South Africa’s NGOs and the quest for development

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NGOs are increasingly recognised as an important role-player in community or people-centred development. They are a large category of structures responsible for development. NGOs have often been viewed as important for democracy because of their strong support at grassroots level and their capacity to develop and empower poor communities. They are extremely important mechanisms in rural development and they enjoy the goodwill and acceptance of the community. Therefore NGOs have become very important players in the field of social development and upliftment. The democratisation of South Africa has opened new opportunities for NGOs to make a meaningful contribution to the development of South African society. This is particularly so at grassroots level. The primary aim of NGOs is to improve the living conditions of people through development in general. This entails various aspects of human life, such as literacy, human dignity, justice and economic ability, essentially the joy of life. This paper attempts to address questions such as what is meant by development, what role have NGOs previously played in the development process, and lastly what role should they be playing.

INTRODUCTION

The concept of non-governmental organisation (NGO) must be defined in the context of service with the exclusive purpose of improving existing situations so that quality of life is improved. This implies that there are two sides to NGO activities, namely, service with the intention of improving the general welfare of people, and involvement in government institutions which entails the contributions and efforts they make to involve government institutions. The emergence of democracy based on the majority will has opened up new opportunities for NGOs to make a meaningful contribution to the development of South African society.

Globalisation has brought so many unexpected changes to the functioning of governments. This has led to the rise of NGOs which have grown in number and power such that they now provide services which governments are sometimes unable to fulfil. The aim of this article is to evaluate broadly the role of NGOs in development.

What is development?

Development may be defined as positive social, economic and political change in a country or community (Stewart and Kotze, 1997). It is concerned with positive development efforts is measured by the results seen in change in existing human societies, and the success of society. Development is an integrated, value-laden process, which encompasses natural, environmental and social relations. Korten, quoted by Theron and Wetmore (Davids et al., 2005) pages 155-156, illustrates this in his definition of development as “a process by which members of a society increase their resources to produce sustainable and justly distributed improvements in their quality of life consistent with their own aspirations”.

Within the context of a more detailed analysis it is generally accepted that an NGO serves as a catalyst for the implementation of the development process. NGOs enjoy comparative advantage in service delivery because of their focus on community empowerment and greater ability than government to respond more directly and immediately to community needs.

Explaining the NGOs

NGOs are private, self-governing, non-profit organisations promoting people-centred development. They are responsible to their donors and to the communities they work for (Davids et al., 2005). Their primary objective is to render assistance to individuals or developing communities in order to promote sustainable development at grassroots. Stephenson (Burgess and Burgess, 2005) states that Peter Willetts, an authority on NGOs, argues in defining NGO that “a commitment to non-violence is the best respected of the principles defining an NGO”. According to Jaggernath (Reddy 1995) NGOs are defined
as “private, self-governing, voluntary, non-profit distributing organisations operating, not for commercial purposes, but in the public interest for the promotion of social welfare and development, religion, charity, education and research. Specifically excluded are organisations that promote the interests of specified individuals”. Kane, quoted by Liebenberg (De Beer and Swanepoel, 2000) is of the view that the concept may vary from “charity in the noble and religious sense of the term, to political associations, and local and popular development initiatives”, which makes a definition (Bekker, 2004) extremely difficult, and identifies three criteria that could assist in their definition:

I. It should be privately set up (as opposed to being set up by the state) and structured, and sufficiently autonomous in its activity and financing. This, above all, is what ensures its non-governmental character;

II. It should be a non-profit making institution to ensure its “voluntary” or “benevolent” character; and

III. It should support development. This is what ensures its “public-interest” character, even if governments have introduced legislation to limit the areas in which “public interest” can be exercised.

Pieterse and Simone, quoted by Davids (Davids et al., 2005), define NGOs as service organisations that have a paid staff and that deliver specific services to an identifiable constituency, but not exclusively (Cameron and Stone, 1995). In essence, then NGOs can be defined as autonomous, privately set up, non-profit making institutions that support, manage or facilitate development action (De Beer and Swanepoel, 2000).

A working definition that perhaps comes closer to all the features associated to NGOs is offered by Bernstein, quoted by Maharaj and Jaggernath (Reddy, 1996): “In the broadest sense, NGOs are non-profit groups outside of government, organised by communities or individuals to respond to basic needs that are not being met by either the government or the market. Some produce goods; others deliver services; and some of the largest do a combination of both. The groups are either formed at the neighbourhood level, by and for the community, or at a regional level where they have intermediary functions”.

Du Toit and van der Waldt (1998) point out that if we consider the term “non-government organisation” we can deduce that it includes all institutions not established by a constitution or any other law, regardless of the level at which it was established. This means that the functions of NGOs cover almost every aspect of society. According to Cameron and Stone (1995) an NGO is a body/institution/organisation that was founded on a voluntary basis, initiated by interested persons and which has no direct relationship with governmental institutions nor was created in terms of any statutory provision.

NGOs are generally accepted to be organisations which have not been established by governments or agreements among governments (Burgess and Burgess, 2005). She further says NGOs have regularly scheduled meetings of their members’ representatives, specified decision-making procedures and a permanent staff. Their members are usually individuals and private associations, rather than states, and they may be formally established networks of other organisations

**General characteristics of NGOs**

Liebenberg (De Beer and Swanepoel, 2000) states that one of the central characteristics of NGOs is the fact that they are “not part of a government and which have not been established as a result of an agreement between governments”. This is supported by the Development Bank of Southern Africa, which also states that NGOs should be “non-profit seeking, in that any surpluses generated during the courses of activities are utilised to further the development aims and objectives of the organisation”.

NGOs have the following characteristics (Du Toit and Van der Waldt, 1998)

I. They are not established by legislation, but through initiative;

II. They surrender services to communities in society;

III. The services are similar to those normally rendered by uplifting people and communities;

IV. They are important role players in the policy-making process.

According to Davids et al., 2005, the most common characteristics of development-oriented NGOs can be summarised as follows:

I. NGOs are institutionally independent of government. They are privately set up (as opposed to being set up by the state) and are normally under the control of independent board of directors or trustees;

II. NGOs do not have a profit motive. Any surplus generated during the course of their activities is ploughed back into the organisation;

III. NGOs are characterised by their voluntary association. This means that those supporting an NGO’s development objectives should have the opportunity to join in its activities as partners in development; and

IV. NGO activities are financed mainly through grants from donors (domestic and international) based on their fundraising activities, with only limited government funding.

Maharaj and Jaggernath (Reddy 1996) argue that while South African NGOs share many characteristics of organisations in other parts of the world, they have certain unique attributes that arose largely from their functioning within the apartheid era. They further maintain that for reasons that are understandable, these have hindered the effective functioning of NGOs and have made the
task of transforming their purpose and mode of existence even more challenging.

**NGOs and development**

According to Jaggernath (Reddy 1995) NGOs, from being voluntary agencies often with a religious mission orientation, have become very important players in the field of social development and upliftment. They may be described as, *inter alia*, organs of voluntary action for the purpose of achieving social goals and they are involved in the development process. One generic view is that under-development is caused by factors such as inadequate institutions, poor public policy and the powerlessness of those governed. Social awareness and economic progress are seen as pre-requisites for national development with the addition of social service to reinforce them.

Countries such as South Africa have extensive NGO sectors, in addition to development-oriented governments (Kotze, 1997). In Africa NGOs are involved in peace and politics, humanitarian assistance and development (Adedeji, 1993). Some of the NGO community and the social movements for democracy, labour rights, women’s rights, local rights, and the environment, are all probable allies of the new development vision (Wessels and Pauw, 1999).

The role of NGOs in development in particular has attracted attention. Greenstein (2003) contends that broadly they refer to a large number of associations and networks, which play an important role in community organisation, service provision, and policy and advocacy activities. These organisations exist and operate independently of the state though sometimes in alliance with some of its structures. This gives them the advantage to promote development.

**The emergence of NGOs**

There is an argument that NGOs are today still seen as possible alternatives to government in addressing the needs of communities which are not reached by official development programmes. According to Stephenson (Burgess and Burgess, 2005) in the early 1990s there began to be recognition of the importance of NGOs. NGOs were found to have closer ties to on-the-ground realities in developing countries and, more importantly, to be able to deliver development aid more cheaply than states.

Brown and Korten (Davids et al., 2005) and Maharaj and Jaggernath (Reddy, 1996), identify various reasons for the rapid development of NGOs:

I. Growing interest among international donors and national governments in increasing the development capacities of institutions functioning outside the formal public sector;

II. NGOs being more capable than government and private sector agencies of reaching the poor;

III. Governments being forced to seek more cost-effective alternatives to generally accepted state development programmes because of a rapid decrease in government resources;

IV. NGOs displaying an ability to mobilise large sums of money for development projects;

V. Recognition that some NGOs have shown an ability to advocate and start projects on a national level and influence central government policies and institutions; and

VI. Expectations that the non-profit sector will continue to grow as government acknowledges the important role of NGOs in development and the democratic process.

There was a spate of new NGOs around the time of independence in most African countries. These organisations continued to grow in the post-colonial era. Since the 1980s NGOs have grown in their numbers in most countries. Another reason for the growth in NGO numbers can also be found in the advantages they have over the bureaucracy. Some of the more important advantages include the following (De Beer and Swanepeol 2005):

I. They are more cost-effective in their work among the poor. That means that they spend less money on administration and more on actual help;

II. For this and other reasons they are able to operate on fairly low costs;

III. They tend to focus on and to reach the poorer and more needy. They are therefore less prone to elitism;

IV. They are able to promote popular participation through facilitating resource mobilisation;

V. They have the capacity to innovate and adapt;

VI. They help to increase diversity of opportunity in society; and

V. They broaden channels through which resources and benefits can reach groups which otherwise be bypassed.

The number of NGOs and their involvement in national and international policy-making has increased remarkable over the last half century and over the last decades. This highlights a significant emergence of NGOs and indicates the important role they are playing in development.

**The role of NGOs in promoting development**

NGOs play a major role in the development of South Africa and its people and in most countries in the world. This is because NGOs have features that make them more appropriate than public and private sector institutions for the promotion of micro-level development. According to Davids (Davids et al., 2005: 70) these features give them a comparative advantage that justifies the increasing assistance being given to them by internatio-
nal donor agencies and national governments.

De Beer and Swanepoel (2005) maintain that currently an international movement, receiving its impetus from the People-Centred Development Forum in Philippines, is actively promoting NGOs as an appropriate vehicle to "bring development to the people". In reaction to the dominant approach to development, and also through their own learning process, Stewart (Wessels and Pauw, 1999) contends that by the end of the 1980s significant sectors of the NGO community and various other groupings and individuals involved in development moved their vision to putting people first, or 'people-centred development'.

Merrington, quoted by Davids (Davids et al., 2005), has identified a number of other claimed advantages of NGOs as agents of micro-level, as follows:

I. They are good at communicating with and mobilising the poor;
II. They employ participatory, bottom-up approaches in project planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. They are effective in assisting the poor to participate in matters affecting them and as a result thus gain more control over the quality of their lives. This ability of the NGOs to promote public participation is due to their partnership relations with the communities they serve;
III. They work well with, and strengthen, ineffective local institutions;
IV. They are innovative, flexible and experimental. This means that they can transfer technologies developed elsewhere and adapt them to local conditions, as well as formulate innovative responses to local needs, i.e. they are able to adopt a social learning process approach; and
V. They undertake projects at no or minimal cost to government and at lower costs that comparative public sector projects because of their commitment to using low-cost technologies.

Supporters of alternative development believe that NGOs rather than governments or international institutions are the primary agents who will carry development forward (Stewart in Wessels and Pauw, 1999).

Liebenberg (De Beer and Swanepoel, 2000) maintains that the fact that an NGO has to function as a catalyst of the development process does not give such an organisation the mandate to control and manipulate this process, especially in terms of the primary importance of participation, empowerment and sustainability. Therefore the catalysing functions of an NGO should aim at producing participation, empowerment and sustainability in terms of the development process.

NGOs as institutions that promote development consist of a wide range of functional, geographic, membership and organisational groupings which make it difficult to develop a uniform definition. Despite all this, NGOs still manage to function as effective agents of development in areas where government is not so effective. Therefore NGOs in general have a very important role to play in the process of development.

Greenstein (2003) concludes that NGOs provide qualitative benefits for the state through their roles and relationships in service delivery for development. In addition they provide financial benefits, though these are not always easy to define and measure. According to him the following nine indicators relates to their role in development:

**Values base driven programmes and methodologies:** The commitment to participatory approaches to development facilitation is reflected in the involvement of stakeholders in decision-making.

**Impact and coverage:** Some NGOs are tackling issues at a national level, while others operate at a provincial or local level. Coverage is sometimes constrained by institutional capacity and resources. Interventions are reaching rural and other previously disadvantaged communities.

**Co-ordination and integration with other work and stakeholders:** NGOs have demonstrated considerable investment in supporting co-ordination and integration across development interventions. The benefits are evident in the expansion of capacity and the impact on target communities.

**Continuity and sustainability of interventions:** NGO activities reflect a wide range of initiatives aimed at ensuring the sustainability of the intervention beyond the life span of projects.

**Accountability:** In most cases it is clear that systems are in place for effective management and financial accountability.

**Delivery effectiveness:** The sector is using international and other sources of funding which would not necessarily be available to the state. NGOs have the ability to charge lower rates, and their ability to manage and adapt to the potential risks is key to their success.

**Flexibility in delivery:** The NGO sector is flexible thus enhancing its capacity to respond to needs when they arise.

**Employment generation:** the NGOs have different capacities to generate employment.

**Volunteer mobilisation:** the sector mobilises volunteers to take part in the work of NGOs, and extend the scope and impact of their projects despite financial constraints.

**Relationship between NGOs and government**

The relationship between NGOs and government is important because of the 'strategic development and impact of NGOs' on public activities. One of the essential functions of government is to promote the social, physical and emotional well-being of society through facilitating
development. Theunis, quoted by Jaggernath (Reddy, 1995) identifies three conditions for human development, namely democracy, respect for human rights and the construction of a civil society. This can be done with the support of NGOs.

According to Thomas quoted by Liebenberg (De Beer and Swanepoel 2000) NGOs are likely to relate to the state in one of three ways:

1. NGOs bring specific needs and/or demands of specific groups to the attention of governments;
2. They place pressure on governments to address these needs and/or demands;
3. They mobilise other NGOs to show solidarity towards them and this also puts pressure on governments;
4. They give governments information which is important when policy decisions are made.

Interaction between NGOs and government institutions means that the different parties communicate with one another in various ways. The purposes of this could include the following (Du Toit and Van der Waldt 1998):

1. To convey standpoints about a specific issue.
2. To inform the government of a particular need.
3. To ask or even demand the government to take a specific standpoint about issues considered to be important.
4. To reach consensus or make a compromise about a specific issue or issues.

In South Africa NGOs had to explore new ways of relating to the democratically elected government, politically liberated communities and funding agencies. Many NGOs had to shift their emphasis to one concerned more directly with reconstruction and development. Both NGOs and the government therefore needed to make a shift towards working as partners in development. The formation of a strong partnership between new government and NGOs was regarded as a realistic expectation, given the South Africa’s government Reconstruction and Development Programme, which envisaged a developmental role for NGOs (Davids et al., 2005).

Although on the one hand government wants to control the functioning of NGOs, on the other hand it needs NGOs to function as agents of civil society in order to produce effective results. Therefore a system of government “which incorporates checks and balances, in which citizens can cross swords with one another and with the authorities over patterns of development, is the best guarantee that these rights will be respected in practice” (Reddy 1995).

There is an argument that if a government is not able to provide all the services required in the fields of welfare, development, local government and economic growth, it should utilise NGOs to fulfil these functions. NGOs therefore have a very important role to play as partners of government in the development process. The fact that NGOs play an important role in development does not mean that the government should abandon its role and pour large sums of money into NGOs, leaving the responsibility of development to NGOs. NGOs cannot function like government and government cannot function like NGOs. It is important therefore that they complement each other and assist each other in the development process.
The South African experience

The assertion by Jaggernath (Reddy 1995) is that all the objective social and political indicators point to a growing role and significance of NGOs in the process of promoting sustainable development. On a practical level, it is visibly evident that NGOs are growing rapidly in South Africa.

Bekker (Bekker, 2004) points out that the South African experience in this regard is that NGOs tend to focus on one of two main objectives. The first is political in nature and the second aims at development and relies more upon education. The ‘benefit’ of the first objective should be viewed in terms of the principle of democracy. The objective that focuses on development holds visible benefits for all people in a community. Because of the diversity of communities and the imbalances that exist, the educational part of the development concept needs to be emphasised, especially to “normalise” perceptions.

NGOs vary in size and complexity as well as in the type of development work they undertake. Research indicates the following as some of the major initiatives which could be identified as undertaking development work at a micro level in South Africa:

Development bank of Southern Africa
Whose primary aim is to “facilitate socio-economic development and empower people economically”

Independent development trust
Whose mission is “to promote the sustainable development of the people of South Africa, with a special focus on individuals and communities disadvantaged by apartheid and other injustices of the past”

Kagiso trust
Which “aims at contributing meaningfully to strategies, programmes and projects that seek to overcome the legacies of apartheid”

Rural foundation
Established as an NGO in 1982 and which “strives to offer guidance and leadership in the field of comprehensive rural community development in order to create a better future for all people in rural areas in Southern Africa”

Urban foundation
Which aims to promote policies and strategies that contribute positively to equity and growth by generating effective development, enhancing capacity within communities and building and reflecting lasting partnerships between business and communities

Matla trust
Formed on the initiative of Dr Nelson Mandela, on his release in 1990, to, inter alia, promote the development of a democratic society through educational programmes and to uplift the disadvantaged people of South Africa through various social, political and economic programmes

South African foundation for public management and development
Which is concerned with the relevance of the role of public service institutions, the nature of public service training and the role of NGOs and how they can support social and economic changes

Project literacy
Which regards adult basic education as an important component of development;

Rutec
Which works with individuals and organisations in relieving poverty and unemployment through self-help work and micro-enterprises.

Positive development news
Which seeks to persuade the media to focus on unsung key achievers who are improving the quality of life of communities and individuals.

The point about development by NGOs in highlighting South Africa’s experience is stressed by Jaggernath (Reddy, 1995) thus “notwithstanding the arrival of a new order in terms of which the government at all levels would hold primary responsibility for the welfare, growth and development of its people, institutions and natural resources, the essence of democracy is destined to flourish at its highest when state power humbles itself to work in partnership and trust with agencies such as NGOs”.

Strengths of NGOs
Maharaj and Jaggernath (Reddy, 1996) reason that against the background of the increasing democratisation of the developing world, there has been great expectation, especially from funding agencies and development policy-makers, that NGOs would contribute development. Overall, NGOs have a special capacity to:

I. Fend for the poor and other groups not served by public or private sectors. This commitment is related to their de-
dication to help the poor and other disadvantaged groups.

II. Ease the mobilisation of local resources and the establishment of private organisations to promote participatory development. NGOs are very versatile and can easily identify and adapt to local needs and circumstances.

III. Provide basic services at low cost. This is related to the NGOs’ capacity to galvanise local resources and voluntary labour.

IV. Find creative solutions to unique problems and to promote successful innovation in the public sector. This capacity is related to ‘their small size, administrative flexibility, and relative freedom from political constraints’.

Some of the strengths of NGOs include the following (De Beer and Swanepoel 2000):

I. Because they are able to facilitate a relatively high degree of community participation, they can accurately identify the specific needs of a community. In other words, NGOs can more effectively identify community needs because they are closer to the community than government structures. This is because the members of the NGO may live in the community or even belong to the community which they serve.

II. Because they are functioning at community level, or have been created as a result of a community initiative, they tend to enjoy more legitimacy in the communities which they serve. This is because communities might feel that such initiatives are their own, and effectively address their own needs and interests. The project therefore becomes the property of the community, and because the community sees the project as its own, its members are more likely to support it.

III. The high degree of community participation creates a conducive environment in which local technology can be utilised and adapted to local development needs. This high degree of participation allows communities to apply knowledge and technologies which they have developed themselves to suit their own situation.

IV. Because of their structure, which is not characterised by the same bureaucratic nature as that of government, they are very flexible and adaptive to local conditions and changes in the environment. This means that they can respond faster to situations and that their running costs are lower because of their smaller organisational size, supported by its voluntary character.

NGOs should evaluate the environment where they are operating to assess which functions government cannot perform effectively as it should, and serve as an alternative in the provision of such services.

Weaknesses of NGOs

NGOs have their weaknesses and there is no guarantee that the advantages of having them are true for all of them. If we look at international and national type NGOs we can well ask whether they will be more successful in democratisation than the government institutions.

The argument is that in many projects NGOs do not effectively reach the poor. NGOs have limited self-sustainability because their activities are financed mainly by grants from donors, with limited government funding. Liebenberg (De Beer and Swanepoel 2000) supports this notion when he states that in spite of the apparent endowment it is important to note that there are certain limitations that can inhibit the effective functioning of NGOs like inability to replicate projects and ensure sustainability.

Davids (Davids et al., 2005) reasons that despite their limitations, international donor agencies have been encouraging the growth of NGOs, and have given more funds to them than to governments. These international agencies are of the opinion that the empowering role of NGOs in Africa and other parts of the world and their comparative advantage over bigger development agencies within the public and private sector outweigh their limitations.

Conclusion

Korten, quoted by De Beer and Swanepoel (2005) sees the future role of NGOs as becoming “facilitators of a global people’s development movement”. From what has been discussed it appears that NGOs are very well suited as instruments that facilitate the process of development. According to De Beer and Swanepoel (2005) we can therefore conclude that NGOs can contribute towards enhancing the lives of the poor and protecting their basic rights. This can even include attempts by NGOs to prevent communities from being displaced and impoverished by so-called development programmes.

While they do not fulfil the role of formal governance, NGOs have played an important role in articulating and responding to the development needs of poor communities. The emergence of NGOs is a phenomenon that cannot be ignored in the world of tomorrow. South African NGOs, together with some international NGOs, are certain to play a positive role in the transformation of South Africa’s socio-economic development. It is generally accepted that NGOs have become very important and permanent institutions in the implementation of development projects and programmes. NGOs can and must play a very important role in the functional implementation of human development.

End Notes

1. The problematic nature of NGOs and therefore the difficulty in finding a definition is illustrated by Salem and Eaves (1989), who declare that “until 1983, there was no World Bank statement which clearly and comprehensively defined NGOs”.

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Beer and Swanepoel 2000):
2. Pieterse and Simone acknowledge that the international usage of the term 'NGO' is more expansive and includes CBOs and mass movements. However, they opt for staying with the South African usage and appropriation of the term up to that particular time (1994), which excluded CBOs and mass movements.

3. For example, just in terms of overseas development assistance, South African NGOs received R1.182 billion during the period 1994 to 1999 (Daya and Govender, 2000).

4. Alternative development refers to a tradition with its roots in nineteenth-century politics which supported the rural poor. Supporters of alternative development believe that economic growth should not be the measure of development. Rather, addressing human needs at a local level and finding ways to live in harmony with the environment are the priority (Stewart in Wessels and Pauw, 1999).

REFERENCES


http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/role_ngo (Accessed on 19/02/2008)

