutions. For example, in August 1992, Sanco demanded a national housing policy which would provide for lower interest rates on mortgages, mortgage loans to be obtained more easily and the purchase price of houses and land to be reduced. According to Nyatsumba (1992:20) as quoted by Du Toit & Van der Waldt (1997:291) Sanco's national structure threatened that if all the above-mentioned demands were not met, mortgages would not be paid as from the end of August 1992. These demands led to discussions between Sanco and the then Minister of Manpower, Local Government and National Housing. This serves to illustrate how NGOs are able to convey requests and make demands to government institutions. Proper legislation must be in place as a priority. Therefore, the legislative framework of NGOs should be examined in this regard as discussed in the following section.

3.6 Legislative framework and the development stages of non-governmental organisations in South Africa

In South Africa, NGOs and other nonprofit organisations are regulated by the Non-Profit Organisations Act 71 of 1997. The aim of this Act is to encourage and support nonprofit organisations in their contribution to meeting the diverse needs of the population by *inter alia*:

- Creating an environment in which nonprofit organisations can flourish.

- Encouraging nonprofit organisations to maintain adequate standards of governance, transparency and accountability.

- Promoting a spirit of cooperation and shared responsibility within government, donors and

amongst other interested persons in their dealings with nonprofit organisations.

- Establishing an administrative and regulatory framework within which nonprofit organisations can conduct their affairs (South Africa 1997: Chapter 1).

In respect of the above, Act 71 of 1997 also emphasises that every organ of the State must determine and coordinate the implementation of its policies and measures in a manner designed to promote, support and enhance the capacity of nonprofit organisations to perform their functions. It is imperative that development initiatives undertaken in the local government sphere be increasingly guided and influenced by "people-centred' development perspectives. In this respect, it is indicated that local authorities cannot achieve empowerment of disadvantaged communities in a brief encounter (Nel 2000:102). Rather, an ongoing relationship needs to be established with such communities to encourage and reinforce empowerment. Interaction with nonprofit organisations such as NGOs may prove to be instrumental in facilitating empowerment in that these organisations can fulfil a vital role in:

- capacity-building or ensuring the acquisition of skills and competence within disadvantaged communities and thereby reducing a culture of dependency; and

- enabling or generating the ability amongst members of disadvantaged communities to participate effectively in the process of development planning.

Other significant legislation and official policy documents such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme, Development Facilitation Act, Act 67 of 1995 and the White Paper on Local Government, March 1998, also had an impact on encouraging the establishment of a people-centred approach. For instance, all of the above texts refers to the concept of *local economic development* (hereafter referred to as LED). For example, the White Paper on Local Government makes mention of the concept *local economic development*, albeit in far less detailed form, in Section

B as a developmental outcome of local government (South Africa, March 1998:22).

According to Odendaal (2000:217), the concept local economic development is not new in South Africa. Community-based Organisations (CBOs) have for many years been involved in activities of a developmental nature to support local communities in their struggle for socio-economic upliftment. Local economic development is defined in this context as a multi-dimensional and multi-sectoral process through which the skills, resources and ideas of local stakeholders are combined to stimulate local economies to respond innovatively to changes in the national and global economic environment, to attain as an end-result, job creation, poverty alleviation, and the redistribution of wealth (Applied Fiscal Research Centre [S.a.]:5). Thus, LED is not a single project or activity, but a continuous and an ongoing process to respond to low economic growth and high unemployment and to stimulate the economy and create new job opportunities.

Odendaal (2000:220-221) further argues that the multi-dimensional and multi-sectoral nature of the LED process is also reflected in various initiatives of stakeholders who participate alongside local government, through a process of interaction, consultation and support to strengthen and realise LED. She illustrates this point with an example involving stakeholders, in this case, in the Midrand Metropolitan Council (hereinafter referred to as the MMLC). A community-based organisation known as the Ivory Park Youth Development Theatre Project (YDTP) has played a significant role in the LED process and many of its projects have been developed and implemented with the cooperation and assistance of the MMLC. According to the researcher another appropriate example, in line with this dissertation, is the role of Sanco Soweto's sub-branch of Pimville Soweto, which collaborated with the Northern Metropolitan Local Council in the training of councillors in matters of local economic development (part of the Masakhane campaign). The first consultative workshop was held at the Nooordgesig Community Centre on Saturday 9th of May 1998, from 08h30 to 16h00 (NMLC, 6th May 1998).

NGOs have evolved over time and it may prove useful to analyse stages in their development. Basically NGOs go through three stages of development. Garileo (1987:115) in Nel (2000:103) emphasises that the first stage of the development of NGOs is referred to as the formation and development stage. It is where a small group in the community recognises common problems and decides to organise itself collectively toward responding to common needs, demands and aspirations. According to Cernea (1989:119) in Maharaj and Jaggernath (1996:253), the non-governmental organisation's emphasis on organising people is related to a philosophy that identifies the "centrality of people in development policies and action programmes and the importance of self-organisation". Thus, many NGOs have developed as a reaction to the philanthropic and benevolent yearnings of individuals to "contribute towards making a better world". The objective of non-governmental organisation approach is to mobilise people into organised structures of voluntary group action for self-reliance and self-development. This has been emphasised by Cernea (1989:119) as follows:

The first and foremost NGO emphasis is on organising people for reaching their common objectives. In this way, NGO's are putting people first in their work, both as methodology and as a goal, particularly the poor groups, and are themselves an embodiment of this principle .... The organisational capacity that comes to life and becomes engaged in development action represents its fundamental strategic resource and crucial contribution.

At this stage members of the organisation define their expectations and elect their leaders. The rules and the regulations for the functioning of the organisation, however, have yet to be clarified. The aim at this stage is to address immediate, or short-term problems (Maharaj and Jaggernath 1996:256). In this case reference should be made to the establishment of Sanco Soweto (as a branch of Sanco's national structure) discussed in chapter 5, section 5.3 of this dissertation.

The second stage of the development of non-governmental organisations is referred to as the consolidation stage at which a strong, respected leadership emerges and the non-governmental

organisation's expertise is developed and used in support of its aims and objectives. The ability to conduct its activities efficiently gives the NGO a distinctive competitive edge in carrying out its programmes *vis-a-vis* other groups (Garileo 1987:115). Many NGOs do not develop beyond this stage, some ultimately become dormant because of the inability of leaders to sustain the interests of members in pursuing the aims of the organisation. Others are sometimes unable to adapt to the changing environment in which they function. Korten (1987:155) further warns that other NGOs fail to develop internally because of concerns that "in responding to calls for professionalisation, they would become more like the conventional bureaucracies of government that they commonly believe to be ineffective". Again reference is made of the consolidation of Sanco Soweto as a subject of discussion amongst others, in chapter 5, section 5.4 of this dissertation.

According to Garileo (1987:115) in Nel (2000:103) the third stage of the development of NGOs is referred to as "Institutionalisation". During this stage the concerned non-governmental organisation is highly organised and influential and people are empowered to advance equity and relieve poverty, influence government policy, and establish new institutional frameworks to sustain community-centred grassroots development. Ratepayers and civic associations as role players in the non-governmental sector have an important role to play in this regard, as discussed in the following section.

3.7 Ratepayers and civic associations as role players in the non-governmental sector

According to Craythorne (1997:108) people organise themselves into voluntary associations for general or special purposes. Within local government, the best known of these are ratepayers or civic associations. Ratepayers and civic associations tend, however, to be confined to a particular suburb or ward, and to be parochial in their interests. This was the case during the late 80s when the then Soweto Civic Association was established to articulate the interests of the people of Soweto. To some extent these bodies also tend to be political for the purpose of campaigning for a particular political view. In the case of Sanco Soweto, the alliance/political relationship with the influential

political formation of the African National Congress was based on a common position with regards to the policy of apartheid. It is the researcher's opinion that both organisations, albeit Sanco as a national structure, stood against the white minority apartheid government through various tactics employed. While the African National Congress employed the armed struggle, Sanco (in this case as a national body with affiliates such as Sanco Soweto), employed tactics such as mass stay-ways, rent-boycotts and to large extent consumer boycotts. More information on the activities, role and contribution of Sanco Soweto is discussed in chapter 5 of this dissertation. In theory the aims and objectives of civic or ratepayers associations tend to be different from practical reality. This is exposed by Craythorne (1997:108) who argues that in the South African context the aims and objectives of ratepayers or civic associations may be summarised as:

- Exerting pressure for the allocation of resources to the ward concerned.
- Monitoring the performance of the municipal administration in respect of the way it renders services in the ward.
- Participating in the electoral process by supporting electoral candidates.

From the foregoing it will be seen that civics, including Sanco Soweto, build their organisational capacity by means of establishing street or block committees as building blocks of civic organisational capacity. This attempt was deliberately made in order to give "local" needs and demands some form of attention by local residents. However this experience is not without its pitfalls. According to Seekings (1998:16) sometimes the relationship between street or area committees and Sanco branches is not clear. This was the case in Gugulethu and Langa in Cape Town where street or area committees preferred to work hand in hand with government structures and representatives, in this case the Gugulethu Local Executive Committee, during the local government transition period. Whilst in Soweto little or no success was achieved in collaborative efforts between street committees and local Sanco branches. This was the case in Moroka Soweto, where a group of youths calling themselves Youth Action Against Crime had revived street committees in an attempt to fight against crime in that area. Such operation was not linked with

Sanco Soweto's programme of action (Lodge 1999:88).

3.8 Conclusion

From the turn of the twentieth century, non-governmental organisations existed mostly in industrialised countries of Europe. Towards the mid twentieth century these non-governmental organisations had already started working as relief agencies in most parts of Africa and elsewhere. In the 1960s non-governmental organisations began to concentrate on development activities with the aim of eradicating poverty and other related social ills. Today non-governmental organisations embrace a wide range of individuals and organisations, from major trade unions such as the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) to women's organisations, as well as civic associations.

Categories of civic organisational form formulated by Swilling (1993:23) distinguish between grassroots civics, populist civics, leadership elite civics, paper civics, party-political civics, developmental civics, governmental civics and branch civics. The later form of civics is associated with the form of civic studied in this dissertation, that is Sanco Soweto. A comprehensive analysis of the aims and objectives of NGOs has been provided revealing categories in which the broad range of objectives and aims of NGOs are categorised into categories such as human development, socio-economic development and micro-social transformation. In addition, the roles and functions of NGOs were also discussed. Development stages of NGOs were also elucidated as Maharaj and Jaggernathan (1996:256), amongst other authors, provided a topology or classification of the developmental stages through which most NGOs usually evolve. These stages included the formation stage, consolidation stage and the "institutionalisation" stage identified by Garileo (1987:115) in Nel (2000:103).

Given the history of South Africa, non-governmental organisations played an important part in the fight against apartheid. Thus, their main focus was more political notwithstanding the developmental

role that they had to exercise in certain given circumstances. From the establishment of grassroots civics to branch civics, as is the case of Sanco Soweto, civics have played an important part in shaping the future of politics in South Africa. This was achieved by adopting certain strategies such as rent boycotts, consumer boycotts, public protests and marches aimed at directing grievances and demands to the authorities. In the case of branch civics such as Sanco Soweto, the efforts of carrying out the needs, wants and demands of the people of Soweto was a more dominant activity in the agenda of organisation. From this perspective a discussion on the element of space, in this dissertation as the physical area of Soweto, critical to the realisation of the civic interest, should form part of the discussion in chapter 4.

Chapter 4

Soweto as an element of space in the realisation of the civic interest in both the pre- and post-apartheid period.

4.1 Introduction

As discussed earlier in chapter 2, civic interest as a phenomenon cannot be observed in a vacuum. There must be an element of space which is geographic and unique in nature. Such space dictates what local government institutions and civil society organisations (CBOs, NGOs and interest groups) should provide as public goods and services. Soweto, as an area of jurisdiction, offers that element of space which is a necessary condition for the realisation of the civic interest. Therefore, this chapter seeks to expand a previous discussion on the nature of the identified space (Soweto) from an historical, theoretical and contemporary perspective (see page 33 of this dissertation). In this instance the origins of Soweto as a township from as far back as in the beginning of the 20th century will be discussed. Subsequent to that, developments from a political, social and cultural perspective will be discussed from a historical viewpoint. In addition, a Marxist approach will be used to elucidate the position of Soweto (as a dormitory township) in relation to Johannesburg as the core city.

4.2 Theoretical framework of the history of Soweto: a Marxist approach

A theoretical framework is needed to provide an analysis of the origins of Soweto. In this instance, a Marxist theoretical approach will be utilised for analytical purposes only. This is so because Marxism was not practicable (arguably resulting in the collapse of the Soviet block) and there is therefore the need to replace it with democracy. In addition the theory has the capability of exploring the economic, social and political relationships between the core city of Johannesburg and Soweto,

as a dormitory township. According to the Arnold Bergstrasser Instituut Report which was published in the late 70s on "Black attitudes in South Africa", a majority of urban Blacks showed that they supported a liberal democracy (Johnson and Magubane 1981:94). In essence non-democrats came mainly from the poor, less educated groups and people with strong homeland or ethnic ties. Those who occupied higher professional positions were urbanised and had looser tribal ties, tended to be more democratic. These democrats had the privilege to demand political rights and condemn outright the policy of Apartheid (Johnson and Magubane 1981:94). In 1978 Dr. Cornelius Van Der Pol, then group managing director of the Hullets Corporation and a member of the Prime Minister's Scientific Advisory Council, wrote the following in "defence" of democratic rule:

"Nowhere has a political ideology survived which is in conflict with the basic principles of strong economy. Our system of free enterprise cannot survive unless we abolish racial discrimination" (Johnson and Magubane 1981:95). His sentiment was further supported by Zwelakhe Sisulu, then a political reporter for the Rand Daily Mail and a Soweto resident, who said;

> ...you will find people in Soweto who are Marxists as in most communities - the eggheads who speak about the "isms". A lot of university students go through communist stages, idealism which evaporates in the outside world. They become catholic when they join the mainstream of material life - gone is their idealism" (Johnson and Magubane 1981:94).

Form this elucidation, the researcher argues that the Marxist theory may be regarded as a tool of analysis only rather that a firm ideology suitable to influence relations within a state. Be that as it may, in the early 1960s the South African Communist Party applied the theory of internal colonialism to explain relations within the country. This theory of internal colonialism was subsequently applied to analyse diversity in other countries such as the United States of America (with regard to its Black, Indian and Hispanic populations) and Israel (with regard to the Arab population, in particular).

In terms of the Marxist approach, South Africa as a social formation is characterised by internal colonialism (with regard to the Black population), as a modified notion of colonialism (Kekana 1996:2). Since South Africa is obviously not a colonised country or social formation, the theory of internal colonialism is applicable. The specific feature of internal colonialism, as opposed to external colonialism is that the coloniser (the dominant White middle class) and the colonised race, nation and/or ethnic group (the majority Black proletariat) occupy the same country.

A colonial relation of domination is said to exist between the White and Black nations because the latter have been deprived by the former of their political and economic autonomy. The colonial relation is, however, an internal relation because the White and Black nations or races occupy the same country (Kekana 1996:2). In practice the establishment of Soweto was in line with the government policy of Apartheid, which regarded Blacks as temporary sojourners who must be denied permanent residential and civil rights in the urban areas. As a result the Black labour force (proletariat) was forced to live in mining compounds in Johannesburg, as there was no residential area reserved for them Those who were not accommodated had to find primitive lodgings where best they could. This led to total exploitation by the White "aristocracy" in utilising the already available Black cheap labour for their own commercial gain (Kekana 1996:2).

Given this background, Blacks begun to organise themselves into political organisations such as the African National Congress, and during the early 80s into civil society organisations such as civic associations (Sanco Soweto as reference) and labour organisations such as the Congress of South African Trade Union (Shubane and Madiba 1992:2). Civic associations like the Sanco Soweto branch were established to wage a battle against the Apartheid government, against its social and economic policies, from a community, albeit, urban point of view.

4.3 Historical background of the origins of Soweto

After World War 2, Blacks migrated or moved from rural areas of the country to urban areas in search of employment and a "better life" from the rural poverty at the time. This led to the emergence of urban settlement areas created to accommodated the "new arrivals", albeit separately from other racial groups such as Whites, Coloureds and Indians. One such Black settlement area was Soweto. It was the country's main Black metropolis and arguably the leading centre of Black urban culture (Bonner and Segal 1998:10).

However much of Soweto's history remains blank, undiscovered and untold. Questions such as When was it constructed? Why was it built? Where did its residents come from?, must be answered if an attempt has to be made in order to discuss Soweto properly. Most of Soweto was built in the 1950s and early 1960s. It was only given its present name in 1963 following the first African township established as far back as 1906. In those days it was called Klipspruit, but the name changed to Pimville, and it is by this name that the original township of Soweto is known today. In fact the name *Soweto* is a mere geographic description of where the township is located from the core city of Johannesburg. Soweto is an acronym for the "South Western Township of Johannesburg" (Kekana 1996:10). Thus many of the Blacks lived on the western side of Johannesburg. In 1928/29 a special committee of the Johannesburg City was established, whose task it was to administer the affairs of Africans.

This committee was chaired by councillor Edwin Orlando Leake, after whom Orlando Township was subsequently named. One of the municipal tasks of this committee was to initiate forced removals of Africans from the officially proclaimed White suburbs. This initiative was in line with the provisions of the Black (Urban Areas) Act, 1923 (Act 21 of 1923). The already established Non-European Affairs Department (NEAD) was then tasked with the responsibility of establishing or acquiring large-scale housing scheme to accommodate approximately 80 000 Blacks into a township.

The Council then decided to negotiate for the purchase of 3 000 acres on the farm Klipspruit No. 8. The township was planned on stands measuring 3 500 square feet each. Provision was also made for trading sites, schools, football fields, public halls and churches as well as a police station and a post office (Kekana 1996:4). In 1930, the Johannesburg City Council approved plans to establish Orlando which was a large track of land in the South West Of the vicinity of Klipspruit location. Although detached from the core city, this site provided some advantages, such as the availability of the following:

- The main railway line ran through

- Waterborne sewerage could be made available

- A new municipal power station could be built to provide electricity in the area.

By 1939, about 5 800 houses had been built in Orlando. In 1945 the Council further approved plans to establish the Dube township as an upmarket area for home ownership. Due to legislation passed, Council could not sell freehold stands and was advised not to. As a result the 99 year leasehold was granted to would-be owners. The Native Building Act of 1951 allowed Blacks to be trained as construction artisants to build houses for their own people. In 1954, the Moroka emergency camp was established with approximately 11 000 sites, each measuring 6 square metre, on which Blacks could build their self-help temporary shacks. The arrangement of shacks was consolidated into normal street blocks. In the 1960s the Nationalist government shortened the 99 year leasehold to 30 years and later reduced to a monthly tenancy until 1978, with P.W. Botha's reforms that reintroduced the 99 year leasehold in the early 80s (Kekana 1996:4).

Inhabitants of other townships such as Sophiatown. Newclare, Alexandra and Martindale (Western Native Township) were later removed to Soweto because of the following reasons:

- They were adjacent to the white suburbs

- Slum conditions were prevalent

- There were freehold settlements

- They were multi-racial in their composition

Living conditions in Soweto were appalling. Eight to ten people were living and sleeping in one room. Literally speaking, at night chairs had to be lifted onto the table to create sleeping space for all members of the family. Privacy was virtually non-existent as young and old, male and female, were packed into this undesirable situation. For example, a survey undertaken in 1950 recorded Sophiatown's population at 60 000 persons, nearly 90% of black people living at a density averaging 23 people per stand. Policies of successive governments (implemented until 1986) were intended to limit and control the entry of Africans into black areas and other urban areas. Local authorities excluded women from entering urban areas without valid proof that there was accommodation in such areas. Family life was discouraged for Africans in urban areas and also to discourage permanent settlement (Kekana 1996:7).

Instead, government was in favour of encouraging migratory labour and thus render Africans sojourners in urban areas. This meant that government would then have to spend less in providing enough housing, adequate social services and health facilities. In 1955, the then Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, succeeded in getting the Native Urban Areas Act Amendment Bill of 1950 passed. In terms of section 4 of the Act, a direct limitation could be imposed on the number of people permitted to reside in any one building. By 1960 many Blacks in Soweto were skilled artisans with minimal tribal ties and belonged to the second and third generation city dwellers (Kekana 1996:7).

Laws were also established to regulate Black housing and influx, and especially the regulations passed in 1967 which ordered that Black women were not to be allocated family housing in urban areas, not even when they were widowed heads of the households. This meant that provisions had to be made that only males over the age limit of 21 were allocated housing permits making it legal for dependants to live with them. After the events of the 1976/77, when the 99 years leasehold was re-introduced, the private sector became more involved in the housing industry to construct houses for the employees whilst site and service scheme were also introduced (Kekana 1996:9).

However, the township superintendent could cancel a house permit and thus the right to occupy a house if the holder was unemployed for more than 30 days or if he was convicted of an offence and sentenced to more than 60 days imprisonment or even if he was, in the superintended's opinion not a fit and proper person to reside there. Since the 1950s the government had discouraged the establishment of old age homes, orphanages and charitable institutions in Soweto (Kekana 1996:9). Such a decision was aimed at forcing black people back to rural areas.

On 1 July 1983, the State began to sell township houses. Prices were determined by considering the original cost of erection and current replacement costs. Home buyers would pay approximately 25% of their income and monthly interest and redemption components would be subsidised on a sliding scale. There was a clear indication that the authorities as represented by the Johannesburg City Council intended to rid itself of the burden of being the "bearer and landlord" over township houses in Soweto. With all of the above considered a "political culture" unique to the circumstances of Soweto was beginning to develop, which warrants discussion.

4.4 The uniqueness of Soweto - the political perspectives from the1920s to 1990s

Political activities that marked a culture of "political life" in Soweto was marked by four distinct features, namely, the Soweto uprising of June 1976, the illegitimacy of Black Local Authorities (Soweto City Council) and the resultant corruption, social injustices such as ethnic zoning and the

reasons behind the rent boycott.

4.4.1 The Soweto Uprising of June 1976

From the 1970s a new political organisation was established after the banning of both the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress in the 1960's. The organisation was called the Black Consciousness Movement led by the late charismatic and medical student leader, Steve Biko (Farrow 1999:36). The movement was able to draw support and membership in most "black universities" and later spread to schools, especially in Soweto. This situation afforded high school pupils in Soweto the opportunity to voice their discontent against the quality of education, poor facilities and study materials and the basic standard of education designed for black pupils. According to Farrow (1999:36) black education was designed to provide labour for white business, and thereby serve the interests of the "white aristocracy" rather than the civic interest.

On June 16, 1976 after the government had issued an instruction that Afrikaans was to be used as the medium of instruction for the teaching of Mathematics, History and Geography in secondary schools, pupils went on a massive protest. Such protest was organised by the pupils of Naledi and Thomas Mofolo High Schools. Other pupils from other high schools later joined in the protest, estimated at 10 000, in front of the Orlando High School. What was intended to be a peaceful protest ended in utter chaos when police fired tear gas at the pupils, who in return threw stones at the police, who then opened fire, without warning, and amongst others, a fourteen year old Hector Pieterson was shot dead around 3pm. His death still remains a "symbol" of struggle against Apartheid (Farrow 1999:38).

Violence continued as pupils engaged themselves in riots across Soweto for days to follow. By June 24, 1976 the official death toll stood at 140. In addition about 1 000 people had been injured, and around 908 people, including many children, had been arrested. Property which included public buildings such as beer halls and school buildings, and numerous vehicles, had been either damaged

or completely destroyed (Farrow 1999:38). It was this state of affairs that also led to discontent expressed by students and residence alike towards the immediate local authorities, such as the Soweto City Council, which was perceived as an extension of the Apartheid system. And so the legitimacy of those structures was questioned.

4.4.2 Illegitimacy of Black Local Authorities (Soweto City Council during the late eighties)

The illegitimacy of the Soweto City Council may be attributed to a number of factors. One such factor is the "political position" of the council within the broader political framework of democratic principles and beliefs. The council was perceived by the democratic revolutionary movements such as the United Democratic Front as not representative of the will of the people in Soweto. The true interests of the people were not exactly catered for, such as proper housing, independence from the apartheid regime and lack of proper administrative mechanisms and capacity to function as a fully fledged local authority. (Kekana 1996:26).

On the one hand the Soweto City Council was riddled with corruption and maladministration during its period of existence, especially during the late eighties. This situation led residents and observers alike to question the legitimacy of the council. Councillors had access to land site allocations and could sell those sites to potential private and corporate buyers at a fee (bribe) determined by that councillor. This repuredly was the case when the former mayor of Dobsonville, Mr. Steve Kgame was able to acquire eight sites for his own benefit in the late eighties (Kekana 1996:29-32). In April 1989 a three-man commission of enquiry, the Malan Commission, was established to investigate corruption and irregularities within the council. Among those issues to be investigated, top priority was given to the allocation of sites and land. In addition issues affecting abuse and exploitation of property owned by the elderly and the question surrounding the inheritance of privately owned property were also investigated. Preliminary investigations were completed by June 1989 and evidence was released on 24 September 1989 (Kekana 1996:30). Results of the report published after

the investigation showed that there was a link between the establishment of Black Local Authorities Act, 102 of 1982 and the irregularities and corruption presented formed part of the evidence during the inquiry. Much can also be said about laws passed before the Black Local Authorities Act which had profound effect on the "political culture" of Soweto since its establishment. These laws are clearly summarised below:

Table 4: A summary of legislation that had an impact on the establishment and governing of Soweto and its forerunners

Acts	Institutions and their functions
Black (Urban Areas) Act, 1923 (Act 21 of 1923)	Black Advisory Boards are established to advise the White Local Authorities about the administration of the Black townships (locations).
Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, 1945 (Act 25 of 1945), which repealed Act 21 of 1923.	Black Advisory Boards are established on the same line as those provided for by Act 21 of 1923
Black Affairs Administration Act, (Act 45 of 1971). The title of this Act was changed to Black Communities Development Act, 1984 (Act 4 of 1984).	Black Affairs Administration Boards were established for regions of which there were eventually 14. The boards became known as Development Boards in 1984. These boards took over the administration of Black urban areas from the local authorities. The Boards could continue with the creation of Urban Black Councils for Black urban areas.
Community Councils Act, 1977 (Act 125 of 1977).	Community Councils which could be establishment for Black urban areas by the Administration Boards.

Black Local Authorities Act, 1982 (Act 102 of 1982)	Fully-fledged local authorities equal to those established for White urban areas. Following this Act the then Soweto City Council was established.
Development Bodies Act, 1986 (Act 75 of 1986)	The Development Boards were abolished and their personnel and functions were transferred to the then four provincial administrations.

Adapted from (Cloete 1986:17)

4.4.3 Social injustices: ethnic zoning in defiance of the civic interest

Soweto was, and still is, to a large extent divided along ethnic divisions. From the early 1950s to the late 70's houses were allocated according to ethnic groups. Naledi, Mapetla, Tladi, Moletsane and Phiri were all set aside for the Sotho- and Tswana-speaking people. Chiawelo for the Tsonga- and Venda-speaking people and Dhlamini, Senoane, Zola, Zondi, Jabulani, Emdeni and White City were for the Zulu and Xhosa(Nguni)-speaking people. Such divisions were justified by the nationalist white government which supported the idea of segregation. This sentiment was echoed by the then Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H.F. Verwoerd (1958-1966), who justified the ruling by stating that:

> Those who belong together naturally want to live near one another, and the policy of ethnic grouping will lead to the development of an intensified community spirit (Bonner and Segal 1989:43).

The white nationalist press also supported segregation on the basis that ethnic divisions preserve for the Bantu their firm tradition, respect for natural leaders, preservation of mother tongue and mutual loyalties (Bonner and Segal 1989:43). In the late eighties, the Johannesburg City Council rejected the notion of ethnic grouping on the basis that it was psychologically unsound and encouraged the emergence of militant racial consciousness which presented a real danger of large-scale rioting and civil disorder. This had been the case experienced on the weekend of 14th and 15th of September

1957, in what was Soweto's worst ethnic conflicts (clashes between hostel dwellers, tsotsis and the Sotho-Russians) which later became known as the "Dube Riots".

The Council also argued that the policy of ethnic grouping undermined the fact that many of the Bantu speakers were born and raised in an urban environment (Johannesburg) and would feel themselves alien to the system of tribal discipline. According to Bonner and Segal (1998:44), residents on the other hand, opposed the policy of ethnic grouping on the basis that it was based on the government's perception of "tribal loyalties". This encouraged the belief amongst residents that the policy of "divide and rule" was intended to be imposed in the disguise of consolidating ethnicity amongst the Bantu speakers.

Arguably such state of affairs was not conducive to the realisation of the civic interest based in particular on the maintenance and promotion of public order as discussed in section 2.7.3 of chapter 2. Instead, as Lane (1995:9) would describe it, "state interests" preceded the civic interest in that the Apartheid State was created with the intention of preserving the interests of the ruling elite, the minority white population. Since its legitimacy was questionable it became important to use various methods to secure authoritative domination, often entailing the use of force, violence and the exclusion of African people from the political arena of the state. It is here that the deployment of location strategy became crucial as envisaged in the Black Local Authorities Act, 102 of 1982, which made provision for the establishment and recognition of townships such as Soweto with fully-fledged councils.

In reality the legitimacy of the Soweto City Council during the 80s was questioned by democratic forces such as the Soweto People's Delegation (local level) and the United Democratic Front (national level), which to a large extent resulted in civil disobedience, low turn-out of voters at the polls and, critically, the instigation of a rent boycott. According to the Urban Foundation research survey (March 1993) there are certain notable factors which contributed to the illegitimacy of black local authorities. Factors identified as contributing towards the illegitimacy of the then Soweto City Council, and other local authorities were:

- most black local authorities (including the then Soweto City Council) had poor fiscal and administrative capacities as well as inadequate economic base to provide sufficient capacity necessary to support "strong" local government.

- lack of proper development, both in terms of infrastructure and modern government systems of local government and administration. In addition, most residents including township leaders, hold a view that many urban problems are products of past discrimination or segregate development. Therefore development is regarded as "somebody else's problem", in other words the responsibility is solely of central government and/or white municipalities (Urban Foundation Research Summary, 03/1999).

In the researcher's opinion that lack of voting rights equal to the those of white voters contributed immensely in deciding the future of local government at that time. To make matters worse, most black local authorities including the Soweto City Council, were subjected to the authority of white municipalities, in this case the Johannesburg City Council.The above problems surrounding the illegitimacy of most black local authorities led to a range of activities being initiated aimed at voicing the discontent of black leaders and residents of townships. As a result rent boycotts in townships like Soweto were instigated against the authorities.

4.4.4 The rent boycott

In June of 1986 residents of Soweto embarked on a campaign of non-payment of rent and service charges. By December of 1988, rent arrears alone amounted to R200 million.This was attributed to a number of reasons. Firstly, that black local authorities were illegitimate structures of the Apartheid national government which did not serve the immediate interests of the people they claim to represent. Secondly, most people living in Soweto were dissatisfied by the quality of services provided by the Soweto City Council. It is here that the so-called the Soweto People's Delegation (SPD) comprising of well-known personalities such as Cyril Ramaphosa, Rev. Frank Chikane, Albertina Sisulu, Rev. Lebamang Sedebi, Ellen Khuzwayo and Archbishop Desmond Tutu was

established with the mandate to resolve the issue of non-payment of services by Soweto residents (Planact 1989:20).

In addition, the Soweto People's Delegation made demands that the rent arrears at that time be written off, that state housing be transferred to the community which guarantees security of tenure, that services be improved and that service charges should be affordable. Attempts by the SPD to resolve this impasse were fruitless. The Council then responded by issuing warnings, eviction orders and conducting arrests on those who refused to pay rent and service charges. On 26 August 1986 clashes took place between the police and residents of White City, Jabavu, in which more than 10 people were killed. By September 1987, at least 166 families had been evicted from their houses for not paying rent between August and September of 1986 (Mashabela 1988:144).

As resistance mounted against rent evictions, street committees were formed towards the end of 1986. These committees were formed under the auspices of the Soweto Civic Association (hereafter referred to as SCA), a forerunner of Sanco Soweto branch, as discussed in chapter 5 of this dissertation. However, sporadic evictions imposed by the then Soweto City Council continued, exacerbated by the demolition of shacks. The Soweto City Council was determined to fight the non-payment of services through evictions.

This situation led to the resident's decision to end the boycott as relentless pressure was mounted by the then Soweto City Council. Attempts at bringing the SCA and the Soweto City Council to a round-table discussion came to a halt when the SCA refused to engage councillors as they did not see them as legitimate representatives of the people, but preferred to talk to the then town clerk of Soweto, Nico Malan. In return, councillors would not allow Malan to engage talks with the SCA as it rejected government structures. These differences led to another failure to resolve the rent boycott amicably (Mashabela 1988:146). The SCA was later barred from operating by government decree. It remained however committed to a peaceful settlement of the rent boycott, and in February 1988 urged residents to pay for rent and service charges.

Later that month Malan said that approximately 75% of registered tenants were beginning to pay for their rent and service charges. However other tenants remained confused as no clear direction from their community leaders was not forthcoming. From the aforegoing argument one can deduce that the need to find amicable solution to the problems Soweto residents faced became vital. In essence a political solution, that is legitimising the form of authority governing over Soweto, had to be sought an attempt at resolving other related problems of social and economic nature. Included was the problem of demarcating boundaries from the old order to a new generally acceptable system. It then becomes important to discuss the geographical layout of Soweto in both the Apartheid and post-Apartheid period in this dissertation.

4.5 Soweto: Geographical layout in the Apartheid period (1989 - 1992)

Soweto covers an area of approximately120 square kilometres (50 square miles) and was home to between 1,3 million and 1,4 million people in the early 80s. The geographical lay-out of Soweto remained the same as in the early stages of its development until the late 80s. In the late 1950s and 1960s townships like Dube, Jabavu, Orlando East and West and Pimville formed part of the area where council houses were built. During the Apartheid period of the 50s townships like Meadowlands, Dobsonville and Diepkloof were established with council houses erected. The rest of the townships followed and most areas had council houses. Facilities were also established after the erection of council houses. Examples of such facilities include the famous Old Potchefstroom Road (the M65), which harbours facilities such as Vista University Soweto Campus, established in 1982 and, in 1996, had 3 500 registered students. Apart from the university, there are 51 training colleges and about 230 schools (Farrow 1999:22).

Medical facilities were also built including the famous and arguably the biggest hospital in the world, Baragwanath (alias Chris Hani) Hospital, named after the Welshman, John Albert Baragwanath. It was built in 1941 as a military hospital. In1947 it became a community hospital offering medical services to residents of Soweto.

In 1948 the then provincial government took over the management of Baragwanath and its status was elevated to that of a provincial hospital. It has approximately 3 205 beds and an estimated 16 000 babies are born every year (Farrow 1999:23). There was also one existing fire station located in Jabulani which serviced the whole of Soweto. Next to it is a beer hall and a sports stadium. The Mofolo Recreational Park, with the "Five Roses" as its centerpiece, remained as one of the dependable recreational centres available (Farrow 1999:7).

The developments during this period and the geographical layout of Soweto affected the organisational and operational setting of Sanco Soweto branch in a number of ways. As a branch Sanco Soweto was divided into sub- branches, each sub-branch established and operating in each townships of Soweto. For instance the Pimville township of Soweto had its own sub-branch further divided into street committees in each of the seven zones of Pimville. Each zone had in turn a chairperson (during 1996 to 1999 a certain Mr. Mthunzi Makwakwa was the chairperson of the sub-branch) and committee members not exceeding ten elected individuals (Chauke 2000). On the trading side the Freedom Square informal complex in Kliptown offered traders and small business men and women the opportunity to trade. It has only one formal road, the Union Road, which has some unique 1950s era shops.

It is here that the ANC's Freedom Charter was presented to the disadvantaged Black communities of South Africa at the height of the liberation struggle on 26 June 1955. An estimated 7 000 spectators watched as 2 884 elected delegates (mainly of the African National Congress) adopted the charter which set out the programme for the liberation struggle. The Avalon Cemetery next to Tshiawelo township is one of the final resting places for Soweto's deceased. The Moroka police station is situated less that 6 kilometres away and can be seen on the right side of the Old Potchefstroom Road (Farrow 1999:7). These and other geographical sights discussed in this chapter are illustrated in the geographical map of Soweto as presented:

Adapted from Bonner and Segal (1998:1)
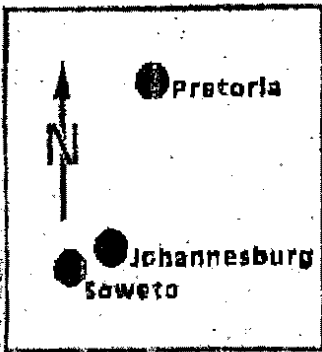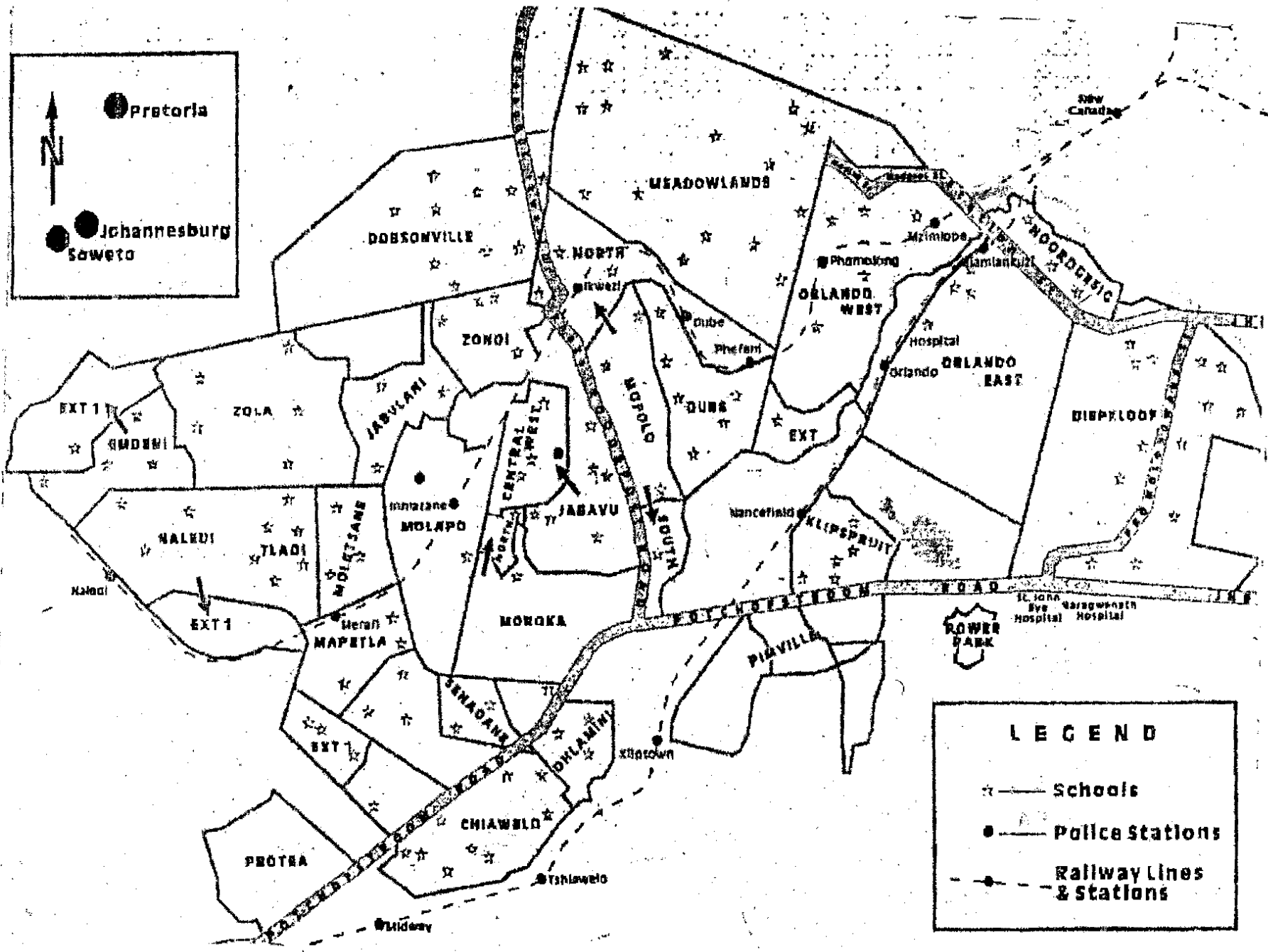
LEGEND

Schools

Police Stations

Railway Lines & Stations

4.6 <u>Soweto in the post-apartheid period (1994-1998)</u>

In response to the problem experienced by most Black Local Authorities, such as the rent boycott, the resignation of black councillors and the collapse of the service-provision infrastructure, the then government of the day saw it fit to promulgate the Interim Measures for Local Government Act, Act 128 of 1991. In terms of the Act, existing local authorities could negotiate joint-service rendering amongst themselves and/or with a single local authority (Cameron 1999:82). This meant that Soweto could merge with other neighbouring racial-based local authorities of the south (Lenasia, Eldorado Park and Ennerdale), the east (Alexandra and Sandton), the west (Dobsonville and Roodepoort) and on the northern side (Randburg). However, the Act was rejected by the African National Congress and Sanco which by mid-1994 was already discounted as a legitimate tool for transforming local government (see section 5.3 for an in-depth discussion on the establishment of Sanco Soweto). Reasons cited included:

● It contained no guiding principles on which new local government structures could be based.

● The Act did not force local authorities to enter into local negotiations.

Multi-party Negotiations (MPNF) took place in 1992 and 1993 which resulted in the passing of the interim Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, Act 200 of 1993. Chapter 10 of the Act provided for the democratisation of local government. In those negotiations the Local Government Negotiation Forum was established on 22 March 1993 under the auspices of the MPNF in order to deal with the democratisation of local government and to seek solutions in ending the ongoing rent and service boycotts (Cameron 1999:84). Sanco represented the non-statutory side which included the senior ANC local government department members and members of the South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU).

The result of the local government negotiations was the coming into force of the Local Government Transition Act, 209 of 1993, on 2 February 1994. The Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council was established in terms of the Local Government Transition Act, 209 of 1993, which made provisions for the establishment of metropolitan councils throughout the country. Later in 1995 the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council was incorporated with Soweto. Soweto was shared by 2 sub-structures, namely the Northern Metropolitan-Substructure (NMLC) whose headquarters is Randburg and the Southern Metropolitan-Substructure (SMLC) whose headquarters is Johannesburg CBD. As a result new boundaries were drawn by the Demarcation Board and approved by the Gauteng Provincial Cabinet on 3 May 1995 on the insistence of the then MEC for Local Government, Mr. Dan Mofokeng.

Sanco Soweto was of the opinion that the new demarcations were a true reflection of how local government restructuring should proceed. The branch executive committee took a unanimous position that the process of restructuring local government, including the drawing of new demarcations, was a necessary process as it supported the ideals which Sanco Soweto stood for (Chauke 2000). This included the establishment of a non-racial local government structures in both the urban and rural areas of the country. The demarcation process should ensure that the new boundaries are able to incorporate informal settlements on the outskirts of the townships (in this case the Orange Farm and Fine Town informal settlements on the south-eastern side of Soweto) According to Sanco Soweto the drawing of new boundaries would in turn ensure that newly elected local authorities are able to embark on programmes aimed at restoring, maintaining and upgrading networks of services and that consumers of such services should be encouraged to pay (Chauke 2000).

Sanco Soweto then initiated a move to foster better relations with the Northern Metropolitan Substructure (NMS) by embarking on a campaign which later became known as "Operation Khokha" On 15 August 1998 a memorandum was handed over to the NMLC's representatives Brian John and Sam Modiba, by members of the branch executive committee in which the following points were

highlighted:

- the need to ensure that the allocation of a people centred and job friendly budget should be drawn by the NMLC.

- the need to eradicate long queues at the pay-points and rejection of insufficient monies.

- the need for a campaign to resuscitate the local development and community development forums through the Masakhane office, and as a result the need to return to the RDP. According to Sanco Soweto the RDP is an embodiment of delivery of services and people-centred development. Such measures Sanco Soweto believed, could place a meaningful role on the continuation of the Joint Management Committee that was established by local based structures to manage government projects such as tarring of roads, street-lighting and other related functions (Sanco chairperson's report 1999:5).

However, objections were raised by political opposition parties who argued that the new demarcation boundaries favoured the entrenchment and consolidation of, mainly ANC support base. According to Ian Davidson, once chief spokes person of the Democratic Party in local negotiations, in a statement at that time: "The new demarcations reflect...a crude attempt by the ANC to gerrymander the borders of Johannesburg's substructures ..." (Cameron 1999:186). The matter was later referred to the Gauteng Provincial Executive Committee, composed of 3 ANC members, 2 NP members and 1 DP member, but could not be resolved. Eventually the matter was referred to the Supreme Court sitting as a Special Electoral Court. Due to "lack of evidence" presented by the opposition parties, the Court decided in favour of the 4-substructure model of demarcation on 4 August 1995 (Cameron 1999:187). As a result the final model (shown below) was presented:

Map2: The Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council

Pretoria TMC

North East Rand TMC

Northern MSS

Muldersdrift

Krugersdorp

Western MSS

Randburg

Sandton

Alexandra

Roodepoort
Dobsonville

Eastern MSS

Roodepoort
Diepmeadow
Fleurhof
Meadowlands
Bosrand
CBD

Noordgesig

Diepkloof

Soweto

Southern MSS

Nancefield

Westonaria TLC

Eldoradopark

Alberton TLC

Lenasia

Thembalihle

Lenasia South

Ennerdale

Weilers Farm

Grassmere

Suikerbosrand River TC

Fine Town

Orange Farm

Walkerville

Stratford

Vaal TMC

Randvaal

Lakeside

De Deur

Adapted from (Cameron 1998: 159)

In addition, the establishment of the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council, which on its own signalled the amalgamation of Soweto and the surrounding former Black Local Authorities (hereafter referred to as BLAs) and White Local Authorities (hereafter referred to as WLAs), was influenced greatly by key important statutes. Such legislation included:

Table 5: A summary of legislation that affected Soweto in the new dispensation

Acts	Institutions and their functions
Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act, 1991 (Act 108 of 1991)	Amalgamation of racial-based local authorities
Interim Measures for Local Government Act, 1991 (Act 128 of 1991)	The policy of separate development of urban areas and local authorities for all racial groups adandoned
Local Government Transition Act, 1993 (Act 209 of 1993)	Establishment of negotiating forums to bring about the integration of urban areas including Soweto with its neighbouring racial-based local authorities
The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1993 (Act 200 of 1993)	With reference to chapter 10, the "new" role of local government (which affected the future and position of Soweto) was provided

Adapted from (De Beer and Lourens 1995:137 & 142)

The newly created boundaries created new challenges to the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council in the post-Apartheid period (designated as a necessary condition of time in this study for the promotion of the civic interest), that could hamper the maintenance and promotion of order (regarded as a necessary condition in this study for the promotion of the civic interest) within the

jurisdiction of Soweto (designated as a necessary condition of space in this study for the promotion of the civic interest). The following discussion outline these challenges:

4.7 Challenges facing Soweto in the post-apartheid period (1994 to 1999)

According to Urban Foundation's 1993 survey, Whites enjoyed more opportunities and privileges than Blacks in respect of housing, employment and other benefits. The ratio, for example, of formal housing occupied by Whites was 3.5 and by contrast the ratio of formal units amongst Black people was 1.43. In practise this meant that almost 1, 29 million formal units for Whites were built between the late eighties and mid nineties, whilst only 486 000 units for Blacks were built (Beavon 1992:234). Given the differentials in growth rates between the Black and White populations which resulted in the impoverishment of the former, it is not surprising that shanty towns became the pattern of urban settlement in most metropolitan centres such as Soweto and the surrounding areas. This arrangement poses a new challenge in managing urban affairs surrounding Black townships such as Soweto. It is the researcher's opinion that Shanty towns such as Mshenguville and Fred Clarke camp next to Klipspruit, are a direct result of the sporadic establishment of shacks in Soweto caused mainly by intense movement of people from rural areas to the cities.

In 1989, the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereniging (PWV) region contained 412 000 formal houses in the Black townships, against the larger number of 422 000 shacks in the backyard of formal units. In addition there were some 635 000 shacks on vacant land, ranging from the old golf course in Soweto to land earmarked for industrial, commercial and agricultural use. This situation has led to the phenomenon called "greying", reflecting upon those areas which became known as "grey areas" (areas which were reserved for White people exclusively) due to Apartheid laws such as The Group Areas Act, 1966 (Act 36 of 1966), as amended (Beavon 1992:234).

Given this scenario, the nature of challenges in Soweto were historical, in that they reflected on the form and content of policies that were in place during the Apartheid period. It is the researcher`s opinion that policies such as, *inter alia*, the Black (Urban Areas) Act, 1945 (Act 25 of 1945) and the Development Bodies Act, 1986 (Act 75 of 1986) contributed towards the creation of problems associated with poor management and the presence of corruption and underdevelopment of Soweto as a jurisdiction. Infrastructure to house millions of residents in Soweto grew increasingly dilapidated from the mid-1980s to early-1994 and that there was no proper management of programmes relating to service delivery.

The other notable challenge facing Soweto in the new dispensation involves the legacy left behind by corruption, and the increase of violent crimes. Recent history indicates that one factor which prevented BLA`s to govern effectively was the widespread corruption in township areas such as Soweto. Thus corruption is unlikely to disappear simply because the new local government system is legitimate. In April 1989, as a result of the appointment of number of complaints against certain councillors registered by Soweto residents, a three-man commission of enquiry (called the Main Commission) into corruption and irregularities within the council was set up. Preliminary investigations were completed by June 1989 and evidence was held from 24 September 1989 (Kekana 1996:30). The link between the establishment of Black Local Authorities Act, Act 102 of 1982 and the irregularities and corruption were presented in evidence given before the inquiry. People`s complaints about red tape, humiliation, the need for bribe, the rapid increase of wealth of certain councillors, the councillor`s role as government collaborators and general abuse and misuse of Council funds and power by officials were condemned. In the report specific mention was made of the following issues:

- that the previous council had extorted thousands of rands from residents.

- that councillors had evicted pensioners from their homes in order to install favoured tenants (Kekana 1996:30).

•   that a builder, Graham Waller, claimed to have been swindled out of R300 000 which he
paid to a councillor for five site in Tladi (Kekana 1996:30).

•   that an assistant director of property sales in Soweto said that he had 25 cases of forged
signatures on leasehold documents.

Although there was corruption in township management, councillors were afraid to present evidence because of threats (Kekana 1996: 30). One of the allegations was that councillors had allocated business sites to themselves without advertising them or putting them out to tender. A commission, under the chairmanship of B.J. Olivier, heard that a councillor had acquired a site as big as Orlando Stadium without council approval, and another complaint against former Dobsonville councillor Steve Kgame, for the conversion of the recreation hall at Dobsonville into a shop, was laid by residents (Kekana 1996:30).

According to the Urban Foundation research survey (March 1993) townships in general lacked the economic base to provide sufficient capacity necessary to support strong amalgamated local government. Such a problem cannot simply be resolved by transferring revenues from the former White Local Authorities to the former disadvantaged Black Local Authorities. Wider tax or income base should be encouraged for the newly established local government system (Beavon 1992:234).

Another alarming problem is the spread of the pandemic AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) across the population of Soweto. Results of the University of the Witswatersrand's "A Soweto in Transition Project" released on 16th August 1997, indicate that about 14% of residents living in Soweto are infected with the HIV virus that causes AIDS. This include workers in both the private and public sector. Such state of affairs has the potential to harm the economic potential of the area particularly in the field of human development (Bozzoli 1997:98).

Privatisation or outsourcing of certain services remains another challenging aspect in the management of amalgamated local authorities. It remains to be seen whether the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council will be successful in its endeavour to privatise some of its services. The Benoni Fire and Emergency Services Pty. Ltd. is arguably one of the few successful case studies of privatisation of municipal services by the Benoni City Council in 1994. More recently the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council has proposed the Egoli 2002 plan as an attempt to privatise certain service areas such as the Metro gas, Rand Airport, Johannesburg Stadium, fresh produce markets and other properties and amenities (The Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council 2000:21).

Fierce resistance to boundary reforms has continued to be expressed by officials and councillors, mainly from the former White Local Authorities. Boundary reforms have the effect of arousing local political and territorial rivalries. Such rivalries affect the interests of politicians, bureaucrats and residents. Also the interests of local government elites are subjected to test, as they may be different from those of their citizens (Cameron 1999:69). In a nutshell, political parties that have vested interest in securing a ward support base, tend to resist any proposed changes affecting demarcation of wards within the broader physical boundaries of a municipality such as the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council.

4.8 Conclusion

Without the element of space as a necessary condition in the realisation of the civic interest, the well-being of people/residents would not exist. Soweto as an area of jurisdiction, provides that element of space. As a place of habitation, Soweto provides a platform wherein people/residents and the elected authorities engage one another in the quest to achieve a "better life" for all. The political and social injustices of the past manifested in policies such as the Apartheid system of rule, segregated development on the local government level and the resultant phenomenon of rent boycotts and corruption, had a negative influence in the realisation of the agreed-on wants, needs, demands and

aspirations of the residents of Soweto. Thus, it becomes important that the lessons learned from the past should remain as the driving force in the creation of a new democratic society that has respect for democratic rule and change. Soweto has since 1995 become part of a new local dispensation amalgamated with the historically White Local Authorities such as the richer suburban areas of Sandton and Randburg. As a result Soweto is part and parcel of the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council in the time of this study. If this new dispensation has to survive the test of time, the history and future of Soweto should become a critical focus point for debate and contention. However, democratic change also brings "new" challenges and problems including the need for effective and efficient service delivery (especially in the housing sector), boundary reforms, socio-economic problems such as unemployment, health problems and other problems and challenges, which have the capacity to destroy human aspirations and human lives. It is in this instance that civic society organisations like Sanco Soweto can play a critical role. A thorough discussion of the establishment, role and contribution of Sanco Soweto, should be the focus of chapter 5.

Chapter 5

The establishment, role and contribution of SANCO in Soweto

5.1 Introduction

Having discussed the theoretical and background aspects involved in this dissertation, it becomes imperative to focus on the establishment, role and contribution of Sanco (South African National Civics Organisation) in Soweto. Policies adopted by the organisation are also discussed in view of the process of institutionalisation. This leads the discussion to focus on Sanco's organisational arrangements in which issues relating to its management and administration of the branch are outlined. Sanco's initiatives aimed at fulfilling its mandate (people-centred development approach) such as anti-crime campaigns, are discussed at length. In addition, problems and challenges experienced by Sanco in Soweto are also highlighted as obstacles to rendering the branch effective in its endeavour to satisfy the interests of the community of Soweto.

5.2 Background to the establishment of Sanco in Soweto

The establishment of Sanco in Soweto can be traced back to the origins of civic movements in South Africa. The first civic association in Soweto emerged in the aftermath of the 1976 Soweto riots as an alternative support base for resistance against Apartheid. It became known as the Committee of Ten. The Committee of Ten was formed as a forerunner to the Soweto Civic Association (the embryo of the country's first civic association), and a vehicle to articulate grievances of residents of Soweto reflected in their adopted document in 1979 known as *The Blue Print*. In the meeting called on June 27, 1976, members of the Black Parents Association, the YMCA, the YWCA, South African Students Organisation, Union of Black Journalists, the South African Black Social Workers Union and representatives of the Soweto Students Organisation, unanimously agreed that a Committee of

Ten be established comprising of elected members amongst all the participants present (Johnson & Magubane 1981:87). According to Shubane and Madiba (1994:242), the Committee of Ten was formed partly in response to the criticism that parents needed to take an active role in organised township opposition politics. The Committee of Ten later became known as the Soweto Civic Association (hereafter referred to as SCA) in a move to consolidate efforts towards establishing a permanent structure, aimed at articulating the grievances of the people of Soweto. The SCA was initially aligned to the Black Consciousness movement but later became Charterist (supported the Freedom Charter drafted by the ANC-led Congress Movement in the 1950s), in its orientation. Its manifesto stated:

> We the people of Soweto, shall govern and decide our own lives. We will formulate the Soweto Local Authority. It will be run by the people, for the people and of the people.

The SCA then set to create local branches across the township in areas such as Orlando East (dominated by Pan Africanist supporters), Dlamini, Senoane and Emdeni (wherein members were also Inkatha supporters) and later to other townships in Soweto (Juta's RSC Report, 1991:29). In view of this arrangement of establishing branches throughout Soweto, the SCA declared that:

> We are committed to working at the grassroots level for the removal of all disabilities that impoverish and dehumanise the residents of this ghetto....[Soweto] (Bonner and Segal 1998:111).

This led to the SCA setting out a programme aimed at fighting the unpopular council system and to tackle other local grievances such as housing shortages and high train and bus fares imposed on Soweto commuters. However, in the early stages of its establishment, the civic organisation could not sustain support for its campaigns, against, *inter alia*, rent increases.

By its own admission, the SCA recognised that the lack of adequate and proper communication between itself and local residents contributed to such failures. According to the minutes of a workshop held between 8 and 9 June 1984, members of the SCA came to an understanding that residents of Soweto saw the leadership of SCA as elitist, composed of middle-class "educated people" who were not part of their community (Juta's RSC Report 1991:29). The term "class" is used by Bonner as quoted by Marks and Rathbone (1982:271), as an important point about class division in African community and uses access to education as an important marker of class differentiation.

In essence the civic leadership being composed of elites could not offer a place for the "ordinary person" in the street. Other problems were also experienced, such as the obstacle of involving supporters in the day-to-day running and decision making processes of the organisation. As a result one branch after another collapsed and there was little activity between 1980 and 1983. During that period the SCA leadership tended to rely on high-profile mass meetings as the only medium of campaigning (Bonner and Segal1998:111). From the mid-80s to the early 90s the SCA's influence was beginning to bear fruit. In September of 1990 the Soweto Accord was signed which paved the way for the establishment of the Metropolitan Chamber at the insistence of the SCA. The Metropolitan Chamber provided a forum for discussions on the political and constitutional future of the Central Witwatersrand region, incorporating Soweto.

The SCA became one of the principal participants in the Chamber and managed to convince other civics in the area, including the umbrella body, the Civics Associations of Southern Transvaal, of the legitimacy of participating. Major issues that were addressed in the Chamber included the payment of rent and charges. The SCA was expected to convince residents of Soweto to re-commit themselves in paying for services and charges, a suggestion which was rejected by other civic organisations. Reason given was that they did not create the problem, but that non-payment was an attempt by the people of Soweto to voice discontent at the legitimacy of the then Soweto City Council (Juta's RSC Report 1991:29).

In 1992, the SCA withdrew from participating in the Chamber as well as the Greater Soweto Principal Parties (GSPP) negotiating forum, comprised of groups which signed the Soweto Accord. In April 1992, the proceedings of the Chamber were suspended (Shubane and Madiba 1994: 248). During this period civics had already held a national workshop in Johannesburg where they committed themselves to forming a national structure free from political ties, and several regional structures were formed. The most prominent regional structure was the Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal (hereafter referred to as Cast), formed in September 1990 (Seekings 1998:232). In the Western Cape, the Western Cape United Civic Organisation (hereafter referred to as Wecuco) was also formed to consolidate regional establishments and greater representability. Later, the regional structures united to form the South African Civics Organisation. This situation paved the way for the SCA to join the national Sanco ranks the following year in realising the need for a stronger national civic organisation.

5.3 The establishment of the Sanco branch in Soweto

According to Shubane and Madiba (1994: 242), the formation of trade unions in the late 1970s also provided an impetus in the consolidation of civic formations. Successful union strike actions provided a reference point for the gains to be made from better organisation and mobilisation. Some early union strikes were accompanied by the involvement of communities in a form of focussed consumer boycotts. The establishment of the United Democratic Front (hereafter referred to as UDF) in the early 80s also encouraged the establishment of civic bodies where they did not exist. Worsening economic conditions in townships like mass unemployment and high crime rate, provided a further impetus to the formation of civic associations elsewhere. Added to the problem was the removal of a crucial source of revenue (liquor sales) for township administration and services which depleted funds for administration. Services in the townships were poor and according to Shubane and Madiba (1994:242), material deprivation was an inescapable feature of township life. The authorities exercised tight control over the lives of local residents rather than encouraging democratic participation, which became the "authorities'" primary function during mid-80s.

As a result the authorities responded by means of imposing "economic rentals" on township residents, thus increasing their financial burden (Shubane and Madiba 1994:243). This deepened the sense of injustice among politicised township residents who insisted that they were being asked to participate in bestowing a blessing on their oppression. This situation precipitated boycott campaigns and the emergence of organisations such as civic associations. Many of these organisations formed at the time were initiated by enthusiastic local activists. Others were formed as a result of a UDF campaign to form civic bodies where they did not exist. The UDF's role became that of facilitating the development of organisations like civic associations (Shubane and Madiba 1994:243).

Central to the UDF's strategy at the time was the need to transform itself from an "activist organisation" to a "mass organisation". Inevitably the formation and spreading of civic associations followed the trends of general political mobilisation during the 1980s. It thus became clear that the role of civic associations in this context was often seen as a key element in the "struggle". According to Van Heerden (1982) in Shubane and Madiba (1994:244), the role of civic associations was both to weaken the state at the local level and to raise the political awareness of township populations and to prepare them for "higher forms of struggle".

When the UDF was disbanded in the early 1990s the need for a national civic structure with both regional and local affiliations grew by the day. Sanco was then seen as the only civic body capable of bringing together all locally-based civic bodies, mostly in urban areas. In Soweto, the SCA felt the need to join the ranks of Sanco, thus relinquishing their autonomy in favour of a merger with Sanco's national structures. This merger was realised at the beginning of 1993 and involved all parties in committing themselves to building a single civic structure. At that time all the assets that the SCA owned, including 3 motor vehicles, 5 computers, telephone facilities, a spacious boardroom and a complete range of office furniture, were surrendered to the 'new structure' at the Ipelegeng centre in White City Jabavu (Menu 2000).

5.3.1 Sanco's organisational arrangements in Soweto

At the local level the Branch Executive Committee (hereafter referred to as BEC) is the highest decision-making body whose task is to coordinate branch activities. Members are elected every year at the Annual General Meeting. In the Annual General Meeting held in August 1997 at the Dutch Reformed Church the following members were elected as executive officers of the BEC of Sanco Soweto:

President - Mr. Maynard Menu

Deputy President - Ms. Vuyisile Moedi

General Secretary - Mr. Emmanuel Tseleli

Deputy General Secretary - Mr. Thulani Nkosi

Treasurer - Mrs. Angie Phaliso

Publicity Secretary - David Pine

Additional committee members included:

Housing and Land - Mr Sam Ndlovu

Safety and Security - Mr. Fana Mthembu

Health - Dimakatso Seutlodi

Roads and Transport - Mr. Solly Ncombo

Local Government - Ms. Sizakele Mmutlano

The committee participates in forming policy and electing leadership for the national structure through representatives to regional, provincial and national conferences and the general councils. The committee manages the support base of 100 or more members who constitute a branch. Members participate in making policy, electing leadership, projects and local campaigns (Sanco Memo 29/09/1996).The Sanco Soweto civic branch had its offices in Ipelegeng Community Centre, White

City Jabavu. It was manned by volunteer staff members from the immediate community. There was no sufficient remuneration for such staff members as the branch relied mostly on donor funds to finance its operations. There was little contribution from the national office of Sanco to assist in providing funds for the branch. According to the ex-president of the branch Maynard Menu, local business people would donate a certain sum of money which was used to finance the operations (Menu 2000).

From its inception Sanco's national structure had mainly depended upon external sources for funds. Such sources included the USAID and the International Centre for the Swedish Labour Movement. In 1996, USAID had ceased funding general administration, and as a result eight staff members were retrenched at the national headquarters (Lodge 1998:87). Membership was based on the payment of joining fees by prospective members. The money was collected locally and deposited nationally. In December 1995 the national structure launched an initiative known as the SANCO Members Benefit Booklet in which members were under obligation to an annual membership fee of R30 to each of Sanco's claimed 1,2 million members. According to this initiative the following benefits would be paid to members:

- R20 of the membership fee would be used to give the member a Members Benefit Booklet. This booklet would entitle a member to R4 000 of savings on products including food, clothing, entertainment household appliances, furniture and much more.

- R10 of the membership fee would be used for an insurance policy for the member which would then assist one's family in the event of an accidental death. The insurance policy would then provide a R1 000 cash pay-out as well as cover educational costs of at least three children in a family household. A total of R1 500 per child would then have to be paid out for three years (Sanco Memo, 29/09/1996).

Another initiative launched by Sanco's national office was the National SANCO Insurance Fund known as UMKHUSELI. This insurance scheme was separate from the initial insurance received by members. The cost of the insurance was R15 per member per month. Benefits in this instance would be pay out of up to R7 500 in the event of a death in the family household. Unfortunately, no account of this proposed benefits was ever given to members in Soweto, particularly in time of death for families whose members had the Sanco insurance policy. According to the former president of Sanco in Soweto, Maynard Menu, accounting records were not kept in proper order. Membership fees were collected and then sent to the national office with little or nothing in return (Menu 2000).

At the beginning of 1996 Sanco's national office managed to set up an investment organisation, SANCO Investment Holdings (SIH). Moses Mayekiso then resigned from Parliament to become its chairman. SIH was established with the help of the Liberty Life insurance group which acquired 20 % of the equity for R1,5 million. The primary object of SIH was to invest in a series of focused areas including privatised state services in the cleaning, catering and security domains (Lodge 1998 : 86). The impact of this initiative was felt throughout the country as branches themselves took up the challenge to begin initiating joint commercial ventures. In Soweto's Dobsonville area, Sanco Soweto endorsed an agreement with the SANLAM insurance group for the development of a shopping mall. Sanco then claimed that the initiative was a "people-driven development". To the contrary, small traders were given no opportunity to involve themselves actively in sustainable economic activities (Lodge 1998:86). Whilst in the Klipspruit-Pimville area the local sub-branch engaged a private company known as Reckitt & Colman South Africa (Pty) Ltd in launching a grand session on 26 June 1998 at the Sanco offices in Ipelegeng centre. Household products such as Jik and Haze brands of detergents and Nugget and Mr. Min brands of polishes were distributed to the local residents (Sanco 21/11/98).

As a national organisation Sanco with its branches (including the Soweto branch) was registered in terms of section 21 of the Companies Act of 1973. This meant that it had to register with the Registrar of Companies. The organisation was also exempted from payment of income tax as

stipulated in section 10(1) (e) of the Income Tax Act of 1962 on the grounds that profits or gains are derived solely from transactions with or on behalf of its individual members (Menu 2000).

5.4 Measures to consolidate the establishment of Sanco in Soweto

Sanco as a national civic umbrella body was established in March 1992 at a launching conference in Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape. The plan to establish a national civic body dated back as far as 1988 when the project was first suggested (Lodge 1998:82). A national interim civic structure was established as a "watchdog" in order to address national civic issues. During the launching of the interim civic structure, delegates from the conference argued over the merits of a unitary constitution governing civic bodies over a federal constitution. In the end a unitary, centralised and hierarchal form of organisation was chosen despite strong objections from the delegates of the Southern Transvaal Federation. An executive committee of the interim civic structure was dominated by leaders of the Western Cape, who generally favoured closer ties with the ANC. All these organisations were, at the time, either explicitly pro-ANC or loosely Charterist and might have been expected to have joined Sanco (Seekings 1998:4).

The move towards a centralised organisation was aimed at discouraging fears that a looser federal body of civic organisations would allow the then National Party government to exploit divisions within the civic movement. The constitution adopted at the conference required that local branches should dissolve their constituencies and refrain from any local negotiations with municipal reform bodies. Similarly local fund raising should cease, and allow funds to be collected nationally and subsequently allocated to branches. Such was the case in Soweto. This meant that local civics had to depend on subscriptions and local gifts for their financing (Lodge 1998:82). The already existing independent regional civic co-ordinating structures that were formed by Sanco became Sanco regions (later renamed as provinces), and individual civic organisations (such as the Soweto Civic Association) became Sanco branches. For example, the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal

became Sanco Southern Transvaal. Sanco leaders insisted at the onset that the new movement should refrain from pledging loyalty to any political party. The then president, Moses Mayekiso argued:

> ...Sanco should be closer to the trade union movement than political organisations...(it) has to be independent of any political organisations...we (Sanco) must remain watchdogs of the community.

Contrary to this standpoint Sanco resolved at its national conference in November 1993 to support the ANC in the 1994 general election campaign. In defence of this position, the then Sanco vice-president Lechesa Tsenoli argued that:

> We (Sanco) are conscious of the need to co-operate where possible, but we want to retain a culture of being critical. Sanco would continue to get our cue from local communities and not political organisations (Lodge 1998:83).

Tsenoli's argument of accepting Sanco as a community watchdog was brought to fruition when Sanco embarked on a bond (or mortgage) boycott in 1992 in support of the ANC's mass action campaign, which accompanied the opening of the constitutional negotiations. According to Lodge (1998:84), this was further motivated by the bank's decision to "redline" certain poor districts and freeze bond programmes. Mayekiso then threatened with reprisals against bank and building societies which refused loans, this included occupation of offices, as well as calls for international credit sanctions.

In 1993, Sanco's national structure signed an agreement with the Association of Mortgage Lenders. However, the agreement was short lived as banks were reluctant to pay for the salaries, cars and offices of 2 000 organisers who Sanco wanted to administer loans and repayments. Sanco maintained its stance on bond repayments thus ensuring its exclusion from the negotiations in the 1994 National Housing Accord, and its non-involvement in the initial stages of the Government's

"Masakhane" campaign (the initiative intended to persuade township residents to resume rent and service payments) (Lodge 1998:85). In June 1996, Sanco's national office then threatened "mass action" against banks unless they stopped 75 000 proposed evictions of bond defaulters, citing poor construction of houses and high interest rates on arrears as a justification for "selective boycotts". However, a disappointing popular response forced the Sanco leadership to sign an agreement with the parastatal loan company, Khayalethu Homes. This meant that Sanco would end its support for defaulting householders in return for rescheduled repayments. In place of direct protest action, Sanco increasingly characterised its prime function as serving as a key agency in development projects. A strategic document published in 1995 described a programme of local development initiatives which would be executed through partnerships between local government, community representatives and the private sector (Lodge 1998:85).

As a result, the Pimville/Klipspruit sub-branch urged the Northern Metropolitan Local Council (NMLC) to join hands in an attempt to foster the culture of payment for services rendered. In a memorandum submitted by the sub-branch on 15 August 1998, the sub-branch further urged the Council to consider budget allocations of services and related programmes of development that should be people-centred and project-orientated with the aim of combatting the high levels of joblessness (SMLC file no.3/2/6). In terms of the grievances registered, the following was articulated:

> The masses, through Sanco, calls on the NMLC to create and maintain a
> functional, up to date and friendly free local office wherein our people shall
> not...stand in long queues to pay...find unattended windows during lunch
> times...be turned back due to insufficient monies...be sent from pillar to post.
> i.e. from Pimville to Randburg (head-office of the NMLC), where they have
> queries (SMLC file no. 3/2/6). (The SMLC file no.3/2/6 is the property of the
> NMLC and was in the custody of the SMLC at the time of this research).

In view of the above the sub-branch pledged its support for what later became known as operation KHOKHA (operation pay-up) as means to resuscitate the Masakhane campaign. Revenue statistics compiled by the Consumer Support Division of the NMLC for operation KHOKA that took place on the 15 August 1998 at the Pimville Paypoint stood at R43 698,57, with a total number of consumers having visited the office for payment at 497 (SMLC file no. 3/2/6). In an immediate response by the NMLC by means of a memorandum dated 11 November 1998 sent to Sanco Pimville/Klipsruit sub-branch, the following points were made:

- The NMLC is responsible for the billing of statements for the Pimville area and no other statement is rendered locally.

- Once the billing process is completed, the tape is forwarded to a private company which will also process the statements and hand them over to the Post Office. It is at this point that the Post Office assumes its responsibility for delivery. However, should a consumer not receive any statements, they are welcome to obtain printouts at the Local office. The NMLC staff will gladly assist.

- Flexible lunch breaks will be introduced to staff at paypoints to accommodate people at lunch times.

These points contained in a memo as detailed above, were later sent to the Sanco Pimville/Klipsruit sub-branch by Mr. B.S. John the then manager of Consumer Support Services of the Northern Metropolitan Substructure (NMLC memo, 11/11/98).

5.5. Sanco Soweto branch and its policies

The national Sanco structure has since its inception established and adopted a unitary constitution. This constitution serves as a set of guidelines determining the identity, aims and objectives, membership together with rights and duties of members, procedures to be followed by members engaging in transactions on behalf of Sanco, as well as the prevailing organisational arrangements. According to Sanco's constitution every member shall belong to a branch, which forms the basic unit of the organisation. Section 8 of Sanco's constitution details the powers and duties of branches (Soweto as a case in mind). It stipulates that branches throughout the country must be registered with the national office. Such branches should meet at least once per month, and in that meeting elect meeting officers-bearers and determine their functions. Section 10 of the said constitution suggests that each branch shall further be divided into areas, and such areas into street committees, and should operate on similar principles as other structures. Sub-section 8.5.1.3 of the Sanco constitution identifies a branch as:

> ...a place where members exercise their basic democratic rights to discuss and
> formulate policy matter [sic] which policy matters shall be recommended to
> the National Executive Committee (Sanco Constitution 1996:11).

Sanco's constitution is regarded as a foundation for providing direction for its activities, programmes and action plans. In this instance it becomes important to look at the role and contribution of Sanco in Soweto.

5.6 Role and contribution of Sanco Soweto: the promotion of civic interest

In chapter 2 of this dissertation, emphasis is made of the necessary and sufficient conditions that exist for the realisation of the civic interest. In this chapter emphasis is directed towards the role and contribution of Sanco Soweto as an entity in the realisation of the civic interest. As explained in

chapter 2 and 3 respectively, non-governmental organisations play a pivotal role in the articulation of the needs, demands and aspirations of members of communities. In this instance those needs, demands and aspirations of the people of Soweto. According to Sanco's *Branch Executive Manual* the role of Sanco is two-fold, firstly Sanco must ensure that there is democratic governance, accountability, and people-centred and *people-driven development* so as to improve the quality of life of the people through grassroots participation, empowerment and a monitoring role. Secondly, Sanco must work jointly with the three spheres of government (local, provincial and national) in implementing the RDP by means of forming RDP or Community Development Forums (CDF), and participating in government committees to formulate new policies (Sanco 29/09/1996).The role and contribution of Sanco in Soweto can be explained in the light of the areas of influence that the organisation exerted in an attempt to secure its interests and, arguably, those of the inhabitants of Soweto. Such areas of influence can be classified as:

- Sanco's organisational arrangement as a branch in Soweto, its fight against crime, its role in areas of development, policy-making, organisation-building and organisational crisis management, and participation in organisational planning forums (such as the RDP Forums, Community Policing Forums, etc.)

- Public dispute settlement and/or policy and representation of individual residents or groups of residents in their dealings with (especially) local government institutions (concerning, for example, registration of ownership of housing, or rent boycotts).

5.6.1 Sanco's initiatives against crime in Soweto

Sanco's efforts in attempting to influence local issues in Soweto were more pronounced in the establishment of operation *Mpimpa*, an anti-crime drive in which information leading to the arrest and conviction of criminals was to be made available. This initiative was also supported by the Business Against Crime organisation which funded anti-crime initiatives throughout the country.

This drive towards anti-crime campaigns had a profound influence on the people of Soweto, and resulted in the formation of, *inter alia*, street committees in Moroka. A group called Youth Action Against Crime was established whose objective it was to discourage the youth from participating in criminal activities. These street committees acted as crime prevention forums (Lodge 1998: 88). In the township of Pimville, steps were taken to coordinate initiatives at establishing a community policing forum aimed at combatting crime in the area. Not much success was achieved in this regard. This was due to lack of proper organisation and communication between the then Interim Committee and the CPF. In an attempt to rectify the situation a Case Committee was established whose members were appointed by the Executive Committee of the sub-branch before 1996 as an alternative adjudicator of cases in the neighbourhood. In one of the reported cases handled by the Pimville CPF, a complainant was paid a total amount of R1 000 after allegedly intending to press for a law suit of R50 000 against certain 5 members for defamation of character. Each person was therefore fined R200 (Sanco Chairperson's Report, 20/09/1997).

In addition to the above initiatives, in December 1997 and early January 1998, residents of Pimville Zone 4 held meetings to voice their discontent at the manner in which residents, who also happened to be court witnesses, failed to attend court hearings in criminal cases. This situation was blamed at the lack of financial assistance for such witnesses to attend court hearings. It is here that the Pimville Sanco sub-branch embarked on a fund raising exercise aimed at attracting donations from fellow residents in order to assist in providing court witnesses with financial assistance. This initiative was headed by Mr. E. Chauke, then the chairperson of the said sub-branch (Sanco, 24/11/1998).

5.6.2 Sanco's developmental role in Soweto

The national office of Sanco made proposals to establish Community Development Forums which, according to Lodge (1998:88), were supposed to be socially responsive establishments by the Reconstruction and Development Programmes (RDP) projects. For Sanco the forums were intended to be the main focus of the civic's local economic development initiatives. According to the Applied

Fiscal Research Centre ([S.a.]:5) as quoted by Odendaal (2000:220), local economic development (hereafter referred to as LED) is a multi-dimensional and multi-sectorial process through which the skills, resources and ideas of local stakeholders are combined to stimulate local economies to respond innovatively to changes in the national and global economic environment, to attain as an end result job creation, poverty alleviation and the distribution of wealth. Thus LED is not a single project or activity. It is a continuous and ongoing process to respond to low economic growth and high unemployment and to stimulate the economy and create new job opportunities. Furthermore, the multi-dimensional and multi-sectorial nature of the LED process is reflected in the various initiatives of stakeholders who participate alongside local government, through a process of interaction, consultation and support to strengthen and realise LED (Odendaal 2000:220).

Local authorities do not necessarily have to play a leading role in the LED process. Local government, as the government nearest to the community, should however participate in some way or other to ensure that optimal support is mobilised for LED (Odendaal 2000:221). For instance, Sanco Soweto was deeply involved in the Local Housing Bureau Committee (hereafter referred to as LHBC) in the greater Gauteng region. The LHBC comprised of one representative from the sub-branches of Sanco Soweto, other community structures and the Housing Department of the Gauteng Provincial Government. The LHBC was responsible at that time, to ensure a smooth transfer of houses to their rightful owners and that title deeds should be handed over to the right persons. However, the so-called "council family houses" presented a difficult dimension where Sanco Soweto witnessed family-infighting where siblings for instance fought each other to ensure absolute control of the houses (Sanco 21/11/98).

At the sub-branch level the Klipsruit and Pimville sub-branches participated in workshops and sat in meetings organised by the Gauteng Environmental Co-ordinating Committee (hereafter referred to as GECC). The GECC's main focus was to establish gardens in the above-stated areas as means of providing subsistence food growing schemes. Mr. E. Chauke was the representative of the sub-branches of Klipspruit and Pimville respectively in all the planning sessions of the GECC.

Developmental local government is local government committed to working with citizens and their groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs and improve the quality of their lives (South Africa 1998:17). The powers and functions of local government should be exercised in a way that has a maximum impact on the social development of communities and on the growth of the local economy, in particular meeting the basic needs of the poor. Through its traditional responsibilities (service delivery and regulation), local government exerts a great influence over the social and economic well-being of local communities. Each year municipalities collect rates, charges and fees, determine the price and quality of water, electricity and roads, purchase goods, provide services and pay salaries. These functions give local government a great influence over local economies (South Africa 1998:18).

In the context of Soweto the Sanco branch supported the NMLC's initiative to resuscitate local development and community development forums through the Masakhane office. Sanco Soweto viewed this initiative by the NMLC as a sign of commitment to return to the Reconstruction and Development Programme which towards 1998 fell into disfavour due to be replaced by the Growth Equity and Redistribution (GEAR) programme. Sanco Soweto believed that the RDP was an embodiment of service delivery and people centred development (Sanco 1999). Sanco Soweto further reiterated the need to establish the Joint Management Committee involving local based structures and the NMLC to manage government projects such as tarring of roads, street lighting, removal of waste etc. This situation requires for instance, that municipalities need to work in partnership with local business (especially local Black enterprises or business in townships like Soweto) to maximise job creation and investments.

The RDP endorses, as quoted in Mayekiso (1996:263), this approach in particular when the enterprises are worker-owned or community-controlled, and provides that:

In order to foster the growth of local economies, broadly representative institutions must be established to address local economic development needs. The purpose of such institutions (including civic associations) would be to formulate strategies to address issues of job creation and community development....

From 1995, development projects were increasingly run by RDP Forums, instead of civic associations, in which the civic movement (Sanco Soweto as reference) was just one of the several organisations participating. In reality there was little success achieved by Sanco Soweto in initiating development projects aimed solely at alleviating socio-economic problems in the area. According to Mandla Mentoor, former organiser of the Sanco Chiawelo sub-branch of Sanco Soweto and later RDP projects coordinator for the local ANC branch, there was little initiative to encourage and empower communities in areas of community-driven projects. This he attributes to a lack of vision, leadership skills and basic education about how to engage communities in development projects (Mentoor 2000). He further argued that this situation resulted in members resigning in numbers and showing less little interest in matters of civic interest. Consequently in the later period of 1995 he resigned citing lack of "activity" within the ranks of the branch as the primary motive. In 1996, he formed the Amandla Waste Management Community Project aimed at providing environmental awareness in the greater Soweto, with more emphasis in his community. Corporate giants like Consol Glass, Nampak and Sappi Waste Management subsidiaries were able to provided assistance in the form of materials, financial support and expertise (Mentoor 2000).

In the experiences shared with past and present members of Sanco it is the researcher's personal opinion that Sanco in Soweto failed to initiate and deliver on RDP-related projects. Lack of proper management skills, resources, poor communication infrastructure, limited access to government information and lack of sustainable programmes on community empowerment, contributed to the failure of Sanco in Soweto. These failures are presented as problems and challenges and will be discussed further in paragraph 5.7.

5.7. Problems and challenges experienced by Sanco Soweto

The relationship between the ANC and its allies (Sanco Soweto branch in this instance) prompted people at times to use alternative measures when addressing problems in which the ANC-aligned organisations were involved. For example, people in Jabavu and Meadowlands relied on the Parent-Teacher Association rather than the civic in disputes concerning the conduct of primary school teachers who were members of the South African Democratic Teachers Union (Lodge 1998: 93). In reality this meant that Soweto residents whose political affiliation and support was to other political organisations such as Azapo, Pan Africanist Congress and other groupings felt uneasy in engaging with the civic branch on matters of common concern. According to Maynard Menu, ex-Sanco Soweto president, this also prompted the emergence of rival civic organisations such as the Sofasonke Civic Association, Masingafi Civic Association, South African Residents Association and the South African Residents Organisation. These organisations became home to dissatisfied residents who lost trust in the Soweto branch, as well as ex-Soweto Civic Association members who did not support the merger of the former with the latter (Menu 2000).

5.7.1 Problems experienced by Sanco Soweto

Sanco Soweto experienced a number of problems during its time. Such problems involved internal differences amongst civic members and external constraints including the tendency towards centralisation.

5.7.1.1 Internal differences amongst Sanco Soweto members

Certain members of Sanco Soweto were disillusioned by the treatment from the regional office in Johannesburg. Others felt that there was a need to revive the existence of the Soweto Civic Association or form a new civic organisation. On the one hand some of the members were against any affiliation with the African National Congress, which, to them, was a clear violation of

independence and the freedom of movement and choice (Menu 2000). Fears that were expressed in this instance were that the ANC will soon dominate the affairs of the civic movement and that Sanco's "watchdog" role will be diminished. In a meeting held at 1283 Ipelegeng Centre in Jabavu (then the head office of Sanco Soweto) on the 29 September 1996, from 08h30 to 17h30, a solution was adopted to "break-away" from regional affiliation. Reasons cited included ill-treatment from the regional office. For instance, the regional office was blamed for communicating directly with sub-branches (for example the Pimville sub-branch) instead of the sub-region (in this case the Sanco Soweto branch). Another area of contention was the fragile, sensitive relationship between the sub-region and the ANC. Sanco activists felt "left-out" by other members of the alliance (ANC, Cosatu and SACP) and those former activists who were recruited into the ANC ranks before and during elections, and later became ANC councillors. This situation prompted resignations from certain members of the Sanco Soweto branch. To give an example, a certain comrade Aggrey from the sub-region, tendered a resignation three days after being elected into office. She complained about the way in which the election of office-bearers was conducted (Sanco 16/12/96).

5.7.1.2 External constraints on the organisational set-up of Sanco Soweto

Since 1993, Sanco's national profile has declined. According to Gumede (1996), Sanco leaders had acknowledged that the organisation was excluded from key decisions over housing (primarily in the Government-led Masakhane campaign) and the restructuring of the state development agencies. It was also marginalised within corporatist structures such as the National Economic Development and Labour Council (Nedlac). During this time Sanco leaders had acknowledged publicly that the organisation was in crisis and had to transform itself (a statement issued by its former president Moses Mayekiso) in order to survive (Mungo 11/10/1996). This situation had an impact on how local branches could survive this national crisis.

From the very onset, the Sanco Soweto branch never enjoyed the benefit of being an independent entity. As an organisation it had to withstand a number of external constraints. Due to the fact that Sanco was a national body with branches (such as Soweto) affiliated to the national structure, the Sanco Soweto branch had to seek "permission" from the parent body before it could enter into any transaction and/or agreement. This situation exposed the branch(es) to a number of external constraints and forces. In Soweto, owing to lack of funds forthcoming from the national office, the executive members resorted to their own means of fund raising. Local business was pledged to donate money. Likewise local fund raising initiatives were also initiated. In as far as Sanco's national set-up was concerned, there was a tendency towards "centralised practices", which left the branches to fend for themselves particularly in terms of financial self-sufficiency and sustained support. This created a tendency towards centralisation giving the national office the right to allocate resources to branches as it saw fit (Menu 2000).

5.8 The role of Sanco Soweto in the local government transformation

The political tensions between the ANC and Sanco, from a national and local point of view, was seen as one of the challenging obstacles faced by the civic organisation between 1996 and 1998. This created a tendency for local Sanco branches to concentrate on local civic issues. Such included issues in political areas such as the demand for accountable government.

5.8.1 Sanco Soweto's demand for accountable local government

In trying to keep up with the "watch-dog" role Sanco took steps to keep check of the performance of newly elected councillors in all the four local sub-structures of the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council. In a case involving residents of Dube (Ward 20), a motion of no confidence in Councillor Nkonyane was presented to the chief executive officer of the Southern Metropolitan Council Mr. M.C. Ngcobo on 26 March 1998. After council deliberations over the matter a motion was passed to the effect that councillor Nkonyane should be persuaded to resign of his own accord.

A series of meetings was held in this regard by executive members of the Southern Metropolitan Council and the said councillor. Finally, it was agreed that it was in the interest of all parties involved that Councillor Nkonyane should resign with immediate effect. By the end of June 1998, Councillor Nkonyane had formally submitted his resignation (SMLC file no. 3/6/1).

A number of complaints was raised during the late 1990s by several associations including Sanco Soweto. Complaints raised were over issues including tariffs, alleged lack of communication, insensitivity on the part of the Council, lack of services, lack of consultation in the decision making process and an uncooperative attitude displayed by SMLC officials and councillors. In this regard the Southern Metropolitan Council (Budget and Finance Committee) made a recommendation. They recommended that a working committee consisting of nominated councillors and officials be established aimed at facilitating consultative meetings with civic organisations to discuss their grievances and formulate responses to these. A certain Mr. A. J. van Zyl, then executive officer in the revenue collection division of the finance department, was tasked with the responsibility to oversee the success of such an initiative (SMLC file no. 3/6/1). Sanco sub-branches of Mofolo North, Chiawelo and Jabavu, together with other organisations such as the Soweto Veterans League, Nancefield Senior Citizens Village and Greater Lenasia Resident association, raised the following complaints among others:

- A demand that a flat rate system for services and electricity be paid by residents especially pensioners. This idea was encouraged by the Soweto Veterans League.

- Meter readings are frequently queried, as to both the accuracy of the reading as well as that of the metres. Metres are not accessible to consumers in many instances to confirm readings which lead to further mistrust as to metre readings and the correct processing thereof.

- The presence of "squatters" in close proximity to residential areas and/or perceived lack of services are leading to communities and large property owners/administrators threatening, and in instances carrying out such threats, to withhold money due to the Southern Metropolitan Council for services rendered. In most instances these monies were owed for rates and taxes.

- Refuse removal and sewerage charges are not levied in an orderly manner, although it is common for consumers to withhold electricity and water payments as well. It is not unusual to have consumers withhold payment for water ostensibly drawn by the "squatters". As a result squatters sometimes siphon off water from tariff payers (SMLC file no. 3/6/1).

- Differential tariffs have been recommended where collection and management of tariffs remains a problem. More so in the instance of housing rentals. Higher housing rentals are recognised as stumbling blocks and calls are made for lower fixed rentals. At the same time issues pertaining to security, health, welfare and transportation are cited as areas of concern.

- The compilation and implementation of the latest valuation roll; the motives for introducing a system of property tax and also the need for the levying of a property tax base have raised questions because in the popular perception, the payment of rent over an extended period of time relieves one from a legal obligation to pay assessment rates. In certain quarters it is also alleged that residents are being discouraged to complete applications for old age remission on the grounds that the Council is "cheating" the residents.

In general, there was a call for lower tariffs, better communication and greater involvement by councillors. Accusations were also levelled against politicians for not implementing undertakings given at the time of canvassing election support (SMLC file no. 3/6/1). These six points show that community participation was and still is important in the realisation of democratic rule and the principle of public accountability. The provision of basic services and goods to consumers-*cum-*

residents of local municipalities is a fundamental duty in promoting the general welfare for all.

5.9 The concept and phenomenon of civic interest revisited and applied

Chapter 3, sub-section 3.5.3 made reference to the manner in which interest groups, such as civics—the Soweto Sanco branch for example— may influence the direction and content of policies. This attempt to influence policies is reflected in the submission of memoranda, letters (proposals) public demonstrations and other forms of interest articulation. The same sub-section discusses Sanco's serving as a link between, on the one hand, members of the Soweto community and, on the other hand, policy-makers (the then Soweto City Council and the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Structures).

Arguably the above discussion exemplifies the phenomenon of civic interest in an operational form. Chapter 2, section 2.3 also conceptualised the way that *civic interest* is concerned with individual interests that all members of the community share and over which they reach consensus as an expression of the common good. In the given case, the political community authorities, initially the Soweto City Council and then its successor the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council must ensure cooperation with the community as represented by key external groups like Sanco Soweto branch. In this way the needs, desires, demands and aspirations of the people of Soweto can be satisfied.

5.9.1 Sanco Soweto and the common good of the people of Soweto

From 1988 to 1993, the then Soweto City Council was ineffective. The delivery of services had ceased to the point where the then Johannesburg City Council took over the function of delivering services to the people of Soweto. After the democratic elections of 1994, and the subsequent restructuring of local government, attempts were made to resuscitate the level of service delivery to acceptable standards. According to the ex-president of Sanco Soweto, Mr. Maynard Menu, a number

of Community Development Forums were established throughout the jurisdiction of Soweto with the aim of facilitating RDP-related projects (Menu 2000). Sanco Soweto played a leading role in ensuring that development projects are initiated through Community Development Forums. As mentioned in section 5.6.2 of this chapter, Community Development Forums were also intended to stimulate local economic development initiatives.

In virtually all offices of the sub-branches of Sanco Soweto volunteer workers participated in meetings called by officials of Community Development Forums. Unfortunately, most proposed projects did not succeed due to lack of expertise, lack of support from local government and, most importantly, lack of funding (Menu 2000). Basic resources of local government were utilised in the transformation of local government structures, in this case, abolishing racially-constituted local authorities such as the then Soweto City Council and incorporating it with a non-racial local authority, which became known as the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council. It is here that Sanco Soweto played a pivotal role in engaging in negotiations with other stakeholders such as the Johannesburg City Council. In other words, Sanco Soweto contributed to the common good by facilitating dialogue with the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council. Equally important, Sanco Soweto had to pay particular attention in the promotion of consensus (perceived here as a process and not an end-product) amongst the people of Soweto. This aspect is discussed below:

5.9.2 Sanco Soweto and the need to promote consensus amongst the people of Soweto

Soweto has always been divided into social classes wherein residents received basic services, albeit in limited quantities, occupied residential spaces or zones and to a large extent spoke different African languages such as Sotho (northern and southern), IsiZulu, Xitsonga, IsiNdebele, IsiXhosa and other languages. These socio-economic and cultural differences meant that the people of Soweto had diverse individual interests that the authorities should satisfy, and in return, civic associations had to articulate these individual interests to the authorities. It is the researcher's opinion that the ability to achieve consensus is dependent on the ability of any social structure, including civic

associations, to reconcile diverse individual interests in order to build consensus. The inability of Sanco Soweto to achieve consensus among the people of Soweto may be traced back as far as the activities and programmes of the Soweto Civic Association. One example is the organising of rent boycotts in Soweto. According to Shubane and Madiba (1994:18) civics such as the Soweto Civic Association failed to achieve consensus among the people of Soweto owing to different views on whether to end the "rent" boycott or not. Both authors argue that the "rent" boycott provided an opportunity to expose the differences that existed within the civics constituency. To make matters even more complicated, civics purported to represent communities in most townships of South Africa. This not only denied the possibility that some residents or ratepayers might have felt that their interests were served by the boycott, but also blurred the possibility that boycotters might have had different reasons for participating in boycott actions.

In reality, while rent and service charges boycotts received support from virtually all residents, regardless of socio-economic status, reasons for supporting the action seem to have varied. According to Shubane and Madiba (1994:16) residents who felt squeezed by deteriorating economic conditions supported the boycotts because they offered relief in the face of falling living standards. To the poor, the boycott was an economic necessity. In Soweto for example, many residents had already fallen into arrears. Residents may have identified with the boycott's political aims, but their chief incentive was more economic. Other residents believed that the boycott was more than a protest. They saw it as an attempt to bankrupt a local state structure and, by extension, the central government itself whose funds would be increasingly stretched by the need to maintain essential services in the townships. Boycotts were believed to be a key strategy to ensure a total collapse of Apartheid (Shubane and Madiba 1994:17).

These differences in motive became important when civics contemplated ending the boycott through local negotiations. Furthermore, a process of internal negotiation was needed to ensure that a settlement was achieved which responded to the demands of boycotting groups. In most cases these internal negotiations did not occur, or failed to achieve their aims. The later failure to secure widespread compliance with agreements (such as the Soweto Accord that was signed in September

of 1990) reflected this. The organisational capacity of civics was another another factor contributing to the success or failure of civics to achieve consensus. According to Shubane and Madiba (1994:17), there were civics whose branches and sub-branches were weak, and in which the leadership decided on the terms of a settlement without referring these back to the constituency. In this instance, the leadership simply endorsed the conditions of any settlement without prior consultation with its constituency. As a result this reflected on the inability of the leadership to achieve consensus around ending the boycott.

This is the legacy that Sanco Soweto inherited on its inception in the early 1993. Lack of proper consultation between Sanco Soweto's leadership and its constituencies continued. One of the challenges that Sanco Soweto had to face was the immediate need to reconcile the views held by boycotters and on the other hand views of residents who sought to pay their rent and service charges. The latter group of residents realised the connection between the newly found democracy and the responsibilities of compliance with the law, including the payment of services and charges imposed by the democratically elected government since 1994, as significant (Menu 2000).

To compound the situation further, divisions within Sanco Soweto over the expulsion of Mzwanele Mayekiso the Alexandra civic leader were observed. His expulsion was due to his analysis of civics published in December 1996 which reflected the unease felt by at least some of Sanco's leaders about the future of the movement as a whole. Civics, he argued, were in danger of becoming "rubber stamp vehicles", driven by political parties with a principal function of merely supplying mass endorsement for conservative notions of development (Lodge 1999:89). In August 1997, Gauteng branches (including Sanco Soweto) were reported to be threatening a secession if Mayekiso's expulsion was not rescinded.

The above stated problems and challenges that Sanco Soweto had to endure had a detrimental effect in ensuring the achievement of consensus, amongst members of the branch as well as between the branch executive and its followers. Therefore, it may be concluded that Sanco Soweto failed to achieve consensus amongst its members. Sanco Soweto's inability to overcome challenges and

problems in this regard, especially within its ranks, was also an indication of its inability to cope with complex issues and circumstances. From the above argument, it is important to discuss about the civic interest of the people of Soweto, seen as a critical component in the achievement of consensus. These individual interests are discussed below.

5.9.3 Sanco Soweto and the individual interests of the people of Soweto

Given the demographics of Soweto as discussed in chapter 4, *inter alia,* section 4.3 of this dissertation, the people of Soweto were subjected to harsh socio-economic conditions such as poverty, malnutrition, lack of services, poor infrastructure, lack of proper local management and administrative structures. According to Kekana (1996:7), living conditions in Soweto were appalling. Literally speaking, at night chairs had to be lifted onto the table to create sufficient sleeping space for all members of the family. Privacy was virtually non-existent in some households as young and old, female and male, were packed into this undesirable situation. Crucial to note is that the people of Soweto were divided into socio-economic classes.

The middle-class residents occupied the well constructed privately-owned houses (in areas such as Selection Park in Pimville, Prestige Park near Diepkloof and recently Protea Glen west of Soweto) whilst the lower-income residents occupied the so-called "council houses". Residents below the bread line became squatters in nearby areas such as Finetown next to Lenasia, Fred Clarke in Kliptown, Mdlaloseville in Dhlamini, Mshenguville in Mofolo, Mandela Village in Diepkloof, People's Village in Diepkloof and Snake Park near Dobsonville. These squatter camps became safe heavens for illegal immigrants from neighbouring countries such as Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe who were given derogatory names like *makwerekwere* and *magri-gamba.* Such names or titles did not have real meaning except to suggest that these people spoke languages that Sowetans could not understand (Bonner and Segal 1998:135). The squatters however, were not all "outsiders" as many people in Soweto believed. Because of the desperate shortage of housing in Soweto, the squatter camps also attracted hundreds of residents from within the township itself.

Given the above-stated situation, the well-to-do (middle-class) residents of Soweto enjoyed better services from both the private and public sectors, whilst low-income residents and residents in squatter camps enjoyed little if no services from the private and public sectors. The squatters were the most destitute, and even Soweto's poorest occupants of houses appeared relatively well off in comparison. In 1989, the average income of a household in Soweto was R900 per month. In comparison some 20% of shack households earned less than R300 per month. Those in employment usually performed unskilled work and received deplorable wages (Bonner and Segal 1998:136). Other squatters, mostly women, set up open-air shops where they sold fruit and vegetables, sweets, cigarettes and kip-kips (coloured popcorns) from rickety wooden stands on the outskirts of the settlement. The squatters also faced horrendous living conditions in the settlements. Most shacks were built out of an assortment of metal sheets, cardboard boxes, plastic cartons, sheets of canvas and pieces of junk. According to Bonner and Segal (1998:136), shacks were sometimes referred to as "five-in-ones", because the bedroom, lounge, bathroom, dining room and kitchen were all in one room. There were seldom any toilets or taps nearby and litter piled up in dusty streets.

From the above argument, one may deduce that a great sense of disparity existed between residents of "council houses", middle-class residents and squatters. In essence the individual interests (needs, wants, demands and aspirations) amongst residents differed considerably according to their socio-economic standing. It is the researcher's opinion that the principal needs of residents in formal settlements of Soweto for instance, had more to do with the need for adequate security against criminality, safe-guarding of economic and political rights as well as additional privileges that could be offered to them. This was in sharp contrast to the principal needs of squatters, who arguably needed proper housing, better services such as sanitation, waste removal and the provision of clean water for personal consumption. According to Bonner and Segal (1998:136), there were frequent clashes between township residents and residents from squatter camps. Township residents frequently accused the squatters of creating a health hazard in their midst. For example, residents of Mofolo township pleaded with the then Soweto City Council to remove the massive Mshenguville squatter camp of over three thousand families to an alternative place. A memorandum from the

residents was sent to the authorities during the later part of 1989. The Council eventually agreed to demolish the camp and the squatters were forced to move to what became known as Orange Farm near Vereeniging. According to Neil Tobajane, a resident of Soweto at the time, quoted by Bonner and Segal (1998:135):

> There were often tensions between the people living in *mkhukhus* (backyard shacks) and home owners. The inhabitants of the corrugated iron shacks resented the high rents they were charged, especially given the overcrowded, and often unhygienic, conditions in the yards...but the shack dwellers were forced to accept their circumstances. Many lived in the townships illegally and did not want to attract the attention of the authorities. Besides, there were few housing alternatives available.

However, not all residents reacted with hostility towards the squatters, as Neil Tobajane explains:

> It would differ from area to area. In Diepkloof, for example, the squatters saw a need to actually participate in the democratic movement. Politically it was okay for the residents of Diepkloof to accept squatters and forge a link with them. In terms of the student struggles, a lot of those shacks were able to shelter activists in terms of hide-outs and so on. In an area like Pimville, people were not politicised and would not see the political connection of such a settlement. In such an area, people would therefore resist the squatters, saying that they brought a lot of thugs and violence (Bonner and Segal 1998:136).

This statement suggests that Sanco Soweto's capacity to acknowledge and respect the diverse needs, wants, demands and aspirations of the different classes of residents of Soweto was questionable. In this regard, it is the researcher's opinion that Sanco Soweto failed to acknowledge the existence of diverse needs, wants, demands and aspirations of the whole of the people of Soweto, regardless of their socio-economic standing. As this was reflected not only in the composition of Sanco Soweto's leadership, but also Sanco Soweto's failure to deal with the problems and challenges squatters faced.

Literally, squatters were not fully represented in the ranks of Sanco Soweto (Menu 2000). Activists from the township who had a reasonable educational background and commanded a huge following enjoyed the status of being Sanco Soweto members. How then were the aspirations, needs, demands and desires of the people of Soweto articulated? Was the use of certain tools and aids such as representation from civil society organisations such as Sanco Soweto realised? Did Sanco Soweto represent the *bona fide* residents of Soweto?

The following discussion will centre around what representation means, and whether Sanco Soweto did actually represent the people of Soweto. Representation is perceived in this dissertation as a critical secondary tool, after the common good, individual interest and consensus, in the process of promoting the civic interest of the people of Soweto.

5.10 Sanco Soweto and the question of representation

It is very often assumed that civic associations *always* represent the common views, aspirations and needs of individuals of a particular community. Thus, a perception is created that initiatives undertaken by such civic bodies such as rent boycotts, consumer boycotts and stay-aways always receive the "blessing" of all individuals of a community. These assumptions are not universally true as there are differences in the way people experience the challenges, problems and to a large extent, the benefits of communal life (Shubane & Madiba 1994:248). For example, township residents cannot all claim that they experience the effects of poor policing and the subsequent high crime rate the same way. In reality, the effects of crime and poor policing is felt differently by different people because its effects are influenced by a variety of factors. Such factors involve poverty, age group, access to the job market and/or the level of education and the type of settlement patterns. Many civic leaders recognised the new challenges facing them. Christianson and Ndukwana, as quoted in Seekings (1998:217), observed in late 1994 that:

Generally, civics seem to be somewhere between a 1980s-style faith in their ability to represent the "general will" of township residents, and an awareness that the complex aggregation of interests emerging in the townships requires a more nuanced approach. In the past three years, activists have moved a long way towards recognising that when situations become more complex, there is a greater need for organisations to demonstrate that they are representative.

In essence the above statement might suggest that few civics, including their branches and sub-branches (Sanco Soweto as reference), could indicate precisely whom they represented. According to Seekings (1998:217), as civic activists were drawn into meetings and technical activities about development, they tended to become ever more remote from their support bases The situation became complex when civic activists demanded salaries, in the light of the expected work load that they had to deal with.

In addition, they entered indirectly into competition with well-paid state and private sector employees, thus exposing themselves to charges of self-interest and corruption (Seekings 1998:217). According to Shubane and Madiba (1994:249), civic bodies tended to be rooted among the established sections of the townships rather than shack settlements. This arrangement existed given the widely shared belief that shack dwellers tend to be dependent on local authorities to help them settle in their new environments. By contrast, township dwellers have always entertained the common problem of securing tenure, as one of the many factors that has required them to be organised.

Another observation related to the above argument was raised by Seekings (1998:14) as he pointed out that rapid class mobility and increasing stratification in the African population has put paid to a single voice emanating from the townships. In many areas (including Soweto) Seekings (1998:14) observes that:

The supposed 'community' (in this instance Soweto) comprised groups with ever more divergent and even contradictory interests. New home-owners worry about property values in the face of encroaching shack settlements; backyard tenants denounce the high rents they are charged by their landlords; upgrading plans for the shack settlements may offer no benefits to other sections of the population while posing a threat to illegal immigrants.

As much as these differences exist, it should not be assumed that the interests of township dwellers as opposed to shack dwellers are always poles apart. Residents of formal houses have at times accommodated the interests of the homeless by, for example, supporting the erection of shacks next to their houses. In Mshenguville, Soweto, residents have accommodated the homeless by allowing them to set up shacks in their area, some as subtenants or tenants of the people in the area (Shubane & Madiba 1994:250).

In addition, there was a group of residents who tended to be dominant in the affairs of civic associations. Most had been part of organised resistence groups such as student and labour movements against apartheid. Some of them remained as participants in youth, women's groups or trade unions. Therefore, Sanco Soweto cannot claim to be a true representative of the people of Soweto. Residents who came from poor backgrounds, especially from shack areas, remained marginalised by Sanco Soweto's leadership. In Alexandra, north-east of Johannesburg, the Alexandra Civic Organisation was formed in December 1989, and drew its support from shack dwellers, hostel dwellers and residents of the "Old Alex" (Juta's RSC Report 1991/03:8). This was a sharp contrast to the complexion of the Sanco Soweto support base.

5.11 Conclusion

Changes in the broader political environment in South Africa, since the first democratic elections in 1994, have forced a rethink within the larger civic movement fraternity and a concern for their continued existence beyond anti-apartheid politics. It is by no means certain that Sanco Soweto will

weather the problems and challenges experienced during the political transition. What seems to be certain though, is that there is definite lack of funding from overseas potential donors to help sustain continued existence. Proper financial administration and record keeping has been a long standing problem. Tendencies towards centralisation wherein the regional and national offices tend to keep all resources to themselves, as well as the high turn-out of resignations of influential, informed and experienced activists, have been the order of the day. All of this, perceived together, is a recipe for disaster and threatens the very foundation upon which democracy is built, the respect for human rights and the pursuit of contentment in life (common good, discussed in chapter 2, section 2.3 and section 6.2 of chapter 6).

Greater opposition has gained prominence, thus leaving the Branch losing a great deal of support and following. It is the researcher's opinion that Soweto residents seem to express no confidence towards the Branch considering its track record. If this be the case, whose interests does Sanco Soweto represent? Does it continue to enjoy the support received during the periods of political mobilisation in the apartheid era? Thus far, there are signs that the establishment of rival civic groups such as the Masingafi Civic Association has became a reality. Drastic steps must be undertaken by the Branch in order to survive the problems and challenges posed by changes in the political landscape of South Africa. Issues of development and service delivery will continue to dominate the agenda of civil society organisations such as Sanco Soweto. It is for this reason that focus must be directed at devising new strategies in search for solutions to a multitude of problems experienced by Sanco Soweto. Chapter 6 should focus on lessons learned from other Sanco branches on a national scale as well as the general conclusion of this dissertation.

Chapter 6

General conclusion and recommendations

6.1 Introduction

In this dissertation the concept and phenomenon of civic interest have been discussed at length in chapter two. Critical to note is that the conceptual argument has revealed the importance of the conditions that sustain or promote the phenomenon of civic interest in reality. These conditions were divided into necessary conditions and sufficient conditions. Section 6.3 of this chapter applies those elements or conditions specifically highlighted in chapter 2. Whilst an account has been given of the historical background of the establishment, role and contribution of Sanco in Soweto, the focus in this chapter will be on the lessons learned from other Sanco branches and similar international bodies, concluding remarks, an evaluation of study and proposals of the study as well as possible research fields resulting from the study.

6.2 Lessons learned from other Sanco branches

In Duduza (East Rand), the local civics branch relied on electricity campaigns to canvass for local support. Residents were against what they perceived as high electricity charges, approximately at 19 cents per unit. Despite this, only less than half the number of residents had their houses electrified during the late 1980s. Why then was an issue affecting a minority accepted as a priority issue by the branch in an attempt to represent the entire community? According to interviews conducted in that area, there were two answers to the above question. One was that those without electricity wanted tariffs lowered because they expected to gain access to electricity later (Shubane and Madiba 1994:13). Another answer was that there was a need for solidarity on issues other than electricity on which members had to act together.

In the researcher's opinion the above stated example offers a lesson that the interests of communities that are bound by solidarity, may be expressed directly to local authorities without emphasising differences in class status, income and employment levels. Until such barriers of social, income and employment status are removed, residents of Soweto stand to be misrepresented on those occasions when their needs and interests are supposed to be expressed to the immediate authorities. As a result the civic interest is not served.

Another case in mind is the Attridgeville civic branch of Sanco where threats of secession from the core organisation were the order of the day in the late 1980s until the early 1990s. People living in shacks saw themselves as different, having separate demands, needs and interests, from their counterparts living in formal township houses. In a move to stamp their approach on the question of representation, they (the shack-dwellers) decided to do things their own way. Civic leaders in shack areas took the initiative of collecting funds from shack-dwellers, ignoring the fear of financial mismanagement and retaliation from the core organisation manned mainly by civic leadership drawn from a section of the community from formal houses. This practice to some extent became common in most urban areas of the country (Shubane and Madiba 1992:14).

The above situation led to claims that civics represent the middle classes of township communities. Similarly this was the case in Soweto's Mshenguville, mentioned in sub-section 5.9.3, where residents from the neighbouring formal houses became more dominant than informal settlement-dwellers in civic matters and the affairs of local government in the area. In the researcher's opinion, lack of cohesion and solidarity within the ranks of any civic branch may lead to a total collapse of either the respective branch and/or the national civic structure itself. This was the case when the Sanco Soweto branch collapsed in the early period of 1998, leaving sub-branches to operate on their own without proper coordination.

Another similar instance was the case of Sanco branches in the Greater Cape Town area. According to Seekings (1998:11), it is not clear who supports the organisation and its branches in the greater region. He argues that Sanco's support base was initially in the established townships, but has since shifted to Khayelitsha, a historically a predominantly Black residential area. Whilst in another Black residential area, of Langa, support was said to have been concentrated among the "amagoduka" (foreigners), in shack settlements and from the hostels. Township residents chose not to support the local branch. This situation gave way to rival organisations such as a Committee of Ten and the Langa Civic Association representing the latter's interests, demands and wants (Seekings 1998:11).

6.3 Concluding remarks

Both the concept and phenomenon of civic interest have been discussed extensively in this dissertation. As far as the concept *civic interest* is concerned, it is defined as the individual interests which members of the community share and form a sufficient consensus upon as fundamental and representing the common good. The phenomenon civic interest may be observed in considering the necessary and sufficient conditions for the realisation of the civic interest. Necessary conditions were identified as order, time and space. While sufficient conditions of civic interest were identified as public participation, economic development and stability, ethics and morality. The necessary and sufficient conditions for the realisation of civic interest are realised to the full potential if interest groups like Sanco Soweto are able to represent (chapter five has already elucidated on the phenomenon of representation) the needs, demands and interests of their constituencies to the immediate authorities. In essence the function of representation observed in this regard in respect of Sanco Soweto becomes the "ultimate step" in the process of identifying and observing the civic interest. This means that the concept *civic interest* embraces the elements of individual interests, common good and consensus as primary components.

In chapter 3 of this dissertation, an attempt was made at identifying the *locus* and focus of non-governmental organisations in public administration. Constructive theoretical arguments identified in this study have provided a foundation to undertake this research. The historical background of non-governmental organisations in the developed and underdeveloped worlds was explored. Today non-governmental organisations embrace a wide spectrum of individuals and organisations ranging from major trade unions to small women's circles. Some of these non-governmental organisations have evolved to become relief and welfare agencies, technical innovation organisations, advocacy groups and networks, grassroots development organisations or popular development organisations *inter alia*. One cannot ignore the important role played by civic associations such as Sanco and its branches such as Sanco Soweto as development agencies.

Swilling (1993:23) provides categories of civic organisational forms such as grassroots civics, populist civics, leadership elite civics, paper civics, party-political civics, developmental civics, governmental civics and branch civics. The later type of civic fits the example identified in this study, namely Sanco Soweto. The objectives and aims of non-governmental organisations have been emphasised. This included human development, socio-economic development and micro-social transformation. Role functions of non-governmental organisations have also been emphasised focusing on the project replication function, influencing of policy reform, meeting needs and expectations and allaying fears of the population and conveying requests and making demands to the authorities.

Chapter 4 focussed on the element of space as a necessary condition in the realisation of the civic interest. That space identified was Soweto. In this instance emphasis was placed developments from a political, social and cultural perspective which had an impact on the realisation of the civic interest, from a historical viewpoint. The Marxist approach was adopted to explain the position of Soweto (as a dormitory township) in relation to Johannesburg as the core city. Chapter 5 dealt with the establishment, role and contribution of Sanco in Soweto.

It is the researcher's opinion that, had Sanco Soweto been able to capture the support of all the residents of Soweto, cohesiveness in managing its sub-branches could have been achieved successfully. This in return could have had a positive impact in sustaining solidarity among members, and possibly community-based affiliates such as women's groups and burial societies. And possibly in the end, the paramount objective of overcoming social and economic struggles within the community of Soweto could have been accomplished.

6.4 Evaluation and proposals of the study

Based on the foregoing conclusions the following recommendations are made: At the local level Sanco's role of being a "watchdog" seems to cause confusion as the civic organisation does not seem to succeed in spelling out precisely what its new role should be after the resistance era. The Soweto branch seems to experience this dilemma as well. What options are available to the Sanco Soweto branch?

Firstly, the Sanco Soweto branch needs to maintain complete independence from government (local tier) and its agencies. Complete independence, means Sanco Soweto should not be controlled by political alliances between the ANC and Cosatu, but through self-initiative. If Sanco Soweto is able to recruit skilled professionals, encourage government and private sector investments and facilitate development programmes like street lighting and waste collections, such influence and independence will allow skilled and professional civic activists not to be lured into joining government ranks (as ANC councillors at local government level). Because this situation could contribute to the weakening of the organisation in terms of quality leadership. The branch should cultivate its own crop of activists and build a strong pool of leadership. However, the executive members of the branch must guard against the creation of elitism within the movement at large. Secondly, there should be a balanced mutual relation (without fear of that branch's secession from the national structure) between the Sanco Soweto branch and its national office, particularly in areas of sharing resources, skills, improving communications and defining each partner's role and areas of influence and responsibility.

In this way the organisational machinery of the branch will be stable and ensure effectiveness and efficiency in initiating and sustaining its projects and programmes. Such projects and programmes must be clearly identifiable and be able to satisfy their intended goal(s) and objective(s). In this regard the Sanco Soweto branch must begin to play the role of a development catalyst or agency. This requires constant contact with the community of Soweto as well as the immediate local authority represented by the Johannesburg Unicity.

Thirdly, there must be clarity as to whether the Sanco Soweto branch will succeed in playing the much pronounced role of being a watchdog, in the sense of constantly monitoring the affairs of the immediate local authority in areas of policies, service delivery and urban development. This requires a complete overhaul of its image of the past, "wearing the colours of a revolutionary movement", to that of a truly people-driven movement that enjoys the support of the majority of people of Soweto.

According to Mayekiso (1996:259) people in communities generally know what they want. Professional civic activists should be in a position to establish development plans in a way that is as community-driven as possible. This means taking already-existing popular campaigns and turning them into broader policy frameworks. Equally so, the images of a sectorial nature must be dispelled in favour of an image that encourages equality and communalism ("civil society model").

Fourthly, in the economic sphere the organisation and its branches (Sanco Soweto as a point of reference), must strengthen its position in playing a meaningful role in the sphere of economic empowerment. Economic initiatives such as the establishment of Sanco Investment Holdings, headed by the former president of the organisation Moses Mayekiso, needs to be harnessed. In this way members of the community could benefit from participating directly in issues affecting their economic and social well-being. Taking the above problems and challenges into consideration, Sanco Soweto has remained a force to be recognised with. In line with the afore going discussion, it becomes necessary to discuss the importance of possible research emanating from this study.

6.5 Possible research themes resulting from the study

In every study or research on human behaviour it becomes important to identify related fields of research emanating from the same study or research. This study is no exception to that. Questions are asked such as the following: Is Sanco Soweto the legitimate organ of civil society to articulate and promote the civic interest of the people of Soweto? Is Sanco Soweto experiencing a "post-Apartheid syndrome" from politics of protest to politics of development? What about the future of Sanco Soweto? Are we likely to see other community structures representing the civic interest of the people of Soweto? In the light of new emerging community-based organisations, local political parties as well as rival civic organisations such as Masingafi civic association, a question could be asked as to who is most likely to take over the responsibilities of articulating the civic interest of the people of Soweto?

It then suffices to say that the latest developments warrant the attention of researchers in contributing to finding a new role for Sanco Soweto. Not only the Sanco Soweto branch, but also other Sanco branches on a national scale, must be investigated to assess the impact that they have exerted in promoting the civic interest in their areas of jurisdiction, particularly in this new democratic dispensation. Thus a comparative survey of selected Sanco branches on a national bases could be observed as a possible research area for further studies. To cite but few examples, the published works of South African writers and scholars, like Jeremy Seekings on civics in Cape Town (1977-1996), could serve as model for comparative purposes.

In addition, another respectable work edited by Glenn Adler and Jonny Steinberg (2000), could serve as a model for reference and comparative purposes. Other possibilities could include involving civic activists in workshops, seminars and open lecturers on current issues facing the role and contribution of civics (with special reference to Sanco Soweto) in the 21st century. New challenges and problems facing society such as illiteracy, poverty, environmental awareness, unemployment, the escalating

cases of the pandemic HIV/Aids as well as social problems associated with suicides, depression and stress, could well be resolved through the involvement of community organisations such as civics.

6.6 Conclusion

From the foregoing discussion one can see that Sanco Soweto faced a lot of challenges and problems after the first democratic elections in South Africa and subsequent local government elections inNovember 1995. Since the dawn of a democratic dispensation in 1994, the Sanco Soweto branch has had to be transformed from a revolutionary movement to a people-driven organisation that is sympathetic to the civic interest of the community of Soweto. To this end, success has been an expensive commodity and a problematic factor for Sanco Soweto. Barriers of social, economic stratification and even political allegiances had to be eradicated where people of Soweto were classed according to their wealth, ethnic and political affiliation and ownership of property. To this day, this has become a never-ending battle.

From a Marxist viewpoint it was a battle over access to and over key resources and services. From a practical viewpoint, it was a battle between shack dwellers and formal council house owners who by virtue of their socio-economic standing became the middle-class members of townships like Soweto. They were also educated in various fields of professions. This situation gave them an advantage in occupying key important positions within the ranks of Sanco Soweto, and this led to their interests being satisfied at the expense of shack dwellers. However one thing is certain, the time has come where civics are seen as playing a critical role in bringing harmony and tranquillity in communities throughout the country, and are perceived as true representatives of the people (notwithstanding the role played by councillors at local government level) and the promoters of the civic interest.

A historical perspective was adopted in providing an argument in this regard. The conclusion drawn from this argument was that Soweto has over past decades been sidelined from a development

to the economy of the region in terms of spending money earned through employment. From the discussion in chapter 5, section 5.9, the researcher argues that Sanco Soweto branch failed to represent the civic interest of the community of Soweto. Residents were divided according to the type of residence occupied, level of interaction and social class. This practice was further exacerbated by the past policy of separate development (Apartheid) which classified residents according to ethnic affiliation and class. Those in formal houses were given better treatment as opposed to shack dwellers by both the authorities at that time, and to a large extent interests groups (Sanco Soweto in this instance).

In March 1998, the Soweto branch of Sanco threatened to break away from the national organisation as discussed in chapter 5, sub-section 5.7.1.1. At present, however, the trend has been towards diversity and local autonomy. This might be an advantage to civics who wish to play a role as a local lobby or pressure group. The ambitious role expressed by civics up to now would produce a movement which, because of centralisation, could be less responsive to a grassroots constituency. It is the researcher's opinion that failure by the civics (Sanco Soweto included) to ensure greater cohesion may have at least encouraged experienced civic activists to resign in numbers to join the ranks of government and the private sector.

List of Sources

Adler G. & Steinberg J. 2000. From comrades to citizens: the South African civics movement and the transition to democracy. New York: Macmillan Press Ltd.

African National Congress. 1994. The Reconstruction and Development Programme. Johannesburg: Umanyano Publications.

Anderson J.E. 1988. 2nd ed. Public policymaking. An introduction. Boston: Houghton Mifflin company.

Applied Fiscal Research Centre. [S.a]. Guide to Institutional Arrangements in Local Economic Development, Final Draft, prepared by the Applied Fiscal Research Centre (AFReC) for the Department of Constitutional Development and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. Cape Town: AFReC.

Auriacombe C.J. & de Beer Z.P. 1995. "Public Interest". South African Journal of Philosophy, 14(4):145-149.

Arrow K.J. 1963. Social choice and individual values. New Yok: Wiley.

Barker E. 1963. Principles of social and political theory. London: Oxford University Press.

Bauer C. & van Wyk W. 1999. "Causes, manifestations and effects of corruption". Politeia, 18(2): 56-68.

Beavon K.S.O. 1990. Informal ways: a window on informal business in South Africa. Johannesburg: Small Business Development Corporation.

Bekker K. 1996. Citizen participation in local government. Pretoria: J.L.Van Schaik.

Black, Calitz, Steenekamp et. al. 1999. Public economics for South African students. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Bokaba, Selby. 1999. "Community participation helps police reduce crime". Star, Thursday 28 January:14.

Bonner P. & Segal L. 1998. Soweto - A history. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman (Pty). Ltd.

Bozzoli B. 1997. Soweto in transition project. Second preliminary report. Presented at a workshop at Vista University Soweto Campus. University of Witwatersrand, Department of Sociology: Johannesburg.

Brits J.B. 1995. The Penguin concise dictionary of historical and political terms. London : Penguin Books.

Brown C.V. and Jackson P.M. 1990. 4th ed. Public sector economics. Blackwell: Oxford.

Brynard D.J. 1998. "Public participation in local government and administration: bridging the gap". Politeia, 15(2): 39-50.

Budlender G. 1993. "Overview : The legal and fiscal environment of voluntary organisations in South Africa ." in The role of voluntary organisations in emerging democracies. by A.M. Micou & B. Lindsnaes (editors), Danish Centre for Human Rights. Cape Town: Institute of International Education.

Burger M. 1992. Reference techniques. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Cameron R. 1999. Democratisation of South African Local Government. A tale of three cities. Cape Town: J.L van Schaik.

Carrol T.F. 1992. Intermediary NGOs: the supporting link in grassroots development. West Hartford: Kumarian Press Inc.

Cernea M.M. 1989. "Non-governmental organisations and local development". Regional Development Dialogue, 10(2):115-192.

Chauke E. 2000. Personal interview. 12 March, Soweto.

Christenson R,M., Engels A.S., Jacobs D.N., Rejai M. and Waltzer H. 1971. Ideologies and modern politics. London: Thomas Nelson.

Clark J. 1991. Democratising development: the role of voluntary organisations. West Hartford: Kumarian Press Inc.

Cloete J.J.N. 1981. 1st ed. Introduction to Public Administration. Pretoria: J.L.Van Schaik

Cloete J.J.N. 1986. 3rd ed. Introduction to Public Administration. Pretoria: J.L. Van Schaik.

Cloete J.J.N. 1994. South African public administration and management. New constitutional dispensation. Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik.

Cloete J.J.N. 1995. Public administration glossary. Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik.

Craythorne D.L. 1997. 4th ed. Municipal administration - a hand book. Cape Town: Juta & Co. Ltd.

De Beer J. & Lourens L. 1995. Local Government. The road to democracy. Midrand: Educum Publishers.

Du Toit D.F.P. & Van der Waldt G. 1997. Public Management. The grassroots. Cape Town: Juta & Co. Ltd. .

Easton D. 1979. A systems analysis of political life. London: University of Chicago Press..

Farrow P. 1999. Soweto : The complete guide. Saxonworld: Soweto Spaza.

Fourie D. 1998. "Achieving service excellence in Local Government". Saipa Journal, 33(4), 221 - 232.

Garilao E.D. 1987. "Indigenous NGOs as strategic institutions ; managing the relationship with government and resource agencies". World Development (supplement), 15(-):113 - 120.

Gildenhuys J.S.H. 1997. Introduction to local government finance. A South African perspective. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Govender S.P. 1995. The role of non-governmental organisations in development: a case of the Durban Metropolitan area. Unpublished dissertation. Westville: University of Durban Westville:.

Gumede, William-Mervin. 1996. "Sanco marches to a business drum". The Star, Tuesday 28 December: 8.

Hanekom S.X. 1987. Public policy. Framework and instrument for action. Johannesburg: Macmillan (Pty) Ltd.

Hattingh J.J. 1986. Governmental Relations - An introduction to governmental relations. Pretoria: Unisa Press.

Held V. 1970. The public interest and individual interests. New York: Basic Books.

Heywood P. 1997. Political corruption. (ed.). Blackwell: Oxford.

Hill D.M. 1974. Democratic theory and local government. London: Allen and Unwin Ltd.

Ismail N., Bayat S. & Meyer I. 1997. Local government management. Johannesburg: International Thomson Publishing Pty. Ltd.

Johnson J. & Magubane P. 1981. Soweto speaks. Johannesburg: AD Donker (Pty) Ltd.

Jos P.H. 1990. "Administrative responsibility revisited : moral consensus and moral autonomy". Administration-and-Society, 22(-): 228-248.

Juta. 1991. The National Civic Organisation. Juta's RSC Quarterly Report: Johannesburg.

Kain P.J. 1990. "Rousseau, The general will and individual liberty". History of philosophy quarterly, 7(3): 315-334.

Kekana D. 1996. "The origin of Soweto". Unpublished paper.

Kendall F. 1991. The heart of the nation : Regional and community government in the new South Africa. Norwood: Amagi.

Khan M.M. & Zafarullah H.M. 1987. "Non-governmental organisations in Bangladesh". The Indian Journal of Public Administration, xxxiii(-): 143-157.

Kjaerum M. 1993. "The contributions of voluntary organisations to the development of democratic governance." in The role of voluntary organisations in emerging democracies by A.M. Micou & B. Lindsnaes (eds.). Danish Centre for Human Rights. Cape Town: Institute of International Education. 102 - 126.

Korten D.C. 1987. "Third generation NGO strategies : a key to people centred development". World Development (supplement), 15(-):145-159.

Lane J. 1993. The public sector. Concepts, models and approaches. London: Sage Publications Pty. Ltd.

Lawrence R. & Stanton A.1998. "Effective participation in local government policy matters? Water services in Greater Pietermaritzburg". Saipa Journal, 33(4): 233-245.

Lodge T. 1999. South African politics since 1994. Cape Town: David Philips Publishers.

Maharaj B. & Jaggernath S. 1996. NGOs, "Civil Society and Development - The South African experience". Reddy P.S. (eds.). in Readings in local government management and development : a South African perspective. Kenwyn: Juta & Co. Ltd.

Marks S. & Rathbone R. 1982. Industrialisation and social change in South Africa: African class formation, culture and consciousness 1870 - 1930. London: Longman.

Mashabela H. 1988. Townships of the PWV. Braamfontein: South African Institute of Race Relations. .

Mayekiso M. 1996. Township politics: civic struggles for a new South Africa. New York: Monthly Review Press.

McLean S.A. 1993. "Introduction". in The role of voluntary organisations in emerging democracies. by A.M. Micou & B. Lindsnaes (eds.). Cape Town: Danish Centre for Human Rights. Institute of International Education:68-93.

Mears R. & Levin M. "Demographic characteristics of the population of Greater Soweto". Development Southern Africa, 13(4): 625-646.

Mentoor, M. 2000. Personal interview. 28 September, Soweto.

Menu, M. 2000. Personal interview. 20 April, Soweto.

Nel E.L. 1999. Local Economic Development. Instruments to address Economic Transformation in South Africa, second draft. Project commissioned by the Department of Constitutional Development and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung: Grahamstown: University of Rhodes.

Northern Metropolitan Local Council Memo. 1986. 11/11/86.

Odendaal M. 2000. "The role of local government in Local Economic Development". Journal of Public Administration, 35(3): 217-234.

Parsons W. 1995. Public policy - an introduction to the theory and practises of policy. Aldershot, Hants: Edward Elgar.

Pauw J.C. 1999(a). "The concept *public administration*". in <u>Reflective public administration.</u> <u>Views from the south.</u> Wessels J.S. & Pauw J.C. (eds.). Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Pauw J.C. 1999.(b). "Prioritising public expenditure - a conceptual and normative exploration". <u>Saipa Journal,</u> 34(1):51-69.

Planact. 1989. "Soweto's three year boycott". <u>Work in Progress,</u> 59(22) Johannesburg: 19-23.

Prodder newsletter. 1993. 5(-): Durban:3-10.

Robbins S,P. 1980. <u>Administrative process.</u> Engelwood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall International.

Roberts G. & Edwards A. 1991. <u>A new dictionary of political analysis.</u> London: Edward Arnold.

Robinson J. 1996. <u>The power of Apartheid State, power and space in South African cities.</u> Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann Ltd.

Roos H.W. 1997. <u>State and its institutions:</u> study manual 2, component 1 for PLS 100. Mamelodi: Vista University.

Sabine G.H. & Thorson T.L. 1973. 4th ed. <u>A history of political theory.</u> Fort Worth: The Dryden Press.

Sanco.1996(a). Branch Executive Manual. 29/09/96. Chapter 2 and 3. Soweto.

Sanco.1996(b). <u>Constitution.</u> Johannesburg: unpublished.

Sanco. 1996(c). Memo - National office. 16/12/96. Soweto.

Sanco Pimville Sub-branch. 1997. <u>Chairperson's Report</u>. Soweto: unpublished.

Sanco 1998(a). Sub-branch Memo 24/11/98. Soweto.

Sanco 1998(b). Sub-branch Memo 21/11/98. Soweto.

Sanco 1999. Sub-branch Memo. (no date). Soweto.

Seekings J. 1998. "No home for revolutionaries? The structures and activities of the South African National Civic Association in Metropolitan Cape Town, 1996 - 97". <u>Urban Forum</u>, 9(1): 1-35.

Shubane K. 1994. "Civics have a future". <u>Finance Week</u>, 12(61): 34.

Shubane K. & Madiba P. (eds.). 1992. <u>The struggle continues? : Civic associations in the transition</u>. Research Report no. 25. Johannesburg: Centre for Policy Studies.

Shubane K. & Madiba P.1994. "Civic associations in transition". in <u>The long march. The story of the struggle for liberation in South Africa</u>, by I. Liebenberg, F Lortan, B. Nel & G. Van Der Westhuizen (eds.). Pretoria: Haum: 241-295.

Singh M. 1993. "The role of civil society in promoting democratic development : some aspects of the South African debate". in <u>The role of voluntary organisations in emerging democracies</u>, by A.M. Micou & B. Lindsnaes (eds.). Cape Town: Danish Centre for Human Rights : Institute of International Education:164-178.

Smith D. M.(ed.).1992. <u>Urbanisation and social change in South Africa. The Apartheid city and beyond</u>. Johannesburg: Witswatersrand University Press.

Soggot, Mungo. 1996. "Sanco swaps stones for shares". Mail and Guardian, 11-17 October: 13, 12(41).

Swanepoel H.J. 1997. "Citizen participation in local government", Progressio, 20(1): 144-145.

Swilling M. 1993. "Civic associations in South Africa", Urban Forum, 4(2): 15-36.

Southern Metropolitan Local Council Files, January 1997: File no. 3/6/1 Vol. 1.

Southern Metropolitan Local Council Files, 6 October 1998: File no. 3/2/2/6 Vol. 2.

Southern Metropolitan Local Council Files, 18 July 1997: File no. 3/2/6 Vol. 1.

Southern Metropolitan Local Council Files, 17 June 1999: File no. 3/2/6 Vol. 2.

South Africa. 1978. The Fundraising Act of 1978, Act 107 of 1978. Government Printer: Pretoria.

South Africa.1993a. The Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 200 of 1993. Government Printer: Pretoria.

South Africa. 1993b. The Local Government Transition Act, Act 209 of 1993. Government Printer: Pretoria.

South Africa 1995. Development Facilitation Act, Act 67 of 1995. Government Printer: Pretoria.

South Africa. 1996. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996. Government Printer: Pretoria.

South Africa. 1997. The Non-Profit Organisations Act, Act 71 of 1997. Government Printer: Pretoria.

South Africa. 1998. Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development. The White Paper on Local Government. 9 March. Pretoria: Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development.

The Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council. 2000. Egoli 2002 Plan. Johannesburg: Office of the City Manager.

Tongswaite M. & Tips E.J. 1988. "Co-ordination between government and voluntary organisations (NGOs) in Thailand's rural development", Public Administration and Development. An International journal of training, research and practice, 8(4): 401-420.

Urban Foundation Research Summary. Development Strategy and Policy Unit. 1993. Strong local government in South Africa: exploring the options. Johannesburg: The Urban Foundation.

Van Heerden A. 1982. "Democratic opposition - the progressive movement in South Africa" edited speech by Van Heerden to NUSAS and joint sitting of Azasco and Cosas General Students Council. Cape Town: NUSAS..