Intra and inter-organizational factors that facilitate or hamper services to children and youth living on the streets of Durban CBD.

Christopher C. Kangawa Mhone

Submitted in fulfilment for the Degree of Master of Social Work (MSW) in the School of Social Work and Community Development

October, 2010

Submitted with the approval of the supervisor

_____   _____

Professor Vishanthie Sewpaul   Date

Declaration

I declare that this research report is my own original work. All references have been acknowledged.

_____

Christopher C. Kangawa Mhone

Abstract

This research is a result of prolonged work with children and youth on the streets of Durban Central Business District (CBD). This research process started in 2008 during my third year social work practice and in 2009 as part fulfilment of my social work bachelor's degree. My contemporaries and I conducted a study on survival strategies of children and youth living on the streets of Durban CBD. It was during this period that we began to encounter organizational dynamics that we thought needed further study. The study sought to understand those inter and intra-organizational factors that have impact on their work with children and youth.

This qualitative study used data source triangulation, incorporating in-depth interviews, journal notes and analysis of texts. The study was informed by critical theory. Of central importance in this study was critical discourse analysis as a research design and method of data analysis.

This study found that some of the organizations, established to assist children and youth living on the streets, actually do present obstacles to their integral development. Children and youth migrate to towns and cities in search of a better life. When on the streets, children are caught up in organizational dynamics that have profound impact on their lives. It is this interface between the organizations themselves and the children that this research critically interrogated.

Organizational dynamics, as reflected in this dissertation, present a threat to children's and youth's sense of future and the programmes and models being used need to be re-thought. Based on the main findings of the study, policy and practice recommendations are made in respect of promoting the welfare of children and youth living on the streets.

Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to all people who have given their lives to the fulfilment of social justice and ensuring that vulnerable children are protected and enjoy their rights.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the following for the numerous ways in which they impacted the project

Ms Esnat Lungu my neighbour and big sister for the support when I had to make the hard choice of leaving Malawi for this project

Dr Peter Mwangalawa for the immense support which enabled me to settle in my first month of the project

Alex Nkosi, my friend and brother, for the many times we sat in your office and contemplated on the choices I had. More importantly your support in all the times we had to go at the South African High Commission in Lilongwe.

St John of God for the time you supported me to grow into a social worker. It is the reason I have been able to do this project.

Rianne Opgenoort my friend for all the support and encouragement. When things seemed so hard you were there and we talked and wrote more.

My friend Nompumelelo Madlala for your constant encouragement and your special request to be mentioned in this project. Here you are girl.

My mum and dad; brothers and sisters your love and support is immeasurable

Mr. Peter Chisi, a brother and a friend for proof reading my work even though I did not give you a chance to decline. It is the reason St Patrick Seminary (Spatsey) Forum will always be in my heart- you guys made me stay connected to home every moment of my stay in South Africa.

Elvin and Albert my sources of joy and inspiration. For the many sacrifices you made for me to reach this level in my academic path. You are the reason I woke up every day knowing that I have a purpose to achieve. I owe you my life and I love you guys.

Professor Vishanthie Sewpaul my supervisor for your immense love; without you this project would have been inconceivable. I appreciate your constant guidance and support and going all the way to ensure that I was able to reach this stage in my academic life. When things did not seem to work, I searched through your words and found direction.

Finally, to my good Lord for the gift of life, compassion, love and care- it is only through your strength that we are able to find our footing.

Table of Contents

Chapter One

Introduction

The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF, cited in Buybuga and Celik, 2004) estimates that there are approximately 80 million children who are forced to live and work on the streets of the developing world in order to survive. In South Africa Kruger and Richter (cited in Tudoric-Ghemo, 2005:11) indicated that there are 15,000 children living on the streets of South African cities. In Durban, approximates of around 3000 children (Trent, 2009) have made the streets as their home. However, there are no official statistics on this group of the population. Ward, Seagar and Tamasane (2007: 15) indicated that counting the homeless population accurately, whether adults or children, is an extremely difficult task because of the high mobility of this population. For the government, this population group provides an extra development challenge within its neoliberal development agenda, in which it posits a non-interventionist role in the provision of social services (Raniga, 2007:69), which is typical of neoliberal informed macroeconomic policies which is reflected through implementation of Growth, Employment and Redistribution- GEAR; which was later recast as Accelerated Shared growth Initiative for South Africa. Raniga (2007:69) emphasizes that writers such as Bond (2005), Sewpaul (2004, 2005) and Desai (2002) have aptly criticized the GEAR policy as being inconsistent economic strategy to promote growth and employment and that South Africa's problems cannot be effectively addressed by the kind of neo-liberal, free market policies to which the IMF and the World Bank adhere. In South Africa and Durban in particular, the gap created by the state through removing itself from the people has been an entry point for NGOs to fill the void as the government focused more on economic goals rather that social development of the people. NGOs in Durban are central to service provision for the children and youth living on the streets. This study brings insights into the world of NGOs working with children and youth living on the streets of Durban. It presents important dimensions of the organizations and inter-organizational dynamics that impact on organization's effectiveness in working with the children and youth. Also, the study presents an audit into what organizations and services exist for the children and youth. It is important to understand that this study

focused on organizations that have primary contact with the children on the streets; organizations that are integral to the identification of children from the streets through among other ways, outreach services. It appreciates the existence of shelters for the children from the streets, which Kariuki (2004) covered in his study. This study does not include street shelters.

Rationale of the study

The term children, conjures images of caring, love, protection, affection and safety. These images embrace feelings of happiness, joy, fun, innocence, laughter and dependence. On the contrary, the term "street children" epitomizes the direct opposite. Neglect, abandonment, forsaken, and despised are images that come to mind. There is something drastically amiss when such opposing images of children are manifest in society (Veeran, 1999). Yet this is a global phenomenon. The phenomenon of children from the streets exist the world over. Their increasing numbers are evident in developing contexts, such as Africa, Asia and Latin America (Schurink and Tiba cited in Veeran, 1999:2). This in many ways is indicative of the large number of children that need care and protection which lies in the hands of public and non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

In 2009 as fourth year social work students, it was a requirement for us to conduct research. Three of my contemporaries and I chose to conduct a study on survival strategies for children and youth living on the streets of Durban CBD. It was evident during this period of practice and research that there were a number of non-governmental organizations, the Department for Social Development and the eThekwini Municipality working with children and youth living on the streets. It was also evident that there was little collaboration and networking amongst the different organizations. This lack of collaboration and coordination seemed to negatively impact on the services and programmes provided by these organizations. There were ideological conflicts between programmes facilitated by different organizations. The organizations we encountered appeared to be apprehensive about collaboration with each other. Organizations were quite possessive in the way they approached children and youth and appeared to want to *'own'* the children and youth that they worked with. During the study on the survival strategies for the children and youth on the streets in 2009, we got

the impression that there were huge power dynamics and politics at play among organizations that affected the services that they rendered. It appeared that the politics of funding of NGOs and the eThekwini Municipality's granting of tenders to NGOs to work with children and youth on the streets played a major role in the kinds of services that they rendered and the types of relationships [or lack thereof] that they maintained with each other.

This study sought to detail those socio-economic and political factors within and across organisations that influence the services that they offer and the types of relationships that they share with each other. It sought to understand how resource acquisition impacts on the services to children and the networks amongst organizations. Benson (cited in Etzioni and Lehman, 1980:351, 352) identified two basic types of resources. He stated that:

> Two basic types of resources are central to the political economy of inter-organizational networks. These are money and authority. Organization decision makers are oriented to the acquisition and defence of a secure and adequate supply of these resources. Authority refers to the legitimation of activities, the right and responsibility to carry out programs of a certain kind, dealing with a broad problem area or focus. Legitimated claims of this kind are termed domains. The possession of a domain permits an organization to operate in a certain sphere, claim support for its activities and define proper practice within its realm……organizations taking other approaches constitute an implicit threat to the security of resource flow into an agency. Thus, efforts are made to refute and discredit ideological claims and to establish the superiority of one's own technology", (Benson, in Etzioni and Lehman, 1980:351, 352).

It is the struggles, power dynamics and politics as elucidated above that this study interrogated, seeking a deeper understanding and critical analysis of the impact that these issues have on the organizations' constituencies - the children and youth living on the streets of Durban.

Aim of the research

The aim of this research was to understand inter and intra-organizational factors that facilitate or hinder services to the children and youth living on the streets of Durban.

Research objectives

Audit of the existing organizations which provide services to children and youth living on the streets of Durban CBD was carried out, with the aim of achieving the following objectives:

1) To understand each of the organizations specific mission and objectives
2) To understand how the ideologies and values of organizations inform their work with children and youth living on the streets
3) To critically investigate those intra- and inter-organisational factors that facilitate or hinder services to children and youth living on the streets.
4) To understand the patterns of relationships among existing organizations and how they relate with each other.
5) To understand how the politics of donor funding and the eThekwini municipality's awarding of tenders influence the nature and types of services and the organisations' relationship with each other

Value of the study

The value of this study is that it contributes to body of knowledge for the directors of organisations, programme planners, as well as funding organizations in both the private and public sector. It is in the best interest of the organizations and their stake holders to understand the negative dynamics that pose as a threat to successful programme implementation. Thus the understanding of inter and intra-organizational factors that facilitate or hinder services to the children and youth living on the streets of Durban becomes important basis for programme planning and evaluation.

This study constitutes an important body of knowledge for work with children and youth that live on the streets of Durban. It presents how many and which organizations and programmes are available for the children and youth living on the streets of the city. The examination of the dynamics within and among organizations that facilitate or hinder services to children and youth contributes to a deeper understanding of organisational structures and functioning which is crucial to effective programme implementation. The study provides scope for informing policy and practice to enhance organizational understanding and the interface between organizations, funders and

service users. The ultimate developmental objective of the research is to make proposals to ensure that children and youth remain at the centre of organisations' concern and that the best possible services are rendered.

Theoretical framework guiding the study

Theory in research offers parameters within which phenomena can be studied and elucidated. "Theory in the broadest sense, offers a general account of how ranges of phenomena are systematically interconnected; by placing individual items in a larger context" (Jagger and Rottenberg, cited in Adugna, 2006: 11). This study was informed by critical theory. Critical theory concerns itself with social transformation- moving from a society characterized by exploitation, inequality, and oppression to one that is emancipatory and free from domination (Mullaly, 1998:141). At the same time, it is important to understand that to be critical is not being negative, it is about building insights beyond what is easily comprehensible. Williamson, Karp, Dalphin and Gray (1982:16) indicted that: 'to be critical is not necessarily to be negative about society, but it entails looking "beyond the obvious" into the many possible meanings to be found in the world about the world....it is a perspective that requires the researcher to 'check it out', to look at it from a different angle'. The fundamental premise of critical theory is its rallying point on changing the power dynamics that perpetuate powerlessness and helplessness, it is action oriented. Leonard (cited in Mullaly, 1998:142) posits that:

> a critical theory of society is defined as a theory having practical intent. As its name suggests, it is critical of existing social and political institutions and practices, but the criticism it levels are not intended simply to show how present society is unjust only to leave everything as it is. A critical theory of society is understood by its advocates as playing a crucial role in changing society. In this the link between social theory and political practice is perhaps the defining characteristic of critical theory, for a critical theory without a practical dimension would be bankrupt on its own terms.

Critical theory is thus about building multiple perspectives about phenomena through deeper interrogation of the context and how the reality within the context continuously shape the phenomena understudy. As Babbie and Mouton (2001:36) indicated, "A critical social science is one that recognizes that a great many of the actions that people

perform are caused by social conditions over which they have no control and that a great deal of what people do to one another is not the result of conscious knowledge and choice. In other words, a critical social science is one which seeks to uncover those systems of social relationship which determine the actions of individuals and the unanticipated, though not accidental consequences of these actions". The transformative power of critical theory lies in its capacity to critically interrogate the intersection between individuals and structural dynamics and how they constantly shape individual conscience. It is about allowing people to see the sources of their oppression and powerlessness which are located in the systems within which individuals are embedded. These are political, economic, cultural and social systems which have direct and indirect impact on individuals' lives. This is consistent with what Sewpaul's (2003:211) assertion that the individual versus society is a false dichotomy as private troubles cannot be understood and dealt with outside their socioeconomic, political and cultural contexts.

Presentation of Contents

The preceding chapter has provided an overview of the study and discussed the background/context of the study; the rationale for the study; aim of the research; research objectives; value of the study and as well as the theoretical framework that guided this study.

Chapter Two presents the literature review; it gives a detailed understanding of NGOs - their definition and genesis within an historical context. Of importance in this chapter is the understanding of NGOs in the South African context. It also discusses those intra and inter-organizational factors that facilitate or hinder the effectiveness of NGOs.

Chapter Three discusses the various definitions of children living on the streets and the challenges posed by these definitions. Of importance in this chapter is the discussion of the following components: factors that contribute to the street children phenomenon; the global situation; the situation of children in South Africa and Durban in particular. The chapter discusses the services that are available to the children and youth living on the streets in different parts of the world; programmes and services in selected countries are highlighted. Finally, the chapter looks at the approaches used by organizations in working with the children and youth living on the streets.

Chapter Four deals with the research methodology; the research paradigm, research design, study sample/participants, data collection techniques, reliability and validity of the study, methods of data analysis, ethical consideration and as well as limitations of the study are discussed.

Chapter Five presents and discusses the findings of this study in which, organizations working with children and youth living on the streets of Durban are presented. The chapter looks at the services that these organizations provide to the children and youth living on the streets of Durban. Finally, the chapter discusses the important dimension of this study, factors that affect organizations

Chapter Six presents the major conclusions to the study and draws comprehensive recommendations promote the welfare of children and youth living on the streets of Durban.

Chapter Two

Literature review: Understanding NGOs

What are NGOs?

In recent years, and especially since the end of the cold war in 1989, bilateral and multi lateral donor agencies have pursued a "New Policy Agenda" which gives renewed prominence to the roles of non- governmental organizations (NGOs) and grassroots organizations (GRO) in poverty alleviation, social welfare and the development of civil society, (Robinson cited in Edwards and Hulme, 1996: 961). NGOs have thus become fundamental structures of development across the globe; however, it is important to understand what really NGOs are? What are their distinctive characteristics that make them different from other organizations and structures in society? It is these questions that this part of the paper seeks to understand, through exploration of various authors view on NGOs. The acronym 'NGO' has become part of everyday language in many countries. It has entered the vocabulary of professional and activists and that of ordinary citizens. Images and representation of their work have become mainstream (Lewis and Kanji, 2009:2). The involvement of NGOs in many facets of socio-economic life of the people across the globe has aroused a great deal of discussion, in which different authors have put across commonly accepted understandings of what constitutes an NGO.

Michael (2004:3) posits the following characteristics as commonly accepted understanding of NGOs: as independent development actors existing apart from governments and corporations; operating on a non profit or not for profit basis with an emphasis on voluntarism; pursuing a mandate of providing development services; and undertaking communal development work or advocating on development issues. 'NGO' as an analytical category is complex, often unclear and difficult to grasp, (Lewis and Kanji, 2009:2). An NGO is normally characterised in the literature as an independent organization that is neither run by government nor driven by profit motive like private sector businesses. Yet there are some NGOs that receive high levels of government

funding and possess some of the characteristics of bureaucracies, while others can resemble highly professionalized private organizations with strong corporate identities. Some NGOs do not like to be called NGOs, though they use the identity of NGOs in other contexts or at particular times. Dominelli (2008) called this strategic essentialism of identity use (the enactment of certain elements of one's identity to suit the contextual demands). As Heston and Fernando (1997:10) indicate, "a difficulty with the present definitions is that the same organization can be referred to by different names in different contexts; moreover, organizations themselves can change their identity. For example the Grameen Bank initially refused to call itself an NGO, despite the fact that it functioned similarly to other organizations that are NGOs and still is considered to be a model NGO, with attempts to replicate worldwide including in the United States of America. The Sarvodaya Sharamamadana Movement in Sri Lanka dislikes the term "NGO" but uses it for legal and public relations purposes. In terms of their structure, NGOs may be large or small, formal or informal, bureaucratic of flexible (Lewis and Kanji, 2009:3). Central to NGOs is the concept of voluntarism, which distinguishes NGOs from commercial and government sectors. Voluntarism, legitimized by tradition and indigenous values, is considered to be an inherent characteristic of communities with whom NGOs work. The incorporation of voluntarism into NGO programmes helps make the programmes sustainable (Heston and Weiner, 1997:10)

Understanding NGOs in an historical context

The genesis of NGOs

NGOs became strongly associated with the world on international aid during the last decade of the twentieth century but if we take a longer-term perspective it becomes clear that NGOs are far from a recent phenomenon. Ideas about NGOs can be seen to have emerged from longer-term traditions of both philanthropy and self-help common to all societies (Lewis and Kanji, 2009). The rise of NGOs is attributed mainly to missionary movements. According to Lewis and Sobhan (1999:120) In the case of church-based organisations, a connection with Bangladesh can be traced back to missionary work dating from the nineteenth century. Swedish NGOs were found in the study to be driven by a range of domestic religious, political, and social agendas and

answered to different domestic constituencies, where their roots were to be found in Swedish popular movements. For example, the Swallows developed out of the humanitarian concerns of the Emmaeus movement which originally focused on homelessness in Europe during the 1940s. Diakonia and the Swedish Free Mission (SFM) grew from different sections of the Swedish Church. Fernando and Heston (cited in Lewis and Kanji, 2009:31) state that the colonization by European powers of large areas of the less developed world brought missionaries whose activities often included prototypical NGO initiatives that attempted to bring about improvements in the fields of education, health-service provision, women's rights and agricultural development. These included both 'welfare' approaches that stressed charity and amelioration of hardship and more empowerment approaches that drew on community organizing and bottom-up community development work.

The term non-governmental organization was not in general currency before the United Nations (UN) was formed. When 132 international NGOs decided to cooperate with each other in 1910, they did so under the label, the Union of International Associations. The League of Nations officially referred to its "liaison with private organizations", while many of these bodies at that time called themselves international institutes, international unions or simply international organizations. The first draft of the UN Charter did not make any mention of maintaining cooperation with private bodies. A variety of groups mainly but not solely from the United States of America (USA), lobbied to rectify this at the San Francisco conference, which established the UN in 1945 ... under Article 70 "specialized agencies established by inter-governmental agreements" could participate without a vote in its deliberations", while under Article 71 "non-governmental organizations" could have "suitable arrangements for consultation". Thus, "specialised agencies" and "NGOs" became technical jargon. Unlike much UN jargon, the term, NGO, passed into popular usage, particularly from the early 1970s on wards (Willet, 2002:4). Charnovitz (cited in Lewis and Kanji, 2009: 33) confirms that Article 71 of the UN Charter formalized the NGO involvement in UN processes and activities, and that there were NGOs contributing to the development of the UN Charter itself.

Among the UN organizations, UNESCO and WHO both explicitly provided for NGO involvement in their charters. The 1970s, however, marked the beginning of a sea of change in which there was increased 'intensification' of NGOs strengths and activities.

This was evident from the role NGOS played in a succession of UN conferences, such as the Stockholm Environmental Conference in 1972 and the World Population Conference in Bucharest in 1974. NGOs played a key role in the UN Convention on the Rights of a Child. Since 1992, NGO influence at the international level has continued to grow, as shown by the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio in which NGOs were active in both preparation and actual conference. Charnovitz (cited in Lewis and Kanji, 2009:31) traced the evolution of western NGOs in seven stages. He outlines the 'emergence' of NGOs from 1775 to 1918 and concludes with a current phase of relative NGO 'empowerment' that has been in evidence since the UN Rio Conference in 1992.

Table 1 shows the stages of NGOs evolution adapted from Charnovitz (cited in Lewis and Kanji, 2009:32)

Stage	Example
1. Emergence (1775-1918)	Anti-Corn Law League founded in 1838 in Britain to campaign against unfair tariffs
2. Engagement (1918-1935)	International associations given representation in the newly established League of Nations
3. Dis-engagement (1935-1945)	The league of Nations falls into decline as Europe falls into authoritarianism and war
4. Formalization (1945-1950)	Article 71 codifies selected NGO observer status at the new United Nations under ECOSOC
5. Nuisance value (1950-1972)	NGOs generally marginalised as UN processes dominated by governments and cold war tensions
6. Intensification (1972-1992)	NGOs play ever higher profile roles in a succession of UN conferences from Stockholm in 1972 onwards
Empowerment (1992-?	The Rio Environmental Conference marks the new ascendency of NGOs in development and international affairs

NGOs in the era of neo-liberalism

The rise of NGOs in many ways parallels the ascendency into prominence of neo-liberalism. Lewis and Kanji (2009:5) indicate that for conservative thinkers who desire private alternatives to the state, NGOs may be regarded as part of market-based solutions to policy problems. It is partly because of this high degree of flexibility of the NGO as an institutional form, and the wide spectrum of different values that NGOs may contain, that the rise of the NGOs has taken place against the backdrop of the ascendency of 'neo-liberalism'. Neo-liberalism is a theory of economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade (Harvey cited in Lewis and Kanji, 2009:5). The pro-poor agenda of the NGOs has made them attractive alternative vehicles of development by donors as compared to the governments and the private sector. Streeten (1997:194) indicates that the growing interest in the activities of these organizations is the result of disillusionment with government, combined with reluctance to hand over all activities to private-profit-seeking enterprises.

Government, especially central government, has lost the confidence of the people particularly poor people, and markets are reserved for who command purchasing power; they do not serve the poor well. This confidence in NGOs by donors is in many ways the vehicle of neo-liberal policy agenda; NGOs have become alternative means of entrenching market ideologies by removing core responsibility of the governments and re-aligning them with the NGO developmental agenda. Through connections with international non-governmental organizations and with donors, NGOs find themselves as a means of transmitting neo-liberal values. Tandon (cited in Hilhorst, 2003:9) called NGOs the 'missionaries of the new [neoliberal] era'. NGOs are important to neo-liberal policies because they can provide services that receding states are no longer able to deliver (Hilhorst, 2003:9). Wood (cited in Hilhorst, 2003:9) speaks in this respect of a franchise state where 'state responsibilities are franchised to NGOs, mediated to a considerable extent by the ideological prescriptions of the donors. The rapid growth of NGOs has been seen by some to be response to the failure of the state and the market economy (Fernando and Heston, 1997:14). Hulme and Edwards (1997:5) indicate that the rise of NGOs and grass roots organizations (GROs) on the world scene is an

important phenomenon which has implications for the development prospects of poor people, for the future of these organizations themselves, and for the wider political economy of which they form a small but growing part. But what lies behind these trends? The rise of NGOs is not an accident; nor is it solely a response to local initiatives and voluntary action. Equally important is the increasing popularity of NGOs with governments and official aid agencies, which is itself a response to recent developments in economic and political thinking. Over the last fifteen years, and particularly since the end of the cold war, development policy and aid transfer have become dominated by what Robinson (cited in Hulme and Edwards, 1997:5) calls 'New Policy Agenda'. This Agenda is not monolithic: its details vary from one official aid agency to another, but in all cases it is driven by beliefs organized around the twin poles of neo-liberal economics and liberal democratic theory (Moore, in Hulme and Edwards, 1997: 5). First, markets and private initiative are seen as the most efficient mechanisms of achieving economic growth and providing most services to most people (Colclough and Manor, in Hulme and Edwards, 1997:5). Official agencies support NGOs in providing welfare services to those who cannot be reached through markets (Fowler; Meyer cited in Hulme and Edwards, 1997:6). It is important to indicate that NGOs have historically served the marginalized of the society. Hulme and Edwards (1997:6) state that NGOs have a long history of providing welfare services to the poor people in countries where governments lacked the resources to ensure universal coverage in health and education, the difference is that now they are seen as the preferred channel for service-provision in deliberate substitution for the state.

Under the New Policy agenda NGOs and GROs are seen as vehicles for 'democratization' and essential components of a thriving civil society, which in turn are seen as essential to the success of the Agenda's economic dimension (Moore, in Hulme and Edwards, 1997: 6). NGOs and GROs are supposed to act as a counterweight to state power by opening up channels of communication and participation, providing training grounds for activists, promoting pluralism and by protecting human rights (Hulme and Edwards, 1997:6).

NGOs in South Africa

In the study by John Hopkins University, it was found that there were close to 99,000 not for profit organizations in South Africa as of 1999 (Swilling and Russell, cited in Morgan,

2005:60). It is very difficult to come up with a precise number of NGOs in South Africa. As Morgan (2005:60) asserts: "South Africa does not have a comprehensive national data base of NGOs; the data base of registered NPOs, excludes some trusts and section 21s". Also another impediment to this is the observation that Morgan (2005) makes - that a voluntary association in South Africa need not register formally and therefore is not necessarily subject to any reporting requirements. However registration is in the best interest of the NGOs and NPOs as it increases credibility in the eyes of donors and other stake holders.   NGOs are integral to the achievement of socioeconomic development in South Africa, although this has not been without problems. Kotze (cited in Wallace, Bornstein and Chapman, 2007:86) argued that national efforts to fast track delivery of essential services in South Africa, democratize government and galvanise NGOs in support of the ANC's growth and development programmes have generated tensions over possible roles for NGOs. Prior to 1994, many NGOs defined themselves by the struggle for political and social justice and focused their activities on providing vital legal, welfare and developmental services to oppressed communities. The end of apartheid posed problems for many NGOs; it meant that they had to restructure and to focus on new challenges. Wallace, Bornstein and Chapman (2007:86) indicate that NGOs struggled to create new identities, to establish relationships with democratic government at national and local levels and to redefine their relationships with the wider community.

The role of NGOs as pro-poor institutions, safeguarding the interest of the marginalized communities and strengthening civil society in democratic South Africa is quite a challenge. Hilhorst (2003:87) asserted that: 'this is clearly related to the practice of 'contract'. Donors may expect NGOs to act as advocates for marginalized peoples, as government watchdogs and as agents of delivery and training, among others. The literature on NGOs in SA suggests that the potential roles are often incompatible. As a consequence, while some organizations continue to define themselves based on their relationships to beneficiary communities, many are becoming either more commercial in their relations to the government and beneficiaries or more adversarial to the ANC government. NGO relationship with the government concerning funding, contracts and policy formulation, are subjects of tension and debate in the NGO sector (Wallace, Bornstein and Chapman, 2003:86, 87). With regard to funding, NGOs find themselves in

a difficult place, either they have to get funding from the government and lose institutional autonomy or get no funding from government and struggle to meet their obligation due to lack of funding, as donors focussed on supporting the ANC government. The end of apartheid thus presented a challenge to South African NGOs. According to some donors, SA is a middle income country and, as such, should receive limited support. Yet it is also one of the most unequal economies in the world, and one where new opportunities to attack that inequality have only emerged with the end of apartheid. Many organizations and funders thus opt to provide targeted support. For some of the donors, this situation has meant a focus on policy development, infrastructure, and poverty reduction often via the government (Wallace, Bornstein and Chapman, 2003:88).

Intra and inter-organizational factors that facilitate or hinder NGOs effectiveness.

Governance in NGOs

NGOs are meant to have impact their target populations through formulation of their vision, mission and objectives and through sound structures and procedures. Tandon (in Hulme and Edwards, 1996:2002:42) indicates that the governance of NGOs implies the totality of functions that are required to be carried out in relation to the internal functioning and external relations of organizations. Thus governance in NGOs is about the shaping of an NGO to respond to the environmental dynamics within which it is embedded; however Tandon (in Hulme and Edwards, 2002:42) posits that it is not the same as NGO management. The governance of NGOs focuses on issues of policy and identity, rather than the issues of day to day implementation of programmes. Tandon (in Hulme and Edwards, 2002:42) confirms that governance implies addressing an NGO vision, mission and strategy; it focuses on future directions and long-term strategic considerations; it addresses the issues of policy in relation to internal programming, staffing and resources; it defines norms and values that are the basis of institutional functioning. Also crucial to NGO governance is the requirements by the regulatory authority for good practice within the statutory boundaries that the NGOs function, thus NGOs ought to fulfil the statutory mandates to function legally as entities. Tandon (in Hulme and Edwards, 2002:42) confirm that governance in NGOs includes obligations d

in fulfilling statutory requirements applicable to the NGO; and also focuses on defining the external positions that are consistent with the overall thrust of the NGO as an institution in civil society. Crucial to NGO governance is its ability to meet the needs prescribed in its mandate to the constituents it claims to work for. This is both legal and a moral obligation (Tandon, in Hulme and Edwards, 2002:42). To achieve governance it is important then for NGOs to have systems in place that would facilitate the monitoring and tracking of its mandate. Tandon (in Hulme and Edwards, 2002:42) posits that necessary to governance in NGOs is the creation of structures and processes which enable the NGO to monitor performance and remain accountable to its stakeholders. He adds that in the 'for profit' sector most criteria for performance are monetary. While in the case of NGOs, they are based on vision, mission and values. However, the structures for NGO governance are formulated to fit within legal prescriptions of what is required for an NGO to meet the criteria required to function or to be perceived as credible by donors and funders. Tandon (in Hulme and Edwards, 2002:42) posits that in South Asia, for those NGOs which are legally incorporated, the statutory forms of governance provide the basic framework. The two most common statutory forms of governance are the society and the trust, which prescribe mechanisms for the purposes of governance in legal terms. According to Morgan (2005:60), in South Africa for an NGO to be seen as credible and accountable, it can do either of the following:

- It can register with the Registrar of Companies as a Section 21 not-for-profit company under the Companies Act, comply with the terms of the Act, and annually submit audited financial statements and a report to the Registrar.

- It can register as a trust with the Master of the High Court, in compliance with the Trust Property Control Act and common law. Unless the trust deed stipulates otherwise, there are very few formal reporting requirements, and no financial statements need be submitted. Many trusts operating as nonprofit organizations choose to take the additional step of voluntarily registering under the Nonprofit Organisations Act.

- Under the Nonprofit Organisations Act (NPO Act), any organization – whether a voluntary association, a trust, or a Section 21 company – can register as a Nonprofit Organisation (NPO) with the NPO Directorate in the

Department of Social Development. NPO status requires the organization to submit financial statements and a report each year.

- A registered NPO can take the further step of registering as a Public Benefit Organisation (PBO) with the South African Revenue Services (SARS) under the Income Tax Act. PBO status entails two tax benefits: tax-exemption for the organization, and tax relief for the organization's donors under Section 18A.

Good governance is fundamental to NGOs success in fulfilling their mission and objectives. Australia Government's Overseas Aid Program-AusAID (2002) refers to good governance as: "the exercise of power or authority-political, economic, administrative or otherwise - to manage .... resources and affairs .... good governance means competent management of .... resources and affairs in a manner that is open, transparent, accountable, equitable and responsive to people's needs". Ibrahim (2002) identifies three important criticisms to NGO governance.

- First, NGOs set up by government officials, business people or people aiming for profit. NGOs are set up just to grab government projects financed with overseas loans, as donor agencies require that the projects should be carried out by NGOs.

- Secondly, groups who claim to be NGOs and are very active in practical politics. They are formed to support (or reject) candidates for the posts of governor, regent or mayor.

- Thirdly, "exploitive NGOs" who carry out control also with the purpose of profits; their findings, related to irregularities involving government officials or the private sector, are not made public, and instead are used to blackmail these sectors.

Ibrahim (2002): goes on add five governance definitional characteristics/values or principles that need to at least be present in an NGO to enhance institutional governance. These are:

- First, non-governmental. NGOs should be independent, autonomous and separated from state or government organizations. The question is whether NGOs

formed and managed by government officials still can be called NGOs. Another issue is how the term "non-governmental" can be translated into NGO governance and how to resolve conflicts of interests.

- Second, non-partisan. NGOs should not be in any way related to political parties. Many political party officials have formed NGOs, and many NGO activists have become party executives.

- Third, voluntarism. In any NGO, a number of people must voluntarily contribute their views, time and energy, without pay. They include the founders and members of the advisory board, supervisory board, board of trustees, and board of directors. They should be differentiated from NGO executives and staff who are professionals and receive salaries. But sometimes the board of directors also serve as executives. Aside from the absence of effective control mechanisms (checks and balances), this makes everybody in the organizations salary people. The concept of voluntarism thus becomes vague.

- Fourth, non-profit organizations. A surplus of revenue must not be divided among founders and members of NGO executives. This differentiation from profit organizations must be very clear. But sometimes founders and board members form business enterprises (with funds from their NGOs, aimed at making them less dependent on donors) and later become members of their board of commissioners or board of directors. They receive big salaries and dividends. Unfortunately when this business entity succeeds to make big profits, the profits are not used to meet the needs of the NGO which set up the firm.

- Fifth, meet the needs of society, the poor, the outcast and others whose rights are violated. NGOs help people to develop their potential and fulfil their rights through direct and indirect action. NGOs also air their concerns about government policies and actions which affect society.

A lack of these characteristics reflects problems in NGO governance. Many NGOs do not have written standard operating procedures which, among others things, stipulates salary systems, rights and obligations of employees, procedures of goods procurement, procedures of money spending, and so on (Ibrahim, 2002).

Accountability

Accountability is a an important aspect of NGO functioning, it entails the means by which individuals and organizations report to a recognized authority (or authorities) and are held responsible for their actions (Edwards and Hulme, 1996:967). Fox and Brown (cited in Ebrahim, 2003:814) affirm this understanding of accountability by saying that it is the process of holding actors responsible for their actions. Accountability is both about being held responsible by others and about taking responsibility for oneself (Cornwall, Lucas and Pasteur, cited in Ebrahim, 2003:814) As such, accountability has both an external dimension in terms of an obligation to meet prescribed standards of behaviour (Chisolm, cited in Ebrahim, 2003:814) and an internal, one motivated by felt responsibility as expressed through individual action and organizational mission (Fry in Ebrahim, 2003:814)

Accountability in NGOs is quite a difficult process, Desai and Howes (in Hulme and Edwards, 2002:83) indicate that these difficulties stem at least in part, from the fact that unlike governments (which must submit themselves for periodic re-election) or business (which must make profits in order to survive) NGOs have no readily acknowledged 'bottom line against which performance is measured. This is made worse by the tendency for the broad social goals which NGOs set themselves to be influenced by a wide range of factors beyond their control, making it hard to attribute causation or apportion credit or blame for any changes that may arise. Furthermore, unlike civil servants, who must report to government and be available for cross examination in committee, NGOs generally have no one particular body to whom they are accountable or single mechanism through which they may be brought to account. Further complicating NGOs accountability processes is the issue of multiple stakeholders- funders and communities that NGOs serve, NGO staff and trustees. Hulme and Edwards (2002:9) assert, GROs and NGOs have multiple accountabilities - 'downwards' to their partners, beneficiaries, staff and supporters; and 'upwards' to their trustee, donors and host governments. Multiple accountability presents any organization with problems, particularly the possibilities of having to 'over-account' (because of multiple demands) or being able to 'under-account', as each overseeing authority assumes that another authority is taking a close look at actions and results. Central to accountability is the use of resources for intended purposes and achievement of planned objectives and goals within the stipulated

resources. Effective accountability requires a statement of goals (whether in adherence to certain rules or achievement of identified performance levels), transparency of decision- making and relationships, honest reporting of what resources have been used and what has been achieved, an appraisal process for the overseeing authority(ies) to judge whether results are satisfactory and concrete mechanisms for holding to account (i.e., rewarding or penalizing) those responsible for performance (Hulme and Edwards, 2002:9).

While performance is integral to accountability, it is important to indicate that due to donor pressure and funding requirements, NGOs face a great deal of challenge to achieve true downward accountability. The type of appraisal, monitoring and evaluation procedures insisted on by donors, especially their heavy reliance on 'logical framework' approaches and bureaucratic reporting, may also distort accountability by overemphasizing short-term quantitative targets, standardising indictors, focussing attention exclusively on individual projects or organizations, and favouring hierarchical management structures- a tendency to 'accountancy' rather than 'accountability'; audit rather than learning (Hulme and Edwards, 2002:13). Unfortunately, these approaches to NGO practice and management far remove the NGO from the people intended to be served. NGOs occupy a great deal of time in trying to implement systems that would be attractive to donors and funders, thus emphasizing upward accountability. Current experience shows that accountability is mostly upward, towards donors and governments. In the context of development programmes, NGOs have undertaken limited consultation with community institutions before taking strategic decisions which affect them. The term 'reverse accountability' is used to emphasize the need to reorient the flow of accountability, reporting and decision making towards community institutions. An over emphasis on mechanisms for introducing upward accountability has led to weak links between accountability, performance, and impact in NGOs. If NGOs, especially the south, have limited personnel and scarce resources, they should spend more time on introducing mechanisms to increase accountability to community institutions. However, evidence shows that the time and resources spent by NGOs on improving accountability to donors has reduced their capacity to do this. Participatory methods provide fertile ground for increasing the accountability of the NGOs to the community institutions (Shah and Shah, in Hulme and Edwards, 2002:184).

Legitimacy

The increasing funding of NGOs by official donor agencies thrusts the question of legitimacy into centre stage, for if NGOs are becoming more responsive to external concerns, are substituting for government and are growing larger on the basis of foreign funding, what is happening to the links - to their values and mission, and to their relationships with "the poor," supporters and others - through which they derive their right to intervene in development? (Hulme and Edwards, 1996:966). NGOs and their relationship with donors presents a special challenge to the claim for legitimacy within its constituency. Reliance on donor funding makes them prone to donor influence than to communities which they serve. Popular support and self-financing provide a basis for legitimacy. This implies that GROs or NGOs which have shallow roots in society and depend for their survival on outside funding have a much weaker claim (Bratton, 1990; Esman and Uphoff, 1984, cited in Hulme and Edwards, 1996:967). Increasing dependence on official aid is significant, for at least three reasons. First, legitimacy may be eroded by increasing reliance on official donor funding (Hellinger, Hellinger and O'Regan, 1988; Lehmann, 1990, cited in Hulme and Edwards, 1996:967).

Van der Heijden (cited in Hulme and Edwards, 1996:967), quoting a traditional African proverb, says: "if you have your hand in another man's pocket, you must move when he moves". This movement typifies the influence of the donors and capital on NGOs values and beliefs which in turn has profound impact on the relationship with the people on which its legitimacy is based. To what extent are organizations dependent on official funding "nongovernmental", and how does this affect their claims to legitimacy? Is it possible to have independent mission while relying on donor fund? (Hulme and Edwards, 1996: 967). The reliance on donor funding puts NGOs between a rock and hard place; the degree to which a strategy or mix of strategies compromises the logic by which legitimacy is claimed needs to be considered carefully and can provide a useful means of testing whether organizational self interest is subordinating its mission when a choice is being made (Edwards and Hulme, 1992 in Edwards and Hulme, 1996:967).

Second, does the funding of NGOs to deliver social welfare services change the nature of the relationship with donors from one of partnership, to one of contracting? The switch

from partner to contractor (like that from beneficiary" to "consumer" when services are privatized), constitutes a fundamental change in the value base of the relationship. The legitimacy of the NGO is no longer based upon values and voluntarism but on its contract to a legitimate agency. The claim for legitimacy comes closer to that of a private sector operator - being able to provide the service at the best price (Hulme and Edwards, 1996:967). Third, there are a deeper set of concerns about the possible "rewriting of the social contract" between government and its citizens as a result of NGO substitution for the state in key aspects of the development process, particularly the provision of service (Farrington and Bebbington, cited in Hulme and Edwards, 1996:967). The great challenge for NGOs is then maintaining a healthy balance between its values, beliefs and ethos and at the same time being seen to be accountable to its funders.

Organizational capacity

Organizational capacity refers to 'an organizations ability to carry out its mission' (Iraq Women Education Institute). Fowler (2002:152) indicates that current uses of the term imply that capacity can be understood as a number of core abilities, together with the means and relationships through which to express them. An analysis of the NGO sector in Africa indicates that to be effective three principal areas of ability are required. These are:

- An ability *to be- ie,* to maintain its specific identity, values and mission;
- An ability *to do-* ie, to achieve stakeholder satisfaction;
- An ability *to relate* ie, to manage external interactions while retaining autonomy.

Thus a balance of the above tenets in NGO processes helps them to achieve organizational capacity. 'When combined, these three areas of organizational ability determine the overall performance of NGOs as well as their role and institutional position as civic actors (Fowler, 1992b; Fowler et al, 1992 cited in Fowler, 2002:152). However, it is important to appreciate that overemphasis on one of the areas has the ability to hurt the NGOs institutional capacity. NGOs organizational capacity is greatly linked to autonomy. Sanyal (1997:22) argued that to be effective, NGOs must be relatively autonomous of both state and market institutions. This assumption is based on the following logic. The organizational priorities of NGOs are very different from those of

the state and market institutions which are primarily motivated by social coercion and profit. However NGOs in many ways reflect a limitation in taking advantage of the existing institutions that could strengthen their institutional capacity. If there is any lesson to be learnt from numerous bottom-up projects led by NGOs, it is the following: to be effective NGOs must abandon their autonomy fetish and begin to work with dominant institutions, such as the state, market institutions, political parties and so on. To say it another way, just as development does not trickle down from the top, pushed by the state alone, it cannot effervesce from the bottom, initiated by NGOs alone. The state and NGOs must work together and include market institutions in their joint effort to alleviate poverty. This is borne out by experience of a few relatively successful NGOs, such as the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh and the Self Employed women in India (Sanyal, 1997:31)

Project management approaches: Rational planning versus participatory approach to planning.

Development planning and facilitation by NGOs is largely informed by two distinct paradigms which are rational management and participatory approach. Wallace, Bornstein and Chapman (2007:31) indicated that there are two distinct languages, one of rational management, the other broadly focussed around participation, which coexist in development discourses. These are founded on different understandings of how development occurs (concepts of change), who directs it (concepts of agency) and where accountability lies (concepts of control). The first emphasizes planning for predictable outcomes, management designed to achieve planned results with strict lines of accountability; the other focuses on finding ways to engage with people very different to oneself in order to promote participation and ownership, and draws on understanding that change as contingent and locally driven. It is important to delve deeper into understanding how these two distinct approaches impact on organizations' effectiveness in achieving real development with the people they are intending to serve.

The rational management planning is an approach that is highly influenced by donors, especially among Northern NGOs. It is an approach that is primarily greatly linked to the logframe. Logframe is the most well known tool for aid disbursement, used by almost all donors and NGOs in the UK, Europe and US; it is the basic project document that includes project goals, plans, timetables for implementation, required inputs and expected

outcomes with associated measurements (indicators) and an analysis of listing of external factors and internal assumptions that maybe risks to the achievement of the goals (Wallace, Bornstein and Chapman, 2007: 34). Wallace et al (2007:34) continue to say that this system aims to tighten the links between objectives, inputs and activities in order to achieve predicted outputs and longer term outcomes. Proponents of logical framework note that by summarizing the essential elements of a complex programme in a simple format, information can be easily shared and reviewed by donors, implementers and other stakeholders. It is often described as a neutral management tool, a way of systematizing volumes of information and a good way to handle complexity manageably. Wallace et al (2007:34) indicate that logframes are increasingly presented as a series of causal arrows, from the goal to the final outcomes, taking the reader from the overall purpose to the expected changes in unbroken line. The risks that could derail the process are captured beside each step of the process, but are often superficial and rarely revisited.

Reporting, based on monitoring and evaluation procedures, is done against the predicted changes and indicators laid out in the logframe; a great deal of time in NGOs is spent identifying methodologies to generate relevant indicators. Thus the assumption in this approach is that development process can be systematically controlled and shaped in certain directions if the steps drawn in the logframe are followed. However, popular this method might be with the donors it has its own flaws which make it too complicated for development facilitated by Southern NGOs in the developing world. It is curious that in the same period as the rise of many 'post-' concepts- post-modernism, post-Fordism, post-colonialism - and concomitant demands that the global powerful should hear other voices, that development practice should be dominated by techniques rooted in technocratic, mechanistic and positivist thinking. It is surprising that given the wide range of planning and management approaches available, a model has been chosen that others, such as some in the corporate sector, have dropped (Hailey cited in Wallace et al, 2007:35). It is important to mention that planning literature is replete with examples of the flaws of positivist top-down, rational comprehensive planning. Such planning presumes that change can be controlled and directed, that a 'good' plan done in the public interest- or according to a commonly defined collective objective- can be carried out, leading to the desired change. It presumes that planners and other technical experts

have specialized knowledge to plan well; and thus planning is a technical exercise (Wallace et al 2007:35). The approach does not take cognizance of the complexity of human life and indigenous knowledge in the people whom development is being planned for, it assumes that the experts have the capacity to understand and thus control human behaviour which is central to the success of development outcomes, this is a fallacy.

The linear view of change, prompted by the logframe, where processes feed into each other in an orderly hierarchical manner is perhaps a Western construct, and is certainly imposed by agencies from above, bearing little 'reality' of development work (Earle, cited in Wallace et al, 2007:36). The approach to expertise is also problematic. Despite donor or NGO instructions to the contrary, often the logical framework is constructed or finalized by a few individuals, staff or consultants, sitting in an office, working with a vague mandate from local people and a clear set of strategic objectives from potential donors. They may know that they are not constructing the best possible plan, but they are putting together one that is plausible on the basis of their own knowledge. This also raises the questions about the legitimacy of plans and documents for both beneficiaries and staff (Wallace et al, 2007:36). Also it is important to appreciate and take cognizance of what Sandercock (cited in Wallace et al, 2007:36) stated that in this kind of planning design, the public or community interest was left largely unexamined, with the experts drawing up plans for intervention based on their analysis of a public good; differences of class, race and gender are largely considered irrelevant. In reality plans and programmes often feed into prevailing imbalances of power and assumed, rather than built, consensus (Wallace et al, 2007:36). This approach to planning in many ways perpetuates oppression and powerlessness in marginalized communities that NGOs work.

Also crucial to the weaknesses of this planning model is that it is susceptible to abuse, NGOs accountability to both donors and stakeholders can be shrouded in well calculated paper work which do not mean anything part from fraud, as Bornstein (2006:53) indicates, 'the experience of NGOs in South Africa suggests that widely-used M&E systems have created incentives for deception rather than enhanced accountability, and have contributed little to better project implementation or wider learning. Rather than

reinforcing accountability, they are weaving webs of deceit. Such observations raise fundamental concerns about the dominant assessment tools, and better routes to meaningful development and ethical funding relationships'.

Working with and for disadvantaged and oppressed people require that we take cognizance of the impact of power dynamics in the planning and implementation of development approaches.   Wallace et al (2007:40) confirm that there are approaches that stress the need to focus on actors rather than systems, to promote bottom-up approaches rather than top-down methodologies. Thus participatory planning presents an alternative that allows one to integrate local knowledge and capacity in the development agenda. The shared elements in these different approaches to planning are attention to: power relations in the planning process and within communities; the role and authority of the development practitioner vis-à-vis other actors with other types of knowledge and authority; the importance of communication for decision making; and justice and legitimacy of actions (Wallace et al, 2007:41). Donors and funders are buying into the idea of integrating participation in development projects by NGOs. Bornstein (2003:399) states that typically this takes one of several forms: participatory project identification and design; inputs by local beneficiaries into project implementation or decisions over the distribution of financial benefits, if generated; and lastly extensive participation throughout project cycle management. While this approach is the most appropriate in empowering poor and marginalized people, NGOs find it difficult to implement true participation. Bornstein (2003:399) contended that their research indicated 'that South African NGOs encounter numerous barriers to the institutionalization of extensive participation. Respondents from several organizations noted that reliance on contracted work - a common strategy for economic survival in South Africa - usually precludes any meaningful commitment to participatory planning. Instead project management tends to be driven by the timeframes, resources and aims of contracting agency'. Gill (cited in Bornstein, 2003: 399) adds that in an organization where participatory programme planning was the underlying policy framework, partner organizations and field staff required extensive training in participatory methods. Despite this training, both internal and partner staff often exhibited a weak ability to differentiate participatory skills from sectoral programme elements and varied greatly in their ability to bring the techniques into communities.

Competition

Competition amongst organizations is common in every day organizational life. According to the New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics (cited in Moore, 2000:91), 'competition is a rivalry between individuals (or groups or nations) and it arises whenever two or more parties strive for something that not all can obtain'; it also puts across that competition is a rivalry between two or more actors over limited resources or rewards (ibid, 2000:91). In NGOs competition arises mainly for two major reasons which are integral to their work and existence, these are resources and the constituents. While it appears that NGO ought to be the messengers of positive relationships, 'one major problem with NGO sector is that it is internally very competitive, in the worst sense of the term, this militates against cooperation' (Moore and Stewart, 2000:85). While resource and constituency provide the basis for organizational competition, it is important to indicate that organizational capacity in the face of the NGO boom provides a challenge for NGOs to muster the ability to integrate their organizations within a broader network of cooperative entities that work towards a unified goal. This is consistent with the assertion of Moore and Stewart (2000:89) that:

> it is a little anomalous that private enterprise, viewed by many people as the cockpit of competition, should cooperate so widely while NGOs, characteristically the advocates of a more cooperative pattern of social organization, should often appear to compete so much among themselves and to cooperate so little. The reason is not that NGO staff are psychological hawks masquerading as doves. It is that the NGO sector has grown so fast in developing countries that the appropriate sector wide institution have yet to emerge, and their funders have yet to provide encouragement.

As indicated, competition in NGOs is mostly driven by the need to survive economically, however, competition has profound impact on NGOs capacity. As Wils (in Hulme and Edward, 2002:69) found out that mutual competition for new aid resources (extremely intense in the cases of El Salvador and Nicaragua) is weakening efforts to improve coordination, and threatens to relegate issues of quality to the bottom of the list of priorities. This in many ways makes NGOs weak in capacity and as systems which makes them vulnerable; this is consistent with what Sanyal (1997:30) found - that one factor that contributed to the NGOs political vulnerability was their inability to cooperate with

each other. He notes that this is surprising since NGOs are thought to represent models of cooperation. In reality, though, the NGOs were competitive and rarely formed institutional linkages among themselves. This was primarily due to their dependence on grants and donations, which made every NGO claim that its organization was the most effective in helping the poor. To support such claims each NGO tried to demonstrate to the donor community how it alone had successfully designed and implemented innovative projects.

NGO Partnerships

Partnership is not particularly a new idea. Historically, partnership has primarily referred to a profit-making business relationship between two or more people where the partners jointly provide financial capital and share both control and profits (Murphy, 1998:2). It is important to appreciate that partnership as an organizing discourse is integral to the success of the NGO sector. Murphy (1998:2) indicates that the idea of partnerships has also permeated the NGO sector. Since at least the mid-1980s, NGOs working in different sectors and geographical regions increasingly refer to each as partners. Partnerships in NGOs promise consolidation of development efforts and minimization of resource wastage. As Fowler (1998:108) confirms that one major reason for being serious about partnerships in NGO community is economic. In the language of economists, authentic partnerships can reduce transactional costs within the NGO system which leads to greater cost effectiveness. When there is sufficient similarity and trust between parties, tasks can be achieved more smoothly, problems are dealt with more quickly because frameworks of interpretation are similar. Understandings can be reached with less effort, and coordinated action achieved more readily. It is important to indicate that crucial to authentic partnership is organizational values and beliefs. This is consistent with Fowler's (1998) view that past experiences suggest that key organizational features between NGDOs influence the probability of attaining authentic partnerships. He provides following table that summarises these factors in relative order of importance.

Table 2: Organizational features influencing authentic NGDO partnerships (adapted from Fowler, 1998: 109)

Rank	Organizational	Explanation
1.	Constituency	Owners and supporters are more likely to understand and endorse relationships formed with others having similar socio-economic characteristics. For example, workers, professionals and school children can more readily identify with their counterparts in other areas of the world than an affluent middle class does with the poor.
2.	Beliefs, values and culture	Beliefs, values and culture determine organizational behaviour; the more these are shared the better the grounds for mutual respect and confidence, with less likelihood of major incompatibilities in other areas and processes.
3.	Theory	Shared understandings of the cause of problems and of the way societies can be changed lead to consistent, mutually supported choices on issues of public policy.
4.	Strategic choices and time scales	Shared strategies imply compatible views of the operating environment, with common goals and understandings about how long intentional change will take to occur.
5.	Complimentary strength	Shared appreciation of what each has to bring to the relationship, in terms of competencies and comparative advantages, should work against disagreements on roles and divisions of labour- in addition to creating consistency between the rights and expectations of both parties, which reduces competition or duplication.
6.	Development policies	Significant differences in understandings of best practice, usually translated as development or technical policies, can be the source of significant friction, especially amongst specialists, which leads to time-consuming arguments and mistrusts.
7.	Approach to gender	Compatibility in the way gender is approached internally and in external activities reduces the likelihood of insensitivity.
8.	Distribution of authority	Negotiation proceeds most speedily if those involved carry similar authority.
9.	Human-resource policies	Disparity between staff motivation, incentives and treatment can give rise to frustration, jealousy or envy, leading to negative attitudes which interfere with communication and sound

		understanding.
10.	Adaptability	The ability to adjust to changing circumstances is important for development effectiveness; mismatches in this area create out-of-stepness, leading to a sense of agreements being taken for granted or ignored.
11.	Fund-raising	Similarity in the way funds are viewed and mobilized leads to shared perspectives on accountability; this reduces friction and misunderstanding in a sensitive area.
12.	Standards for legitimacy and accountability	A shared concern for, and combined ability to demonstrate legitimacy should lead to higher donor confidence, giving improved continuity in funding and contributing significantly to joint effectiveness and accountability.

Politics of funding and resource acquisition

The resource mobilization in organizations is a very political terrain; it is a precinct on which organizations play their power game. Resources entail mainly money and authority. As Benson (cited in Etzioni, 1980:351) contends 'money is of obvious importance in the mounting of programs, the recruitment and retention of personnel, and the purchase of buildings and equipment' while authority as indicated elsewhere in the paper refers to 'the legitimation of activities, the right and responsibility to carry out programs of a certain kind, dealing with a problem area of focus' (Benson, in Etzioni, 1980:351). It is these two resources that form the backbone of any organization and thus it is important to say that 'a variety of other items such as personnel might have been treated as resources, i*n this perspective,* the resource list is limited to the two which are most fundamental. Given money and authority, other needed commodities may be acquired, while the reverse is probably not possible. Money and authority may be required to recruit personnel, while personnel may not be necessary to the acquisition of money' (Benson, cited in Etzioni, 1980:351). In the organizations' world these two resources present a ground for conflict and power play. A deeper analysis of organizations' world especially NGOs, presents the reality of the power game in resource mobilization and defence of organizational authority over its domain. Benson et al (cited

in Benson, 1980:352) posits fundamental action orientations of agency administrators in their dealings with other agencies which are:

- The fulfilment of program requirements. The organization is oriented to maintenance of order and effectiveness in its established programs ... the organization's claim to a supply of resources (money and authority) will typically be based on the adequacy and effectiveness of its established programmes. Thus, agency officials are reluctant to undertake tasks or to tolerate practices of other agencies which interfere with fulfilment of present programmes. And, they will exert pressures upon other agencies to cease practices disruptive of programme requirements.

- The maintenance of clear domain of high social importance. The administrators are oriented to the maintenance of a clear cut, uncluttered claim that includes a set of important activities. Such a domain is characterised by *one or more* of the following attributes: (1) exclusiveness - a claim untrammelled, unchallenged by other organizations; (2) autonomy - a claim permitting the performance of activities independently, without supervision, direction, or shared authority by another agency; (3) dominance - a claim permitting authoritative direction of other agencies operating a specified sphere. Allocation of funds and authority are based on the domain held by an agency. The greater the domain approximates the criteria above, the greater the hold over funds and authority assigned to the sphere of activities in question.

- The maintenance of orderly, reliable patterns of resource flow. The organizations are oriented to see that the support network operates in a predictable, dependable way that permits adequate and certain flow of resources.

- The extended application of defence of the agency's paradigm. The organization participants are committed to the agency's way of doing things - to its own definitions of problems and tasks and its own techniques of intervention. This might be called ideological-technological commitment. Organizations which use or espouse other approaches are seen as irresponsible or immoral.

Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the definitions of NGOs and discussed NGOs in an historical context; the genesis of NGOs; and NGOs in the era of neoliberalism. The chapter also looked at NGOs in South Africa and finally, it discussed the intra and inter-organizational factors that hinder or facilitate NGOs effectiveness and the following areas have been highlighted:

- Accountability
- Organizational capacity
- Project management approaches: rational planning vs. Participatory approach to planning
- Competition
- NGOS partnership
- Politics of funding and resource acquisition

There are numerous development challenges linked to children and youth living on the streets that NGOs have attempted to respond to. The next chapter thus builds an understanding of the concept 'street children' and its associated discourses.

Chapter Three

Literature Review: Understanding Children and Youth Living on the Streets

Street children: Who are they?

This chapter seeks to explore various definitions of the concept 'street children' as provided by various authors. It will again look at the categories developed within which children living on the streets are found. Finally it will look at the implications of the definition on policy and practice in working with children from the streets.

Defining street children

The concept street children, is quite broad and a lot of meanings can be derived from this concept. Despite the inherent difficulties and complexities in arriving at a definition, there have been several attempts to clarify the concept of children from the streets (Aptekar; Blanc; Swart-Kruger and Donald, cited in Veeran, 1999: 61). Lusk, Peralta and Vest (cited in Karabanow, 2003) define street children as "minors (under the age of 18) who earn their livelihood by working on the streets or as children who reside on the streets full or part time". From the analysis of several definitions of children from the street, the most widespread use of the term comes from UNICEF (Veeran, 1999:62). This definition viewed children from the streets as:

...any boy or girl...for whom the street (in the widest sense of the word, including unoccupied dwellings, wastelands, etc) has become his/her habitual abode and/or source of livelihood; and who is inadequately protected, supervised or directed by responsible adults (International Catholic Children Bureau, cited in Veeran, 1999:62). However, children from the streets belong to a wider group of children in need of care and protection. UNICEF (cited in Veeran, 1999: 62) viewed children in 'especially difficult circumstances' to include "working children, street children, abused, neglected and abandoned children, children in armed conflict and disaster". Veeran (1999:62) adds that these categories of children were not mutually exclusive because, in reality, many children from the street worked because of their compelling circumstances. "Real"

children from the streets who lived on their own on the streets represented a very small proportion of the population of children from the street.

Tudoric-Ghemo (2005:14) argued that these definitions are too general and broad-based and many people feel that these children are not adequately defined according to the uniqueness of their experiences, resulting in many youths being under recognised and therefore under-reported. Thus the following categories of children have been conceptualized to look at the children within the parameters of their livelihood and life experiences.

Urban street youths

An urban street youth is defined according to the broad based categories of youths in the inner city (Keen cited in Tudoric-Ghemo, 2005:14). Richter (cited in Tudoric-Ghemo, 2005:14) identified further five categories of street youth within the category of urban youth- throw away youth, run away youth, slum youth, dump youth and bush youth

Throw away youth

This definition is used to refer to youth who have been completely abandoned and neglected by their parents or care givers and who do not have any contact with their biological families at all depending solely on themselves and their 'street families' for physical and psychological survival.

Run away youth

Run away youth have been identified as those children who have run away from their homes due to deprivation, physical or sexual abuse and general peer pressure to join the 'perceived' freedom that street life seems to offer.

Slum youth

Slum youth are those children who belong to slum families that live in the areas of squalor. Slum youth are those children whose mothers are usually domestic workers

and spend long hours away from their children, who are then left to look after themselves resulting in them roaming the streets during the day.

Dump youth

These are youths who live on rubbish dumps and scavenge for food daily.

Bush youth
These youths live in the bush and are often from homeless families.

Children 'on the street'

Panter-Brick (2002:150) indicates that 'children on' the streets are child workers on the streets and return to their families at night. Ennew (cited in Ward, Tamasane and Seagar, 2007:8) alludes to this by indicating that children on the streets are those visibly working or begging on the streets but who continue to live with their families. Another dimension to children on the street is that they are considered as workers and contributors to the family's economic needs. Tsotetsi (cited in Tudoric-Ghemo, 2005:14) adds that, often family encourages them to make money by begging or prostituting themselves

Children of the streets

Panter-Brick (2002:150) indicates that the distinguishing feature for the children of the street is who have a family accessible to them but make the street their home. Richter (cited in Tudoric-Ghemo, 2005) specifies that children of the streets are those who live and work on the street, using it as a means of food and shelter. Ennew (in Ward, Tamasane and Seagar, 2007:8) states that these are children who no longer have contact with their families and who may be regarded as homeless. Often they have been abandoned or sent away by their families, and therefore live without family support (De Moura, cited in Tudoric-Ghemo, 2005:15). As a result they live in surrogate 'street families' that are made up of companions of other street youths who work together for the survival of the substitute family units.

Table3: Differences between "children on the streets" and "children of the street"

Children on the street	Children of the street
Spend large amount of time in the streets usually as child worker	Work, play and grow up in the streets
Retain reasonably strong family ties	Have severed ties with their families and have limited contacts with adults in general
May either return home daily to sleep or remain on the streets due to long travelling distance between home and work	May participate in illegal activities to supplement incomes, finance drug addiction and fulfil basic needs or for survival
Generally do not attend school as they work from early morning to late at night	Mostly do not attend school
Often give some or all of their income to their family	Have no interaction with family
Are completely engrossed in street culture and are exposed to associated dangers (violence, police and adult harassment, illegal substance and prostitution)	Adopt street culture and are often involved in related dangers (gang violence, prostitution, and selling and trafficking drugs)

Table adapted from Reddy (2005:17)

Challenges within the definitions

The terms used within the definitions of the children and youth living on the streets can be very limiting in the pursuit to understand this complex phenomenon. Panter-Brick (2002:150) indicates that several terms in these definitions, however, have led to confusion. What is meant by home, family, protection, and a "responsible" adult? De Moura (in Tudoric-Ghemo, 2005:16) assets that discourses around street youth are most frequently understood as descriptions of their reality by others. Thus terms are coined by 'outsiders' and the perception that these youths have about themselves are often overlooked. Le Roux et al (in Tudoric-Ghemo 2005) explore a concept of deviance as a label placed on street youths because of lack of understanding and insight into their

lifestyles. They point out that society has negative perceptions of street youths as 'sly, manipulative, deceitful trouble makers' and that while youths may use this as tactics for survival, the response is one where these youths are perceived as negative. Finally, irrespective of these definitions might be conjured, they should not be limiting to the understanding that these are children and youth that need care and protection. As Tudoric-Ghemo (2005:22) indicates, definitions influence interventions, therefore, it important that these youths are not reified, but rather seen as young people with important needs. Also of great importance are participatory approaches in understanding children and youth living on the streets, their involvement is very fundamental in building insight into what children think they are because often times the term "street children" is used because it is short and widely understood. However, we must acknowledge the problems and wherever possible we should ask the children what they think themselves. In reality, street children defy such convenient generalizations because each child is unique (Consortium on Street Children UK, cited in Sexton, 2005: 1). The involvement of children themselves in building an understanding of what they think they are would be an alternative to building awareness about who street children really are.

In this research, "children from the street" is used to mean all children that are found on the street, where the streets form an integral part of their livelihood. Youth according to the National Youth Council of South Africa, means any one between the ages fourteen and thirty five. Thirty five was taken as upper age limit in view of the missed opportunities that a great majority of South African youth experienced within the apartheid socio-economic order. According to the National youth Policy of South Africa (1997):

> With some 39% of South African society aged between 14 and 35 years, young people clearly comprise a substantial part of South African society. However, due to the policies of past governments, a significant number of young women and men have not been afforded the opportunity to develop their full potential. They have experienced poor housing conditions; limited and racially-biased access to education and training; limited employment opportunities; high levels of crime and violence and a general disintegration of social networks and communities. In addition, the previous government did not develop any specific policies or programmes to address the needs of young women and men......The National Youth Policy is directed toward young males and females aged from 14 to 35 years..........It should be recognised that the age range of men and women defined as being youthful is very broad. A person aged 35 years in 1997 was born in 1962 – she or he

lived during a period of high political conflict, much of which was expressed in schools. Whilst a young person aged 14 years in 1997, was born in 1983, growing up when many new reforms and achievements of the struggle were being realised. Thus, it is necessary to recognise the different life circumstances and experiences which shape those who comprise this broad age category.

Factors that contribute to the street children phenomenon

This section explores why there is such a problem as 'street children'. It will look at factors that push the children to live on the streets both in South Africa and elsewhere in the world.

Children make a living on the streets due to various factors that have impacted on their lives. The reasons that make children leave home for the streets are called 'push and pull factors' (Ward, Seagar, Tamasane, 2007:18). There is no single reason that makes children to opt for a life on the streets. Literature suggests that there are many interrelated factors that play a role in the path to the streets (Ward, Seagar and Tamasane (2007:18). Thus there is no single answer and contributing factor to the phenomena. Karabanow (2003:372) indicates that although the street child population is by no means homogenous, it does provide the service providers with common experiences. Before 1980s literature concerning etiology focussed mainly on individual factors, such as needing independence, not wanting to abide by rules, depressive and/or antisocial character structure, 'personality pathology', searching for fun and excitement, and involvement in drugs, alcohol and sexual deviancy (Yablonski; Jenkins; Stierlin; and Edelbrock cited in Karabanow, 2003:371). In recent times, the impact of lack of policies to strengthen family systems is seen to contribute to the migration of children to the streets of major towns and cities. Families experience high levels of poverty that is, in many ways, linked to either inadequate policies or poor implementation of policies. Kopoka (2000:8) indicates that poverty is the major cause of street children. Africa is today a continent characterized by extreme poverty. It is poverty that is resulting in children being forced to work on the street to support themselves and their families. It is also poverty that is forcing many families to break up with parents being unable to support their children. It is rural poverty that is making rural populations including children to move to urban areas with hope of a better future. Poverty is cited by many as being the main driving force behind increasing numbers of children migrating to the streets (Chetty; Hecht; Serrokh cited in Trent and von Kotze, 2009:182). Evans (2002) in

her study conducted in Tanzania indicates that poverty severely constrains families' ability to provide for their children and places great pressure on adult-child relationships within the family. She further states that in her research with street children, abject poverty affected the majority of the participants' households. Indeed, 75% of the young people interviewed cited the family's inability to meet their basic needs as a major factor that forced them to leave the home.

It is important to appreciate the impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic on society; this has left a number of children orphaned. In Southern Africa many households are experiencing extreme stress as a result of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Southern Africa is the region hardest hit by HIV/AIDS. Long term sickness and high death rates impose numerous costs on households including care of the sick, funeral expenses and emotional trauma; as well as reducing the capacity to undertake work. Sick adults are less able to either engage in paid employment or contribute to agricultural activities and productive household work than those in good health, and may remove other household members from productive activities to become providers of care. Assets and savings are often used up to counteract loss of income, as saving life is regarded as more important than saving assets. Death, particularly among adults can further reduce income to a household, as well as leaving productive work undone, including the care of children. This is exacerbated in the case of AIDS death; as an adult's death is often swiftly followed by the death of his/her spouse (Ansell and van Blerk, 2004:674)

The socio-economic pressure of HIV/AIDS pandemic on society and families is enormous. Evans (2002:52) states that the current AIDS epidemic is compounding many of the economic pressures facing Tanzania. According to Appleton (cited in Evans, 2002:52) there are an estimated one million Aids cases in Tanzania. The majority of 730, 000 AIDS orphans in Tanzania are being cared for by extended family members. However, many guardians are either too old or too young to meet the orphaned children's material and emotional needs, and many older children leave their adoptive homes and make their way in the informal sector on the streets (Karlenza, cited in Evan, 2002:52). Trent and von Kotze, 2009:182) state that HIV/AIDS pandemic in South Africa has contributed substantially to the escalating numbers of children living on the streets.

In South Africa the impact of neo-liberal policies on family life cannot be over looked. The impact of policies like Growth Employment and Redistribution and as well as Accelerated Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa has been that the society has been divided into two poles, with few rich people and very poor majority living side by side. Focus has been on economic growth and not on people's socio-economic development, people's welfare has been left to the market leaving families and children in situations of deprivation. The policies are conducive only to capital accumulation and not to people's development. In neo-liberal capitalistic societies 'what emerge are gigantic monopolies which cripple creativity, freedom and participation in economic, political and social efforts. The end result is the existence of a massive global population of silenced, blind and apathetic consumers on the one hand, and disadvantaged, desperate and a starving population on the other. Neo-liberalism has made it possible for a "powerful few" to tie up global resources in terms of ownership, production and massive capital gains' (Okosun, 2008:4).

The phenomenon of street children is a global challenge, thus children are understood differently depending on the prevalent cultural, socio-economic and political discourses in different contexts. The following part highlights the extent of the phenomena of street children across different spaces.

The street children problem: Global situation

Reporting on the extent of the street children problem is quite a daunting task, this is especially because the children are a mobile population. Tudoric-Ghemo (2005:5) indicates that reporting on the exact number of street youths is difficult as no reliable data exists. Some reasons for the lack of dependable statistics may be linked to the fact that constructionists and post-modernists are challenging the current definitions of what constitutes a street child. Moreover, as a result of the lack of consensus in definition amongst health workers and professionals, it is thought that many youths on the streets are overlooked thereby contributing to an underestimation of these figures. Limitations aside, literature reflects that there is significant number of children living on the streets across the world. Aptekar (1991:326) states that according to UNICEF in 1991, there were about 80 million children without families who were living on the

streets, twenty million of them in Asia and ten million in Africa and the Middle East and 40 million in Latin America. UNICEF asserts that the gendered nature of the problem is clear with more boys than girls; however the number of girls is increasing. It is important to note that the number of children living on the streets in Latin America has been constant at 40 million and the same for Africa at 10 million for the same period. The problem of street children is higher in Latin America compared to other regions of the world. Although Latin America has 10% of the world's child population, it has nearly 50% of the world's street children (Aptekar, 1991:326).

South Africa

The mobility of the street children makes it difficult to come up with concise statistics of the population of these children. The population of children living on the streets in South Africa has seen a steady rise in recent years. Various researchers in the 1980s to early 1990s estimated that it was anything between 6 276 and 9 390 respectively with ages ranging between seven and sixteen years of age (Richter; Swart; Maree cited in Tudoric-Ghemo, 2005:11). Recently has been estimated that there are 15,000 street children (Kruger and Richter, 2003:4). This shows an increase of 59.7% (Tudoric-Ghemo, 2005:11)

Durban

The complexity of accurately counting the homeless population is highlighted in the case of Durban. Ward, Seagar and Tamasane (2007: 15) argue that counting the homeless population accurately, whether adults or children, is an extremely difficult task, because of the high mobility of this population. During the study on *the survival strategies of children and youth living on the streets of Durban CBD* that my contemporaries and I carried out in 2009, our approximates of the children and youth living on the streets was within a few hundred. It was found out that the children that are seen on the streets during the day are a small fraction of the total population - a number of them are either in police cells, police vans or doing day piece-work. However, according to von Kotze and Trent (2009) the municipality estimates that Durban has about 3000 children and youth living on its streets.

Services available to street children globally

This section looks at the services that are available to children and youth living on the streets across the world. It highlights the programmes and services in different countries across the world, with a focus on the African continent.

Canada

Montreal in Canada has Dans La Rue a programme for street children. According to Karabanow (2003:277,278) it gained an impressive reputation with hardcore street children because the agency provided flexible services 24hour per day in a caring and informal manner. Dans La Rue allowed the street children the luxury to simply relax and hang out without having to follow a service plan, a rarity within the world of social services. The programme in Montreal, Canada emphasizes the importance of allowing the children the independency and ability to explore their own choices. As Karabanow (2003:178) indicates, one way in which to meet a population's needs is to listen to what they request. Dans La Rue began a mobile van service in Montreal. As new comers to street culture, the agency spent considerable time with street children discovering important needs and characteristics of this population. The van became equipped with many of the supplies (such as health kits, tooth paste, shelter referrals, city maps, etc.) requested by street children. Karabanow (2003:378) indicates another important element in Dans La Rue that exemplifies the importance of beneficiary involvement in programme planning. The agency realized that many street children owned pets and it became the only shelter in Montreal that allowed animals and provided them with dog and cat food and supplies.

Similarly, Toronto's Covenant House is a prominent street child organization guided by five principles, one of which is the immediate servicing of client's needs. Before intake or assessment, workers ensure that the child's primary needs have been met (regarding food, sleep, medical support or a shower). Such an orientation allows children to feel comfortable and cared for. In a sense, it shows children that they are important and respected (Karabanow, 2003:378).

Toronto's Street Kids international has created bike courier projects with business groups whereby street children act as messengers between business communities. This

programme allowed street children a positive link with mainstream society (that is, a feeling of being an important part of the business community) as well as an opportunity for future employment. Moreover, in this programme there was a noticeable increase in participants self worth, self esteem and confidence (Dalglish, cited in Karabanow, 2003:380)

Guatemala

In Guatemala, CEDIC, a rural Guatemalan prevention program, has created numerous micro-enterprises and small loans projects that help indigenous families link their skills to the local market place. In addition CEDIC has developed impressive apprenticeship programs for children in the agriculture, manufacturing and information sectors (Karabanow, 2003:380). These programmes provide street children with a sense of belonging to a greater community, integrated into their local environments and existing as productive citizens. Linking with the outside world allows street children to feel normalized rather identified as a deviant subculture (Karabanow, 2003:381). Another important program for street children in Guatemala is advocacy, as Karabanow (2003:381) indicates; Guatemala's Casa Alianza has taken up the cause of torture and assassination of street children, fighting in the local courts against police and military impunity. Casa Alianza's legal clinic has brought attention to the torture of street children by military and police regimes (Karabanow, 2003:382). In addition Casa Alianza has created a supportive setting where children could take time to reflect on the past, present and the future issues and connect with others in a safe environment (Karabanow, 2003:382).

India

India has many street children organizations some of which are: Butterflies Child Rights Organization which is found in Delhi and Indian Centre for Integrated Development, a Catholic Church Organization under the Dominican Missionaries in Mumbai.

In Delhi the Butterflies Child Rights Organization, has earned recognition worldwide for its innovative, realistic and relevant programmes for street and working children. Empowering these children with knowledge and skills to exit out of the cycle of illiteracy and poverty is what Butterflies Programme with Street and working children is striving

for (http://butterflieschildrights.org/programmes.asp). According to the Butterflies Child Rights Organization, some of the programmes that they offer to street children include: Education, Health Care, Children's Development Bank, Children's Alternate Media (Radio, Theatre and Newspaper), Resilience Centre which also runs the Childline service for South Delhi, Community Kitchen and Night Out that are carried out in 12 contact areas in Delhi (a point where there is concentration of street/working children such as bus terminus, market, railway station). The organization also runs 3 night shelters in Delhi. The objectives of the programme are to empower children with knowledge/skills necessary to protect their rights, provide them with necessary support for re-instatement in their families wherever possible and help them develop as respected/ productive citizens. Children's participation is the core philosophy for Butterflies programming. It is the basic value on which projects are designed and promoted and is manifested in the entire process of planning and implementation of the programme (http://butterflieschildrights.org/programmes.asp)

Butterflies believes that no child should be out of school and that education is the right of every child and efforts have to be made to provide quality and equitable education to all the children. At the same time education is also a life line for poor children to get out of poverty....... Butterflies supports the nation's effort of providing quality education in Delhi. The challenge is to ensure that the least accessible children, street and working children, access quality education and complete the full elementary cycle, with improved learning outcomes. Butterflies plays a positive interventionist and a catalytic role in pursuit of the said goals, define its partnership with government of Delhi and other stakeholders at all levels (state, district and sub-district).....Butterflies runs a mobile education programme under the mantra, 'if the children cannot come to school let us take school to them'. With the objective to take education to the deprived children still outside the education net, in 2008, Butterflies started its Mobile Education programme called Chalta Firta School (Mobile Learning Centre) and Chalo School Aaya (Mobile Education and Research Centre) with the support from the Delhi Government and HSBC respectively. More than 1200 children are part of the non formal education programme while 300 children are accessing education through the Mobile School. 50 children have been admitted to formal schools (http://butterflieschildrights.org/education.asp).

Another programme that has made the Butterflies Child Rights Organization popular is the Children Development Khazana (Children's Development Bank or Bal Vikas Bank as it is popularly known in India. Butterflies recognizes that Street and working children constitute one of the most disadvantaged sections of the urban population. These are children who have escaped hunger and violence at home to seek a better future in cities only to experience worse forms of violence and betrayal by adults in the cities. What is amazing is how these children survive. Despite all adversities they are positive and look for a bright future. The urban child workers are another group of children who belong to poor families who live on the pavements or slums with their families. They work to supplement the family income and in some cases are the sole bread winners. They work as porters, scrap pickers, street vendors, and shoe shiners and in some instances as helpers in shops. (http://butterflieschildrights.org/developmentBank.asp). The children's bank provides these children with institutional support to positively develop their lives.

According to the Butterflies Child Rights Organization   the Children's Development Khazana   project   is   aims   to:
● Empower street and working children with skills for democratic functioning
● Promote   principles   and   practices   of   democratic   participation
● Teach   to   prioritise   needs,   budget,   save   and   manage   money
● Provide an education and be a self reliant, productive and respected adult in society
(http://butterflieschildrights.org/developmentBank.asp)

In Mumbai, Indian Centre for Integrated Development, a Catholic Church organization run by the Dominican Missionaries facilitates several programmes for the street children among which are, Yuva Jyothi Centre, a centre for children in difficult circumstances. The centre is a home away from home for the street children. The centre provides basic facilities and mainstreams them through constant care, acceptance and special supportive environment.. The centre is unique in its nature as it is located in a community which enables the children to interact with their peers as well as the elders in   the   community   and   be   positively   influenced. (http://www.dominicansindia.com/Mission/socialwork%20project.htm). According to The Indian Centre for Integrated Development (ICID), their centre also offers non-formal

education in which the children are taught basics of language, mathematics, good manners and encouraged to participate and carry out creative activities like drawing, simulation games and action songs. A weekly session on life skills and values are organized in the centre for the children to bring about behaviour change and motivate them towards disciplined and dignified living. The prevalence of various health problems among street children refers to the importance of dealing with health issues among them. The centre is equally mindful of the health realities of the children and youth living on the streets, thus it provides the following programmes and services:

a) Malnutrition and disorders of diet.

b) Preventive health issues.

c) Personal hygiene and sanitation.

d) Mental health.

e) Reproductive health.

Of importance is the involvement of the children in recreational activities, thus the Indian Centre for Integrated Development (ICID) allows the children to utilize recreational facilities such as indoor games, outdoor games, viewing television programmes and thematic movies. According to ICID the organization as well takes the children for a weekly outing to the nearby park and provided an outlet through various games and action songs. The children along with the staff of the Yuva Jyothi go for an annual picnic. The centre is managed on the principles of participation and responsible living. The monthly review and planning meetings held with the children are opportunities for evaluation of services, children's performance in various responsibilities and setting the stage for the ensuing month with an agreed upon plan and individual and collective roles and responsibilities. This encourages a sense of belonging among the children.

(http://www.dominicansindia.com/Mission/socialwork%20project.htm)

Ghana

Cockburn (cited in Reddy, 2005:25) indicates that in Ghana there is the Catholic Action for Street Children (CAS) in Accra and it sister organization Street Girls Aid (S. AID), which runs a refuge for street girls who are pregnant. At the refuge the girls receive advice on how to take care of themselves and their babies before and after delivery. CAS has built three crèches which care for the babies and young children while their mothers are working.

CAS also manages a House of Refuge, where street boys and girls can play games, rest, receive medical care, bath and keep their belongings safe. They can also receive advice on their lives and future. In other programmes, children receive literacy education and learn various trades. The children on the streets are visited everyday by CAS staff who check on where they work and sleep (Cockburn, cited in Reddy, 2005:25). At many places in town, 'Mini-Refuges' have been set up. Children who are unable to reach the main refuge can visit these small kiosks and relax and interact with staff. They can also receive literacy classes counselling and advice (Cockburn, cited in Reddy, 2005:25).

Kenya

The best known programme in Africa is the long established Undugu Society of Kenya (USK). USK has been established for over 25years and it has adopted a multifaceted, community based approach to urban development (Reddy, 2005: 23)

USK renders regular visits to the streets, mainly to establish rapport with the children while encouraging them to leave street life (www.undugukenya.org/programmes). Children who are ill or hurt are given immediate attention. USK has reception centres where children who decide to leave the streets are accommodated. Immediate needs of children are provided for and the children are allowed to walk in and out of the centres as they wish in order to give them the opportunity to slowly see the need for change. Children who have not been reunited are placed in rehabilitation facilities, which carry out more defined intervention and rehabilitation programmes (www.undungukenya.org/programmes). According to Cockburn (cited in Reddy, 2005:24), the society has developed numerous projects, including Street Girls' rescue centres, The Parking Boys Programme, creation of employment, small enterprise

development, search for affordable shelter, community nutrition and health. The aim is to improve the quality of life for those who are less fortunate whilst also protecting the rights of the children (Reddy, 2005:24)

Uganda

Although there is work done with street children, it is burdened with financial problems. The focus is on training and a wide range of courses are offered. There is HIV/AIDS education, including a five day crash course (Cockburn, cited in Reddy, 2005:24). The other programmes include an inter-family income generation plan which supplies for start up financing. There is also a Voice of Street Children drama group which publicises the difficulties of street children. Most of the programmes are remedial, providing food, shelter and clothing which have been criticised for their tendency to create dependency (Reddy, 2005:24).

Cockburn (Cited in Reddy, 2005:24) indicates that FOCA (Friends of Children Association) is involved in training children in skills such as carpentry, tailoring, blacksmithing, radio repairs, bicycle repairs, charcoal stove making and others. It is believed that with these skills the children will become self employed and will be able to employ other people. This type of training is an expensive undertaking entailing massive human and material resources.

South Africa

The development of services for children from the streets in South Africa, follows the development of the country from apartheid. This is especially because of the racial trends in the street children population, with the majority of them being black. The development of shelters for children from the street in Durban Metropolitan region only materialized towards the latter half of the 1980s. The first initiative called the "homeless shelter Project" was undertaken by the City Health Department in 1987. It was funded by Durban City Council and ran under the auspices of the erstwhile Durban African Child and Family Welfare Society. Segregated childcare facilities and racially divided welfare system contributed to the demise of the project. The gap created by the closure prompted NGOs to be more involved in the care of children from the streets. Many of the

projects that developed thereafter were primarily through the initiatives of NGOs (Veeran, 1999:130) The NGOs documented to have developed services for children from the streets were mostly shelters. Zamani was the first registered children's home for children from the street run by the former Child, Family and Community Care Centre (a Child welfare organization in Durban). The requirements of a registered children's home meant that it operated within the provisions of the Child Care Act74 0f 1983. Hence the Zamani Project was regarded as a pioneering project, in that it challenged the lack of services for black children (Veeran, 1999:130). However, with the progression of development trends after the end of apartheid more NGOs started getting involved in the care of children from the streets. Organizations like Streetwise in Durban and Johannesburg, Ons Plek in Cape Town, Friends and African Kids in Soweto and other shelters work on a common goal to protect and care for the children (Chris Gumbi at African Kids in Makopo, 2005:29)

NGOs approach to working with children and youth from the streets

Two pivotal themes, namely the rights of the child and client self determination, have been recommended as the frameworks around which intervention strategies should be developed (Blac; Boyden and Holden; and Rothman cited in Veeran, 1999:118). Children's opinions in determining the course of their lives is important in the determination and fulfilment of children's rights. The Western Cape Street Children's Forum (cited in Veeran, 1999:118) argued that the cornerstone of service provision to children from the street was acknowledging their rights as individuals. However, it is important to note that this is not often the case. Veeran (1999:118) indicates that criticisms have been levelled at professionals for erring in their attempts to protect children by infringing on their rights. These criticisms related to the removal of children from situations which endangered their safety. Rather then remove the source of the problem, children were removed from familiar environments to strange and unknown ones (Veeran, 1999:118). These removals in many ways are done without consideration of choices and opinions of children, especially under the pretext that adults know better what children need. Ennew (cited in Panter-Brick, 2002:156) indicates that significant shift of emphasis, grounded in the UN Convention, was to recognize that promoting the best interests of children is not just a matter of protecting and providing for them, but of

listening to them and fostering child participation. There is a careful balance to be struck between the three broad categories of rights in the Convention: rights to protection, provision, and participation.

Adults are wont to emphasize the first two, being reluctant to let street children grasp participatory rights - other than by accident. Also of importance is to recognize that children are "agents of change in their own lives" (Myers cited in Panter-Brick, 2002:156), which demands that adults recognize that children have agency and manifest social competency (shaping their lives for themselves) (Panter-Brick, 2002:156). Also of importance in limiting the rights discourse and implementation of proper rights based approaches for the children and youth from the streets is the perception that children are victims. Ennew (cited in Panter-Brick, 2002:156) affirms that Portrayals of street children (as victims, villains, dependents, or deviants) also have an impact on types of intervention. Interventions focused on "rescuing" children from the streets by placing them back at school or with the family have generally not provided lasting solutions because they tend to ignore children's own views and all that they have already accomplished for themselves. As stressed in a Save the Children publication, street and working children are not "objects of concern but people. They are vulnerable but not incapable. They need respect, not pity" (Ennew, cited in Panter-Brick, 2002:156).

Conclusion

This chapter explored the definitions of the concept street children and has looked at categories which have been developed in building deeper understanding into the lives of children from the streets. The chapter also discussed the factors that contribute to the street children phenomenon. The extent of the situation globally, in South Africa and Durban was highlighted.. Of importance in the chapter was a focus on services for children from the streets in different countries.

Chapter Four: Research Methodology

This chapter discusses the research methodology that shaped this study; the research paradigm, research design, study sample/participants, data collection techniques, reliability and validity, methods of data analysis, ethical considerations and as well as limitations of the study are discussed.

Research paradigm

Bailey (cited in Makopo, 2005:36) defines paradigm as a perspective or a frame of reference for viewing the social world. These are frameworks within which phenomena can be understood. Kuhn in Humphries (2008:9) defines paradigm "as a general conceptual framework within which theories are tested, evaluated and revised if necessary". A paradigm guides people within a discipline in formulating questions deemed to be legitimate, in identifying appropriate techniques and instruments and in building explanatory schemes for the phenomena under consideration (Humphries, 2008:10).

Research methods are broadly divided into qualitative and quantitative methods. Table 4 highlights the differences between the two.

Table 4: Quantitative versus qualitative approach

Quantitative	Qualitative
o Sets researchers apart from reality	o Sets researchers close to reality
o Uses closed questions	o Uses open methods of data collection
o Studies reality from outside	o Studies reality from the inside
o Employs a fixed research design	o Employs a flexible research design
o Captures a still picture of the world	o Captures the world in action
o Employs scientific/statistical methods	o Employs naturalistic methods
o Analyses data only after collection	o Analyses data during and after collection

o Chooses methods before the study o Produces most useful quantitative data	o Chooses methods before/ during study o Produces most useful qualitative data

Source: Sarankakos in Humphries (2008:7)

Embracing the qualitative paradigm in this study was especially essential because the study aimed at building a deeper understanding into organizational functioning which has a profound impact on services rendered to children and youth living on the streets. Building insight into power, politics and discourses that influence on the day to day lives of the children required in-depth investigations and understanding into the discourses that shape the practices of organizations that work with the children. Qualitative research provided a useful framework and it allowed for an in depth engagement with the directors of organisations. The critical stance adopted by the researcher was consistent with the qualitative paradigm.

Research design

Research design is described as a plan or blue print of how you intend conducting the research (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:74). This research adopted the use of critical discourse analysis type of research. Discourse analysis is defined as "(1) concerned with language use beyond the boundaries of a sentence or utterance, (2) concerned with interrelationships between language and society and (3) as concerned with the interactive or dialogue properties of everyday communication" (Slembrouck, cited in Babbie and Mouton, 2001:495). It is important to appreciate that many varieties of discourse analysis exist (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:495). The adoption of critical discourse analysis in this study lies in the potential of this type of design. Van Dijk (1993) indicated that "critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power, abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in social and political contexts.

With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit positions, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality".

The study strove to understand the language used in organizations that work with children and youth living on the streets. Discourse analysis allowed for critical interrogation of language use and building deeper understanding that this language reflected. As Fook (2002:65) indicates "our language is (and therefore our discourses) will be an expression of a particular attempt to make (or impose) meaning in a situation. Language is therefore about much more than words - it is about power. The language we use is therefore an indication of which value systems or which groups are dominant. Power in this case is exercised through control of discourses."

Critical discourse analysis was used to understand the world view of the research participants through in-depth engagement. According to Humphries (2008: 121 - 122) some of the principles of discourse analysis, that were central to this study, are:

a) Meanings are historically produced in a particular culture at a particular time, so should be examined in context

b) It is not whether discourses are true or false that matters, but their effects

c) Experts and institutions routinely have the power to define the debate and to produce views of people and problems within discourses

d) At the same time language provides ways of resisting such definitions

e) The important focus is on the ways different discourses are mobilized in different arenas to produce different outcomes.

In keeping with the requisites of critical social research, Giroux (cited in Sewpaul, 2003) argued that there is a need for critical interrogation of all forms of discursive formations in the interest of democracy and social change. Fairclough (1989) argued that language is a social practice and as such is shaped by, as well as shapes, other forms of social practice. He does not claim a dominance of language over other social phenomena but emphasizes their mutual interaction and influence. He asserts that:

> There is not an external relationship `between' language and society, but an internal and dialectic relationship. ... Linguistic phenomena are social

phenomena of a special sort, and social phenomena are linguistic phenomena. ... Disputes about the meaning of political expressions ... are sometimes seen as preliminaries to or outgrowths from the real processes and practices of politics. ... They are not. They are politics. Politics partly consist in the disputes and struggles which occur in language and over language (Fairclough, 1989, p. 23)

The links between discourse, power and subject positions is important for it implies that as we speak, think, act, communicate and interact, we do so within certain constraints - within the language, terminological and conceptual boundaries that we find existing around us (Sewpaul and Holscher, 2004). How we interpret our social realities is restricted by the kind of language available to us, or the language we choose to use. By means of terminology a whole range of assumptions slip into our minds that we are normally not aware of, unless we consciously analyze the particular meanings they carry. These are common sense assumptions, which are necessary prerequisites for us to engage in our daily interactions with one another and to make sense of the discourses that we engage with. Common sense assumptions facilitate interaction precisely because they are recalled and reproduced implicitly, fast and without time-consuming processes of reflection upon them. Critical discourse analysis requires that we subject these common sense assumptions to critical reflection.

Sewpaul and Holscher (2004) argued that if language imposes a particular interpretation that constitutes only one out of several ways of looking at social reality, its use actively shapes, rather than merely describes, social reality. Discourse, then, must of necessity be subject to power and contestation. Language can be used to further the interests of some societal groups at the possible expense of others. "In every society, the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and distributed by a certain number of procedures" (Foucault, cited in Tomlinson, 1991:8) so as to exercise and to ward off challenges to that exercise of power. Fairclough and Wodak (cited in Van Dijk, 1993) summarize the main tenets of discourse analysis (CDA) as follows:

1. CDA addresses social problems
2. Power relations are discursive
3. Discourse constitutes society and culture
4. Discourse does ideological work
5. Discourse is historical

6. The link between text and society is mediated
7. Discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory
8. Discourse is a form of social action

Research sample/study participants

Sampling is the selection of research participants from an entire population, and involves decisions about which people, settings, events, behaviours and/or social processes to observe. Exactly who or what will be the sample in a particular study is influenced by the unit of analysis (Durheim, in Durheim and Terre Blanche and Painter, 2009: 49*).* The study used convenient sampling strategy. Humphries (2008: 155) indicates that "opportunity or convenient sampling has easy access as the main criterion, such as selecting everyone who enters an agency". This study engaged the available organizations that work with children and youth living on the streets in Durban CBD, those that are have primary access to reaching the children and youth on the streets. Durban has six organizations that were identified in this study as having primary access to children and youth on the streets. It is these that were involved in this study. The study also included important stakeholders, including the Department of Social Development. It was in the interest of the study and efforts were made through visits, telephone and emails, to include the EThekwini Municipality but due to bureaucracy, this proved unsuccessful. The Municipality is a very important stakeholder with regard to services to children and youth living on the streets. Interviews were conducted with directors of the five organizations while one organization had a representative for the director involved. Also the study involved staff members of organizations who were willing to talk to the researcher. An analysis of secondary data in the form of accessible documents like website information, annual reports, organizations leaflets and mission statements was also carried out.

Data collection techniques

This study employed the use of the following multiple data collection techniques:

In-depth interviews

The study used mainly in-depth interviews with directors of organizations while one organization delegated the interview to a member of staff.

Analysis of texts

The study employed the use of text analysis which was achieved through the review of pamphlets, brochures, websites, financial reports, constitutions. The necessity of this method lies in the fact that through texts understanding of the people behind the texts or the authors' ideas and motives can be established. Thus these are documents that can be given life as symbols of human beings expressing themselves through them. The personification of these documents made this research understand the discourses and the world view of the authors. As Redfield (cited in Babbie and Mouton, 1998:300) contends: "a human or personal document is one in which the human and personal characteristics of somebody who is in some sense the author of the document find expression, so that through its means the reader of the document comes to know author and his views of events with which the document is concerned".

Use of journal notes

The study also included the use of journal notes throughout the research process. I kept journal notes to record some events which could not be recorded by the audio recorder. The journal notes allowed me to record reflections on the interview processes and also to record my observations during my research process. My observations were an important source of understanding possible discrepancies between what was being said and what was actually being done or implemented by the research participants and their organizations

Reliability and validity

The term validity refers to the extent to which an empirical measure adequately reflects the real meaning of the concept (Babbie and Mouton, 1998:122). Humphries (2008:36) looks at reliability as research tools or instruments that will produce consistent results across time, across groups of subjects and across the elements being measured and validity as the property of a research instrument that measures what it is supposed to

measure and whether the measurement is accurate and precise. It is important to mention that through the use of what Humphries calls (2008:98) 'data source triangulation', multiple perspectives of the data were investigated. Kelly (in Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter, 2006:287) indicates that 'triangulation entails collecting material in as many different ways and from as many diverse sources as possible. This can help researchers to 'home in' on a better understanding of a phenomenon by approaching it from several different angles'. Humphries (2008:98) contends that triangulation is important in social research as it offers a range of perspectives on what the reality or the 'truth' of a situation is. There will never be a consensus about 'what happened' and it is important to attempt to draw a complex picture rather than a simplistic one that is one dimensional. Also of importance is the assertion of Marshal (in Sewpaul, 1995: 47-48) that 'we need to recast the traditional concept of validity to apply it to new paradigm, qualitative research." Marshall offers the following checklist which has guided this study [Table 5] that need special attention when conducting research.

Table 5: Validity checklist

How the research was conducted	The relationship with the data	Exploration of alternative interpretation
Was the researcher aware of his/her own perspectives?	Is the level of theorizing appropriate to the study?	How do the conclusions relate to other work in the area?
How did the researcher handle him/herself?	Is the theorizing of sufficient complexity to reflect the phenomenon being studied?	Is the researcher aware of the relevant contexts for the phenomenon studied?
Was the researcher open to new encounters? Did he/she tolerate and work in the chaos and confusion? Has the researcher grown personally from the experience?	Are the alternative interpretations explored?	Is the material useful?

Methods of data analysis

The study used discourse analysis as a method of data analysis in accordance with the aims and intentions of the research design. Critically understanding and pursuing insights into the language of the research participants was central to this study. Taking cognizance of the structural elements that informed and influenced the discourses called for a conscious extraction of the researcher from the language and discourses. This meant the researcher adopting panoramic view and the examination of discourses in the context of the study. Parker (cited in Babbie and Mouton, 1998:495) indicated "you take your first step into discourse research as you take your first step away from language". This is consistent with Holscher's (2001:18) view that - like in other qualitative research - the researcher is required to engage in dual process of immersion in the culture of the text and the critical distinction from it. Terre Blanche and Durrheim (cited in Holscher, 2001:18) confirm this by saying: "we need to extract ourselves (to a degree) from living *in* culture to reflecting *on* culture". This is with the aim of "showing how certain discourses are deployed to achieve particular effects in specific contexts" (Terre Blanche and Durrheim, cited in Babbie and Mouton, 1998:495).

Sewpaul (2003) indicated that language privileges some people at the expense of others. Understanding of organizational factors that facilitate and hinder services to children and youth living on the streets of Durban, meant a critical interrogation of the 'truths' being posited by the organizations about themselves; about the interface between themselves and other organizations with similar mandates; and about their relationships with children and youth living on the streets. Foucault (cited in Sewpaul, 2007:17, 18) indicates, "truth isn't outside power, or lacking in power: contrary to a myth whose history and functions would repay further study, truth isn't the reward of free spirits, the child of protracted solitude, nor the privilege of those who have succeeded in liberating themselves. Truth is a thing of this world: it is produced by multiple forms of constraint. And it induces regular effects of power".

Crucial to this study was the understanding of power in relationships within and between organizations; between the organisations and the children and youth; and between the organisations and other stakeholders. Thus the interface between the children and youth living on the streets, organizations and as well stakeholders (funders) formed a critical focal point of the study and of power plays involved in this. From this perspective, it is important to indicate that 'postmodernism, underscored by critical pedagogy is concerned with examining how institutions, knowledge, language, ideology and social relations are inscribed in power in different ways' (Peller, cited in Sewpaul, 2007:17). Given the critical paradigm of this study, it coheres with the major principle and theses of both postmodernism and critical pedagogy. Of importance to the study was the need to recast the research process within the historical, cultural and political context, thus the micro-macro issues as regards to power construction within South African context were critically interrogated. Van Dijk (1993:354) posits four points of understanding the micro-macro divide:

- *Member-groups:* language users engage in discourse *as* members of (several) social groups, organizations, or institutions.

- *Actions-process:* social acts of individual actors are constituent parts of group actions and social processes, such as legislation, news making, or the reproduction of racism.

- *Context-social structure*: situations of discursive interaction are similarly part or constitutive of social structure; for example a press conference may be a typical practice of organizations and media institutions. That is, "local" and more "global" contexts are closely related, and both exercise constraint on discourse.

- *Personal and social cognition:* language users as social actors have both personal and social cognition: personal memories, knowledge and opinions, as well as those with members of a groups or culture as a whole. Both types of cognition influence interaction and discourse of individual members, whereas shared "social representations" govern the collective actions of a group.

Finally, crucial to the study was the understanding of the "*recurrent terms, phrases*, and *metaphors*, which entails both what is said and how it is said" (Holscher, 2001:19) for they are either inclusive or exclusive of alternative perspectives. Crucial understanding of these elements of language and discourse provided a wonderful opportunity to understand power dynamics within and across organizations that work with children and youth living on the streets of Durban.

Ethical considerations

Ethical behaviour is integral to good research practice, thus it is necessary to have people aware of the impact of the research on their lives as "social research is a dynamic process that often involves intrusion into people's lives" (Miller and Brewer, 2003:95). Researchers have a responsibility to ensure that the research process does not negatively impact on the research participants. As Bulmer (cited in Humphries, 2008:20) affirms, "the scientific community has responsibilities not only to the ideals of the pursuit of objective truth and the search for knowledge, but also to the subjects of their research...the researcher has always to take account of the effects of his actions upon......subjects and act in such a way as to preserve their rights and integrity of human beings." The following ethical considerations were observed in the study:

Informed consent

Informed consent was obtained from all participants. Participants were made aware of the aims of the study and the risks involved. Also they were given the option to deny participation or exit at any stage of the research process. This was clearly indicated in the consent form, which research participants were given to familiarize themselves with. Each one of them signed two copies, one for themselves and their organization and one for the researcher.

Anonymity and confidentiality

It is important to appreciate that the study delved deep into political and sensitive issues with regard to NGOs that work with children and youth living on the streets of Durban and it was necessity to ensure anonymity and confidentiality during the study process,

as well as in the write up of the research. Pseudonyms have been used to ensure that this is adhered to.

Doing no harm

The study was conducted in an environment which the researcher is very familiar with, as it was not only a research but a practice context as well. I made sure that I was not just a researcher interested in what I wanted from them. The interviews allowed for engagement with and reflection on the emerging discourses. The research process allowed for exploration and learning, both for me and the participants. As Ryen (2007a) indicated, "most text books use a structural approach by allocating us fixed roles as researcher and research subject. This generates a new problem, - differentiation between the private and professional in such studies. This differentiation needs to be explored as it rests on the assumption that we are stuck in our roles." Being a supportive professional and a researcher at the same time was integral to this research study.

Limitations of the study

The study engaged organizations (NGOs) working with children and youth living on the streets of Durban on issues fundamental to their existence and impact on development. The study thus was perceived as a possible threat to NGOs. However, due to the my knowledge of the area understudy with about two and a half years of prolonged engagement in the field, organizations allowed me access to their structures and information. However, it is important to mention that some organizations found it difficult to share some information that was perceived as sensitive and an arena only for the organization's insiders. However, through observation and critical reflection and analysis, I was able to comment on these dynamics and processes.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the design study used in understanding intra and inter-organizational factors that facilitate or hinder services to children and youth living on the streets of Durban. The following chapter deals with the analysis and discussion of the results.

Chapter Five: Data analysis and discussion

Introduction

This study used multiple methods of data collection – the main one being in-depth interviews with directors/representatives of organizations and available staff of some organizations. Documents from organizations and website information, and journal notes to document observations and reflections on the research process were also used. The functioning of organizations and as well as intra and inter-organizational factors that facilitate or hinder services to children and youth living on the streets of Durban is critically analysed through the following themes that emerged during the research process:

a) Leadership challenges in NGOs working with children and youth living on the streets of Durban.

b) Organizational capacity and effectiveness.

c) Implications of racial politics in funding mobilization

d) Leadership politics and its challenges to inclusivity and unified efforts in working with children and youth living on the streets of Durban CBD

e) Liberating the 'black' children from apartheid domination

f) Sabotaging each others' efforts: ideological differences between organizations, manifestation of lack of collaboration.

g) Legitimacy and registration: a challenge to inclusivity and unified efforts in working with children and youth on the streets

h) Blaming the victim approaches to working with the children and youth living on the streets.

i) Street children and human rights

j) Metro Police: a challenge to effective therapeutic programs.

k) Competing with drug money: a challenge to proper rehabilitation

l) Organizations let down by the system

m) Shortage of personnel at government level.

n) Municipal tenders and their implications on organizational relationships.

Thematic discussion on the above is preceded by a presentation of the profiles of each of the organizations.

Introducing organizations working with children and youth living on the streets of Durban

This section discusses the primary organizations working with the children and youth living on the streets. It highlights the historical backgrounds of these organizations and describes the programmes and services that the organizations provide.

Street Children Operation Siza

Street Children Operation Siza, abbreviated SCOPES, is a street children's organization that was initially the Street Children Forum. According to the Director of the organization SCOPES was started in response to the growing phenomena of street children in Durban after the fall of the apartheid regime. It started as a multi stake holder group to lobby for the welfare of the children and youth living on the streets of Durban. As the SCOPES Director explained:

> SCOPES started around 1995, yeah around 1995 as a Street Children's Forum. The purpose or reason it was started you must remember, it was the dawn of democracy. Under apartheid black people could not be found in certain places, could not stay in town, you know the whole story. So what then happened is that you didn't have street children prior to 1994 but after democracy, the abolition of the Group Areas Act and the whole lot of other apartheid policies; people could now move freely. That is when the flood gates of urbanization started taking place. Informal settlements started growing rapidly. That is one but number two, you would find that there has been political violence prior to the elections of 1994. Political violence whereby parties like IFP and ANC were fighting among themselves- each other, but also you would find that there was a 3rd force like the apartheid police dirty tricks. Where thereby they will pretend to be IFP attack ANC, so that ANC will retaliate and attack IFP only to find that there is a 3rd force operating there. Given all that people were displaced, others were forced to run away from the villages, the township and informal settlements to seek refuge in town; but 1994 and beyond they could be here nobody could harass them whilst before because of the laws of that time, they could be arrested and be sent back to where they came from. Then this phenomenon of street children started around that time. Then group of individuals, I was not there that time. Group of individuals sat and decided, No! No! No! There is a new phenomenon and we need to respond. It was the municipality, NGOs, Churches, business and other people got together and said No! Let's respond, they just started a forum which was known as Street Children's Forum. This forum was a multi stake holder grouping which had a mandate of looking at this phenomena and saying here is a problem and come up with strategies to respond to that, so that's how it was born.

SCOPES has over the years evolved from being a Street Children's Forum to a non-governmental organization which necessitated the name change from a Street Children Forum to Street children Operation Siza- Siza is a Zulu word meaning to help. That meant reorganizing the forum into an organization that would have its own staff and direct programmes and services for the children and youth living on the streets. As the Director contended:

> We felt around 2003/2004 that we should change the organization. It must stop being just a forum, a lobby. It must begin to provide direct services, so we even looked at the name Street Children Forum's. It didn't make sense. It was just a forum for discussion. We said we needed to say we want to get involved in direct operations and offer services so we changed the name to SCOPES. Scopes is an acronym for Street Children Operation Siza, which is help in Zulu. Street Children Operation Siza, we changed it, short SCOPES. So we started looking at recruiting a team of outreach workers, people who will walk the streets, interact with these kids on the streets.

Thus from around 2003/2004 SCOPES has been engaged with the children and youth in direct service provision, working with the children and youth living on the streets in different programmes. At the time of the interview SCOPES was trying to identify a place which could be used as a shelter for the children and youth. The Director explained that SCOPES engaged the children and youth in several programmes.

> We doing outreach, we doing counselling, we doing reunification- those kids we can take to school, no! I mean home, we take home but we also refer kids, those that we find them sick on the streets we refer to the clinics, those that have reached an age where they need identity documents we link them up with home affairs, we now and again bring programmes so we get all the street kids together and bring Home Affairs to assist them with identity documents and we do training like you saw last time, ya facilitate that obviously we get people to sponsor it and do training but we also do job placements those that we can assists in terms of linking with prospective employers, we do that and currently we are in a process of trying to get a facility where we can have a shelter a place of safety for these kids, we are almost concluding a deal, where we hope that before the kick off in terms of soccer, we would have a facility.

In conclusion, SCOPES as an organization has evolved from being a forum to an organization that has direct contact with the children and youth living on the streets. The following are the programmes that the organization offers to the children and youth: counselling; reunification; referral of children and youth to hospitals and clinics; networking with Department of Home Affairs; and skills training initiatives.

Umthombo Street Children's Programme

Umthombo is another organization that works with children and youth living on the streets. According to the Director of the organization, Umthombo started so as to respond to the failure by the Department of Social Development and organizations that existed at that time to bring meaningful programmes to the children and youth living on the streets. He stated

> Umthombo was a response to what we considered a mess in Durban. There was no clear policy around street children from the Department, from any one, there were organizations starting up falling down. It was just a disaster. Street children were not getting good services. So we started an organization called the Durban Street Team which later became Umthombo.

According to the organization's website 'the ultimate goal for Umthombo is to change the way the society perceives and treats street children'

(http://www.umthombo.org/site.php?level=3&id=30).

In one of my email correspondence with the Director he stated

'In 1998 I founded Durban Street Team. It was a partnership project designed to bring the organisations together in Durban. It was led by Amos trust UK and had staff from YFC Durban*, Street Wise and Sinethemba shelter. It was funded by Amos Trust. Durban Street Team became Umthombo in 2004 . We were registered in 2005.'*

The Durban Street Team evolved into the present Umthombo Street Children Programme. Umthombo prides itself in being a source of hope for the children living on the streets of Durban, as the name Umthombo means, a well in Southern African languages. It is a source of life and hope for the children, "The word *Umthombo* means "well-spring" in the Nguni languages of Southern Africa. These springs can often be identified by a particular tree that grows close to them, the Umthombo tree. The soil around the tree is always moist. In the often dry and parched areas of South Africa an Umthombo tree is s sign of hope. The organization chose to name itself after the Umthombo tree to symbolize hope that former street children offer in the midst of the present crisis that street children face"

(http://www.umthombo.org/site.php?id=21&level=2). This is quite significant statement by Umthombo. It places itself as a place where children and youth would find comfort in the face of hardships in the streets- Umthombo looks at itself as that moist soil amidst dry and parched contexts within which the children and youth live.

Umthombo is located in the Point area, a place associated with drug trade and crime. According to the Director this location provides the motivation for them to reach to those who are outcasts of the society, people who are perceived as a danger to the society. It is those children and youth that the organization provides hope for. As the Director said: "we chose to operate in Point; we chose to embrace those children that everyone else has given up on. Those who are mostly addicted to glue, those who are 26s, those that people think are dangerous, that's what Umthombo is for. That's why we are in Point".

Umthombo offers several programs. According to the director:

> "Umthombo offers social working services to street children, therapeutic interventions but it is a three step strategy.......... our solutions are based around a three step process, engagement, so we have programmes like surfing, art, soccer, drama, all sorts of engagement programmes plus we have centre with basic rights such as nutrition and health care, we engage the children through these programmes, those programmes are all designed to lead towards therapeutic services, social working interventions, group therapies, individual therapies, they themselves are designed to help children along the process of leaving the streets and being reintegrated back into communities with continued follow up support from us

The programmes that Umthombo provides to the children living on the streets as indicated in the foregoing statement by its director are divided into three phases, firstly engagement with the children to know them and build relationships, secondly therapeutic interventions, lastly reintegration of the children into their communities and families. These processes according to the director for Umthombo, are overseen by particular people, as he elaborates, "child and youth care worker works in the engagement with children, step 1, social worker oversees that, social workers work step two, therapeutic interventions, step 3 the reintegration process is overseen by the social workers and is a combination of social workers and child and youth care workers". Umthombo's programmes target children below the age of 18.

I Care

I Care is founded on Christian values. The organization describes itself as "a non-profit organisation devoted to finding meaningful and sustainable solutions to the challenge of street children in South Africa and a ministry that promotes a Christian ethos" (http://www.icare.co.za/what-we-do). I Care was founded as part of Lawrence Henry Cochrane Trust (LHC) by Graham Cochrane in memory of his father Lawrence. According to the representative of I Care who was involved in this study, Graham Cochrane, the founder of I Care, was lost at sea in 2005 in a Yacht race from Durban to Mauritius. However, I Care has still remained a strong organization under the guidance of his wife Denise Cochrane. I Care is shaped by Christian philosophies and prides itself as an accountable organization both to donors and to the people it is working with through adherence to Christian ethos. I Care's mission reads as:

> We are all children of God and are all special in His sight. The distinction between classes is therefore a social one which has no place in our organisation. This value requires we treat each person as special and work towards revealing those God-given gifts that reside in all of us. We acknowledge that we act in a fiduciary capacity towards the public and that we are working towards the betterment of society. As such we will act in an open and honest manner and are fully accountable to the public for the funds advanced to us for the furtherance of our mission' (http://www.icare.co.za/what-we-do)

I Care strongly discourages the public from giving money to children. It believes this encourages children to remain on the streets. I Care's approach to working with children and youth living on the streets is through what it calls "I Care Cycle that includes the following:

(1) Effective members of the society

(2) Awareness

(3) Outreach

(4) Rehabilitation

(5) Housing and Shelter

(6) Education

(7) Skills/job creation

This cycle helps children to change from being dependent on society to productive members of society (I Care Leaflet). Thus all the activities and programmes within I Care are aimed at assisting the children and youth to be effective members of the society. According to Janet the Child and Youth Care Worker involved in the study,

> "We have children from Monday to Friday from the morning from half past...from as early as possible from half past seven to half past four. They come for shower in the morning, they come for cleaning clothes and then we take the dirty clothes and put them in the washing machine and they come for breakfast, and attend programmes in here and spend the whole day with us and we have different programmes and we also have outside programmes as well such as surfing and swimming. So uh the reason behind all this is to build relationships with them, give them a chance to trust us to talk about and understand sensitive issues about their background. Where they are from and what issues made them to be on the streets. And then we look at them and have one on one session now and again. Get them to understand that the best place to be for them is at home and not on the streets or otherwise the shelter. So we try to encourage them not to go back on the streets. It's not something that you can do in one or two days, it takes a while, some of the children after a month or so are ready to go back home or to go in our programme which is the Kuthaza".

Kuthaza, according to the Janet is a Zulu word meaning to encourage. She stated that this is a rehabilitation programme that is aimed at assisting the children and youth living on the streets to quit using substances. Janet said:

> It's not easy for us just to keep them off the streets and send them home without getting them rehabilitated. So those who have been using substances for a long time and are ready to go home; but first we put them on this programme which is five months and then while they are in the programme, then the aftercare team runs around and makes sure that we find these parents. We do home visits, we do home assessment to see if the home is suitable for the child to go back after three months. And then if there is no family or the home environment is not suitable for the child to go back, then we look at the extended families.

I Care appreciates that not all children and youth who have been rehabilitated can be successfully reintegrated into their families and communities. Sometimes families are non-existent and at times because of social problems, some families are dysfunctional. These may prove difficult conditions for a child's successful community life after the street. Thus I Care has three homes in Illovo on the South Coast to provide the children and youth a home environment that would facilitate their continued rehabilitation while going through skills training. I care appreciates the importance of education for the children and youth. The organization realizes that children on the streets may have missed a great deal of time from school. According to Janet, they have a school in

KwaMakhutha which is registered under the Department of Education. The school conducts classes for the youth under the guidance of retired teachers and volunteers from Holland. This helps the children and youth to catch up on school and learning programmes before reintegration into the society. I Care Centre which is called the Hope Centre for Children is located in Stamford Hill Road close to Game City.

In Conclusion, I Care is one of the established organizations working with children and youth living on the streets of Durban with major emphasis on reintegration of the children into their communities and families.

Street Shonaphansi Children Operation

Street Shonaphansi Children organization- abbreviated SISCO- is an organization that was founded through community processes, through the motion that was moved at Albert Park Community meeting. According to the Director, the organization was founded as a response to the weaknesses in the existing organizations. He stated:

> In the community meeting I suggested to say that I will be very happy if in this city we can have an organization, the organization to represent the kids not an organization that is going to represent people's pockets and people said yes, then we started this organization called SISCO, its where we elected a committee and we started formalizing the constitution of the organization.

The Director of SISCO indicated that he had worked with most of the organizations that work with children and youth living on the streets of Durban. It was through the encounter with the organizations that he found weaknesses. According to him, children were not benefiting from these organizations. He stated that it was failure of organizations to understand the real needs of children and youth that motivated the prompted the need for SISCO.

> I had a problem with the youth, the boys that are living in the streets. They are in the streets when the age of twelve, thirteen. When they are seventeen I am not supposed to work with them. Now when they come with their problems I am raising with the directors, they say they only deal with smaller children but I have been dealing with them from the smallest age. Number 2, I have a problem saying of just go and count the people in the streets then leave them. Three, I do programmes in the streets with kids and then leave them in the streets, that was hurting me. Then I said no let me suggest something and when I suggest, people don't want what I am suggesting.

The Director asserted that organizations working with children and youth have no long term impact on the children. According to the director most organizations are interested in children under 18 years of age. When they reach 18 years of age, youth are abandoned. This leaves youth who have been *raised on the streets by organizations,* and who have over time lost contact with structures that can support them - the family and community – abandoned and alone to fend for themselves. SISCO's focus is on youth from 18years of age. Focus is to transform them into responsible adults who have got the capacity to contribute to the development of the nation. SISCO emphasises reintegration of children and youth with their communities and families. The organization plays a role of an advocate and mediator between the children and the community. As the director of the organization stated

> We are more into youth, what we do as SISCO, those youth that we find; we check their problem, if the problem if the problem is at home, we go back home and negotiate with them to sort the problem. Sometimes we find that the problem is not at home but in the neighbours and we talk to the neighbours, the neighbour will tell us no we already told the whole community, our job is to go back and address village about that boy to say that that boy did a mistake and still needs a chance to be a part of the community, then we bring that boy back. That is what we have been suggesting to the organization.

According to the constitution, SISCO has the following objectives:

1) Outreach to seek, rescue, rehabilitate and reunite children with their families.
2) To design and run diversion programmes for vulnerable youth, young adults and the homeless.
3) To network and work in partnership with other role players in order to bring about a better future for street children.

According to the constitution, it is SISCO's vision to be recognised as world class Street Child Rehabilitator (SISCO Constitution). SISCO, unlike all other organizations involved in this study, is the only organization that does not have an established base. While it has quite good intentions for the youth as indicated in its mission, vision and objectives, these are not without their challenges. The organization does not have sustainable funding and also relies on volunteers who form the SISCO executive and board who have other fulltime jobs. SISCO would fully fit the description of a voluntary association which has its members meeting only when they have a task to fulfil.

Agape

Agape is located close to the harbour on Victoria Embankment. Agape means "unconditional love". It was started to contribute to the development of children and youth living on the streets through facilitation of reintegration of the children and youth with their families. Agape has been running for the past two years, since 2008. Agape street children's project is part of a larger children organization which is mostly engaged in working with orphaned children. However, it through contract awarded to the organization by the municipality to run the drop in centre for the children and youth living on the streets. It occupies premises which are meant to be drop in centre for the Municipality. According to the social worker heading the centre, it targets children from 0-18 years as its clients.

The organization works in cooperation with SCOPES that provides outreach services for the organization. The social worker at Agape interviews them and maps the way forward for the children identified. As the social worker indicated,

> We are the reception centre that means children are referred to us by other organizations such as SCOPES. Their outreach member brings these children, we interview them and then we reunify them with their families or rather placing them in institution or places of safety. As you can see outside there are children, they are referred by SCOPES and as a social worker I call them one by one for case work and if the situation requires us to reunify the child with their families we do that.

While the project is largely a placement facility aimed at linking children with their respective families and communities, it runs other programmes for children on day to day basis. The following are some of the organizations programmes:

1) Art and crafts i.e bead making
2) Basic nutrition
3) Sports
4) Counselling services
5) Advocacy especially as regards to children acquiring identity documents.

The link between SCOPES and Agape on outreach services is one of the possibilities that collaboration between organizations can achieve. It is important to note that this institutional linkage, is according to the finding of this study a municipal prescription. That one organization focuses on outreach services, while the other works as a drop in for children who have been identified through outreach. It is a prescription that came

with the tender award. However, it shows the potential for institutional leadership in coordinating the work on the streets on the streets, as the study will show in the coming parts of the paper, this is currently lacking. The next organization to be discussed is Youth For Christ, Abbreviated YFC.

Youth for Christ

Youth for Christ (YFC) is a worldwide organization founded on Christian values. According to the Programmes Director for Youth for Christ in Durban, The organization has about 18 centres around the country and in KZN, the organization is called Youth for Christ-KZN. She indicated that Youth for Christ- KZN is affiliated to Youth for Christ South Africa and Youth for Christ International. According to the programme director, YFC has been in South Africa for the past sixty years and is in KZN YFC is about thirty years now.

> back then, long time ago we looked very different to what we do now. So back then we were merely a mission's organization, a Christian mission organization. So in other words our main focus was on evangelization of young people. Later on we realized that we were missing a big part in terms of reaching young people and that part in terms of social involvement. In other words we felt we couldn't just go to young people and tell them about Jesus Christ. You know that will be a solution to the issues or challenges in their lives and yet not really get involved tangibly in challenges and issues that they experience in their lives.

Thus the organization integrated developmental approach in reaching out to the youth. As its mission states,

> Youth for Christ KwaZulu Natal is a mission and development agency committed to serving and addressing the needs of children and youth in KwaZulu Natal. Some of these current needs are: homelessness, dysfunctional families, poverty, HIV and AIDS, gender inequality and life-skills. A key aspect of YFC/KZN has been to live, serve and preach Christ to youth in a way that is real, accessible and relevant' (http://www.youthkzn.co.za/).

It is within this approach that a project for street children was adopted. YFC through a research that they conducted realized that there are not many programmes for girls on the streets. The organization started a shelter for girls in 1996. This according to the Programme Director was in response to the needs of the girls. Their research indicated that 10% of the children on the streets of Durban were girls. They needed to look at specific needs of the group. However, from 1997, the organization incorporated more

programmes for children and youth including outreach services to reach out to both girls and boys on the streets. This was necessitated by they got referred children who did not fit their admission criteria. Youth for Christ has the following services for children and youth living on the streets of Durban CBD:

1) The street team which is responsible for outreach services: within this programme the needs of the children are identified on the streets and necessary steps are taken to help including: nutrition, referral to clinics, hygiene etc.
2) The residential team: this runs a residential shelter for girls
3) The community team: this operates the drop in centre that aims to link children with communities and run preventive programmes.
4) The intensive intervention programme
5) Advocacy for the children and linking them to appropriate services including home affairs

Youth for Christ is located on Umngeni Road with most of its programmes for children and youth running at its Tynneson House. The team for YFC Durban, is made up of youth workers who are supervised by a child and youth care worker who is the programme director.

Factors that facilitate or hinder services to children and youth living on the streets of Durban.

Introduction

This part of the paper looks at the factors that influence organizations work with children and youth living on the streets of Durban. There is great deal of negative tensions among the different organizations. At the focal point of the tensions is the politics of organizational funding. Funding and resource acquisition in NGOs is a major goal of NGOs and their leadership. Etzioni (1960:260) called these private goals of organizations. He called those goals that organizations *'front'* and claim to pursue as public goals. Etzioni (1960:260) went on to assert that 'Public goals fail to be realized not because of poor planning, unanticipated consequences, or hostile environment; *they are not meant to be realized' (emphasis mine)*. Failure by organizations in developing

proper programmes that meet the integral needs of the children and youth should be looked at within the political economy of organizational survival. Organizations challenges in working with children and youth on the streets are linked to resource acquisition and defence of domain. It is therefore important to call upon what Benson (in Etzioni, 1980:351,352) said in literature review, as a point of departure in understanding organizational factors affecting their work on the streets. Benson asserted that,

> two basic types of resources are central to the political economy of inter-organizational networks. These are money and authority. Organization decision makers are oriented to the acquisition and defence of a secure and adequate supply of these resources. Authority refers to the legitimation of activities, the right and responsibility to carry out programs of a certain kind, dealing with a broad problem area or focus. Legitimated claims of this kind are termed domains. The possession of a domain permits an organization to operate in a certain sphere, claim support for its activities and define proper practice within its realm……organizations taking other approaches constitute an implicit threat to the security of resource flow into an agency. Thus, efforts are made to refute and discredit ideological claims and to establish the superiority of one's own technology (Benson, in Etzioni and Lehman, 1980:351, 352)

Organizations work with children and youth living on the streets of Durban, which entails improving their welfare, integrating them within their families and communities and preventive programmes for children and youth, from getting into the streets are within the thoughts of Etzioni, called public goals; that are not meant to be achieved for the organizations continued survival. Within which, children and youth become a domain on which organizational politics and struggles for donor attraction for resource mobilization- and by extension organizations survival, hinge.   Within these thoughts as the next part of the paper will show, NGOs working with the children and youth have been formed by one or two charismatic leaders who often have failed to integrate good management practices for the betterment of the organizations and children accessing services from these NGOs. Therefore, while they could be visionary, they need to divorce themselves from other roles which could be assumed by competent personnel.

Leadership and management skills

Having worked with children and youth on the streets of Durban since the beginning of 2008, through prolonged engagement with both organizations and children, important organizational developmental knowledge has been acquired. Most of the organizations working with the children and youth started with a vision and idea by one or two people who had the conviction to help the children and youth. This study found that leadership is a great challenge in most organizations. The challenge for most organizations lies in the capacity to create a leadership that is able to build a team of capable individuals with differentiated roles. For some organizations which are facing this challenge, it is especially within the understanding that leadership in NGOs is often understood to refer to, its individual director or chairperson. The influence of an NGOs executive board, middle management and senior staff can be equally important to local African NGOs in developing power (Robert, cited in Michael, 2004:153). This is a challenge within NGOs working with children and youth. This study found out that while leaders are great custodians of the vision and values of the organizations, some of them do not have the management skills to handle a developing organization. This has a big impact on day to day running of the organization. An interview with one of the workers in one of the organizations revealed that while leaders have the charisma to market their organizations to donors and potential funders, they have no management skills. One of the participants indicated that workers sometimes have to go a long time without pay, while leaders spend money on unnecessary priorities. She stated,

> then comes resources like today we have no transport because the car went for fixing and we have one car which is being used by the director because he has a problem with his car and I have two children who want to go home and I can't take them because we do not have money and we do not have a car. Like every time you get money you will see braai and KFC (Kentucky Fried Chicken) (*brackets mine*). Those are for the children. They will eat KFC; they will have a braai and all those things. Why? So that they could come here to the centre and more children will be here, for attraction. That is what happens. Now imagine you have not been paid and on the 55th of the month, that is when you get paid; and after that you see children getting the braai. How would you feel? It's a waste, it's a waste and the biggest problem is that you have not finished paying for the damages of the last month. And comes month end some people have not been paid. There are people who have not been paid. The thing is he is full of lies. He might come to you saying, I have deposited money into your account, I have transferred money into your account, when actually he has not paid.

According to this research participant, leaders do not know how to budget. The integration of charisma, compassion with management skills of an organization seem to be lacking. Charisma and compassion make the organization's leaders to give in to

children's immediate gratification. They look very good in front of the children, in the process derailing organizations process. It was the view of this participant that if children were allowed to have proper budgetary allocation for their meals and other programmes which were adhered to, the organization would be able to meet most needs of its programmes. This includes paying staff in time and paying of phone and electricity bills. However, the biggest challenge lies in looking at children as means of organizational survival, in which they have to be constantly attracted to organizations for funding mobilization and by extension- survival of the organizations themselves. Management of finances requires some stringent measures. This is at times antithetical to personalities who have formulated these NGOs, who are compassionate and kind individuals who feel obliged to fulfil every need that children present to them- which is often time instant gratification. This may be done at the expense of long term management and running of other programmes. Programmes may suffer because of expenditures which were made for instant gratification of the children and youth and which were not budgeted for. This leaves staff frustrated and de-motivated. For staff, they acknowledge the failure in the leadership to manage organization, especially budgetary processes. Staff believe that organizations leaders spend a lot of money on gratifying immediate needs of the children than on processes that would have long term impact on children's lives. Some organizations organize braai's instead of sticking to budgetary allocations on food for children and youth. While it is not a bad idea to organize activities for children to have fun, it is important to look at these activities within a broader development goal for these children and youth. Within these goals is sustainability of organizations and programmes that are designed to help the children and youth. However, lack of strategic adherence to budgetary allocations, compromises these developmental agendas. Like in the instance of one organization, a lot of money was spent on instant pleasing the children and youth. The consequence of that according to one staff interviewed was that

'the following day we did not have money for transport, for petrol. Even now I can go there and ask money for petrol. There is no money; they don't know how to budget, they don't'.

Compromising programmes and organizational functioning due to lack of fiscal controls is an indictment on NGOs leadership. It is important to combine charisma and good sense to properly manage internal environment of the organizations. So that they should

be able to fulfil their mandate to those they are accountable to, in this case the children and youth. The next part of the paper discusses leadership and accountability.

Leadership and accountability

This study found that NGO leaders find it difficult to be accountable to their staff members, often making unilateral decisions that frustrate staff. The main problem lies in letting go of power by organizations founders. This is to entrust capable professionals to deal with other competencies in day to day management of organizations. According to one of the senior workers in one NGO involved in this study, founders of organizations create gulfs between themselves and other important programme team members.

> Sometimes staff do not know what is happening in organizations, You cannot tell what jobs people do here. Sometimes we might find that we have a night shift …. like when he decided to do that, he did not inform us, we only heard when it was happening. When the children had been told that this is what is going to be happening

It is important to appreciate that sense of ownership by organizations founders in many ways may contribute to lack of trust of other people to have capacity to carry out responsibilities that would help the organization. The leadership in NGOs which is oftentimes mixed with ownership makes it difficult for NGOs accountability to both the children and youth that NGOs work with and as well as funders. Accountability in NGOs is quite a difficult process as Desai and Howes (in Hulme and Edwards, 2002:83) indicated in the literature,

> these difficulties stem at least in part, from the fact that unlike governments (which must submit themselves for periodic re-election) or business (which must make profits in order to survive) NGOs have no readily acknowledged 'bottom line against which performance is measured. This is made worse by the tendency for the broad social goals which NGOs set themselves to be influenced by a wide range of factors beyond their control, making it hard to attribute causation or apportion credit or blame for any changes that may arise. Furthermore, unlike civil servants, who must report to government and be available for cross examination in committee, NGOs generally have no one particular body to whom they are accountable or single mechanism through which they may be brought to account.

Within this NGO accountability process, leaders of NGOs find it difficult to improve the organizational skills in absence of monitoring bodies. Complicating accountability and organizational leadership skills is lack of balance between the need to meet immediate gratification of the needs of the children and the long-term organizational commitments to its budgets. These are inspired leaders who have passion for what they are doing, in which compassion and a desire to reach out to those who are suffering is a virtue. However, it is important to indicate that this is at times antithetic to proper management of organizations. One man leadership with incapacity to delegate to other competent persons leads the organizations to unnecessary crises and leadership challenges. While it may be possible to delegate, giving people leadership roles without allowing to them to 'own' their roles by giving them real power, is disempowering to organizations team members. Lack of real power in organizations staff members manifests itself in organizations lack of fiscal controls in which founders engage in tendencies which lead organizations to financial down turn. In this case, staffs of the organizations in Durban get paid their salaries long after the pay date. This is de-motivating to staff. Staff think that their work is valued by NGO leaders only as means of pleasing the donors. Lack of accountability questions the credibility and impact of the programmes that NGOs facilitate

> You know what? programmes should be emphasized almost daily that we need to work hard. Motivation rather, the staff needs to be motivated daily. But we only get motivated when there are people coming, that we need to work hard, show them that we can do this. Funders are coming, show them that we can do this. He would say show them that we can do this. I want programmes happening there. It's mostly about money. He knows that if he is more liked by the children, more children will come here and then he will get more money.

Staff perception is that they are there only to make money for the leaders by displaying programmes to donors which would in turn generate more money. Children are thus caught up in a process that is only aimed at impressing the donors and not towards their development. For children, it is important to survive and live to see another day. They will use all that it takes to get to the next day, including manipulating organizations that approach them. However, how ethical are the organizations approaches to the children? How ethical are the organizations in the use of donor funding? Does it have tangible impact in the lives of children and youth? While it is quite easy to write reports to the donors and indicate the statistics of the numbers of children reached in the month or year, it is important to reflect on the real developmental process that the resources may

have had on the children and youth. It is within these premises that accountability process monitored using the logframe, as indicated in the literature review, falls short to capturing the truth on the ground. As Earle (cited in Wallace et al, 2007:36) indicated "the linear view of change, prompted by the logframe, where processes feed into each other in an orderly hierarchical manner is perhaps a Western construct, and is certainly imposed by agencies from above, bearing little 'reality' of development work. But for organizations on the street, this is far removed from their control; they have to use those methods if they have to attract donors. Accountability in NGOs while it is supposed to be to both donors and constituents on the streets, donors receive more attention. As one of the participants indicated,

> These are all people who when they fund you, they require things like seeing your financial, understanding your accountability, and so that's how we built up integrity is by demonstrating that we stand according to proposals and budgets. That we are financially audited, that's why we are attracting those types of funders.

Attracting those type of funders entails a complex process within which organizations have to muddle in NGO politics, yet at the same time, portray effectiveness by showing the number of children that benefit from their programmes, children who are equally reached by other organizations that are *'next door'*. For children and youth this is an area that provides resources for their daily bread while on the streets, running between organizations to mobilize the resources. For organizations, it is a parameter that calls for a re-think on professional conduct and ethical practice. This is both to the interest of the resource providers as well as the real effective programming in working with children and youth. Further complicating the work in these NGOs as the next part of the paper shows, is lack of communication.

Leadership and communication

This study found that lack of communication is another problem in organizations. Staff feel that at times their leaders do not respect them. Leaders do not know how to deal with administrative issues that can be positively managed through proper communication procedures. The absence of proper communication and lack of administrative skills, especially in management of conflicting situations leaves staff feeling undignified and frustrated.

> There was this day when we had no electricity I don't know what happened, maybe he had not paid, so in the morning breakfast was not prepared and the surfing guys were going out for surfing and he came. He heard that they have not had breakfast. So he got so upset he was shouting at everyone, even those who are not in that department, in nutrition department. He was shouting saying what is happening here. The children have been complaining about eating fish. And all those things in front of the children, he was shouting at staff in front of the children. I have money. I am going to buy food worthy R5000. In front of the children, he was shouting staff in front of the children. Just to make, you know what the main plan is? The children should see us who are always here with them who suffer with them as bad people; and him over there as the nice person who always has money. If there is a problem, he always buys them out

The creation of a gulf between them and us- leaders and employers, alienates the staff from running organizational programmes with ease and autonomy. The staff in this case, view themselves as suffering together with the children under poor leadership. While they do not get their pay in time in some organizations, in the case of this participant, it was undermining to them to be shouted at in front of the children. The participant perceived that this could have been handled better than undermine their confidence in presence of the people who are supposed to believe in them. The gulf created between organizational leadership and staff creates a situation in which there is lack of coherence in programmes and children and youth are able to pick this up. Children at times stop attending programmes and according to this participant, the children have to be 'bought' to go to organizations for programmes. It is within that thinking that braais and other fun activities are organized to attract the children and youth. According to the research participant, more children in the organization's logs means more money from funders and donors. As the next part of the paper shows, organizations leaders are preoccupied with the numbers of children that come to their programmes and they design programmes which are perceived to maintain the children on the streets as means of organizations economic survival.

Maintenance of children on the streets

Staff engaged in the study felt that programmes that organizations facilitated maintained children on the streets. It was the feeling of staff that programmes needed to be developed that would address the real needs of the children and youth. Staff felt that their leaders are obsessed with programmes that are attractive to the children and make more children to attend the programmes. It was in view of the staff that organizations leaders' interest in these programmes is obsession with statistics of children, more children attending programmes means more money for the organizations. Activities like braai and KFC (Kentucky Fried Chicken) for children living on the streets are quite a big attraction. One of the biggest challenges for the children is mobilization of food, which often results in prostitution for both boys and girls. This is also consistent with the findings of the study on survival strategies for children and youth living on the streets of Durban CBD, which my contemporaries and I carried out in 2009. Children will thus ensure that they partake in the braais and KFC which are far luxurious from what they normally eat on the streets; and also what their families could offer them before they migrated to the streets. This is in cognizance of poverty levels and increased unemployment experienced in most families in South Africa

Most of the children's stories depict of the levels of poverty experienced in their homes, in which the children while on the streets are equally looked at as sources of income. Thus organizations provision of luxurious services- braais and KFC, while good for children, is self-defeatist on the part of organizations. While attracting children to the organizations may be good for organizations that rely on statistics of children they work with to seek for donor financing. It is of profound essence, to indicate that such approaches equally attract children from communities, in which they live in impoverished situations to live on the streets. Programmes working on the streets thus, systematically counter their own objectives of reducing the number of children on the streets of Durban. Instead children end up being raised on the streets with no proper future. Children are construed to being used by organizations for the owners' benefits.

> There are certain people who are using our kids to benefit. Because my friend for me it is very funny to take a small boy of eleven yrs and take that boy to surf and give him food; afternoon I let that boy to go back on the street. I didn't know what makes this boy to be on the street. My job is to find that boy and take that boy and keep him in the safety place and get how that boy got to be in the street. I must leave that boy where I kept that boy in the safety place and go back home and see ....the problem that made that boy to be on the street and sort the problem and take the boy back. If I

fail to sort the problem at home then I must find accommodation or a place of safety where I can place that boy. Instead of using that boy and put that boy in surfing. What is that boy going to benefit from surfing? When he is eighteen years I must kick him out? I must leave him in the street. It means that we are glooming criminals. If you can go to Westville (prison) (brackets mine) now, how many boys that you can find? you will find street kids in Westville.

The political economy of organizational survival works against the future of the children. During the duration I have spent on the streets from 2008, I have come across a number of young children who are attending programmes in different organizations. These children are missing out on education. These organizations are not doing much in this regard. The future of the children is greatly compromised by programmes that do not take initiative to integrate the children into schools. Organizations have their focus on programmes that are entertainment and fun oriented. These programmes are attractive to the children but with questionable long-term impact. Images of children, especially suffering young children on the streets, present an attractive picture to donors. NGOs leaders' promotion of their programmes that promote life on the streets undermines the integral development of the children and youth. The future of the children and youth without education appears gloomy and this is an indictment on organizations and their leadership.

A reflection on this within the political economy of organizational survival, as indicated in the introduction to this chapter, children and youth fall within public goals of the organizations. Etzioni (1960:260,261) explains that 'public goals improve the input-output balance by recruiting support (inputs) to the organization from groups which would not support the private goals'. This is consistent with Selznick's (1952:83, 84) 'analysis of the goals of the Communist party. He shows that while the private goal is to gain power and control, there are various layers of public goals presented to the rank and file, sympathizers, and the "masses".

Linked to organizational leadership challenges in working with children and youth is organizational capacity and how it impacts on the NGOs. The next part of the paper discusses organizational capacity.

Organizational capacity and effectiveness.

Organizational capacity means the ability by an organization to deliver on its aims and objectives. The Iraq Women Education Institute refers to organizational capacity as "an organizations ability to carry out its mission". For NGOs that work with children and youth, weak organizational capacity emerged as one of the constraints in their effectiveness. For these organizations, capacity is weakened especially as a result of minimum resources and also lack of institutional linkages. This has impact on their ability to effectively respond to the plight of the children and youth on the streets. As one director puts it,

> Ya the major obstacles is that of lack of funding, lack of support but also capacity, because you find that there is a huge need for our service, you want to respond but you can only respond within this limit. Ya that is why I am saying you want to respond big but because of capacity in terms of resources, you can't, that is the frustrating part.

However, reflecting on the organizations working with the children and youth, this research process reveals that organizations as individual entities have limited organizational capacity to provide comprehensive programs for these marginalized youths. Resources like funding come out prominently as huge challenges for the organizations. It is also important to highlight the limitedness of the organizations to attract professionals that would be integral to the therapeutic work with these children and youths. This is with consideration that life for the children and youth on the streets involves experiences of serious trauma which requires debriefing and professional intervention. The limited organizational capacity of most NGOs working with children unfortunately plays against them in a power game between organizations themselves. The presence/absence of appropriate staff members, especially social workers becomes a tag, a label that allows or forbids the level of interaction or engagement with other organizations. Open exclusion from the circle of interaction and engagement of *'those inadequate'* organizations clearly manifests itself on the streets. As this director asserts,

> Where we have to be careful is that sometimes people say, all those street children organizations in Durban, they should just get on. They should be friends and work together, but all of them are not the same, you have got some that have got no trained staff, you have got some that have no social workers and in this day and age you cannot have work with street children that doesn't have social workers and child and youth workers, so any organizations that doesn't have those things, we cannot work with them. So other organizations, the first thing that I ask from the organizations is, who is your social workers? You know a street children organization is seen as progressive if they have one social worker, that's ridiculous, one social worker for a

street children organization, then you must only be dealing with only about ten or twenty kids,(laughs), we are saying we have got four social workers".

This director openly draws the lines between his organization and others, this 'othering process' (Dominelli, 2002:17) does not only minimise the capacity inherent in difference in organizations that work with children and youth, it also entails relationships of dominance which relegate others to the periphery in the power game. Dominant organizations perceive themselves as legitimate and with right approaches. This is consistent with what Dominelli (2002:17) indicated that,

> the dominant group exercises power in zero-sum ways to normalize its particular view of the world, thereby defining who is included and who is excluded from the group considered 'normal'. This process naturalises its position and casts the other, that is, those excluded, as abnormal or 'different'. Here, an aspect of the 'othering' process involves treating difference as deviant or pathological and, therefore, undesirable. If the dominant group's definition of normality is accepted, it becomes a yardstick whereby everyone is measured.

In the time I have worked on the streets with the children and youth, this organization has evolved from one with no social workers to having four social workers. However, the position of this director, that he cannot work with other organizations based on the reason that they do not have social workers is not necessarily true. The underlining issues are perceiving children and youth as a basis of organizational competition for resources- this is discussed in greater detail in the coming parts of the paper.

Linked to organizational capacity is the issue of organizational funding, it is important to indicate that racial politics is perceived to contribute to challenges in funding mobilization and by extension- organizational capacity. The next part of the paper will show how race implicates manifests itself in organizational relationships and funding dynamics.

'Black not safe': implications of racial politics in funding mobilization.
The organizations working with children and youth on the streets experience a great deal of challenges in their work to meet the needs of the children and youth. As indicated

in the foregoing paragraphs, inadequate organizational capacity is having a profound impact on their ability to meet the needs of their constituents. Financial mobilization is one of those struggles that have great deal of impact on organizations. This study reveals that perceived entrenched racism in funding institutions has impact on organizations. This study found that organizations working with the children and youth on the streets are divided in two categories to which they silently belong and these are: (1) black organizations and (2) white organizations. The dividing line between what constitutes a black organization or a white organization is blurred. Organizations definition of themselves within these categories is contextual. They call upon the blackness or whiteness of themselves depending on the context within which they function at a given time. What is clear is that an all black people managed organization is a black organization; and that which is all white people managed, is white organization. In Durban, however, there is no organization working with children and youth on the streets that is managed by white people only. While there are a couple of organizations that have only black people within their set up. But what is clear in the findings of this study is that belonging to the two categories has far reaching impact on perceived organizational capacity, especially to be entrusted with funding by donor organizations and individual sponsors. As this participant explains,

> There is an organization that is seen as a white organization. My organization is funny enough despite myself not really seen as a white organization. It tends to have more of a black image; and I mean I am the only white person working in the organization, but we are seen as black. Another organization which I am not going to name because I like them so you can see where it is, is seen as white. Therefore the money in Umhlanga Rocks and the rich white areas goes straight to them. So they find it very easy to raise money locally and we find it very difficult.

What comes out clearly in the findings of this study is that organizations which are perceived as black are disadvantaged in terms of image to potential donors and funders. Organizations which are perceived as black believe that their limitations in attracting funding, lies in the institutionalized racism. Black people are perceived as untrustworthy and corrupt by the corporate world; which is perceived to be dominated by white people. It therefore greatly limits organizational financial capacity and the ability to effectively facilitate programs for the children and youth. As this director affirms,

> we don't a have any serious funders purely because like I said most people who would be in a position to fund your organization will be the same colour with the

racists who will go and say, ah ya who will do a better job? The mental attitudes that say, if it is a black organisation, they will squander the money. So don't give them the money rather give them something else. Exactly if it's a white organization, no problem; give them the money. I am saying that because in this very organization, at some point we used to attract a lot of money, until such a time that we transformed it to say that you can't have 100% white board, management board, serving 100% black people, we need to transform it. The minute we transformed it, they ran away to go and start their organizations and their funders followed them there. So you can see where it comes from.

What it means is that organizations have to constantly negotiate the complexity of their image when sourcing funding. 'Black organizations', interestingly enough, do not totally miss out on funding opportunities, while perceived racial politics disadvantages them when dealing with the corporate world, but as this participant indicates, "it depends on where you are *fishing* from that's in the corporate business sector". 'The strategic essentialists' (Dominelli, 2002:39) nature of identity, that is enactment of those forms of identity to suit contextual demands, allows those organizations perceived as black to call upon 'the blackness' in them to gain financial support from politically inclined funders. Fishing for financial support by the organizations is done with strategic awareness of where to throw the hook. The organizations perceived as black and the blackness in them, gives them advantage to also manoeuvre the fishing of funding. While it doesn't often work for them in the corporate sector, they have alternative sources.

In the corporate sector it doesn't work for us because we are seen as more black; but if you are fishing from the government then it is different. So for example the municipal tenders are more attractive to organizations that are perceived as black.

Racial politics in organizations that work with children and youth living on the streets, appears to be a dominant theme which has got a big impact on the challenges for collaborative partnerships between organizations to achieve unified efforts. The challenge for organizations is to achieve tolerance for difference. Some organizational directors have got extreme views on race and racism. Of importance is to appreciate that although these racial experiences may be looked at as isolated incidents, organizations working with the children and youth are a microcosm of the broader society. Few years after emerging from apartheid social order South Africa as a nation is still grappling with racism.

> Obviously you must know that this country is still very racist, even funders are still very racist. If it's a black owned and managed and run organization they are very hesitant to offer support particularly funding. Because of some strange reasons they believe that every black person will abuse or squander the funds; but funny enough if you have got white people in your board or management money comes in. But we said no! We are not gonna sell our blackness, our African-ness and our souls to the devil

Leadership of these organizations working with the children and youth, according to these research findings, is greatly impacted by racial politics. Either due to leadership involvement in direct politics through party leadership or through perceived funding and politics interface. However the next part of paper shows a non reconciliatory approach to racial politics by leaders of these organizations, far removes the organizations from the ability to consolidate the possibility of collaborative or unified efforts in working with the children and youth.

Leadership politics and its challenges to inclusivity and unified efforts in working with children and youth

South Africa as a nation that is just emerging out of apartheid social order, which put in place a great deal of structures to inculcate the racial divisions between people of different races, had a lot of impact on black people; leaving them in the peripheries of power. As Sewpaul (2003:304) reflects "our subservience to whites was understandable, as the only relationship we shared was one of 'master' and 'servant'. Group Areas and Separate Amenities legislation ensured that we did not get to know whites in any other capacity, let alone as equals. Such was my mother's indoctrination that while walking on the streets where whites lived we were, as children, shooed into silence 'as whites don't like noise". Such was the power of the apartheid capacity to indoctrinate black people with powerlessness and inferiority. The fall of the apartheid after the first general elections that ushered in Nelson Mandela as the first democratically elected president; a person that embodies politics of inclusion and cherishing of difference. Sixteen years down the line, his message of reconciliation is still parried away by some sectors of the society. This equally emerged as important theme in the research process. Some organizations directors embrace the fall of apartheid as the fall of white domination and the rise of black domination. This according to one of the directors engaged in the research meant removal of anything that represented white in his organization and

reconstructing it to embrace the dawn of democracy and domination of a black African man.

> Simply because you see I am the kind of a person who is... am very proud to be an African and I can never be bought or blackmailed and I didn't like the patronizing attitude of certain white people in that organization who would come and behave as if we are just doing you a favour, no! No! You do this because you like it and it is from your heart and that's it. So don't patronise me and keep reminding me by the way am doing you a favour. I could be sitting in my suburb home and don't come with that attitude. Its either you help me or you don't patronise me. So well may be they didn't like my style of leadership but eventually they left but we carried on.

Thus the process that have made his organization to where it is now, have greatly been shaped by events around his leadership style. Which also according to him, are around his definition of his African-ness and reclaiming power. His own identity, as a black man in the contemporary South Africa, means being free and with the capacity to become anything without any constraints. Major constraint for him is the white domination. His leadership style aimed at proving that he can have control over the 'white people'. He stated that he took over leadership of the organization from white people through democratic vote and white people did not like his style of leadership. Thus they started moving out one by one. They took with them (white people) funders of the organization which left the organization with no means to fulfil its mandate. It is important to understand that the whole process cannot be looked in isolation. It has to be reflected upon within the broader society and political processes that the country was going through. Also of importance is that, he became a leader of the organization around the same time that the country was going through transition from the control by the white to that of black people. The thought that this process was a microcosm of the broader political transition cannot be overstated.

The use of race as a building block for power hegemony comes out clearly in our discussion, his assertion that he wanted to be in control of the organization as a '*black leader*' *(emphasis mine)*, not necessarily just a leader but a "race conscious leader" meant the subjugation of the other group of his organization to his own understanding of victory of the black man 'through democratic vote' which resulted in the fall of 'the

apartheid system'. His type of leadership meant a construction of the domination of a black man and relegation of the white man to the peripheries.

Also of importance is the prevalence of certain ideologies within the political system, words like white tendency and white mentalities are familiar discourses within the ruling elite. As exemplified by Julius Malema, the African National Congress Youth League President, in a speech addressed to a British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) journalist monitored by the Mail and Guardian News paper of the 8th of April, 2010. Malema articulates racial discourses that illuminate on undercurrent racial dynamics prevalent within the society. He stated,

> If you are not going to behave we are going to call security to take you out. This is not a newsroom this, this is a revolutionary house and you don't come here with your white tendency. Don't come here with that white tendency, not here, you can do it somewhere else. If you've got a tendency of undermining blacks even where you work you are in the wrong place."

Thus the director's use of the same reflects perceptions and values that inform our politics, and the society's perception about differences inherent in race. On the other hand, it is important to emphasize that his own position as a director of an organization which works with vulnerable people, who ought to have access to resources through his lobbying and advocacy, is being compromised by the non-reconciliatory approach to power issues around race and funding. This disadvantages the children and youth. While the end of the apartheid entailed the freedom of the greater population, it is important to indicate that within the discussion I had with this director, I could not stop thinking that it also entailed the rise of the hegemony of the ruling class. Constructing their power around racialized identity and calling upon 'the blackness' in them as a weapon for growth in stature and consolidation of their own position. This is typical reflection of strategic essentialism of identity as stated elsewhere in the paper.

The hegemony of the ruling class is, like indicated above, a hindrance to accessing funding for services that can meet the needs of the children and youtht. It entrenches poverty, helplessness and deprivation of the people who rely on political leaders and organizational directors who are deeply embedded in politics. The extreme oriented views on race by the NGOs director, in which he expresses his own negativity towards

people of other races, especially white people, is self defeatist. This is especially because it does not serve the purpose in getting the society rid of racialized relations. On the other hand, it equally reflects his own racist attitudes. Fook (2002:110) indicates of Amy Rossiters reflection on transforming a curriculum a long more inclusive lines, she states 'she is honest about the way she construct herself as being part of the 'non racist' camp, and how this therefore clouds her ability to recognise how some of her own attitudes could be experienced as racist by a friend who is a person of colour. Fook adds that 'constructing an identity for oneself as non racist can excuse behaviour which may in fact preserve a racist culture. It also locates the blame and responsibility for doing something about racism away from yourself'.

The racial implications in and among organizations working with children and youth has far reaching implications in how organizations perceive each other and how they relate with each other. Crucial to this relationship is the thought that 'black organizations' feel they have to liberate the black children from the apartheid. Organizations which are perceived as black perceive that apartheid still plays itself in white organizations dominating the children. The next part therefore will show the struggle to liberate the black children from apartheid, as it plays itself within organizational relationships.

'These are white organizations exploiting the plight of black children': liberating the 'black' children from apartheid domination.

Inter-organizational relationships among organizations working with children and youth are embedded in perceived racial politics which manifests themselves within the white and black categories. This research process came across an interesting phenomenon in which those organizations perceived as black believe that they have a responsibility to protect the black children from exploitative white organization. Crucial to this is the competition between the two organizational categories. With this comes the emergence of the belief that white organizations are trying to re-enact apartheid dominance through children, as this representative from the Governments Department of Social Development affirms, "the other thing too, it's a problem too because other organizations are being run by whites and others being run by blacks so there is competition now.........so apartheid is coming back". The fear for the re-emergence of

apartheid through exploitation of the poor black children by white organizations makes those organizations perceived as black to mobilise themselves for the liberation of the poor black children. Who are perceived to be economically exploited for the benefit of the white people. Therefore the organizations perceived as black believe that they have a duty to interrogate for the existence of accountability and transparency in organizations perceived as white.

> These are white organizations exploiting the plight of black children making money for themselves, and when you call them to account to say tell us what is your mission? What's your vision? Be transparent with us they won't. They will rather just fight and go away and disappear. And they actually moved out of our organization purely for that reason, because they did not want to be led by a black man so to speak because I got elected democratically to be the chairperson of the organization. They pulled out one by one not because, like I said before, may be they didn't like my style of leadership but it was motivated by racism, put full stop. And it's for that reason it's that their organisations and style of leadership is racist. The only thing they want is to exploit the plight of black children, make money out of them and they will never sit down and engage on a transparent discussion with other people who will engage them as equal partners and they still have got this I am white therefore I know better than you. You and I know, that is nonsense, its either you are smart or you are not and the colour of your skin has got nothing to do with it.

Racial tensions and politics between organizations, like indicated elsewhere, have a great deal of impact in shaping the images that organizations have about each other. Organizations perceived as black believe that they have the capacity to be equal partners, who can interrogate the processes in organizations deemed as white on issues related to children and exploitation. The equality achieved through 'democratic vote', sanctioned by organizations stakeholders, is a mirror for the liberation struggle in which black people were exploited and got the freedom through the ballot. For the organizations deemed as black, their work with the children and youth is therefore, an extension of the apartheid struggles and fight for autonomy and self rule. Crucial to this, is the liberation of the children and youth from white 'cultural and ideological hegemony' (Giroux, cited in Sewpaul, 2003:314). White domination is perceived as a threat to rising black authority and hegemony. It is within this premise that directors of those 'black' organizations understand their own power and positions as tools and apparatus to overturn the dominance of white people and reclaiming that which is rightfully 'theirs', the black children and youth. This is clearly articulated by one of the

directors, he explained of his own motivation to be involved in the work with the children and youth living on the streets.

> The reason I wanted to get involved in this organization was because I could see that the board was 100% white and the children on the street were 100% African. And I said no there is something wrong here; so I got involved. Through big resistance you know, it's like any institution when you want to transform it, there are challenges. So I then became the chairman of this organization in 2002 and then a lot of white people then left. They didn't like my style of leadership.

At the heart of perceived exploitation by white organizations of the black children is the use and presentation of images of suffering black children to potential donors and funders overseas. These are images that appeal of pity and arousing feelings of powerlessness and helplessness in African children. For organizations deemed as black this is perceived as exploitation of children for the benefit of directors of the 'white' organizations. As this participant explains,

> they come there with videos, take photos, make DVDS and go fundraising overseas and say, we are helping these poor black children and yet they are really making money for themselves ......these are white organizations exploiting the plight of black children, full stop

Organizations deemed as black construct themselves, as indicated elsewhere, as having the mandate to reclaim the children and youth from abuse by 'white' organizations. The impact that this has on furtherance of racial tensions cannot be overstated. The discourses tainted with racial imagery are quite entrenched in organizational relations and are of fundamental significance in creating and emphasizing the gulf between organizations. As this participant indicated, his organization's relationship with its counterparts is strictly restrained by the colour bar. He asserted, 'it's a white old company with a white mentality and white attitude so we crash right away'.

The racial divide in relations between NGOs and organizations working with youth and children is quite profound, while it is possible to pay a blind eye to these discourses, it is important to be of cognizance of the impact that these have in shaping the practice and intervention programs for the children and youth. Like indicated in the foregoing paragraphs organizations deemed as black and those deemed as white patronize

different spaces within which others are not accommodated. The exclusionary processes manifested in these relationships have got far reaching implications in the children and youth. Race and colour have become powerful signifiers of credibility between organizations. It is important to note that "by identifying properties to distinguish 'real' from 'unreal' NGOs, these definitions themselves become part of the politics of NGO-ing......identifying fake NGOs is not a neutral occupation: it is political. Processes by which organizations attribute 'genuine-ness' or 'fake-ness' to themselves and others are conflictual and power-ridden" (Hilhorst, 2003:6). Also of essence is noting that the dynamics on the streets are not purely black and white, these discourses on race are constructed around power and access to funding. These dynamics between organizations create divisions and barriers to communication. This is in many ways a reflection of power politics between organizations, power constructed around legitimate and illegitimate. Of importance in this power play is the impact of the 'othering process' (Dominelli, 2002:44) which is of profound impact in perpetuating oppression and powerlessness. As Dominelli (2002:44) affirms,

> exclusion is rooted in 'othering processes' which draw on a primary 'them- us' dyad. This dyad uses difference to establish divisions between those who belong to the desirable or included categories and those who belong to undeserving or excluded ones...........the dynamics of a dualism rooted in inequality are essential to the 'othering' processes, whereby people ascribed a subordinate status are configured and constrained when engaging in social relations at making them feel different from and inferior to those occupying the dominant positions. The tenacity of these dynamics reflects the dominant person or group's power to define their own social standing and that of others vis-à-vis them. In other words, the 'othering' process involves a competitive comparison between people and categories one of them as insider(s), that is those who are included, and the other(s) as outsider(s), that is, those that are excluded through the exercise of power and the definitional criteria for inclusion and exclusion. The 'insiders' constitute the privileged group, the outsider, the disadvantaged or excluded one" (Dominelli, 2002: 44, 45).

It is important to put across for a re-think of the discourse 'rainbow nation'. While it is important to appreciate that it embraces the uniqueness of South Africa as a nation that has rich diversity in cultures and races. *Rainbowism* puts the racial issues in a *cloud of smoke* in which the visibility of the reality in society is overshadowed by the *beauty in the rainbow*. The next part of the paper shows that ideological differences between organizations compound relationships between organizations.

Sabotaging each others' efforts: ideological differences between organizations, manifestation of lack of collaboration.

Working with children and youth living on the streets as this study found out, is a very political premise. It presents to organizations involved in the work with children and youth an arena on which ideological differences and competition are greatly manifested and played out. The major premise of contestation is whether there should be children living on the streets or not. Some organizations are of the view that, it is improper to have children and youth living on the streets. While it is believed that other organizations find it important to have the children remain on the streets.

> You find that, of course you will have opposition, opposition that you say, you will be fighting hard to remove those kids from the street. You will have a well financed and well resourced opposition, in a way sabotaging you very effort of minimizing street kids on the streets by encouraging staying on the street and actually funding the process of them staying on the street. You know those are the challenges.

What comes out clear in the study is the feeling that those organizations that are perceived to promote children to live on the streets do this with financial benefit in mind. The presence of children and youth on the streets, the numbers, promises their organizations survival. The ideological inconsistence in working with youth and children strengthens the competition that exists between organizations, competing for the children and youth. As this participant affirms, *"we are competing for the same resources but also we are competing for the same beneficiaries ha! Ha! Ha! Ha! Which shouldn't be the case, we are supposed to be cooperating" (emphasis mine).* Like this director affirms here, at the heart of this ideological competition is the politics of organizational survival. This is consistent with what Sanyal (1997:20) found out that

> one factor that contributed to the NGOs political vulnerability was their inability to cooperate with each other. This is surprising since NGOs are thought to represent models of cooperation. In reality, though, the NGOs were competitive and rarely formed institutional linkages among themselves. This was primarily due to their dependence on grants and donations, which made every NGO claim that its particular organization was the most effective in helping the poor.

There is a feeling among organizations that those NGOs that do not promote reintegration of children from the streets with their families are motivated by the need

for their organizational survival. It is within the thought that if there are children on the streets, organizations will find credible reasons for financial mobilization. Within these competing ideologies is the thought that other organizations exist purely to benefit from the existence of the children and youth living on the street.

> These are organizations that exist because there are kids on the streets. They don't necessarily encourage that children must be moved off the streets. There must be no children on the streets because their funding and what of you is based on children being on the streets, the numbers. So they encourage children to remain on the street.

The approaches that are used in the programmes for the children and youth, the discourses around reintegration of the children and youth with their families are reflective of the stereotypical approaches, within which *'removal of'* the children is the norm. Removal of the children from the streets while may reflect care for the children from exposure to unfair conditions on the streets, removal in this case would as well mean riding the city of images of poverty represented by the children and youth on the streets. Organizations look at their roles as mitigating against the influx of the children and youth on the streets, policing the streets of Durban from being encroached by these children and youth. This role is on the other hand challenged by other organizations who take other approaches. One of the directors interviewed in the research process likened his role to that of an honest police officer, whose responsibility to fight crime is being undermined by dishonest and corrupt officers within the system. He states,

> In the police, the police themselves, you will find that there are dedicated, honest men and women working hard to fight crime. Within the police there will be people who are abetting crime, helping by all means to make sure that criminals become successful because then it benefits them but they are in the minority. So it's the same thing. So you find that this person is in the police force, he is most probably holding a high position, but what he is doing, he is sabotaging the work of hard working policemen and even giving them a bad name for that matter once they are pursuing their own corrupt agenda.

He perceives those organizations that do not encourage reintegration as a challenge that undermine the removal of the children from the streets. It is important to mention that removal of children from the streets, as found out in the previous study that the researcher and contemporaries conducted, is a premise that is associated with a great deal of violence and abuse of children and youth by the Metro Police. Removal of the children represents a one-way process in which the children are not involved in deciding what is best for them. Also as this paper will show, linking to the removal of the children,

is the understanding that municipal tenders would be given to those organization that work in the best interest of the city, which is making a city free of 'street kids'.

Of fundamental significance within this ideological competition is the impact that this has on therapeutic processes with the children and youth. Children are caught up in between organizational power politics which results in programme inconsistencies. Some organizations feel that sometimes there is a deliberate sabotage to programmes.

> People will have their invisible territories and invisible boundaries and claim to own certain kids. Again which shouldn't be happening, again you will find that a poor organization like our own will be trying to access certain kids, but a rich organization will organize a bus, put them in a bus and organize a tour and take them out of town. Because they have got the money they can do that, so that when you were supposed to run a programme, they have already sabotaged you. You see those are evil intentions.

Children and youth have as well capitalised on the existing gap between organizations because of lack of communication that exists due to ideological confusion. Children hop from one organization to the other as a strategy for survival and resource mobilization. This further disturbs the programmes which organizations may be attempting to facilitate. Children may not be available when needed for the programme as they could be with another organization. For the children this is creativity and making use of the resources that are available for them on the streets but for the organizations this represents failure and beyond failure to collaborate, it represents what Hilhorst (2003:5) referred to as "how NGO-ing is done", negotiating with environmental politics for organizational survival. However, this far removes the children and youth from being at the heart of the organizations. Unified efforts by the organizations in working with the children and youth can have far reaching impacts. However, as the next part of the paper shows, registration and legitimacy undermines the possibility for organizations comprehensive collaborative efforts in their work.

Legitimacy and registration: a challenge to inclusivity and unified efforts in working with children and youth on the streets

The instant you log on to one of the participating organizations, the picture of a child surfing pops up on the home page. This embodies a parameter of achievement for the organization, managing to achieve some milestone in child empowerment from the street to the capacity to participate in surfing programme. The other most eye catching feature on the page however is the Section 21/NPO registration number. This is displayed at an area which anyone coming to the page cannot miss to see. The same features prominently on leaflets of other organizations. Though this may be a government requirement and as well as a marketing strategy to the potential donors, in Durban, this number is more than just a number. It is a symbol of power, a symbol of who is included and excluded within a circle of interaction between organizations. This is a power packed tag and a symbol of control. This distinguishes the 'legitimate' and 'illegitimate' organizations that ought to be recognized in the work with the children and youth. This allows some organizations to claim authority on issues about children and youth living on the streets, while casting others as fraudulent and taking advantage of the plight of children for their own monetary gains.

According Nkosinathi, a director of one of the organizations, he strongly stressed that he does not recognize any organization that does not have these registration numbers. He states, "the ones we work with in other word we respect.... are registered and they have social workers". He adds that for the others, its either they are invisible on the streets, "either we don't see them on the street or we see them in the streets but they don't do anything or simply they are not registered". Registration is thus political tool that has a profound impact on the image about the organizations. Organizations perceived as non registered are viewed as personal monetary making machines. Owning a project or NGO that works with children is in this case, perceived as a business which has a deliberate foundation for personal gains by the founders. Therefore efforts are made to at least be seen to be doing something for the children and youth on the streets. Nkosinathi asserts,

> Ya people look to ways to legitimate themselves and so people think there is money. The problem with street children is the same problem with NGOs. People think they will find business. You know with NGO sector it's

> like business people have professional jealousy. *But also you are looking at people whose livelihood is depending on things*.

The tensions and boundaries created around 'legitimate' and 'illegitimate' organizations are impacting their ability to be provide comprehensive services. It is important to indicate that the dividing lines that is legitimate or illegitimate, have created serious communication barriers which undermine effective programmes with the children and youth. Two organizations that participated in my study are about three minutes walking distance from each other. Interestingly, none of the two organizations is interested to know what the other organization is doing with the children and youth. Both of these organizations happen to work with the same children and youth. Therefore, thousands of rands are spent on the same children by two organizations that have never thought about enquiring about each others' aims on the children. This is a serious problem which in many ways is a reflection of a serious lack of consideration for accountability, proper planning and consideration of ethical manners in dealing with donor and public funds. While some of the organizations might contest that they do not use public funds, it is important to indicate that where ever it comes from the donors/International organizations mobilize it through public taxes or public donations. Thus it remains public. As Moore and Stewart (2000:80) affirm,

> that money is *public:* not necessarily 'public' in the sense that it comes from the government, but in the sense that it is given by a public somewhere and/or, more importantly, it is explicitly intended to have impacts over issues that in contemporary democracies are regarded as being the legitimate business of the state. Further, in so far as money is given to NGOs for the purposes of advocacy or to 'strengthen civil society', it is intended to change the way in which public business is done.

The thought that the two organizations are three minutes away from each other and yet do not know what each is doing, especially that the same children are being helped by both organizations simultaneously; without giving it a thought to collaborate; is a serious ethical issue. It is damaging to the children who end up playing the organizations which are buried in NGO politics. While registration is often used as a scapegoat for lack of networking and collaboration, the inability by organizations to reach out to each other limits the information that they know about each other; including registration status of the other. This presents a challenge to working with children and youth. There ends up a great deal of duplication and unnecessary expenditures on the same children.

> That sometimes causes a lot of frustration, if I may put it that way, and conflicts among different teams because there are a number of teams that are working with the children. Different teams do different things. They have their own areas of focus and which are different. It creates, I think that is why children end up playing us against each other, they recognise that there is that gap and they use it to their advantage.

Like indicates elsewhere, same children are reached by several organizations and teams with little consideration for collaboration. While this is good for organizations economic survival, it has far reaching implications in the life of children and youth. Children have to live with the impact of damaging inconsistencies, transmitted to them through different organizations approaches to their life situation. Compromising the quality of work with children and youth on the streets is equally lack of understanding of micro level and macro level linkage into individual's lives. The next part of the paper show that improper understanding of micro-macro level intersections in children's lives impacts on approaches that organization use in their programmes.

'They leave their families not because there are harmful situations in their families but because they want to be here': Blaming the victim approaches to working with the children and youth.

This study found that organizations lack of understanding of micro-macro level dynamics on the families that children come from have negative influence on approaches that are used in the programmes. Some organizations believe that it is inherent in children's behaviours and not family experiences that make the children migrate to towns and cities. Some organizations indicate that the families where these children come from do not have problems, but rather children enjoy being on the streets. As Thuli one of the participants indicates,

> as i have said to you, my work every day is to have case work with these children with the intention to instil reunification. They abscond various shelters in Durban just to be on the street. They leave their families not because there are harmful situation from their families but because they want to be here. You know and you can reunify the children today and in the next two days you will find them on the streets. They just want to be free, they are just running away from family rules and values that you do this and don't do that. Because if i can tell you Christopher, they are from stable families, if i can tell you. In fact all the basic needs can be met by their families.

As Thuli indicates here, her work every day is to reunify children with the families. It is about correcting the wrongs in the children that make them not to manage to live with their families through case work process. It is informed by the medical model that posits that it is the person that has a problem. Therefore person has to understand the wrongs in his/her behaviour to allow for a reunification with family. This is in other words, encouragement for the persons to adapt to environments within which the family is functioning which have profound influence on its wellbeing. My experiences on the streets of Durban, in my third year now with work on the streets, looking at children from this perspective, undermines the families' struggles to cope in the face of serious economic hardships; and also the resilience of children and youth who have emerged out of dire family situations. It is important to note what Sewpaul (2005:310) in her criticism of the Draft Family Policy stated that

> The family does not exist in isolation. It is surrounded by equally and, all too often, eve more powerful systems that determine to a large extent whether or not a family will live to its creative potential or constitute a source of terrible destruction. It is thus vital that family policy is underpinned by a clear understanding of structural sources of privilege, and of forces of oppression, exclusion and poverty that bear on the lives of the people and that such policy aims to work towards social justice.

Looking at children and youth from this perspective as outlined by Sewpaul, will allow for the programme implementers in the organizations, to take cognizance of the interface between children, family and the environment in which they are embedded. Within which political, economic, cultural and social dynamics have profound impacts in shaping the direction that individual's life can take in the process of growth. Thuli indicated that children come from homes which can meet basic needs for the children; which should not make the children to opt for life on the streets and she went on to say that,

> Our government has been trying to attend the most destitute families. Because we have the social grants in South Africa you know. Are you trying to tell me that if you have a child support grant you cannot live? Can as a child leave from your family just because basic needs, because your basic needs cannot be met? So that cannot be a reason.

While organizations leaders understand the children's life from the perspective above, that it is something wrong in the behaviour of the children to leave for the streets. This like indicated in the preceding paragraphs is a failure to take cognizance of the link

between the micro and macro level and as well as historical processes that have had a profound impact on the destituteness being experienced by the children and youth living on the streets. For the children, it is desperation to manage their lives in the face of economic hardships which have made family life unbearable in the face of economic hardships; which have been promoted by neoliberal policies. The historical and economic dynamics that the country has been experiencing have had profound impact on shaping the society and experiences that the children of South Africa have had in their growth process. For practitioners', using practice models that focus only on the person without a critical understanding of the premises within which this person is functioning, makes us as professionals, complicit with oppression and maintenance of the status quo. Thus adoption of approaches such as the social justice approach in working with oppressed groups should be a professional goal in working with oppressed groups, as Ife (cited in Sewpaul, 2005:311) argues

> because of the dominance of class, gender, and race/ethnicity as forms of structural disadvantage, any social or political programme which does not specifically question or challenge them is likely to reinforce these forms of oppression by accepting the dominant order which supports them.

Thus for practitioners, it is important to look at life of the children and youth, as a window into the imbalances and inequality prevalent in the modern day South Africa. For children with their families living within these poverty traps perpetuated by structural power dynamics, life on the streets presents, a resilient capacity for them to be able to see the next day. It is therefore important for social work practitioner to constantly reflect on Sewpaul (2010) response to the removal of children from their parents on the streets which happened in Johannesburg as reported on SABC News on 13th of august 2010, in which she said,

> It is unacceptable for social workers to align themselves with power and to exercise such authority over the lives of families and children in ways that engender trauma and further disadvantages people who are already in vulnerable positions, often through circumstances beyond their control. The problems experienced by individuals and families, so-called "private troubles" cannot be understood and dealt with outside of their socio-economic and political contexts. The growing inequality, consequent primarily upon the free market ideology that dominates South Africa must form the basis of our understanding of the structural sources of disadvantage and poverty that place people in positions where they have to eke out survival through begging and piece-meal jobs on street corners. Such strategies might represent families' desperate attempts to keep their children alive and to protect them from harm. Families are subject to the powerful constraints of structural unemployment, poverty and inequality. If external socio-economic constraints

> maintain families in poor, dispossessed and helpless positions, how are such families expected to move toward independence and self-reliance within the same structural constraints?....... The plight of families is often a manifestation of these failures; to blame the victims and treat them with such indignity and brutality is morally indefensible.

Working within these parameters would allow for social workers to understand and appreciate the torrid conditions that the greater South Africa society is forced to live with. Blaming the children for their situations on the street is thus like indicated elsewhere, being complicit with oppression of the children and youth. Such approaches place families in precarious conditions, within which they have no institutional support in the face of government's far-removal of itself from being responsible for the greater South African people. Lombard (2010) reacting to the same removal of children from their parents indicated,

> children, women and people who live in poverty are equally vulnerable and exposed to being exploited. Living and surviving on the street is a much more complex phenomenon than mere vagrancy and begging. These are sometimes desperate attempts to avoid falling prey to human trafficking (including children) and crime, and are symptoms of poverty and inequality in our society

Children and their families are thus criminalized and their adaptive strategies to life in an environment which is oppressive to their creative potential are being thwarted by the very people who are meant to protect them. As the next part of the paper will show, this is undermining the rights of the children. Forceful removals are an indictment on oppressive structures that maintain the status quo, in which children and youth are constantly relegated to the periphery of socio-economic survival

'They need to be somehow forcefully disciplined or forcefully removed from the street': street children and human rights

Consistent with literature in which authors like Panter-Brick (2002) and Veeran (1999) have emphasised on the need for paying particular attention to children's voices in programming by appreciating the need for-a-rights based approach, this study has found that organizations limitedness in understanding children's rights has profound impact in facilitating programmes that meet their needs. For organizations working with children

and youth on the streets, the fact that the children have moved out of the family homes and opted to be on the streets, it means losing some of their rights. As one of the participants in the study indicated, the challenge to effective service delivery to the children and youth lies in the laws of the country, especially those that say children have rights, he stated,

> The laws of the country where it says children cannot be forcefully removed from the streets, where it says a child has got rights. You see you can say a street kid; well they do have rights but there have to be limits. I think those rights should apply to a person of your age, my age; whereby you know what you are doing but for a child, firstly who absconded from home and came to the street or whether they came voluntarily or circumstantially, they were forced by circumstances to come on the street, you cannot turn around and say they are in charge of their own lives and you cannot forcibly remove them.

In this perspective rights become contingent on age and for the child who has moved on the street, it means (1) that since they are still young, they do not have to enjoy full rights and that they have to be responsible to adults who have to measure what sorts of rights they can be allowed to enjoy; (2) That they have lost the rights they were meant to enjoy as children the moment they moved away from their home to live on the streets. This understanding of the laws of the country, especially children's rights by organizations that are supposed to advocate for children, means that organizations formulation of their programmes, is largely informed by adult oriented understanding of what is right for the children. Thus programmes which further entrench oppression for the children and youth are enacted within organizational agenda, as the limitedness in understanding of children's rights becomes entrenched in organizations mission, values and ideologies. Children's forced removal from the streets is perceived as one of the strategies to make them know what is right and what good for them. This includes inculcating discipline in the children through housing them in shelters that would foster 'learning of better ways to behave'. Thus organizations shelters are perceived as parameters within which children are supposed to learn 'good' and 'acceptable' behaviour than being on the streets, as this director outlines his vision,

> we are saying for this world cup, we need to have a place where we know if the police for whatever reason they need to remove these kids from the streets; because we agree, some of them are stubborn you cannot reason with them. They need to be somehow forcefully disciplined or forcefully removed from the street taken to the place where they will get proper counselling may be they will come to their senses and begin to do the right thing. That is why

> we need that facility that is why we are lobbying now for an establishment of a facility in the city where these kids can actually be accommodated'.

Forced discipline and removal are thus orientations which inform organizational agenda. For these organizations children's rights are seen as a threat to the success in implementation of their programmes. It is a perception in these organizations that proper rehabilitation can only be done through isolation of the children by '*locking them up'* in shelters where they would be transformed into disciplined children. Thus statutes that govern shelters for these organizations are perceived as retrogressive. As one of the directors indicates, a big challenge to proper rehabilitation are laws that discourage children's forced removals and also principles that indicate that children's shelters should have open door policies, giving the children choices to stay or leave the shelter if they feel like doing so. He stated,

> So in other words by law you cannot remove a child from the street, *by law (big emphasis).* So that's a hindrance. It's a big one, so what do you do? Number 2 you cannot hold a child against his/her own will in a facility. Even if you have a facility it must have a revolving door. In out in out, how then do you do effective rehabilitation if you have a revolving door, if you have a revolving door kind of a policy? Because the laws of the country are forcing you into have a revolving door.

It is important to look at the multi-layered nature of oppression that children and youth from the streets experience. For children and youth to opt for a life on the streets, this is often times as a result of multiple factors and central to it is poverty and structural/systematic exclusion of the poor. This in many ways impacts greatly on families in peripheries of urban life- informal settlements and rural areas. This systematic exclusion is mostly as a result of macroeconomic policies that are aligned to economic development more than to people's development. This is consistent with Sewpaul's (2005:69) critical analysis of the South African draft Family Policy, where she posits that policies need to take cognizance of the way neoliberal capitalism and market-induced inequality and factors such as race, class and gender intersect to influence people's lives at a micro-level. Consequently, poverty impacts largely on women and children who make up the bulk of those who are poor (UNDP cited in Dominelli, 2002:82). The experience of poverty at a family level by the children is thus as a result of structural oppression which drives them to the streets in search of relief from crises in the families. However, for the children, life on the streets presents a great deal of

challenges. Here on the streets, children experience another level of structural oppression. Children are taunted by the society as deviants and also according to the findings in the past study that my contemporaries and I undertook, (Sewpaul, Mhone and Osthus, in Press); children experience a great deal of violence from the authorities, especially the metro police. It is important to indicate that children and youth from the street, as a microcosm of South African society, also engage in violence between themselves. These problems on the streets bring children and youth on the streets to the margins of structural oppression.

NGOs working with children and youth from the streets provide a framework within which powerlessness and helplessness as a result of structural oppression can be deconstructed. However, the understanding of children's rights by organizations make them to be 'complicit' with oppression by facilitating programmes which maintain the status quo, instead of listening to the children and allowing them to be active agents in changing their life situation. In conclusion, oppression experienced by children and youth from the streets is a multi-tier experience which is experienced at the following levels as illustrated in the preceding paragraphs (1) experience of poverty and exclusion experienced with their families; (2) Experience of structural violence and structural problems on the streets on which they are often victimised as perpetrators of crime; (3) Improper programmes facilitated by NGOs which entrench powerlessness and hopelessness by further victimising them by perceiving them as undisciplined and with problems that need to be treated in shelters and off the streets.

As indicated in the foregoing paragraph, children experience a great deal of violence at the hands of the authorities, especially the Metro Police. For the organizations that work with the children and youth on the streets of Durban, Metro Police presents a great deal of challenge in their work, as the next part of the paper will show, Metro Police disrupts successful rehabilitation programmes.

Metro Police a challenge to effective therapeutic programs.
As indicated in the foregoing paragraph, children and youth from the streets experience a great deal of violence from the authorities. Metro Police has been cited by the children

as the culprit in perpetration of violence on the children and youth living on the streets of the city. Our findings in the previous study on survival strategies for the children and youth living on the city streets (2009), found that these children and youth experience a great deal of violence perpetrated by these authorities who are meant to protect them. In the study children and youth indicated that Metro Police violence comes in many forms, ranging from sexual abuse, physical and verbal abuse and taking away belongings including medicines and clothes. The following graph shows the children and youth's experience of violence by Metro Police, 89 children and youth participated in the study and they had an option to pick multiple answers that applied to their life experiences with the Metro Police.
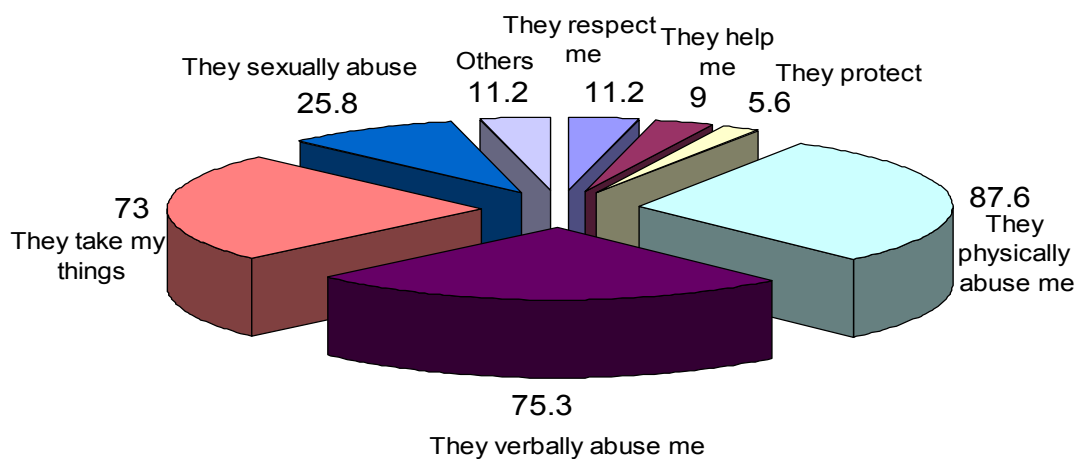
Figure 1: Graph illustrating the experiences of violence perpetrated by Metro Police on children and youth living on the streets of Durban CBD (adapted from Sewpaul, Mhone and Osthus, 2009)

For the organizations, Metro Police presents a special challenge to successful implementation of therapeutic programmes. The rounding up of children and dumping them away in the far outskirts of the city, disrupts organizations programmes with the

children. Organizations feel this is one of the greatest challenges and a biggest hindrance to successful and effective work with the children and youth. As Nkosinathi affirmed,

> Biggest hindrance, biggest hindrance, metro police, they round up street children, they kidnap them, they detain them, they take them away and these are the children that we are in processes with. So they mess up our processes and they add extra trauma to the children, the biggest hindrance is Metro Police.

Police round ups of children and youth, is a problem that manifests itself world over, in as far as the issues of children from the streets are concerned. It is about elimination of the children and youth from the streets. To the authorities, children and youth are an 'embarrassment' to civilization. Gigenback (cited in Scanlon, Tomkins, Lynch and Scanlon, 1998:1598) found that in Latin America, many people in the judiciary, the police, the media, business, and society at large believe that street children are a group of irredeemable delinquents who represent a moral threat to a civilized society? A threat that must be exorcised; and the Human Rights Watch (cited in Scanlon et al, 1998: 1598) added that the most frightening manifestation of this view is the emergence of "death squads": self proclaimed vigilantes, many of whom are involved with security firms and the police and seek to solve the problem by elimination. In Brazil, Epstein (1996:298) reports of the systematic extermination of street children by off-duty police, who are paid by merchants and small business people who view the children's visibility as bad for business. The statistics as reported by Amnesty International and the international press are well known. Between 1988 and 1991, more than 1500 Brazilian children were murdered each year, one every 6 hours (Brazil Fights for Children's Rights, cited in Epstein, 1996: 298). Dewees and Klees (cited in Epstein, 1996:298) added that the same trend held true for 1992 and, in 1993, in an internationally reported incident, 50 street children were fired upon while sleeping near a church in Rio, seven of whom were killed. The presence of children and youth who opt to live on the streets is thus perceived as an image problem for societies that would want to be viewed as developed with no social crises. Nkosinathi asserted that children while blamed for crime are in fact a scapegoat; he stated

> Street children is not a crime related issue, the type of crime that street children commit is petty crime, as kids grow older, they can go into more serious crime but the serious crime among the kids if any is among themselves. So these are not your

crime generators. But what people don't like about the street children is an image that says everything is not good in Durban socially, all is not well socially in Durban. It's a bad image on the city, it's the image that people want to clear up. The city doesn't like Durban to be seen as a city that has street children. It suggests that socially it has problems and so we need to change society's perception about street children and educate them that these are not criminals but these are children that are with serious trauma and needs. If they are traumatized, which they all are to varying degrees then they need the best professional services not throw away services.

With cross reference to the past study on survival strategies to children and youth living on the streets of Durban CBD that my contemporaries and I carried out, children experience a great deal of violence within their own groups, which comes in the form of rape, stabbing each other and mugging. While crime incidents within their own groups may be looked at as confirmation of the arguments that street children are crime generators, it is important to indicate that this group of young people, is a microcosm of the greater South African society which experiences a great deal of violence and other forms of crime; which has nothing to do with children and youth living on the streets. The whole society has been socialized to assimilate violence as a strategy for problem solving. Sathiparsad (2008: 348) stated that in South Africa, legitimised process of violence inherent in the apartheid regime prescribed and sanctioned behaviours which violated the integrity and dignity of large groups of people. In the same vein, violence, viewed as a first-line response to conflict, has become a feature of many interpersonal relationships. Thus looking at violence within the children and youth population without linking it to the structural influences on their undertakings, is thus a problem which seeks to locate the children in a vacuum, insulated from the societal process, they are a product of a society in which they are active agents in shaping and re-shaping its direction. 'The disjuncture between our understandings of the social order and of the individual (Leonard, cited in Pease, 2003:191) presents a special challenge in proper formulation and implementation of programmes and policies that would holistically alleviate the suffering and oppression that children and youth constantly face while living on the streets.

Added to the experience of violence by Metro Police, is the experience of drug use, with cross reference to the study on survival strategies for children and youth living on the streets of Durban, children engage in substance use for different reasons. However, this

study, as the next part of the paper shows, has found that drug dealers present a challenge to organizations which work with these children and youth.

Competing with drug money: a challenge to proper rehabilitation.

Drug use prevalence on the streets of Durban by children and youth is quite substantial, that is according to the previous study that my contemporaries and I conducted. The following drugs are used: (1) Zol, 65% of the respondents in the social survey stated that they used Zol; (2) Sugars, 11.2% of the participants in the social survey used sugars; (3) Rock, 9 % 0f the respondents used rock; (4) Injection 3.4% said they injected themselves; (5) Benzin, 5.6% said they used Benzin; (6) Umgwinyo; 23.6 used Umgwinyo; (7) Others, 1.1% of the respondents used other substances. The children usage of substances is not limited to a particular drug, but there is a phenomenon of multiple drug usage. In this social survey the children and youth were given multiple options to choose which drugs they used and others indicated usage of several of them. The study involved 89 children and youth from most of the streets of Durban CBD and Overport.

For the organizations drugs present a special challenge in their work with the children and youth living on the streets of Durban CBD. The vulnerability of the children makes them to be easy targets used as drug peddlers by drug dealers.

> These kids get used as drug runners. Drug dealers then they would recruit these kids to be runners, take the stuff to that car collect the money bring it to me etc. etc. And they make quick cash and we have got to compete with that. The child will tell you that if I am out there I make money what are you gonna give me, you gonna give me sweets and fruits? Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha!

For the children engaging in peddling of drugs on behalf of dealers presents an opportunity for a 'decent' job. It is important to note that in the previous study that my contemporaries and I conducted life for these children and youth presents great deal of challenges, especially in finding food. Therefore drug peddling for children, presents one of the decent options among options like stealing, prostitution, searching for left over's in bins and begging, among others. For children and youth, their lives are lived on the

margins of poverty. Life on the streets makes them witnesses to extreme wealth through expensive cars that pass by them on the streets. They often have to live with their bodies as the only resource to sell at times; or live on the excess of the rich through picking in bins. The following graph shows the means by which children get food according to the study on survival strategies for children and youth living on the streets of Durban CBD.
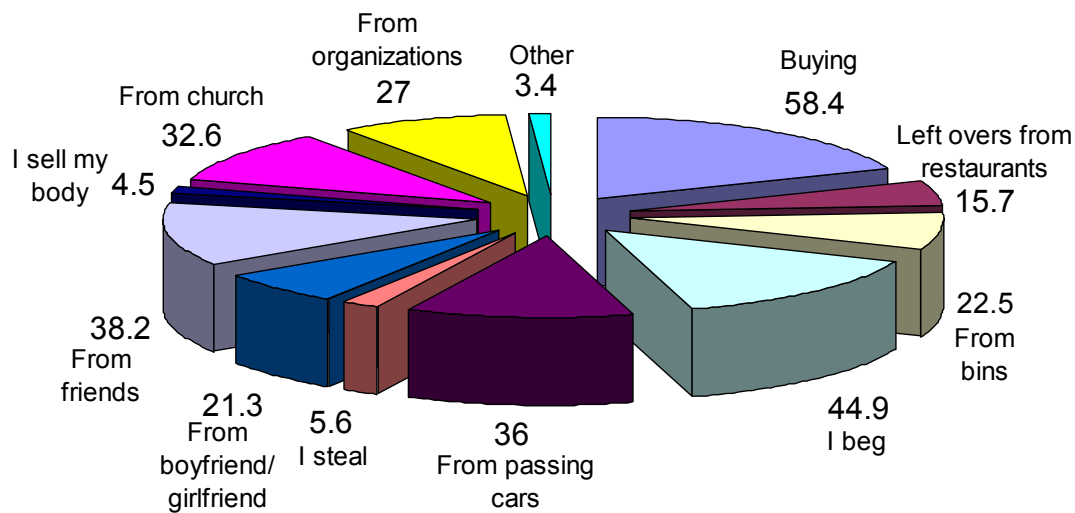
Figure 2: Graph showing means which children and youth use to get food on the streets of Durban CBD (adapted from Mhone, 2009:51)

According to the findings on the previous study, 4.5% of the children indicated that they sell their bodies to get food, while 58% of them indicated that they buy. It is important to indicate that prostitution on the street is a major means of getting access to resources but children and youth opt to deny that they are involved in prostitution. Quantitative analysis of who is involved in prostitution gave a false impression of the scale of prostitution among the children and youth living on the streets. Due to prolonged

engagement with the children on the streets from 2008, a deeper understanding of the children's dynamics on the streets has been gained by the researcher, poverty situation among children and youth far removes engagement in prostitution out of personal choice and it is that which makes them vulnerable to manipulation by drug traders.

Also of importance is that with the arrangement of the South African society, in which there is a great deal of bureaucracy, for a child or youth from the streets, finding a job is a big problem. This is especially made difficult with the need for one to have an identity booklet when seeking employment. For the children and youth from the streets, the lack of identity documents makes them nonexistent as South African citizens, and therefore unemployable. According to the social survey we did in the previous study in 2009, 65.1% of the children did not have identity documents, with 23.6% of the children having identity documents, while 10.1% of the participants had applied for the ID document and 1.1% of the participants, did not answer the question. The social survey involved 89 participants as indicated earlier on. Therefore the lack of identity documents on the part of the children and youth from the streets makes them invisible members of the society, with little options for seeking job opportunities. Also, the bureaucratic demands for the children and youth to have an identity do not make it easy for them to become visible South Africans. This allows for the entry into the picture of drug dealers who take advantage of the entrenched structural inequalities, to engage the children in work for their survival. In this, children and youth earn money and are able to meet the needs that their life demands on the streets.

For the organizations the challenge that this presents is that when the children are supposed to be engaged in programmes, they find it useful to go and do drug business on behalf of their employers. While the children may be perceived as unwilling to engage in rehabilitation programmes offered by the organizations, it is important to indicate that the children are caught up in entrenched institutionalized oppressive system in which they have to show agency to create possibilities for themselves, in a society that lenders them invisible.

For organizations, as the next part of the paper shows, their challenge to effectiveness in meeting the needs of the children and youth is also affected by a system in which organizations feel they are not supported by the authorities.

Organizations let down by the system

The organizations working with the children and youth living on the streets of Durban feel that the government does not have the interest of the children and youth. According to the findings of the study, it is a belief in the organizations that the government should provide institutional leadership in the welfare of children and youth from the streets. As this participant elaborates,

> There is no leadership from the province that is where the void is. There is no leadership from Province, and the child protection committee is useless and should be disbanded because it does nothing. It may do things at other levels but for street children, it is an irrelevant body. We need a department within Social Development focused on street children, and it should be people who understand the issue. Social Development at a provincial level has failed. At the national level, they are working hard in grappling with the issue. I was part of the task team that was putting the national policy together. The national policies are good but outdated because they have taken ten years to come to fruition but they are still not out.

The children and youth thus find themselves in a complex situation in which their welfare is out of government's knowledge. At a policy level according to organizations, the government process in policy formulation and implementation, compounds the problem. The lengthy time in policy enactment compounds the problems for the children. According to organizations, good policies are enacted but in a wrong time due to delays in the formulation process. Also the vacuum created by lack of government proactive involvement in the issues of children and youth living, has created situations in which organizations' services are greatly shaped by organizational politics and competition; which is influenced by donor funding and quest for resource mobilization through unethical practices. These go unchecked by the government responsible bodies. Organizations have capitalized on the government's passivity to create situations in which children are caught in between organizational dynamics and manipulation. Children and youth in the streets, like indicated elsewhere in the paper, have become a terrain for organizational competition and politics. Organizations do not collaborate. Organizations have acknowledged that they compete for the same children. In the end, same children are reached with different ideological values inherent in the organizations programmes. Some organizations want the children to be rehabilitated while on the streets while others emphasize on re-integration into their communities and families. For the children this gap in communication between organizations themselves and also

with government provides a rich vein of resource which they use for their own survival. The children hop from one organization to the other depending on where there is something that benefits them. NGOs also use this confusion to count same children to mobilise resources from donors- thus lack of government proactive involvement in the issues of the children and youth has created an environment which is manipulated by both organizations and children and youth for their own survival. The void left by government agencies in proper management of issues concerning children and youth from the streets has created a vacuum which is used by law enforcement agencies to victimize children as criminals. As this participant indicated

> Politically street children are seen as an image problem for the city, so instead of being seen as a social development issue, they have needed to create a different belief. Obviously they cannot openly say we don't like the image of the street children. So they have tried to trick the society into believing that street children are a crime issue. What has happened is because Social Development has left a void within activity, the issue of street children has been stolen from social development by the city and taken to safety and security. In other words, street children are now being seen as safety and security issue not Social Development issue. Now there is a big difference, Social Development issues are dealt with by social workers. Safety and Security issues are dealt by enforcement officers. So now you see plans for the street children around 2010 that they are based on enforcement. That is how the municipality operates, they want to deal with social issues like street children, homelessness, informal traders and prostitutes, and they want to deal with this through enforcements'. That is why you see the police sweeps that is the municipal terminology, like two nights ago when they went out and detained these people. But that is inhumane and wrong because homelessness and street children are Social Development issues; but because Social Development as a department hasn't done anything, the municipality has decided to seal the issue and operate along enforcement policies. So as an organization we want to seal back the issue of street children from safety and security people; and take it back to social development thinking, we believe that it has been stolen and the street children suffer from enforcement officials because they have been stolen away and social development has allowed that to happen right under their nose.

Organizations in this process see themselves with the mandate to protect children and youth from institutionalised abuse created by structural processes especially with the lack of proactive involvement by the department for social development in the issues of children and youth. This situation has created and entrenches systematic oppression on the part of children and youth by institutions that are supposed to protect them. The departure by the Department of Social Development, has allowed for the entry of Metro Police abuse and violence on the children. Also NGOs which are supposed to advocate for the children's welfare have taken advantage of the situation as a premise on which improper strategies which have focused on institutional survival, than on welfare of the

children to be implemented. This is systematic and/or structural furtherance of oppression and abuse by the systems or structures that are meant to be custodians of the children's safety and interests. However, for organizations, they feel that more involvement by the Department of Social Development would enhance the quality of service, otherwise they feel let down. NGOs feel frustrated by the status quo in which children's issues have been tainted with politics, in which the Department of Social Development has created vacuum and the municipality exhibits immense power to the disadvantage of the children and youth on the streets.

> Look it's a big issue but ultimately, unless you have the good will and the interest of the Department to ultimately oversee things it's not gonna come right quickly. Individuals and organizations can produce models which can be fantastic, so there is an amount that we can do. But uh, the other thing that needs to happen is that uh street children have become intensely political situation. So ultimately the days need to end, we need to see an end to the city manager being able to dictate how street children are supposed to be approached**.**

The lack of leadership by government on issues of children and youth leaves organizations feeling let down by the system that ought to support and coordinate them. While this may have profound impact on organizations day to day implementation of their programmes, the greater effect is on the children and youth who have to contend with structural oppression perpetuated by systems that are meant to serve them. Children find themselves faced with the reality that their presence on the streets of Durban is a crime related issue and not a social development problem. For some directors, it is a belief that children's and youth's experience of violence at the hands of the authorities is an indictment on the system. As this participant asserted, 'they have failed; it is outrageous when street children are dealt with by violent metro police officers, by donkey pealies, by pepper spray, it is an absolute indictment on Durban'. However, as the next part of the paper will show, compounding the problem of children and youth is a shortage of social workers in government institutions, especially the Department of Social Development. This has both practice and policy implications.

'I don't have the time to take care of what is happening on the street': shortage of personnel at government level.

According to the findings of the study, the government is aware of its limitations in meeting the needs of the children and youth living on the streets. The government especially the Department of Social Development indicates that it is a challenge to monitor the organizations that work with children and youth living on the streets. This is especially difficult due to shortage of human resource. The children's difficulties in the streets are made further complicated by the governments inadequacy to understand organizations programmes and approaches to children's issues. Therefore the organizations politics which have profound impact on the children and youth's life are out of the government's sphere of understanding. As this representative from the Department of Social Development affirms,

> uh as I am saying we are not aware because at the end of the day as I am saying we don't have outreach workers employed by the state to find out exactly as to what is happening. We rely on that they give us information, if they are saying that everything is fine from this side to this side, everything is fine we say ok then, because in terms of the man power, we don't have the man power to do the outreach.

Reliance on NGOs information on the reality of the issues on the ground means that government oftentimes operates on false information and that makes the government to be in collusion with unethical practices that organizations engage in. The problems of financial misuse due to lack of coordination and collaboration by organizations; and the problems of maintaining children on the streets, as some organizations claim, could be properly dealt with if the government made deliberate plans to engage with organizations that work with children and youth. According to the representative of the Department of Social Development, they are aware of the politics on the streets.

> You see here in Durban because I have also visited Cape Town and I have also visited America, in Chicago. I see here in Durban we are sitting with a problem where you find that services are not coordinated there is still a lot of politics here unlike in Cape Town and in overseas countries.

For the government authorities, shortage of staff means that they cannot design programmes that would proactively facilitate proper working of organizations with children and youth. Children and youth therefore become far removed from proper

government social economic development strategies. This allows the entry of improper approaches like safety and security which relegates children and youth to crime and safety problem. Lack of time by government officials to understand the issues that children and youth face on the streets is greatly influenced by the heavy work load that social workers and other workers in the Department of Social Development have before them, as the representative of the Department indicated, *'I don't have the time to take care of what is happening on the street and what have you because of tight schedules'*. Tight schedules mean that children and youth on the streets fall out of government's priority and programming. Within this precinct, organizations autonomy and governments blind eye to the plight of the children and youth leaves these children and youths at the centre of organizational politics; with no real structural protection. In this children become further removed from the agenda of the state as they do not fall within the tight schedules of the people that ought to be responsible for them.

The shortage of staff in government's department which ought to be at the centre of child protection and welfare has far reaching implications. While practice by NGOs are greatly shaped by organizational behaviours which perpetuate structural oppression of the children as indicated elsewhere in the paper. The Government's passivity in children and youth issues equally implicates itself at a policy level. Shortage of staff means a great work load. This means that workers, who are policy instruments in implementation, do not have the time to read policies which ought to be used in child welfare and programmes. This has great impact in shaping programmes that are implemented by both organizations and government. Workers do not have time to update policy knowledge.

> In terms of the new policies that have been promulgated we hope that may be, it's only that I haven't studied it in detail. They are new; there are three sets of new legislation that have been promulgated by the State President on the 25th of March. Regarding how to tend the children issues but I haven't read because it is very thick like this (*demonstrates)* and three documents, we don't know if there are any sections talking about the coordination of street children organizations. Ya but even yourself you can, if you get hold of the Act may be you can even study it to find out what exactly is happening. Because as am saying am very busy I haven't got any time to sit with the document because the document is thick'.

For the departments workers who are meant to be policy implementers, their work greatly falls outside policy domain, thick documents far remove policy knowledge from

departments workers. However, these are supposed to be the custodians of government's policies which are meant to serve the interest of the children and youth. Lack of policy knowledge thus exacerbates the problems that children and youth face on the streets. Due to shortage of time to acquire policy based knowledge, workers implement programmes based on common sense and outdated knowledge which has far reaching implications on the quality of services and programmes. It is within policy-knowledge vacuum that organizations working on children and youth living on the streets practice unethical programmes which are far from policy orientation. This is not an indictment on the workers; but on the system that does not support the workers to fully engage in self-development programmes through reading and acquiring new policy knowledge. Shortage of staff, especially social workers in the department of social development implicates itself in the quality of services by organizations and policy implementation. Thus it systematically makes workers incompetent to deal with issues that are meant to be within their jurisdiction. They are in doubt of their capacity due to their limited knowledge on policy issues. The representative from the Department of Social Development affirms his inadequacy in the policy content

> Ya the state president has promulgated them I think end of March to say we can operate and it's got lots of things, if you have time you can sit down and read them you can see what they are saying, *you need to check may be there is something (emphasis mine)* to say how the government is gonna deal with organizations that are dealing with the street children.

Leaving the responsibility of checking the content of the policy document to the researcher meant serious lack knowledge of the content of a document that has been signed by the president as policies/laws in working with children. This is a serious competency shortfall that underpins the quality of services delivered by government. The people who ought to be in control of the programmes of children and youth are systematically being made ignorant and incompetent due to lack of supporting structures for professional growth especially policy/law knowledge. Shortage of staff in government therefore has direct and indirect implication in the collusion with unethical practices by NGOs working with children and youth living on the streets- by extension also on the maintenance of structural oppression in the life of children and youth.

Municipal tenders as the next part of the paper shows, influence organizational dynamics.

'They will give a tender to organizations that will serve their agendas': Municipal tenders and their implications on organizational relationships.

For organizations working with children and youth, the Department of Social Development and the Municipality are in collusion in entrenchment of the problems of children and youth. Some organizations feel that the municipality through contracting NGOs to work with children and youth on the streets, in many ways, allows organizations to facilitate agendas that serve the interest of the municipality. As this director indicates,

> The other big issue that worries me, at the moment the municipality gives tenders on street children, so they will get the type of people, they will give a tender to organizations that will serve their agendas. That is wrong. It should be social development that oversees who works with street children. The municipality can't decide who works with street children. That's why you have problems, so really there needs to be investigations around tender process.

Within the Municipal agenda is the removal of children from the streets, some organizations believe that those NGOs that get tenders from municipality are silenced from advocating for the children's welfare. They facilitate programmes that are driven by the municipal agenda which wants to rid Durban of children who are perceived as an embarrassment to progress and business.

> The Municipality giving tenders on street children means they embrace people who embrace their agendas. So they prefer people who don't have a problem with Metro round ups. So you don't see people with municipal tenders standing up for the street children when metro is rounding them up.

Therefore organizations that have tenders with municipality tow the line of thinking that the people who finance them would want to happen on the streets. Due to this, other organizations feel that they cannot cooperate with those who have municipal tenders because they would equally lose autonomy and be in collusion with those facilitating programmes that undermine the freedoms and rights of children and youth. Organizations believe that the emphasis on children removal from the streets which is carried out by organizations which get tenders from the municipality and the metro

police is a process that is informed by lack of the authorities' appreciation of the social issues that children experience in their families and on the streets. It is a response to the need for the creation of Durban which does not seem to have problems, rather Durban which is focused on economic agenda and not on people's welfare. According to organizations, this image is driven by business interest in the city which perceives children and youth on the streets as unattractive for investment and tourism.

> The municipality serves different masters, they serve business and tourism and so they will give a tender to someone who serves their interest where as Social Development serves different masters, it serves the National Social Development agenda. So if anyone is giving out funding for street children, it should be the Department of Social Development. The municipality should resource or fund according to the Department but not choose and just get a by on the Department just to seal the deal, that is corrupt.

It is in the thinking of these organizations that there is role confusion between the Department of Social Development and the Municipality. According to these organizations, this works against the children and youth, as they become victims of improper implementation of policies that do not take cognizance of the poverty and struggles of the people of Durban, especially the children of in the city. The municipal tenders to organizations on the streets, are an attractive consistent source of economic support in the face of economic restructuring by investments while still emerging from economic crisis.

Municipal tenders are equally a source of frustration for those organizations that deem themselves as providing proper programmes for the children and youth. It arouses anger in other directors who perceive other organizations as patrolling the streets just as a fulfilment of municipal tenders and showing or exhibiting themselves on the streets to the authorities who award tenders.

> You get people walking around saying that they work with street kids. But if they are not fighting against the issues that matter for street children; how many of these organizations are bringing health care? How many of these are bringing real balanced nutrition? How many of these are empowering kids to get reintegrated? And so it becomes irritating when organizations walk around just to fulfil a municipal tender and then they end up getting money at the end of the day. Now if you do, you try and put a good service together that is based on integrity, people feel threatened and that's what we found.

However, it is important to reflect that politics of funding is a complex dimension in organizations processes and dynamics, as Benson (in Etzioni, 1980:352) indicated in

literature review; organizations will try to defend their own ideological-technological commitment. In this, organizations that espouse other approaches are seen as immoral or irresponsible. Also Benson went on to say that organizations are oriented to the maintenance of reliable and adequate resource flow. On the streets, the presence of organizations with different ideological-technological approaches provides an important dimension to the study of NGO politics. It is within this premise that organizations engage in direct and indirect struggle for the recognition as bearers of proper approaches to working with children and youth; motivation being maintenance of 'domain of social importance' (Benson, in Etzioni, 1980:352); which would have profound impact in organizations survival. Finally, as the next part of the paper will show, in all this, children and youth living on the streets of Durban are the ones who lose out.

'It doesn't make sense for five different organizations to work with one child': **Lack of coordination and its impact on the children and youth.**

This study found out that organizations working on the streets have negative impact on children and youth. They are raised on the streets of the city by the organizations in a process that does not meet their best interest. Some organizations appreciate this problem and reckon that the root of the problem lies in politics between them in which cooperation/ collaboration is a problem. This manifests itself in the way they work with the children and youth.

> You look at a child and if you see a child in the streets that you have been working with for more than five years then you must know that may be you are not doing enough. Then you should maybe try a bit harder or may be ask for assistance. It doesn't make sense for five different organizations to work with one child. There are so many street children around Durban. But it's because we don't know, like we go 9 o'clock in the workshop and speak to a child and may be then at half past ten some organization comes and speaks to the same child and then eleven o'clock some body, one o'clock. So you find that and that is where the children end up not actually being honest and they end up playing us now you know because they know that these people are always there and they are saying one and the same thing.

Children and youth become target of contradictory messages. This creates confusion and helplessness in the children. Also the children find it difficult to trust organizations.

Organizations put their interest first before programmes that would contribute to proper child development. Children and youth find it confusing. Attempts by organizations to work with them are often not taken seriously. Children look at organizations as predators that are bent on using them for their own benefits. This was articulated by the children in several of the meetings we had with them in 2009. Children lack trust in the programmes and their authenticity. Organizations working with children and youth have created a situation in which the children perceive them as resources to be used for their own survival on the streets. Children will give different stories to different organizations in their quest to get organizations to provide for their living on the streets and organizations collude with this process due to lack of attempts to network and collaborate with each other. Organizational push for survival puts them in conflict with the needs of other stake holders, especially the children and youth who are denied services that would serve in their best interest. The best interest here entails designing programmes that take cognizance of other available organizations and what range of services are available for the children and youth within the catchment area. Deliberate efforts have to be made to coordinate. Otherwise, the absence of that puts organizations in a collision path. The result is unnecessary expenditure which children and youth on the streets thrive on, and that makes organizations credibility and their information about the children and youth questionable.

> you will find that a child says or gives different information to another organization and when another organization comes they give different information and when we come and you will find that by mistake you chat and you meet, oh! No I have worked with this child but he says he is from Inanda, oh no but I say he is from Pine Town and another one says he is from Empangeni and you can see that they are playing us around.

While this may be looked at as a reflection on the children's problem behaviour, it is important to indicate that for most children and youth living on the streets, the streets present a better option than the homes in which they have nothing to eat. I recall a discussion with my colleague who went on a home visit with one of the children. She indicated that she was shocked with the nature of poverty that she witnessed. The family she visited did not have means of income. There was totally no food to eat. The whole family relied on the boyfriend of one of the girls in the family for financial support. The boyfriend was in the meantime earning his income through robbery. At this time, he was

locked up in police as he had been caught robbing the local school. That meant that the family did not know where the next meal was going to come from. This is consistent with Vavi (2010) who in his Ruth First Memorial speech at Witwatersrand University described of the astonishing poverty levels in most of the families, with 59% of the female headed households with no income at all. Thus while organizations may be looking at shifting the blame on the children, it is important to understand that level of structural poverty that most children come from. Organizations on the streets present an opportunity to be manipulated for the children and the youth's wellbeing. Within this, organizational leadership and their organizations play along. This is greatly reflected in the intensity of level of duplication in their work with these children and youth. These are not invisible organizational elements. They are processes that organizations are aware of and according to this participant, better practices ought to be embarked on,

> I think if organizations can work together and especially the outreach workers, the people that are out there. To understand what actually needs to be done on the streets and who is been working with this child, just a background on the history. You will find that the child has just run away from another organization, from the home but because I don't know that, I will just take that child and place in another shelter. But if we meet now and again and brief one another and say, hey I have covered this area and these are the names of the boys I have worked with. So that we don't have to duplicate, you understand what I am saying. So I find that there is a lot of duplication.

This acceptance of the existence of a great deal of duplication by organizations in working with the children and youth requires a re-think in the approaches that organizations use in working with the children and youth. As this participant indicates, if organizations do not know the basic information about the children, it questions the basis of their intervention work with the children. Interventions are designed based on false assumptions about the children. Effectiveness of those programmes and their impact on the children is therefore not clear and questionable. Unless if looked at within the political economy of organizational survival. As Etzioni (1960) indicated elsewhere in the paper, the work with children and youth falls within public goals which are meant to please the public for organizations continued economic mobilisation from the public; and not meant to be achieved otherwise organizations would collapse.

Conclusion

This chapter has brought out organizations working on the streets of Durban with children and youth living on the streets. It has also looked at the kinds of programmes and services that the organizations provide to the children and youth. Of importance in this part of the paper has been understanding of factors that affect services that these organizations provide to the children and youth living on the streets of Durban CBD.

Chapter Six: Recommendations.
Introduction

This part of the paper seeks to make comprehensive suggestions to the development of approaches that would significantly meet the needs of the children and their families. It is the view of the researcher that the phenomenon of children and youth living on the streets of Durban and other major centres in South Africa is a major indicator of structural challenges that have fundamental impact on the well being of the family and its ability to support its members. Thus recommendations of this paper would be looking addressing issue that arise at the micro-and macro interface and which have direct and indirect impact on the life of the children. This paper thus posits the following recommendations:

The need to address structural poverty and disadvantage.

South Africa as a nation is a country of contrasts. While some people within the country are living in immense wealth, the greater population is struggling to cope with the level of poverty experienced within families and communities. Why is it important to look at poverty in this paper? This is especially because while the research focussed on organizational dynamics and their impact on the life of the children and youth living on the streets; it is important to appreciate that these children and youth are on the streets a result of poverty that their families experience. With the level of poverty that Vavi (2010) described in which 48% of the South African population live below R322 a month and 25% of the population surviving on state grants. Most families face a bleak reality of

having no means for socio-economic survival. This is especially rampant in female headed household, in which as Vavi (2010) as discussed elsewhere in the paper, indicated that 59% of these households do not have income. This is a sad reality. However, it is from these families that most of the children and youth living on the streets come from. Most families are large with no socio-economic means for their continued well being. Mashologu-Kuse (2007:60) in her finding on her study of the characteristics of families of street children in Transkei, found that all the families were large, having between 2 and 12 family members. Of the thirty families interviewed 3 (10%) had one child, the street child; 1 (3.3%) family had two children, inclusive of the street child, and another family (3.3%) had three children; 6 (20%) families had four children, 8 (26.8%) had five and 7 (23.4%), six children; 2 (6.6%) families had seven children, 1 (3.3%) eight, and another one (3.3%), twelve children. This is a clear indication that these families are huge, with large numbers of children. However, the sad reality is that according to Mashologu-Kuse (2007) findings is that the majority of these families were female headed. She stated that of the thirty families interviewed for the study, 20 (66.7%) were female headed and that the majority of female headed households were earning below the level of subsistence. A greater percentage of these families would be falling within income-less brackets of 59% as posited by Vavi (2010). While this poverty experienced by families may be blamed on individual's inadequacy, it is important to indicate that this is far from families' sphere of causation of their own poverty. This poverty has its source within structural realms of the society, in which neoliberal policies are continuously relegating multitude of South African people to the periphery of consumption. Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) which was later posited as Accelerated Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA) relegates people's development to the margins of government concern. Contrary to expectations of a post-apartheid state the inequality of the past has been exacerbated and it widened the poverty gap in South Africa (Terreblanche, cited in Sewpaul, 2003:313). GEAR, rooted in a neoliberal ideology, with its emphasis on fiscal austerity, cutback in state expenditure, curbing of interest rates, privatization of state assets and lowering of trade tariffs, detracts from a structural and social justice approach to community and family living. The very premises of GEAR are based on individualism, corporate competitiveness and profit-making that does not augur well for a country with a

professed commitment to social justice and a developmental welfare approach (Sewpaul, 2003:313).

Serious reflection on this poverty situation impacting the children of South Africa and their families requires a rethink in government's priorities. This paper adds to the voices that advocate for the basic income grant (BIG) for all South African people regardless of their status. This is with cognizance of the impact of social security on economic sustainability in greater South African families. According to the Economic Policy Research Institute (EPRI cited in Sewpaul, 2005:319) the partial means-tested grants close the poverty gap by 23% and Samson (cited in Sewpaul, 2005:319) argues that South Africa's system of social security substantially reduces deprivation, and progressive extension of the magnitude, scope and reach of social grants holds the potential to dramatically diminish the prevalence of poverty in South Africa. This is a proposition that requires serious consideration to protect and support families that have the great responsibility of providing and nurturing the children on whose life the future of the nation hinges.

This paper also would want to highlight the need for a re-think on the macro-economic policies that drive the country's socio-economic development. The reliance on the market to meet the needs of the people of South Africa, especially poverty alleviation and job creation, is fantasy. The negative impact of reliance on the market for poverty alleviation is an open secret. This is with cognizance of the impact of economic crisis created by the recent global recession. Capitalism has failed the people of South Africa. Sewpaul (Unpublished) contemplates that the current crisis might present the political and theoretical spaces to reconceptualise the relationship between the market, the state, the corporate world, the public good and democracy, and challenge the presumed inevitability of welfare models being subservient to the dictates of a globalized economy. The need for macroeconomic shift to accommodate the needs of our people cannot be overstated; reliance on the market for people's needs is acceptance of our people to continuously face subjugation. This is a double blow, as if the experience of apartheid struggles were not enough, entrenched capitalism is leaving millions of our people in desperation. In capitalists democracy people's needs play second fiddle to economic goals. Sewpaul (Unpublished) reflected that our world is confronted by deeper, more insidious, more enduring and more entrenched crises that remain unseen and generally

unheard of- the daily struggles with unemployment, poverty, lack of food, water and housing and death amongst millions of people. It is shameful that our world leaders can find unimaginable amounts of money to bailout banks and unfreeze credit so that the market can resume its business as usual, havoc. This seriously questions the political leadership and priorities. In the same premise, does this not reflect that with political will, global leadership can eliminate poverty? Woodhead (cited in Sewpaul, Unpublished) points out that the United States bank bailout alone of US$700billion would clear the accumulated debts of the 49 poorest countries in the world twice over ($375bn twice over). It is about 49 as much times the annual cost of getting every child to school, and more than it would cost to give basic health care to every man, woman and child on the planet for an entire decade! The bailout reveals something dark about the world's priorities: we can find money to bail out banks but not to prevent the deaths of 30 000 children a day from poverty (Woodhead, cited in Sewpaul, Unpublished). The need for a serious consideration for political shift is inevitable if we have to meet the needs of our people. As a nation, South Africa needs to take greater responsibility to protect our people from global policies that engender poverty. This is especially important for a country that posits itself to be implementing the developmental model of welfare. Social democratic goals for the country would not only meet the needs of our people, would also allow for the entrenchment of social justice. The need to seek alternative to the dominant discourses (Ferguson, cited in Sewpaul, Unpublished) that leave our people in poverty should in this case be a virtue that ought to be embraced by all South African, especially policy makers. The need for policies that promote redistribution of resources should be a goal if poverty that greatly impacts children and their families is to be minimised. Terreblanche (cited in Sewpaul, Unpublished) argued that apart from serving the purpose of deepening democracy, decreasing crime and violence and promoting peace, redistributing income, power, property and opportunities more equally for the sake of greater social justice is a value in its own right that ought to enjoy a very high priority. The creation of environments in which the family should be able to meet the needs of its members, especially the children should be the fundamental goal. Child poverty in 2010 is reflective of greed and deep seated social injustices and inequalities that plague the society; and which ought to be addressed through reforms outlined above. In conclusion, poverty reduction strategies would be of profound impact

in allowing families to live meaningful lives and also preventing the children from opting for a life on the streets, where they get trapped in organizational politics.

The need for institutional linkage

This study appreciates the efforts by the Durban's Chamber of Commerce and Industries in its efforts to develop a Street Children's Forum; which would play as an umbrella body for all the organizations working with children and youth living on the streets of the city. In advanced stages of the study, the researcher was invited to a meeting that was electing task committees to develop terms of references for the forum. The importance of the forum is so huge to the work with children and youth on the streets. Some of the benefits of having this Forum are as follows:

- The findings of this study highlight the need for institutional linkage between organizations to prevent duplication and unnecessary organizational conflicts.
- The Forum would be of integral importance in monitoring programmes and instituting organizational accountability and ethical practices. This is with cognizance of strong mandate that the forum will have on organizations. According to the representative of the Chamber of Commerce, the Forum would play the role of the mediator between government and organizations. The Forum would also have institutional responsibility to mobilize and allocate funding to organizations working with children and youth.
- The Forum would allow for harnessing the skills and expertise within NGOs which would allow for proper and cohesive programmes for the children and youth.
- The Forum would be of significance in dealing with institutional conflicts between organizations. This would allow for the promotion of positive relationships which have far reaching positive impact on the program for children and youth living on the streets.
- This study as well found that financing programmes for children and youth on the streets is a great challenge for most of the organizations. Institutional linkage through the Forum would be a very powerful lobbying block for financial support for the organizations from both private and public sector.

The Forum would be of powerful essence in demonstrating the programme coherence in NGOs, which is fundamental in accountability to both children and funders.

This study therefore is advocating for a stronger Forum which would be recognized by all organizations and institutions that deal with children and youth issues. It is in the interest of the children and youth that organizational politics and conflicts be set aside to build institutional capacity that would foster positive programmes and services. The researcher will through the findings of the study support the Forum by among other things providing relevant information. The researcher has been integrated in the Forum activities and it is envisaged that this research would provide important knowledge to the Forum.

The need for government to take more central role on issues of children and youth living on the streets.

This study found that organizations working with children and youth lack institutional accountability. This was essentially made profound due to lack of proactive involvement in issues of children and youth by government. The Department of Social Development outlined that it is dependent on information provided by organization on the state of the children and youth on the streets. This with organizational politics could be information that its validity and authenticity be questionable. While the Department of Social Development indicated that monitoring of organizations is especially difficult with independence from government by NGOs. These organizations seek institutional funding government institutions, including the Department of Social Development itself. It is therefore in the interest of the children and youth on the streets that the government proactively gets involved in issues of children and youth living on the streets. Government has got the capacity to monitor programmes and organizations working on the streets. There is need for an ombudsman who would be able to play the role of supervisory link between organizations, the government and children and youth living on the streets. This is with special emphasis on the need for institutional accountability to develop programmes and strategies that work in the best interest of the children and also operate within ethical requirements. The next part of the paper advocates for more

social worker in the government to assist in development and implementation of appropriate services for children and youth.

The need for more social workers in government Institutions

Social workers are crucial to the success of social development programmes for children and youth. In South Africa, the shortage of social workers has relegated services to children and youth from the streets from being a priority by the Department of Social Development. The government realizes this need for social workers and thus the need for categorization of social work as a scarce skill. The former minister for Social Development, Dr Zola Skweyiya (Monitored by International Federation of Social Workers) stated that the country faces a general shortage of skilled social workers and social work is officially regarded as a scarce skill in the public service…With the passing of the new Children's Act 2005, an estimated 16 000 social workers are needed to implement services that children are entitled to in terms of the Act over the next three years (http://www.ifsw.org/p38000867.html). The government through the Department of Social Development has put in strategies to ease this shortage. One of the strategies is a comprehensive scholarship for social work student. The Department states that this is part of the recruitment and retention strategy and initiative to address critical and scarce skills in the sector (http://www.dsd.gov.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=240&Itemid=143). While these strategies are being put into place, it is important to emphasize on the need for the social work professionals to view children and youth living on streets as important members of the society. While social work skills may be a shortage, it is important to indicate that the greatest challenge to successful professional programmes lie in social workers attitude to the children and youth. In my visits to the Department of Social Development, I came across a great deal of understanding of how the children and youth are framed in its language. When I was enquiring as to who was responsible for the children and youth living on the streets programmes, words like squalor and pavement people, came up. These are words which are reflective of negative attitude. The Oxford Online Dictionary describes squalor as 'the state of being extremely dirty and unpleasant, especially as a result of poverty or neglect'

(http://oxforddictionaries.com/view/entry/m_en_gb0805320#m_en_gb0805320). The children and youth also express the dislike of social workers due to the attitudes that social workers show to them. Children have indicated that instead of being listened to, social workers often look at them as troublesome and who need to be at home and not on the streets. Conditions of poverty and deprivation that have made the children to be on the streets are not made as points of understanding children's struggles. Social workers need to deconstruct the attitudes they have towards children and youth. It is through such efforts in understanding and reflections on our own behaviours as social workers that we would be able to reach out to the children and youth in a more positive way. Therefore, while the need to increase social workers in government institutions is of great importance, there is great need to integrate a social work scholarship in universities that is informed by emancipatory pedagogy (Sewpaul, Osthus and Mhone, Unpublished). This will allow for the development of social work knowledge that is aware professional power and how this can be a block to positive engagement with service users including children and youth living on the streets. Emancipatory pedagogy calls for critical reflection and engagement with one's own thoughts and understanding the sources of prejudice and oppression of the other. It is such scholarship, if entrenched in all social work schools, that we would see social workers that appreciate the micro-macro dynamics that impact on the children and youth living on the streets. Blaming service users who are victims of social injustices and structural imbalances should be a problem that should be targeted by social work educators to be looted out of the profession, failing which the profession is equally complicit with oppression and engendering hopelessness and powerlessness in our people. Power imbalances, between service users and service providers has fundamental impact in the development of appropriate services for the children and youth. The next part of the paper shows that designing programmes that break power hierarchies can have fundamental impact in meeting the needs of the children.

The need for programmes that break power hierarchies

Organizations working with children and youth function within a hierarchy with donors at the top and children and youth at the lowest end of the prism or pyramid. Organizations are responsive to the needs of their funding institutions, within which accountability to these funders is supreme. It is however important to indicate that the intricate nature of relationships between donors, NGOs and the beneficiaries of aid, in this case the children and youth, is tainted with a great deal of power dynamics. On the streets of Durban, we have individuals, overseas companies, the Municipality and the Department of social development funding organizations working with children and youth. These donors have got their own and different expectations from NGOs that they fund. Some organizations believe in the need for the children to be removed off the streets is as a result of these donors. Also organizations need for the production of statistics to justify the need for funding is due the need to account for donor funding. As this study found out, organizations would do anything to have a hand on children, including working with the same children that other organizations are working with. Also organizations go into conflicts to justify which are legitimate or illegitimate organizations. All this is due to the need to claim the domain of social importance and source of economic benefit to the organization-the children and youth. These processes put together have great deal of impact in shaping the lives of children and youth. The power by donors over organizations is manifested in the power of NGOs over the children and youth. Children are powerless to negotiate for proper services that meet their needs. Bornstein (2003:394) affirms that the spread of donor-promoted priorities, tools, training and reporting standards can profoundly affect development practice and the wider shape of civil society and formal NGOs within it. NGOs working with children and youth therefore become conveyance of donor power and influence on children and youth. The need for the organizations to account to the funders at all cost relegates children from being part of the organizational development agenda. Children become means through which accountability could be achieved. Top-down approaches in organizational planning in which children become recipients of programmes already designed within boardrooms, this includes their removal from the streets, gives children little chance to negotiate for their own voices to be heard. Contemporary linear developmental approaches undermine local knowledge and also entrench

powerlessness in the people that are meant to be developed. Bornstein (2003:396) asserts that contemporary development management approaches and conditions, through their transmittal of values and visions of development as a process that can be systemised and managed, are a constitutive part of the structure of power in the aid industry. As such, the spread of such techniques and their impact on organizations and processes need to be understood. At the same time, they are an arena in which contradictions between external and local definitions of development are increasingly apparent, and are addressed through negotiation, contestation and resistance. For the children and youth, hopping from one organization to the other is part of negotiating with organizations and donor power dynamics.

It is therefore in the interest of children and youth welfare that organizations take cognizance of the impact of power inherent in organizational relationships and donor funding. Also, it is important to indicate that donors too, have a responsibility to ensure that their funding promotes ethical practices that do not have furtherance of oppression as an end. Responsible NGO-donor partnership should be cognizant of the power of domination of western attributes in their relationships. These are variables which have often relegated local knowledge and capacity to the peripheries. Institutional accountability by both donors and NGOs should foster the development and promotion of people knowledge and capacity to be self sufficient and sustainable in their livelihoods. For the children and youth on the streets such thinking will allow for an understanding of the children's resilience in the face of structural oppression. Their knowledge to survive in the face of all the hardship they encounter would therefore be a starting point in understanding the capacity that is inherent in them. Involving them and development of programmes that take that understanding into consideration will be a social justice cause. This will allow for the breakage of power asymmetries that undermine local livelihoods and relegate people to hopelessness and powerlessness.

Therefore there is need for confrontation of all forms of systematic oppression that have direct or indirect impact on the children and youth. Organizational dynamics that put children and youth from being at the centre of their concern should be explored and subjected to empirical investigation and understand their sources and dealt with. Race

and racism is one of such factors. The next part looks at the need to confront racial politics to create a society where difference in celebrated than detested.

The need to confront racial tensions

Racial politics emerged from this study as one of important themes in inter-organizational relationships. This study is cognizant of the fact that organizations working on the streets are functioning within a society that is greatly influenced by race and racial politics. This study recommends for strategic steps to break institutionalized racism. Therefore there is need to understand the basis and foundations on which racism is perpetuated. Racism as a social construct is carried through the major structural elements of politics, economy and socio-cultural dynamics. The society's orientation through these dynamics actively shapes the future and prevalence of racism. Therefore deliberate steps in breaking racism within the prevalent discourses and racial behaviours within these dynamics would have far reaching impact. Racism is beyond white or black, it becomes a culture that has far reaching impact in the promotion of power and powerlessness. This calls for the need for the promotion of policies and strategies which are race sensitive and which allow for facilitation of active inclusiveness of all and not the other. This study is cognizant of policies that promote economic empowerment of previously disadvantaged black people, while these policies are important in evening off the gulfs that were created by apartheid, it is also important to acknowledge that such policies equally perpetuate racism and disadvantage of the other. There is need for deliberate sensitivity to the development of/or promotion of policies that systematically address institutionalized racism. This is by allowing the understanding that it is through promotion of cherishing of difference that true co-existence is possible. Within this thought, it is important to emphasize that policies that aim to address the historical and economic gulfs of the past should embrace critical multiculturalism. Critical multiculturalism must examine how racism in its various forms gets reproduced historically and institutionally, and essentialist views of black, female or African must be rejected (Sewpaul, 2003:313).

Policy framers or designers should make deliberate efforts for critical reflection to desist from perpetuation of structural racism through policies that promote essentialists notions of identity. Policies that promote separateness between white and black are of fundamental basis in the promotion of institutionalized racism. Policy makers and advocates ought to be educated about the need for policies that are founded on 'critical insurgent multiculturalism' (Giroux, cited in Sewpaul, 2003:313). This type of thinking will allow policy makers to understand that racism like indicated elsewhere is not just black and white. It is an institution that promotes economic, political, socio-cultural domination and subordination. Policies would therefore engage with discourses that promote critical self evaluation and deconstruction of all forms of racism. An insurgent multiculturalism brings into question not only the effects of racism in terms of nihilism that permeates black communities and poverty, unemployment, racist policing and so on, but the origins of racism in the historical, political, social and cultural dynamics of white supremacy (Sewpaul, 2003:313,314). Policies that are formed within this thinking would acknowledge that critical evaluation of the challenges created by apartheid past and formulation of strategies to deal with them should not be merely aimed at overturning the situation which would create black hegemony. Policies will thus promote critical reconstructions of identities that take cognizance of the other and celebrate the difference.

While South Africa as a nation prides itself as a rainbow nation, there is need for a re-think on it. It is of necessity to understand that while it reflects multiple cultures and races. *Rainbowism* shadows the deep-seated racial tensions and institutionalised racism. It is the researcher's view that politics and especially political leaders have fundamental influence in shaping the society. The organization of the state as a bureaucratic machinery has profound influence in the people's total livelihood and it equally has a powerful influence on the sustenance and perpetuation of racism. Power and influence of politicians and bureaucrats that people in the peripheries look up to, has fundamental impact in shaping the perceptions in the people. Thus the discourses and language used by the leadership, with reference to the speech by the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) President, referred to else in the paper, within which he articulated racialized language targeted at the British Broadcasting Cooperation journalist. Such language has far reaching impact in shaping the perceptions and actions that people take

on race and race related actions. So although the state may put up legislative frameworks to deal with race and related issues, such discourses lender these strategies meaningless. It is through language that race is reproduced and Haney Lopez (cited in Watts and Erevelles, 2004:274) posits race as a product of "human rather than abstract forces," produced through a process he calls "racial fabrication". Racial de-fabrication, especially of language and behaviour that perpetuates it within the society should be a goal for all South Africans, including leaders who have fundamental impact in shaping the debates in our society.

In South Africa it is important to appreciate that racism is greatly influenced by poverty and resource distribution. 'Whiteness as race and colour, represents itself as an archetype civilised and good (Sewpaul, 2003:313) and also a symbol of success and life free of poverty. While this may not be true, it is important to indicate that in the greater South African people, especially as influenced by apartheid; it meant understanding whiteness as exploiting resources that are meant for the black people. It is therefore in the interest of the greater good of the country that programmes that are meant to deal with racial issues take into consideration poverty reduction parameters to have positive impact. Also, like indicated in the foregoing paragraphs, poverty reduction strategies should be cognizant of the multicultural realities of South Africa, in which emphasis should not be on creating hegemonic dominance of one over the other. Programmes meant to overcome poverty and race should address the needs of all people who live in it.

It is important to also emphasize the need for responsible citizenship, NGOs, Social workers, policy makers, academics especially in the social work scholarship; we have a responsibility to the vulnerable and needy of our society. The creation of a society in which children wake up not knowing where the next meal of the day is going to come from needs to be debated at all levels that we function. NGOs that are entrusted with the mandate to assist these children, therefore, have an added responsibility to ensure that while the children experience chaotic developments, resources mobilized to help them should be towards safe-guarding and promoting available alternatives; which would allow for integral development of the children and youth. Responsible citizenship calls

for solidarity with those in difficult circumstances. For children and youth on the streets, these difficulties stem from multiple sources. NGOs, social work practitioners and educators, policy makers and all involved directly or indirectly in the life of children and youth should constantly work towards desisting from being sources of 'ideological hegemony' (Gramsci, cited in Sewpaul, 2003:310). Ideological domination which undermines and reduces the life chances for the children and youth. Understanding of such dynamics will allow for the promotion of systems that facilitate a society in which children's sense of future will be a social justice cause that will be promoted and safeguarded. The next part of the paper highlights the need for strategic planning and leadership in NGOs working on the streets.

The need to integrate strategic planning in organizational leadership

This paper advocates for the need to integrate strategic management principles in organizations working on the streets. This is important for NGOs to create an internal environment and leadership that is able to support the organizational structure and long term achievement of mission and objectives. Strategic management is oriented to achieving organization-wide goals. The most effective managers are those who have clear understanding of their organization's aims. Functional specialists who limit their outlooks to their individual functional areas run the risk of "achieving a local maximum while missing the global optimum" (Miller, 1998: xxiv). As this study found out, organizations resource management is a challenge. This is especially because proper strategic planning methods are not adhered to. In some organizations budgets are not adhered to. Budgetary allocations to goals and objectives are essential to successful organizational functioning and achievement of the mandates. Organizations need to make proper assessments of their internal and external environments that impact on them. Strategic leadership is therefore crucial to this process. Such an assessment would allow for the organizations to understand their own strengths and weaknesses and as well as opportunities and threats that exist in the environment. Such knowledge would appreciate other organizations working within the catchment area that have the same mandate or that which could have benefit to organizations mission. Strategic thinking would thus allow for organizations to take advantage of the resources and opportunities

within and outside the organizations to support the organization's structure. Strategic thinking would allow for collectivism between organizations working with children and youth. This would enhance resource mobilization capacity and also allow for sharing of information on children.

However, it is important to indicate that proper planning in human service organizations takes cognizance of the service users needs. It is important then to emphasize on the need for engagement with the children and youth and embracing participatory planning methodologies. This will ensure that programmes are reflective of the children's needs. Children's knowledge of the life situation's including their families' circumstances would therefore form an integral basis for strategic visioning within organizations. Participatory processes in planning and implementation of organizations goals would enhance their capacity to be accountable to children and youth and as well as donors.

Finally, it is important to emphasize that integrating participatory thinking with organizations strategies is a social justice cause. It is fundamental in dealing with oppression and exclusion which children and youth have constantly faced in their lives.

References

Adugna, G. (2006) **Livelihood and survival strategies among migrant children in Addis Ababa.** Published Masters Dissertation. Trondheim.   Norwegian University of Science and Technology.

Ansell, N and van Blerk, L.(2004) Children migration as a household/family strategy: Coping with Aids in Lesotho and Malawi. In **Journal for African Studies** Tailor and Francis. 30(3) 673-690. Accessed from: http://www.jstor.org/stable/4133914 on 18/03/2009 at 3.28pm

Aptekar, L. (1991) Are Columbian street children neglected? The contribution of ethnographic and ethno-historic approaches to the study of children. In **Anthropology and Education**, 22 (4) 326-329. Accessed on 03/ 04/2009 at 05:05pm.

Australian Government's Overseas Aid Program (2002) **Good governance: Guiding principles for implementation**. Canberra. New Millennium Print.

Babbie, E and Mouton, J. (1998) **The practice of social research**. Cape Town. Oxford University Press.

Baybuger, M. D. and Celik, S. S. (2004). The level of Knowledge and views of the street children/youth about AIDS in Turkey. In **International Journal of Nursing Studies**. 41(6)(2004): 591-597

Benson, J. K (1980) The political network as a political economy. In Etzioni A and Lehman, E. W., **A sociological reader on complex organizations**. Holt, Rinehart & Winston

Bornstein, L (2006) Systems of accountability, webs of deceit? Monitoring and evaluation in South African NGOs. In **Development**: 2006:49(2)52-61

Bornstein, L (2003) Management standards and development practice in South African aid chain. In **Public Administration and Development**: 23, 393-404. Accessed from http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/pad.291/pdf on 31st March, 2010 at 7.35pm

Butterflies Programme with street and working children. Accessed from (http://butterflieschildrights.org on 17th June, 2010 at 4.30pm.

Dominicans in India. Accessed from: http://www.dominicansindia.com/Mission/socialwork%20project.htm on 6/4/2010 at 4pm.

Dominelli, L. (2002) **Anti oppressive social work theory and practice.** London. Palgrave Macmillan**.**

Durheim, K, 2006, Research design. In Terre Blanche, M, Durrheim, K and Painter, D, **Research in practice: applied methods for the social sciences**. Cape Town. University of Cape Town.

Ebrahim, A. (2003) Accountability in practice: Mechanisms for NGOs. In **World Development**, 31 (5)813-829

Edwards, M and Hulme, D (1996) Too close for Comfort? The official aid on nongovernmental organizations. In **World Development**: 1996: 24(6)961-973

Epstein, I. (1996) Educating street children: Some cross cultural perspective. In **Comparative Education:** 1996: 32(3) 289-302.

Etzioni, A. (1960) Two approaches to organizational analysis: A critique and a suggetstion. In Administrartive Science Quarterly. 5(2) 257-278. Accessed from: www.jstor.org/stable/2390780 on 29/04/2010 at 11.22am

Evans, R (2002) Poverty, HIV and barriers to education: The street children's experiences in Tanzania. In **Gender, Development and Poverty: Oxfam Focus on Gender**. Oxford. Oxfam GB.

Fairclough, N (1989) **Language and power**. Edinburgh Gate, Harlow and Essex. Longman

Fernando J. L. and Heston, A. W (1997) NGOs between states, market and civil society. In **The Annals of the American Academy for Political and social Sciences**, 554 (November) 8-20

Fook, J. (2002) **Social work: Critical theory and practice.** London. Sage Publications.

Hilhorst, D. (2003) **The real world of NGOs: Discourses, diversity and development**. New York. Zed Books.

Holscher, D. (2001) **The self conceptualization of social workers in times of neoliberalism: a discourse analysis of managerialism and marketization of social welfare in South Africa**. Durban. University of KwaZulu-Natal.. Unpublished masters dissertation.

Hulme, D and Edwards, M. (1997) NGOs, states and donors: An overview. In Hulme, D and Edwards, M (eds). **NGOs , States and Donors**. London. St Martins Press. 3-22

Hulme and Edwards (1996) NGO performance and accountability and an overview. In Edwards, M and Hulme, D. **Nongovernmental organizations- performance and accountability: Beyond the magic bullet**. London. Save the Children Fund.

Humphries, B. (2008). **Social work research and social justice**. Hampshire. Palgrave, Macmillan.

I Care programmes. Accessed from: http://www.icare.co.za/what-we-do on 15/08/2010 at 8.45am

I Care leaflet. Durban. I Care

Ibrahim, R. (2002) **NGOs need standards to improve good governance.** Global Policy Forum. Downloaded from: http://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/176/31383.html on 7/06/10 at 08:30am.

International Federation of Social Workers. Accessed from: http://www.ifsw.org/p38000867.html on 23/09/2010 at 10am

Iraq Women Education Institute: NGO Capacity Building Reference Manual. Accessed from: www.iwei.org/manual.doc on 24/08/2010 at 4.30pm

Karabanow, J. (2003) Creating a culture of hope: Lessons learnt from street children agencies in Canada and Guatemala. In **International Social Work**. London. Sage Publications. 46 (3) 369-386. Accessed on 18/03/2009 at 10.15 am.

Kelly, K. (2006) From encounter to text: Collecting data in qualitative research. In Terre Blanche, M, Durrheim, K and Painter, D, **Research in practice: applied methods for the social sciences**. Cape Town. University of Cape Town.

Kopoka, P. A. (2000) **The problem of Street Children in Africa: An ignored tragedy.** Presented to an international conference on street children and the street children's health in East Africa. Dar -es- Salaam, 19th -20th April.

Kruger, J. M. and Richter L. M. (2003). South African Street Children at Risk for AIDS? **Children, Youth and Environments** 13(1), Spring. Accesses from: http://colorado.edu/journals/cye on 22 July, 2009 at 9am.

Lewis, D. and Sobhan, B. (1999) Routes of funding, roots of trust? Northern NGOs, Southern NGOs, donors, and the rise of direct funding. **Development in Practice** 9 (1 & 2)117-129. Accessed from:

http://pdfserve.informaworld.com/291815_731204597_713661070.pdf. on 17th January, 2010 at 5pm

Lombard, A. (2010) **Media statement from the Department of Social Work and Criminology of the Univeristy of Pretoria**. Pretoria. University of Pretoria

Mail and Guardian News Paper of 8/04/2010: Malema's tirade from revolutionary house. Accessed from: http://www.mg.co.za/article/2010-04-08-malemas-tirade-from-revolutionary-house on 15/07/2010 at 9am.

Makopo, P. P (2005) **Developing evaluative strategies for harm reduction programme for street children in Durban: A PAR approach.** Durban. University of KwaZulu-Natal. (Unpublished master's dissertation)

Mashologu-Kuse, T. (2007) Families of street children in the Transkei: A developmental perspective. In **Social Work/ Maatskaplike Werk**, 43 (1):56-65

Mhone, C. (2009) **Survival strategies for children and youth living on the streets of Durban**. Durban. University of KwaZulu Natal. Unpublished fourth year social work research report.

Michael, S (2004) **African issues undermining development: The absence of power among Local NGOs in Africa**. Indiana. Indiana University Press.

Miller, A. (1998) **Strategic management**. United States. Irwin/McGraw-Hill.

Miller, R. L and Brewer, J. D. (2003) **The A-Z of social research**. London. Sage Publication.

Moore, M (2000) Competition within and between organizations. In Robinson, D; Hwett, T; Harris, J. **Managing development: Understanding inter-organizational relationships.** London. Sage Publications.

Moore, M and Stewart, S (2000) Corporate governance for NGOs? In Pearce, J, **Development, NGOs and Civil Society**. Oxfam. Oxford.

Morgan, Y. (2005) The potential for and independent regulatory authority in NGOs in South Africa. In **The International Journal of Not-for- Profit Law**: 2005:7(3)

Mullaly, R. (1998) **Structural social work: ideology, theory and practice**. North Carolina: Oxford University Press

National Youth Policy 2009-2014. Republic of South Africa. http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/docs/policy/national_youth_policy.pdf. Accessed 10th February, 2009

Okosun, A (2008) **Transforming global trends: Challenging role for social work**. Key Note address delivered to the 34th biannual social work congress of social work academics and practitioners, 20th July, 2008. Durban

Oxford Online Dictionaries. Accessed from: http://oxforddictionaries.com/view/entry/m_en_gb0805320#m_en_gb0805320 on 23rd/ 09/2010 at 11am

Panter-Brick, C. (2002) Street children, human rights, and public health : a critique and future direction. In **Annual Review of Anthropology**: 2002(31)147-177. Accessed from http://www.jstor.org/stable/4132875. On18/03/2009.

Pease, B. (2003) Re-thinking the relationship between self and society. In Allan, J., Pease, B and Briskman, L. Critical social work: An introduction to theories and practices. Crows Nest. Allen and Unwin

Raniga, T. (2007) A critique of the South African National Life-Skills and HIV/AIDS School Policy. In **Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk:** 2007 (1)16-27

Reddy, P. (2005) **The development of evaluation strategies for intervention projects for girl street children: A participatory action research**. Durban: University of KwaZulu-Natal. Unpublished masters dissertation.

Ryen, A (2007a) `Exporting Ethics: The West and the Rest*?*'. in Paul Leer-Salvesen and Inger Furseth (eds) **Religion in Late Modernity.** London. Sage Publication.

Sanyal, B (1997) NGOs self defeating quest for autonomy. In **The Annals of the American Academy for Political and social Sciences**, 554 (November) 21-32

Sathiparsad, R. (2008) Developing alternative masculinities as a strategy to address gender based violence. In **International social work, 51(3) 348-359**. Sage Publications. London

Scanlon, T.J., Tomkins, A., Lynch, M.A. & Scanlon, F. (1998). Street children in Latin America. In **British Medical Journal (International edition***), 316* (7144), 1596–1601

Selznick, P. (1952) The organizational weapon: A study of Bolshevik strategy and tactics. The Rand Corporation. New York

Sewpaul, V., Mhone, C. and Osthus, I. S. (In Press) **Understanding violence and rape among children and youth on the streets of Durban CBD**

Sewpaul, V. (2010) The Association of South African Social Work Education Institutions (ASASWEI**) statement on the forceable removal of children**. Durban. ASASWEI

Sewpaul, V. (2007) Power, discourse and ideology: challenging essentialist notions of race and identity in institutions of higher learning. In **Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk**: 2007 (1)16-27

Sewpaul, V. (2005) Structural social justice approach to family policy: A critique of the Draft South African Family Policy.. In **Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk**: 41(4)310-322

Sewpaul, V and Holscher, D. (2004) **Social work in times of neo-liberalism: A post modern discourse**. Pretoria. Van Schaik.

Sewpaul, V. (2003) Reframing epistemologies and practice through international exchanges: Global and local discourses in the development of critical consciousness in Dominelli, L and Bernard W. T, **Broadening the horizon: international exchange in social work.** Hampshire, Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Sewpaul, V (1995) **Confronting the pain of infertility: Feminist, ethical and religious aspects of infertility and the new reproductive technologies.** Durban. University of Natal (PhD Dissertation)

Sewpaul, V (1993) The family as a focus for intervention for the prevention of mental disorder: An empowerment approach**.** In the **Journal of social work/Maatskaplike Werk:** 1993:29(3)

Sewpaul, V (unpublished) **Social work education in the era of globalization.**

Sexton, A. (2005) **Street Children: The situation in East and Southern Africa and the need for a strategic global response**. *A Presentation to the House Committee on International Relations Subcommittee on Africa, Human Rights and Global Operations. Hearing: Protecting Street children Vigilantes or the rule of Law, 13th September, 2005.*

Shah, P and Shah, M (2002) Participatory methods for increasing NGO accountability: A case study from India. In Edwards, M and Hulme, D. **Nongovernmental organizations- performance and accountability: Beyond the magic bullet**. London. Save the Children Fund.

SISCO Constitution. Durban. Street Chidren Operation Shonapanzi

Streeten, P (1997) Nongovernmental organizations and development. In **The Annals of the American Academy for Political and social Sciences**, 554 (November) 193-210

Tandon, R (2002) 'Board games': Governance and accountability in NGOs. In Edwards, M and Hulme, D. **Nongovernmental organizations- performance and accountability: Beyond the magic bullet**. London. Save the Children Fund.

Terre Blanche, M., Durrheim, K and Kelly, K (2006) Why qualitative research? In Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter, **Research in practice: applied methods for the social sciences.** Cape Town. University of Cape Town.

The Department of Social development. Available at http://www.dsd.gov.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=240&Itemid=143).

Tomlinson, J (1991) **Cultural imperialism: A critical introduction**. Baltimore. John Hopkins University

Trent, J and von Kotze, A (2009) A place in society? Strengthening livelihood opportunities for street children- A rights based approach. In **Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk**: 2009:45(2) 182-197

Trent, J and von Kotze, A (2009) A place in society? Strengthening livelihood opportunities for street children- A rights based approach. In **Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk**: 2009:45(2) 182-197

Tudoric-Ghemo, A. (2005) **Life on the street and the mental health of street children: A developmental perspective.** Johannesburg. University of Johannesburg.

Umthombo Street Children Organization. Accessed from: http://www.umthombo.org/ on 22 of July, 2010

Undugu Society of Kenya. Accessed from: http://www.undugukenya.org on 27 June, 2010 at 3pm

Van Dijk, T. A (1993) **Critical discourse analysis**. Accessed from: http://www.hum.uva.nl/~teun/cda.htm. On 22nd of April, 2010 at 9am

Vavi (2010) First's principles have been trampled upon. Ruth First Memorial lecture at University of Witwatersrand on 17/08/10. In Sunday Tribune News Paper of 22/08/2010.

Veeran, D. L. (1999) **Perceptions of policy makers, service providers and children from the streets: Policy guidelines and intervention strategies**. Durban. University of Natal.. Unpublished doctoral dissertation

Wallace, T., Bornstein, L., Chapman, J (2007) **The aid chain: Coercion and commitment in development**. Warwichshire. Intermediate Technology Publications Limited.

Ward, C. L, Seagar, J and Tamasane, T. (2007) **Street Children. Report to the Department of social Development, Provincial Government of Gauteng**. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council. Downloaded from www.socdev.gpg.gov.za/Street%20children%20revised%20final%20report.pdf on 18/03/2009.

Watts, E. I. and Erevelles, N. (2004) These deadly times: reconceptualising school violence by using critical race theory and disability studies. In **American Education Research Journal** 41(2)271-299. Downloaded from: http://www.jstor.org/stable/3699367 on 28/04/2009

Willet, P. (2002) What is a Nongovernmental organization? **UNESCO Encyclopaedia** Article 1.44.3.7

Williamson, J. B, Karp, D. A, Dalphin, J. R and Gray, P. S (1982) **The research craft: An introduction to social research methods**. . Boston/ Toronto. Little/Brown and Company

Wils, F (2002) Scaling up, mainstreaming and accountability: the challenge for NGOs. In Edwards, M and Hulme, D. **Nongovernmental organizations- performance and accountability: Beyond the magic bullet**. London. Save the Children Fund.