

**SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD APPROACHES: THE
FUTURE FOR INCOME GENERATING PROJECTS
IN URBAN AREAS?
AN EVALUATION OF FIVE INCOME GENERATING
PROJECTS IN TEMBISA**

by

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I declare that ***SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD APPROACHES: THE FUTURE FOR INCOME GENERATING PROJECTS IN URBAN AREAS? A STUDY OF FIVE INCOME-GENERATING PROJECTS IN TEMBISA*** is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Signature
(Ms N Kadozo)

Date

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It is with relief that I have come to this point, as this study has taken a rather lengthy period to complete. I received a lot of support from the following people whom I want to acknowledge for their role:

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SUMMARY

The traditional theories of development concentrated on stimulating economic growth and ignored the social aspects involved. Despite the massive injection of donor funds, the situation of the poor deteriorated. The projects in Tembisa are an example of this, as the community was not involved in the assessing of needs or designing of interventions and were only the implementers. The evaluation offers an alternative developmental paradigm that has been used with success in other similar circumstances – the sustainable livelihood approach (SLA).

The SLA contends that urban communities should become planners, initiators and executors of local development in order for any transformation to occur. Urban communities have to change their behaviour and attitudes, be willing to accept change, and to take ownership of the projects. The facilitators, NGOs and government have to be willing to unlearn their traditional ways, listen, and accept that they are not the only experts in the field.

ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
DSD	Department of Social Development
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CMR	Christelik-Maatskaplike Raad
CSC	Christian Social Council
DFID	Department for International Development Agency
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
IDC	Industrial Development Corporation
IDPs	Integrated Development Plans
IFAD	International Fund for Agriculture
IGPs	Income Generating Projects
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IDS	Institute of Development Studies
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NEF	National Empowerment Fund
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NPO	Non Profit Organisation
PIR	Poverty Inequality Report
OVCs	Orphans and Vulnerable Children
SAHPF	South African Homeless People's Federation
SLA	Sustainable Livelihood Approaches
SME	Small Micro Enterprises
UNDP	United Nations Development Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WB	World Bank

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Acknowledgements.....	i
Summary.....	li
List of Acronyms.....	iii
Table of Contents.....	iv
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.0 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 RESEARCH PROBLEM: THE OBJECTIVES.....	1
1.2 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY.....	1
1.3 BACKGROUND OF TEMBISA.....	2
1.4 AN OVERVIEW OF GLOBAL POVERTY.....	3
1.4.1 Poverty in South Africa	4
1.4.2 Poverty Reduction Strategies: Income Generating Projects.....	5
1.4.3 Sustainable Livelihood Approaches.....	6
1.5 IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY.....	7
1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	8
1.6.1 Research Techniques and Data Gathering.....	9
1.7 DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS.....	9
1.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS.....	10
1.9 CONCLUSION.....	11
CHAPTER TWO: POVERTY AND DEVELOPMENT.....	12
2.0 INTRODUCTION.....	12
2.1 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: A WORLDVIEW.....	12
2.1.1 Growth, Inequality And Poverty.....	12
2.1.2 Global Poverty.....	12
2.1.3 Inequality and Poverty In Cities.....	13
2.1.4 Urbanisation and Economic Growth.....	14
2.2 POVERTY AND INEQUALITY IN SOUTH AFRICA.....	15

2.2.1	Poverty and Inequality.....	15
2.2.2	South African Conceptions of Poverty.....	16
2.2.3	The Extent and Distribution of Poverty.....	17
2.3	MACRO ECONOMIC CONTEXT.....	18
2.3.1	The Development of The South African Economy.....	18
2.3.2	Macro Economic Policy Response Post 1994.....	20
2.4	INCOME GENERATING PROJECTS.....	22
2.4.1	Theoretical Background of Income Generation.....	22
2.4.2	Definitions.....	25
2.4.3	Why Income Generation?.....	25
2.5	THE EXPERIENCE OF INCOME-GENERATION INTERVENTIONS.....	27
2.5.1	Characteristics of Successful Income Generating Projects.....	27
2.5.2	Challenges Associated With Income Generating Interventions.....	30
2.6	THE EXPERIENCE OF INCOME-GENERATION STRATEGIES IN SOUTH AFRICA.....	33
2.7	THE FUTURE FOR INCOME-GENERATION PROJECTS.....	35
2.7.1	Why Incomes generating Projects Alone are not Effective as a Poverty Reduction Strategy.....	35
2.8	CONCLUSION.....	36
	CHAPTER THREE: AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH: SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD APPROACHES.....	38
3.0	INTRODUCTION.....	38
3.1	SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD APPROACHES.....	38
3.1.1	Paradigm Shift in Development Circles.....	38
3.1.2	The Origins of the Sustainable Livelihoods Concept.....	39
3.1.3	Application of Sustainable Livelihood Approaches in the 1990s.....	40
3.2	DEFINITION OF THE SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD APPROACH.....	41

3.3	THE PRINCIPLE OF SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD APPROACHES.....	43
3.4	TYPES OF ASSETS.....	44
3.5	USES OF SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD APPROACHES.....	46
3.6	WHY ARE SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD APPROACHES IMPORTANT.....	46
3.7	THE EXPERIENCE OF SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD APPROACHES.....	47
	3.7.1 Impact of the Sustainable Livelihood Approaches.....	47
3.8	APPLICATION OF SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD APPROACHES IN SOUTH AFRICA.....	49
3.9	ADVANTAGES OF USING SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD APPROACHES.....	50
3.10	CONCERNS REGARDING SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD APPROACHES.....	51
	3.10.1 Underplaying of Vulnerability, Gender and Markets.....	51
	3.10.2 Lack of Clear Policies.....	52
	3.10.3 Governance, Power and Rights.....	52
	3.10.4 Sustainability.....	52
	3.10.5 Superficial Use of Sustainable Livelihood Approaches.....	52
3.11	LESSONS.....	53
	3.11.1 Policy Engagement.....	53
	3.11.2 Capacity Building.....	54
	3.11.3 Safety Nets.....	54
	3.11.4 Monitoring.....	55
	3.11.5 Financial Services to the Poor.....	55
	3.11.6 Implications of the Sustainable Livelihood Approach to the Study.....	55
3.12	CONCLUSION.....	56
	CHAPTER FOUR: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE CHRISTELIK-MAATSKAPLIKE RAAD / CHRISTIAN SOCIAL COUNCIL.....	58
4.0	INTRODUCTION.....	58

4.1	ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH IN SOUTH AFRICA.....	57
4.2	ORIGINS OF THE CHRISTELIK-MAATSKAPLIKE RAAD/CHRISTIAN SOCIAL COUNCIL	57
4.2.1	Definition of the Poor White.....	58
4.2.2	Origins of the Poor White.....	59
4.2.3	Response of the Dutch Reformed Church.....	60
4.2.4	Findings of the Carnegie Commission.....	62
4.3	THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTELIK-MAATSKAPLIKE RAAD /CHRISTIAN SOCIAL COUNCIL IN KEMPTON PARK	64
4.3.1	Expansion of Services to Tembisa.....	64
4.3.2	Aspects of Poverty in Tembisa.....	66
4.3.3	Sources of Funding.....	67
4.4	SERVICES RENDERED.....	67
4.4.1	Community Development.....	68
4.4.2	Family Care Services.....	68
4.4.3	HIV and AIDS Interventions.....	69
4.5	MONITORING AND EVALUATION.....	70
4.6	CURRENT ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE.....	70
4.7	CONCLUSION.....	71
	CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY.....	72
5.0	INTRODUCTION.....	73
5.1	RESEARCH DESIGN.....	73
5.2	KEY CONCEPTS AND VARIABLES.....	73
5.3	RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	74
5.3.1	Sampling Framework.....	74
5.3.2	Respondent Groups.....	76
5.4	DATA COLLECTION.....	76
5.4.1	Document study.....	77
5.4.2	Semi-structured Interviews.....	78
5.4.3	Focus Group Discussions.....	80
5.5	DATES AND SETTINGS FOR DATA GATHERING.....	80

5.6	PILOT STUDY.....	84
5.7	DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION.....	84
5.8	LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY.....	85
5.9	CONCLUSION.....	86
	CHAPTER SIX: PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS.....	87
6.0	INTRODUCTION.....	88
6.1	TEMBISA COMMUNITY PROFILE.....	88
6.1.1	The Situation in Tembisa.....	89
6.2	BACKGROUND OF INCOME-GENERATION PROJECTS.....	91
6.2.1	Lesedi-la-Malapa Sewing Project.....	91
6.2.2	Seotloana Food Gardening Project.....	92
6.2.3	Kodumela Moepa Thutse Sewing Group.....	92
6.2.4	Winnie Mandela Food Gardening Project.....	92
6.2.5	Zama-Zama Sewing Group.....	93
6.3	CHRISTIAN SOCIAL COUNCIL'S ATTEMPTS AT EMPOWERING THE INCOME GENERATION PROJECTS.....	93
6.4	FINDINGS OF THE STUDY.....	94
6.4.1	Management of Assets: Lesedi-la-Malapa.....	94
6.4.2	Management of Assets: Seotloana Food Garden.....	99
6.4.3	Management of Assets: Kodumela Moepa Thutse Sewing Group.....	100
6.4.4	Management of Assets: Winnie Mandela Food Garden.....	101
6.4.5	Management of Assets: Zama-Zama Sewing Group.....	102
6.5	CHRISTIAN SOCIAL COUNCIL'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE INCOME GENERATION PROJECTS.....	102
6.6	CAUSES OF POVERTY.....	103
6.6.1	Perceptions of Poverty.....	104
6.7	IMPACT OF THE PROJECT.....	105
6.8	THE APPARENT REASONS FOR FAILURE.....	106
6.9	CONCLUSION: AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH.....	115
	CHAPTER SEVEN: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION.....	116
7.0	INTRODUCTION.....	116

7.1	EMERGING THEMES.....	116
7.1.1	Different Levels of Poverty.....	116
7.1.2	Limited Income-Earning Opportunities.....	116
7.1.3	Limiting Institutional Contexts.....	117
7.1.4	Lack of Power and Influence.....	117
7.1.5	Bad Governance at the Local Level.....	117
7.1.6	Limited Knowledge of Local Resources.....	117
7.1.7	Culture of Dependency.....	118
7.2	RECOMMENDATIONS.....	118
7.2.1	Promotion of Active Involvement of Beneficiaries.....	118
7.2.2	Behaviour Change.....	119
7.2.3	Increasing Household Assets.....	119
7.2.4	In-Service Training for Community Workers.....	122
7.2.5	Development of Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation Systems.....	122
7.2.6	Closure of Current Projects.....	123
7.2.7	Promotion of Transformation in Management Boards.....	123
7.2.8	Adoption of a Sustainable Livelihood Framework.....	123
7.2.9	Advocacy.....	123
7.3	CONSTRAINTS IN APPLYING SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD APPROACHES.....	125
7.3.1	Cross-Sectoral SLAs versus Sectoral World.....	125
7.3.2	Linking Micro Realities and Macro Policies.....	126
7.3.3	Participatory Methodologies are Time Consuming.....	127
7.4	SUMMARY OF STUDY.....	127
7.5	LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY.....	128
7.6	CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY.....	128
7.7	SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH.....	128
7.8	CONCLUDING REMARKS.....	128
	BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	130

TABLES

Table 3.1.1	Donor Agencies Utilising SLAs.....	40
Table 3.5	Uses of SLAs.....	46
Table 3.8	Application of SLAs in South Africa.....	49
Table 5.5.1	Dates for Data Gathering.....	83
Table 6.1.2	Assets of the Urban Poor in Tembisa.....	89
Table 6.6.1	Levels of Poverty.....	104
Table 6.8	Level of Education of Group Members.....	109

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Reducing poverty is a global concern, and has become one of the most important objectives of policy makers in developing countries for donors and international financial institutions. One of the major shifts towards poverty reduction is the use of the communities' indigenous knowledge of their needs and of the interventions that are appropriate.

1.1 RESEARCH PROBLEM: THE OBJECTIVES

The problem that was researched in this study concerned the reasons for the apparent lack of success of income generating projects (IGPs) initiated by the Christian Social Council (CSC) to enhance livelihood strategies for poor women in urban areas.

The objectives of this study were to investigate the challenges (constraining environments) the groups in Tembisa were facing, using participatory assessment techniques such as problem and wealth ranking. The study also sought to explore assets as well as the micro and macro causes of these challenges and derive recommendations from these for future interventions.

1.2 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

- **Unavailability of financial records**

The projects did not have any records; neither did the CSC keep any records to make conclusions about viability and profitability. This was because there is no monitoring mechanism to solicit this kind of information regularly.

- **High turnover of the project members**

There was a lot of turnover of members, except for Winnie Mandela and Seoltoana Food Gardens. As a result of low returns in sewing groups, members left the groups when they did not receive any monetary rewards.

- **Closure of some projects targeted for the study**

Three of the projects targeted for the study closed down even before the research was conducted, the members disappeared with the equipment, and no follow-ups were made.

- **Resource constraints**

Owing to human, financial and time constraints, the study was limited to only five of the CSC's IGPs in Tembisa, which may not necessarily be a representative sample of the Ekurhuleni Metro.

1.3 BACKGROUND OF TEMBISA

According to Bonner and Nieftagodien (2008:183) Tembisa was developed in 1957, with the sole purpose being to establish a single regional township to resettle the Africans displaced in Alexandra and other areas in Edenvale, Kempton Park, Midrand and Germiston. The city has fallen within the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality since 2000 (Ekurhuleni Growth and Development Strategy 2025, 2005:1)

The Ekurhuleni Growth and Development Strategy 2025 (2005:1) mentions that in Tembisa there is a good network of roads, railway lines and telecommunications. Some community members have been enterprising and have been able to establish their own income-earning activities such as running food stalls at street corners, hair salons, selling snacks at schools and running crèches. Meikle (2002:38) concurs that urban poor people undertake a variety of activities in the informal sector to survive because the urban economy depends on cash to access goods such as water, food and housing.

According to the newsletter *Ekurhuleni Talks to the Community* (December 2008–January 2009) and Roberts (2006:12) the metro contributes 20% of Gauteng's GNP and around 6.6% to national production. However, in spite of this positive outlook, the metro has high levels of unemployment (34%) and underemployment, and 30% of the local population live in poverty. The technical skills levels are too low and not a good fit for the skills demand for the local economy. Nor does the metro have suitable land to address the housing backlogs, which has resulted in environmental degradation owing to overcrowding. According to Ekurhuleni Growth and Development Strategy 2025 (2005:2), the institutional challenges include:

- A dependency culture reinforced by the methodologies of government departments and NGOs
- Inadequate access to basic services
- Limited information dissemination about resources in communities
- Government departments not accountable and having inadequate and sometimes incompetent staff.

In light of these challenges, which included limited income-earning opportunities, the CSC extended its services to Tembisa and initiated the sewing and baking groups among the unemployed women.

1.4 AN OVERVIEW OF GLOBAL POVERTY

In the early days of development thinking, poverty was defined as a deficit; that is, poor people did not have enough to eat, a place to sleep, or clean water and did not have knowledge or skills. The interventions were therefore to provide the missing things. The Basic Needs Approach was one of the strategies used to address these needs. Treurnicht (1997:27) notes that this approach came about as a result of the shortcomings of the modernization theory of the trickle-down effect. Myers (1999:66–7) argues that while these views were true, they limit one's understanding of poverty.

It should be noted that poverty, as Chambers (1993:109–111) observes, is a whole complex of issues which include isolation, material deprivation, dependence and subordination, lack of assets, insecurity and vulnerability to disease and natural disasters. This is what he sums up as the 'deprivation trap' (1993:111). It is therefore imperative that poverty is approached from these multi-dimensional angles.

As a result of the complex nature of poverty, it is difficult to define. The World Bank (1975:19) categorised poverty according to the level of disadvantage:

- Absolute poverty was described as a 'situation where incomes are so low that even a minimum standard of nutrition, shelter and personal necessities cannot be maintained'
- Relative poverty, which will be used for the purpose of this study, refers to people whose basic needs are met, but still experience levels of disadvantage compared with others. This is more relevant as it explores people's perceptions of being poor.

Narayan (1999:6) describes how poverty is so painful:

Poor people suffer physical pain that comes with too little food and long hours of work; emotional pain stemming from the daily humiliations of dependency and lack of power; and the moral pain from being forced to make choices such as whether to pay to save the life of an ill family member or to use the money to feed their children.

While poverty-reduction interventions have brought relief in some parts of the world, for example increasing life expectancy, Fukuda-Parr, Lopes and Malik (2002:2) observe that the proportion of the world's people living in poverty has risen in some regions, countries and continents. They state that since 1990, the number of the income poor in sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia and the Caribbean has been increasing each year. They argue that this is because the mechanisms for achieving the objectives of development have become very elusive. When the concept of development came into being, it was assumed that to eradicate poverty, all the poor countries had to do was to replicate the stages the rich countries had gone through (Rostow's modernisation theory). However, practically poverty increased instead, because the interventions did not take the local environment of individual countries into account.

Further attempts have been made to reduce poverty, such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), developed by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 2000. According to Lopes (2002:135), the MDGs defined and set specific targets and timetables for reducing poverty by 50% by 2015. He notes that progress has been slow and the prospects of achieving these goals are bleak.

1.4.1 Poverty in South Africa

In South Africa, although poverty is widespread, it is not evenly distributed. According to Wright (2008:16), poverty is concentrated among blacks, particularly Africans. Eighty-four per cent of black African people are poor; 60% of mixed-race 'coloureds' are poor; 20% of Indian/Asian people; and 13% of white people.

Some of the poor who lived in rural areas have migrated to the cities. This has resulted in the densification of urban poverty. The lack of proper housing (backyard shacks) and infrastructure, and high levels of unemployment illustrate the

consequences. According to Hassen (2008:4), South Africans experience poverty daily; the rich experience it as they confront beggars on the streets and pass informal settlements on their way to work.

1.4.2 Poverty Reduction Strategies: Income Generating

Hurley (1990:iv) observes that the issue of poverty reduction in the developing countries has attracted a lot of attention. Myers (1999:128) also concedes that considerable research has been undertaken by a large number of development organisations that have been promoting the income generating strategy to alleviating poverty because of the need for development to be sustainable. The studies have revealed that the experience of these interventions has been varied and too often been a failure, thus bringing the question of sustainability into focus. There have also been too many examples in the past of development programming that seemed to be making a difference as long as the staff and the money of the development organisation were present.

In South Africa and the rest of the developing world, De Beer and Swanepoel (2000:3) observe that in practice poverty alleviation interventions are short lived and the beneficiaries soon return to their 'previous equilibrium of poverty'. Myers (1999:128) notes that programme evaluations, performed after the money and staff have been withdrawn, show that the intervention was beyond the community's capacity, Hence they could not sustain it.

According to Hurley (1990:28) the failure of these income generating projects (IGPs) was largely because they were underpinned by the modernisation school of thought, which was patriarchal and sought to keep women in the home and out of the market. This is true if one reflects on the types of projects the women undertake to earn an income, that is, sewing, baking and food gardening. The groups have not received any support from government institutions or credit lenders either.

This is a true reflection of some of the projects run by CSC. After the initial growth period, the projects seem to be viable. However, the profits have not been used productively for the sustenance of the project. Some members thus leave the group, as they see no future. This failure to thrive after the initial investment by the CSC has been attributed partly to the lack of a self-help attitude, general lack of knowledge on

how to run a project, the methodologies utilised by the CSC staff, and the lack of support from the government.

1.4.3 Sustainable Livelihoods Approaches

The concept of sustainable livelihoods has many supporters and the usage of the term 'sustainable livelihood approaches' gained prominence through the Brundtland Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development in 1987. Hassen (2008:18) emphasises that the concept requires a mind-shift from the traditional approaches. A number of international development agencies have developed and utilised the concept. These include Oxfam, Care International, Canadian International Development Agency, Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Even though their emphases are different, they share the same basic concern that poverty should be tackled from the viewpoint of the poor. Rakodi (2002:xvi) adds that SLAs should be regarded as complementing the more traditional approaches to development, and thus not seen as a new approach, because, as Myers (1999:128) observes,

sustenance already exists in communities but it is the levels that differ, as, if the community was not sustainable before the development organization came, it could not exist. There is evidence to suggest that even poor communities are quite sophisticated in developing sustainable survival strategies in terms of food, water and housing.

The development organisation's approach therefore determines the success of the interventions and the dimensions of sustainability utilised.

For the purpose of this study, the unit of analysis will be the assets as these are one of the building blocks of the sustainable livelihoods approaches. The asset base of the poor counters vulnerability to poverty, as will be discussed in both chapter two and three. It can be noted that poverty is not only characterised by an overall lack of assets and the inability to accumulate assets, but also entails the inability to devise an appropriate coping strategy.

Rakodi (2002:10) highlights that the sustainable livelihood approach recognises that the poor may not have cash or other savings, but they have other material or non-material assets, such as their health, labour, their knowledge and skills, their kinship

ties and friends, as well as the natural resources around them. According to Narayan and Pritchett (1999:871) the poor's assets constitute a stock of capital which can be stored, accumulated, exchanged or depleted and put to work to generate a flow of income or other benefits.

The approach requires a practical understanding of these assets in order to identify the opportunities and constraining environments. Goldman, Franks, Toner, Howlet, Kamuzara, Muhumuza, and Tamasane (2004:4) emphasise that development facilitators should focus on the assets of the poor, rather than on their lack of assets as this is an empowering approach for all those involved. It is important to note that unlike the rural economy, the urban economy is cash based and the poor use their different assets to exchange for cash. There will be a detailed discussion of these assets in chapters three and six.

1.5 IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

The rationale of undertaking this study was to evaluate the organisation's intervention strategy in Tembisa in order to provide information on how implementation can be improved in the future, so that projects fit the community's view of needs. It has been observed that the living standards of the women have not improved, as would have been anticipated. They still struggle to put food on the table for their families. The profits they make are not substantial enough to bring about any change. For instance, one sewing group of eight members had never had profits exceeding R800 per annum. They still struggle to repair their machines when they break down and the organisation has to repair them. The quality of their finished products leaves a lot to be desired. Further, the CSC has invested a lot of money in the projects, with no tangible outcome. Hence, if the study is able to establish why this has been happening and why other IGPs have been successful, the organisation can review its strategy with the view to incorporating the best practices from other projects.

It is therefore imperative to carry out an investigation of the IGPs to ascertain why their success has been limited and why they have been failing to sustain themselves. There is need also to establish whether sustainability is an illusion or a reality. In addition, other government departments and NGOs are facing similar problems when implementing poverty-reduction interventions such as IGPs, and hence the findings could be used to gain insight into the causes of apparent failure.

Permission to undertake the study was requested of and granted by the management of CSC.

Further, as Acho-Chi (2002:133) contends, the demands of sustainable urban development are daunting in sub-Saharan Africa because urbanisation is always accompanied by rapid population growth and poverty. This calls for the government and NGOs to look at new ways of supporting the informal sector, in which the majority of the poor urban dwellers eke out a living. It can be noted that cash is the single most important asset for the urban people, as they have to buy food and fuel and pay for transport

1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The qualitative research design was chosen, as the purpose was to study the respondents in their natural environment. In qualitative research there are basically three types of research: exploratory, descriptive and explanatory. For the purpose of this study the exploratory and descriptive types were both chosen, as the study sought to explore the factors that are apparently hindering the success of IGPs in Tembisa. Bless and Higson-Smith (1995:110) state that the use of exploratory investigations brings out a wide range of possible answers and solutions. The study was also descriptive, in that the past performance of the projects was reviewed to obtain greater detail on how the CSC implemented its projects and the challenges they encountered. This enabled the researcher to understand people in terms of their own definition of their world (Mouton 2005:194).

Non-probability sampling methods were utilised and these were the purposive/ judgmental technique and the convenience sampling technique. The advantage of the purposive/ judgmental sampling technique is that the researcher already had knowledge of the population and its elements under study (Babbie and Mouton, 2004:166 and Welman, Kruger and Mitchell, 2005:69). However, this selection is subjective, as it depends solely on the researcher's judgment. The convenience sampling technique allowed the researcher to select some of the respondents according to availability. However, according to Babbie and Mouton (2004:166), Nachmias and Nachmias (1987:185) and Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2003:172), data gathered through the convenience sampling technique presents a challenge in

that it has to be generalised with great caution as there is no way of estimating the representativeness of the convenience samples.

1.6.1 Research Techniques and Data Gathering

The study entailed a literature study and field research involving focus group discussions and individual structured interviews with group members and key informants using participatory techniques.

A pre-test was done after the data gathering instruments had been developed. Welman, Kruger and Mitchell (2005:148) state that this is done to ensure that all the data required had been captured and that the instrument was user-friendly. Changes were made because some of the questions were repetitive or needed to be simplified. Both quantitative and qualitative data analysis methods were used. This ensured that data collected through individual interviews was compressed into a readable frame that made it possible to get a description of the realities of income generating projects in Tembisa.

1.7 DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS

For the purpose of this study, the following definitions will be used:

- **Assets**

These are material and non-material resources that one has or can access as a means of living (Rakodi, 2002:10).

- **Poverty**

The inability for individuals to ensure for themselves and their dependents a set of basic minimum conditions for their subsistence and wellbeing in accordance with the norms of society (Government of Mozambique 2001:11).

- **Sustainability**

Sustainability is considered by the Department for International Development (DFID) to be the core concept of the livelihood framework. It is used to mean 'not only continuing poverty reduction, but also environmental, social and institutional sustainability'. Singh and Gilman (1999:540) state that it is the 'ability to exercise

choice, access to opportunities and resources and using them in ways that do not foreclose options for other to make a living, either now or in the future’.

- **Livelihoods**

According to Chambers and Conway (1992:7)

A livelihood is engagement in a number of activities which, at times, neither require a formal agreement nor are limited to a particular trade. Livelihoods may or may not involve money. Jobs invariably do. Livelihoods are self-directing ... Livelihoods are based on income derived from ‘jobs’, but also on incomes derived from assets and entitlements.

According to Chambers and Conway (1992:7) and Singh and Gilman (1999:540), a livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living. Carney (1998:4) adds that a livelihood is sustainable when it ‘can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long-term’.

A livelihood therefore consists of all factors that contribute to keeping people alive and upon which they base their wellbeing and security.

- **Job**

A job is an activity or trade that is performed in exchange for payment. It is usually a formal agreement (contract) between an employer and employee. It can also be part of an overall livelihood, but does so only to complement other aspects of a livelihood portfolio

(Chambers and Conway 1992:7).

1.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The study observed the following ethical considerations:

- Voluntary participation: the respondents’ permission was sought before the research commenced
- Informed consent: the respondents were informed of the objectives of the study so that they could decide whether they wanted to participate or not

- Anonymity: all information that was collected would be kept confidential. The respondents could remain anonymous if they wanted. All the information would be analysed and generalised and not be attached to any particular respondent (Welman, Kruger and Mitchell 2005:201).

1.9 CONCLUSION

The eradication of poverty has proven to be an elusive concept which requires continuous research. Many development agencies have attempted to reduce poverty and the experience has been mixed and shrouded with failure. The failure of the interventions has been because of the exclusive, top-down approaches used by the technocrats. The IGPs have failed because the projects focused only on economic development and did not take into account the other factors contributing to poverty. The SLAs offer an alternative approach which attempts to bridge these gaps.

CHAPTER TWO

DEVELOPMENT AND POVERTY

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The chapter looks first at how the world economy has developed from the early 1970s. It then focuses on developing countries and how inequality, poverty and urbanisation have affected the poor people. It looks at some of the strategies adopted to combat poverty and their successes and challenges.

2.1 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: A WORLDVIEW

2.1.1 Growth, inequality and poverty

In the 1970s and the early 1980s, an economic crisis affected many African economies and this resulted in the intensification of poverty, especially among urban residents. According to Owusu (in Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones, 2002:25), 'a series of external economic shocks, domestic policy mismanagement, political instability and corruption plagued the economies'. This increased urban impoverishment was partly because of rapid urbanisation, which was accompanied by unemployment and underemployment. International financial institutions responded by implementing neo-liberal economic reform packages (structural adjustment programmes (SAPs)) in many countries. These were not country specific, however. This resulted in retrenchments, increased food prices and a rise in informal sector competition. These reforms disrupted the established means of income generation of individuals and households, who responded by becoming involved in multiple economic activities that combined salaried and non-salaried jobs. This multiple livelihood strategy has a long history in African countries.

2.1.2 Global poverty

According to Shah (2008:1), poverty is the 'state for the majority of the world's people and nations'. She comments that

half the world, nearly three billion people, lives on less than two dollars a day. The GDP (Gross Domestic Product) of the poorest 48 nations (ie a quarter of the world's countries) is less than the wealth of the world's three richest people combined. Nearly a billion people entered the 21st century unable to read a book or sign their names. Less than one per cent of what the world spent every year on weapons was needed to put every child into school by the year

2000 and yet it did not happen. Fifty-one per cent of the world's 100 hundred wealthiest bodies are corporations. The wealthiest nation on Earth has the widest gap between rich and poor of any industrialised nation.

Shah (2008:1) observes 'that the poorer the country, the more likely it is that debt repayments are being extracted directly from people who neither contracted the loans nor received any of the money'.

Shah (2008:1) further notes that,

Twenty per cent of the population in the developed nations consumes 86% of the world's goods. The top fifth of the world's people in the richest countries enjoy 82% of the expanding export trade and 68% of foreign direct investment — the bottom fifth, barely more than 1%. In 1960, the 20% of the world's people in the richest countries had 30 times the income of the poorest 20% — in 1997, 74 times as much.

2.1.3 Inequality and Poverty in Cities

Although cities are associated with economic growth, Hurley (1990:4) observes that urban poverty is a growing phenomenon, and not all residents are benefiting. The implementation of wage freezes and other labour policies, public-sector retrenchment, the abolition of controls and subsidies on food and other prices, and reduced public-sector spending during structural adjustment hit urban areas particularly hard. In cities often the costs of adjustment fell disproportionately on the urban poor, at least in the short term, threatening the security of their livelihoods, reducing their incomes and resulting in deteriorating access to basic services. Many of the middle-income people were also affected as they lost their jobs and their disposable income decreased.

The World Bank Report (1999:9) cites the example of South Korea's proportion of urban population that increased from 8.6% in 1997 to 14.8% in December 1998. Watt (2000:45) also observes that the majority of new recruits to the labour market were left with underemployment in the informal sector as the only option open to them. This resulted in incomes falling as numbers seeking income generating opportunities in the informal sector increased. The informal sector has now become overcrowded. Aggravated by the decrease in purchasing power as a result of falling real wages and

job shedding in the formal sector, this has been intensified by the current economic crisis, which has resulted in massive job losses in the mining and manufacturing sectors globally. Gilbert (1994:16) also notes that the informal sector has not been able to absorb everyone who needs work, and the sector absorbs some people more easily than others. Watt (2000:45) further observes that even in cases where jobs are generated as a result of globalisation or economic growth, the poor cannot benefit because of their limited human capital. Women are commonly more disadvantaged than men and have been particularly vulnerable to downward pressures on incomes. This has resulted in the increased feminisation of poverty.

2.1.4 Urbanisation and Economic Growth

Rakodi (2002:26) argues that the world's urban population is set to rise by almost 1.5 billion in the next 20 years. At the time of writing her book, she noted that in developing countries, the share of the population living in urban areas is likely to rise from half to about two thirds by 2025. This projection is based on the premise that already in 1997, 74% of the population of Latin America and the Caribbean, 67% in low- and middle-income countries in Europe and Central Asia, and 58% in the Middle East and North Africa lived in urban areas, but sub-Saharan Africa (32%), East Asia and the Pacific (33%) and South Asia (27%) are yet to begin the urban transition. The number of cities in the world with populations exceeding one million rose from 163 in 1970 to 350 in 2002. It should be noted, however, that urban places differ and range from towns and cities with several thousands of people to those with tens of millions Clark (1996:13).

There seems to be a clear association between economic growth and urbanisation, although as Rakodi (2002:26) argues, 'this correlation masks complex cause-and-effect relationships'. In industrialised countries, economic growth and structural transformation accompanied urbanisation. The association between urbanisation and rising per capita income has been proven in Europe, Latin America and in many countries in Asia. In 20 years South Korea for instance has transformed itself from a society that was 80% rural and in which agriculture contributed 37% of GDP to one that is 80% urban and the share of agriculture under 6%. Elsewhere, particularly in Africa, the link between economic growth and urbanisation has not been evident (World Bank 2000:130).

It can therefore be concluded that economic growth is always accompanied by urbanisation because goods and services are often produced most efficiently in densely populated areas that provide access to a pool of skilled labour, a network of complementary firms, which act as suppliers, and a critical mass of customers. However, with it come the challenges of poverty, overcrowding and unemployment, as noted above.

2.2 POVERTY AND INEQUALITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.2.1 Poverty and Inequality

South Africa is a relatively rich country, with a strong industrial sector, good infrastructure and a sophisticated 'modern' economy. In per capita terms it is an upper-middle-income country, but despite this relative wealth, the Poverty Inequality Report (see May, 1998:2) revealed that 'the experience of most South African households is outright poverty or of continuing vulnerability to being poor'. In addition, the distribution of income and wealth in South Africa is among the most unequal in the world, and many households still have unsatisfactory access to education, health care, energy and clean water.

According to May (1998:1) the Poverty Inequality Report was prepared for the Office of the Executive Deputy President and the Inter-Ministerial Committee in May 1998. The focus of the report was on poverty and inequality and the relationship of people to the resources they have and the commodities they require when meeting their basic sustenance requirements. The important elements identified were:

- The assets, claims and resources that are available to people
- The activities they have to undertake in order to generate a sustainable livelihood
- The commodities and services they require for an acceptable standard of living

According to Harrison (1989:1522), experience has shown that unqualified reliance on market forces as advocated by globalisation to allow the benefits of economic growth to 'trickle down' to the poor is not effective where the underlying institutional context has remained the same. In South Africa, while many of the institutional requirements for efficient markets are present, institutional discrimination has meant that many markets remain strongly influenced by existing positions of power and influence.

Roberts (2006:104) from the Human Sciences Research Council's South African Social Attitude Surveys concurs with the May's (1998:7) findings that compared with the other racial groups, black people are still way behind in accessing enough food as well as income for their households. The HSRC's surveys also revealed that inequality and poverty were deepening in post-apartheid South Africa.

2.2.2 South African Conceptions of Poverty

According to the Poverty Inequality Report (PIR) (1998:3), poverty can be defined as the inability to attain a minimal standard of living, measured in terms of basic consumption needs or the income required to satisfy them.

Roberts' (2006:119) survey also revealed that the majority of South Africans still perceive themselves as lacking enough food and income to meet all their household needs. It was noted that poor South Africans perceive poverty as including:

- ❖ Alienation from the community and lack of power to influence change
- ❖ Food insecurity
- ❖ Continuous ill health
- ❖ High levels of anxiety and stress
- ❖ Crowded homes
- ❖ Usage of unsafe and inefficient forms of energy
- ❖ Lack of jobs that are adequately paid and/or secure and getting arduous and hazardous work
- ❖ Fragmentation of the family

In contrast, wealth is perceived to be characterised by good housing, the use of gas or electricity, and ownership of a major durable goods such as a television set or fridge.

May (1998:3) states that

poverty is not a static condition; individuals, households or communities may be vulnerable to poverty as a result of shocks and crises (uncontrollable events which harm livelihoods and food security) and long-term trends (such as racial and gender discrimination, environmental degradation and macroeconomic trends). Vulnerability to poverty is therefore characterised by an inability to devise an appropriate coping or management strategy in times of crisis. Poverty may also involve social exclusion in either an economic

dimension (exclusion from the labour market and opportunities to earn income) or a purely social dimension (exclusion from decision-making, social services, and access to community and family support).

May (1998:4) also revealed that households use their assets to undertake a wide range of income-earning activities. These findings are consistent with Lugalla's findings of the urban poor in Tanzania. Lugalla (1995:127) observes that their survival strategies are sporadic and uncertain. The urban poor also depend highly on their social networks.

Rakodi (2002:7) mentions that household livelihood strategies typically include some combination of the following income generating activities:

- Self-employment in small and micro-enterprises / informal sector
- Wage labour
- Legal claims against the state, such as pensions, unemployment insurance and state child maintenance
- Claims against employers, such as pensions
- Claims against individuals such as private child maintenance
- Unpaid domestic labour
- Illegitimate activities (such as drug trafficking, prostitution, and petty theft)
- The sale of household assets
- The use of the environment (such as for agriculture, grazing, fishing and as a water source)

2.2.3 The Extent and Distribution of Poverty

According to May (1998:5), most of the poor live in rural areas: while 50% of the population are rural, the rural areas contain 74% of those members of the total population who are poor.

The AfricaFocus Bulletin (2004:6) also agrees with May (1998:5) that poverty in South Africa is geographic and gendered, and is unevenly distributed among the nine provinces. In 1998, the provincial poverty rates were highest for the Eastern Cape (71%), while Gauteng had the lowest with 17%. In 2004, the provinces of Limpopo (77%) and the Eastern Cape (72%) had the highest proportion of poor living below the poverty income lines. The Western Cape (32%) had the lowest proportion in

poverty, followed by Gauteng (42%). The Department of Social Development's most recent commissioned research, conducted by Gemma Wright (2008:17), on perceptions of poverty, presents a similar picture that the Western Cape still has the lowest poverty rates, (49%) followed by Gauteng (54%), and Limpopo still has the highest poverty rates (97%).

May (1998:5) noted that poverty is not confined to any one race, but is concentrated among blacks, particularly Africans: 61% of Africans and 38% of coloureds are poor, compared with 5% of Indians and 1% of whites. Wright (2008:16) gives current statistics that reveal that the number of poor people has increased. Africans are now at 84%, coloureds 60%, Indians 20% and whites 13%. Poverty has a gender dimension, as the poverty rate among female-headed households is 60%, compared with 31% for male-headed households. Mohr, Fourie and Associates (2008:82) observe that, as in other countries, there is an unequal distribution of economic activity between the provinces, regions and cities in South Africa. At provincial level, Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape contribute by far the largest share of the South African gross domestic product (GDP). Johannesburg, Cape Town, Pretoria, Durban and the East Rand together contribute more than 50% of the GDP.

Wright (2008:16) observes a strong correlation 'between the level of education and the standard of living: the poverty rate among people with no education is 69%, compared with 54% among people with primary education, 24% among those with secondary education, and 3% among those with tertiary education'. Poverty and unemployment are also closely related in South Africa: 55% of people from poor households are unemployed, compared with 14% of those from non-poor households. Leatte (2006:25) states that the official unemployment rate as measured by the Statistics Office in March 2006 was 25%, using the strict definition of unemployment. Mohr et al (2008:79) note, however, that statistics gathered during the same period using the expanded definition yielded an unemployment rate of 37.3%. The expanded definition includes those who wanted to find employment, but had become discouraged and had not sought work. There is no consensus, however, on whether to use the strict or expanded definition.

2.3. MACRO ECONOMIC CONTEXT

The government has tried through its policies to create an enabling environment that promotes economic growth and reduces poverty and inequality. Economic growth is crucial for the reduction of poverty, as it can contribute to the reduction of inequality. It should be noted that widespread poverty and significant inequality can undermine economic growth if there is no political will.

2.3.1 The Development of the South African Economy

The earliest inhabitants of Southern Africa were hunters and gatherers, who later became crop and stock farmers. Until the 1860s, the economy was dominated by agriculture and the only significant mineral production was copper mining in Namaqualand. Mohr et al (2008:75) state that the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley around 1867–71 heralded a boom in mining which attracted a lot of immigrants. A market for farm produce arose as a result and many farmers switched to market-oriented production. This period also saw the development of a lot of infrastructure, such as railway lines and other forms of communication to facilitate these changes.

Another significant event in the history of the South African economy was the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886. Mohr et al (2008:75) note that there were further infrastructural changes as the economy was now largely based on the exploitation of natural resources. World War I provided a great stimulus to the manufacturing sector, but the Great Depression was a severe setback, compounded by the drought. The devaluation of the South African pound in 1932 triggered significant industrial growth and World War II provided a further boost to the economic activity. Gold production reached a peak in 1941 and subsequently fell and started increasing again in 1953.

Mohr et al (2008:85) state that 'during the 1960s the South African economy grew at about 6% per annum, while total employment grew by nearly 3% per year which was about the same rate as the population growth'. In the 1970s and 1980s, however, a serious slowdown occurred in the growth of both output and employment, while population growth continued at around 2% per year. Consequently, real per capita incomes declined during much of the 1980s, a marked degree of income inequality and poverty persisted, and unemployment rose to high levels. According to May

(1998:5), about 30% of the labour force was unemployed in 1994. Mohr et al (2008:79) concur with the above report that unemployment is still the most important and vexing problem facing the South African economy. The unemployed suffer mental and physical hardship, and unemployment poses a serious threat to social and political stability. Oosthuizen (2008:1) also notes that the eradication of poverty caused by years of active discriminatory policy making and neglect is one the top priorities of the government.

2.3.2 Macro Economic Policy Response Post 1994

2.3.2.1 Reconstruction and Development Programme

Mokate (2000:52) says that after 1994, rebuilding and strengthening the economy became one of the key foundations of the new government's Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). The ANC (2008:1) states that the RDP was 'a plan to address: violence, lack of housing, jobs and democracy, inadequate education and health care as well as a failing economy'. Cooper, Goldman, Marumo and Toner (2002:5) also observe that the programme represented the 'wishes of the government with regard to development'. It committed the government to social expenditure to meet basic needs and popular participation through developing human resources, building the economy and democratising the state and society. This anti-poverty policy also focused on the provision and accumulation of a wide range of assets for those previously disadvantaged by the apartheid regime.

2.3.2.2 Growth, Employment and Redistribution

According to Mokate (2000:58) in 1996 it became clear that the government would not be able to attain economic growth rates that were sustainable and high enough for effective poverty alleviation, income redistribution, and employment creation and financing of essential social services. Faced with this outlook, the government formulated the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy. According to the ANC (2008:2), 'the strategy recognised that a sustained reduction in inequality required accelerated job creation, which in turn required structural transformation to achieve higher and more labour absorbing growth with the economy'. Access to employment is an essential way of achieving sustainable livelihoods, which in turn is a crucial means of reducing poverty and inequality. The challenge is therefore in creating better quality jobs.

2.3.2.3 Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative of South Africa

To mark the Second Decade of Freedom, in 2005 the government, under the leadership of the deputy president, Phumzile Mlambo Ngcuka launched the Shared and Accelerated Growth Initiative of South Africa (AsgiSA). The ASGISA Annual Report (2007:2) concedes that the initiative's ultimate objective was to halve unemployment and poverty by 2014 in line with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The government wanted to ensure that the trajectory of growth was raised to average at least 4,5% in the following five years and about 6% between 2010 and 2014 (UN 2006:7). The strategists were tasked with identifying the constraints to higher rates of growth and job-creation and selecting a set of projects that would deal with these issues. The main issues that were to be prioritised included:

- Infrastructure development
- Sector investment strategies
- Education and skills development
- Second-economy interventions
- Improving the capacity of the state to provide economic services

The ANC (2008:2) highlights that at the State of the Nation Address in 2006, the president said,

AsgiSA is not intended to cover all elements of a comprehensive development plan, rather it consists of a limited set of interventions that are intended to serve as catalysts to accelerated and shared growth development.

According to the ASGISA Annual Report (2007:2) the president emphasised that AsgiSA was not a new policy, nor did it replace GEAR, and neither was it an industrial policy. Most of the interventions were built on the micro-economic reforms and agreements reached at the Growth and Development Summit in 2000. AsgiSA would take advantage of the prevailing stable macro-economic environment, an economy that had been growing at 4% plus in the past two years. Between 2005 and 2009 the government was seeking an annual growth rate that averaged 4,5% or higher. However, the current global financial crisis is not making this possible. Between 2010 and 2014 the government seeks a growth rate of at least 6% of GDP.

The president also noted that the recent growth, although welcome, has been unbalanced and based on strong commodity prices, strong capital inflows and strong

domestic consumer demand, which has increased imports and strengthened the currency way beyond desirable levels; yet levels of unemployment are still too high and growth has not been adequately shared. The divide between the 1st and 2nd economies has meant that those who live in the 2nd economy have fewer benefits. The government seeks to take advantage of the growth in order to share the benefits and base it on a more sustainable basis beyond commodity prices/consumption and capital in-flows. ANC (2008:2)

The state argued that the high business confidence offered an opportunity to create a healthy and a growing private sector in the first economy, which can address the challenges of the second economy.

Years of freedom have been very good for business and I believe that should have convinced the investor community by now that it is to its own interest and as part of national effort it has to invest in the expansion of that freedom especially by actively and consciously contributing towards the achievement of the goal of halving poverty and unemployment by 2014. (ANC 2008:2)

The Star Business Report (2009:4) noted with concern that, the recent economic global recession however had damped any prospects of achieving an average growth rate of 4.5%. According to Mr Hirsch from the Policy Unit in the Presidency, contrary to expectations, the current growth rate decreased to 1.2%.

2.4 INCOME GENERATION PROJECTS

2.4.1 Theoretical Background of Income Generation

Singh and Gilman (1999:539) have noted that despite more than half a century of development strategies, a hundred countries being targeted by development agencies experienced economic decline or stagnation, contrary to what was expected. Mitlin (2000:204) attributed this failure to the increasing and changing nature of poverty. Gilling and Jones (2001:303) also noted that the total number of people living in poverty had grown from 1.2 billion to almost 1.5 billion by 1999.

Donor agencies such as DFID, Oxfam, CARE and World Bank development agencies came in with two approaches to address poverty:

- Investments in housing improvements and basic services such as education, water and sanitation and health and infrastructural development
- Income generation

For the purpose of this study the focus will be on the income-generation strategy. Income-generation interventions in urban areas of developing countries have been varied or even contradictory at times, but too often they have experienced failure. Hurley (1990:vi) and Chigudu (1991:2) argue that there has been considerable confusion among development workers concerning the term 'income generation'. The activities have ranged from women's awareness-raising groups, small-business promotion schemes, cooperatives and job-creation schemes to sewing groups. Therefore in a large number of cases, it appears that the primary objective is not necessarily income generation.

On a different level, Hurley (1990:vi) observes that confusion arises because many people associate income-generation programmes with a particular development ideology. In many cases, those involved in income-generation interventions view poverty as a consequence of an individual's lack of capital or training, and equate achieving better income with 'development'. He argues that this approach emphasises the deficiencies of poor people, rather than the social and political systems under which they live. On the other hand, those who see the poor as the extreme end of a system of political economy based on unfair exploitation often reject strategies which try to increase incomes at individual level without paying attention to the powerful processes causing poverty.

Hurley (1990:vii) highlights that those whose work is to reduce poverty should therefore try to become aware of the fundamental assumptions they make in their approach to development work, and how these assumptions or beliefs affect the income generating projects they adopt, and their relationship and dialogue with the participants. He notes that the issues of ownership and control of capital are always central to debates concerning approaches to development. The approach to development is divided between those who support cooperatives and those supporting private ownership/individuals.

- **Growth Promotion via Private Enterprise**

According to Hurley (1990:28), numerous governments and NGOs have tried to encourage economic growth through private enterprise. For the urban poor, there are targeted interventions, sometimes called 'policies for the informal sector' or 'small business development schemes'. In many developing countries, the government has departments that specifically target these private enterprises. In South Africa, the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) (2008:1) has schemes to cater for both the private enterprise and cooperatives/groups through the National Empowerment Fund and the Small Enterprise Development Agency. This is based on the modernisation theory / globalisation belief that encouraging and increasing economic activity will benefit the poor in a 'trickle down' fashion, mainly by creating jobs. Sometimes these interventions are supposedly targeted at the poor and called 'poverty-alleviation programmes'.

Mohr et al (2008:78) concur with Hurley that experience has shown that although economic growth has been achieved, it has not gone down to the poor. For instance, in 1960, countries such as Korea, Malaysia and Thailand achieved rapid economic growth, but their average living standards were still below the average living standards in major industrialised countries. Poor people do not usually get access to the resources made available, such as credit or business advice, because:

- They are involved in illegal or semi-legal activities
- They are not owners of the business
- They have difficulties in dealing with formal aid processes

If they do get credit, they become trapped in an exploitative relationship, in particular with 'loan sharks'. For all these reasons, resources find their way directly or indirectly to the most powerful members of the community. Hurley (1990:28) argues that these growth-focused schemes are designed specifically to pick winners, thus excluding the poor, who are isolated and lack power and influence, as Chambers (1983:111) posits. Pickering, Kajura, Katongole and Whitworth (1996:59), in their study of women's groups and individual entrepreneurs in Uganda, also observed that the financial success of groups overall was lower than that of individuals, thus giving some credence to this approach.

- **Promotion of Cooperatives**

Hurley (1990:29) also observed that those approaches that are opposed to support private enterprise focus on some form of cooperative organisation/group when dealing with income-generation interventions. Some of the reasons for this ideology are to promote a commitment to socialism, to encourage community organisations, and to offer protection and encouragement to vulnerable or exploited groups. NGOs assisting the poor tend to have a common broad desire to improve on the exploitative and abusive relations found in capitalism. Thus cooperatives are seen as providing a livelihood and avoiding exploitation.

2.4.2 Definitions

According to Chigudu (1991:2), income generating projects (IGPs) are difficult to define, as the definitions are as varied as the projects undertaken. The definition that will be adopted for this study is taken from the background paper prepared for a workshop in IGPs in Zimbabwe in 1991 by the Zimbabwe Women's Resource Centre and Network. This definition is appropriate as it suits the projects that will be the focus of this study. IGPs will be defined as those projects that are:

small-scale, utilising limited financial and technical resources and assisted by a government department or an NGO, which in turn is supported by a donor or a group of donors.

Chigudu (1991:2) observes that these interventions may include the provision of capital through grants; savings and credit schemes; and training or advice in skills or business management and other support services for small business, such as assistance with marketing and the provision of temporary trained staff. In many instances, the staff members involved in IGPs have little technical expertise and the project beneficiaries are poor rural or urban communities who pay a contribution which is used as seed money.

2.4.3 Why Income Generation?

Many of the challenges associated with urban poverty are related to a lack of income. Mitlin (2000:205) observes that the urban economy depends on cash, as its residents have to pay for food, fuel and transport to and from work, water, shelter, and essential health services. Because the urban poor lack income, their diet is insufficient for good health and it is difficult for families to invest in the education and

training that might enable them to obtain higher wages. It also means that it is difficult to save and secure assets, rendering households particularly vulnerable to crises. The urban poor may even have to get loans from moneylenders to buy food or to pay medical bills, thus becoming indebted to a local moneylender. This in essence is what Chambers (1983:111) describes as the vicious circle of poverty – the ‘deprivation trap’. Myers (1999:81) also describes poverty as a deficit, as an entanglement, as lack of access to social power, as powerlessness, and as a lack of freedom to grow. Poverty is therefore a complex social issue involving all areas of life. It can also be argued that it lies in the eyes of the beholder, as we see what our worldview, education, and training allow us to see.

Satterthwaite (2002:6) contends that the most direct form of poverty reduction in most urban areas is raising incomes and supporting new employment opportunities, as higher incomes will allow low-income households to meet their consumption needs, to increase their assets and to afford better-quality housing and basic services. Income generating projects seek to address poverty through increasing labour productivity and employment opportunities. Mitlin (2000:207), however, notes this approach should not be used in isolation, as in times of economic recession or other adverse economic changes, this may not be effective. For instance, in Zimbabwe during the recession in the 1990s, a group of low-income women involved in sewing, knitting and hairdressing found that there was no longer any demand for their services and products, as their regular customers no longer had any disposable income. According to Mitlin (2000:207), the Zimbabwean government adopted the economic structural adjustment programme in 1992 which resulted in the removal of food subsidies and the rise in cost of living by 45%. These adjustments meant that people had to work harder and longer, sometimes crossing the border to sell goods in South Africa and Botswana for cash or second-hand goods.

Hurley (1990:vii, 37) emphasises that before beginning programmes that are intended to alleviate poverty by means of support for income-generation initiatives, the interveners need to give careful thought to their objectives as well as those they wish to help. He notes, however, that income is not the only desirable goal, even for very poor people. Security and supportive social relationships within families, households and communities, are among the other goals that people strive for.

Rakodi (2002:27) observes that sustainable urban development is a daunting challenge in the developing world. Urbanisation, characterised by rapid population and widespread poverty, has led to a heavy reliance on the informal sector in most built-up areas. She further highlights that the inability of most households to survive on one person's income means that most households have various sources of income and members tend not to work in the same activity. The risk of relying on a single economic activity is too great. Compounded by the scarce jobs in the formal sector, IGPs provide a source of income for the poor and unskilled. Pickering, Kajura, Katongole and Whitworth (1996:56) concur that most urban dwellers are engaged in at least two income-earning activities

2.5 THE EXPERIENCE OF INCOME-GENERATION INTERVENTIONS

Funds for activities have been flowing, especially for women in resource-poor areas of the developing world, but the experience has been one of failure. Chigudu (1991:3) notes that the challenges of IGPs have been well documented and articulated at workshops and other meetings by local and international donors. The donor community and other NGOs seem to agree that their well-meant efforts have not yielded the anticipated results, hence the need to go back to the drawing board. According to Chigudu's analysis, very few IGPs have been successful. She argues, however, that success or the lack of it depends on how one defines success and the methods used to evaluate it. Hurley (1990:vii) argues that this lack of clarity arises because there has been no deliberate assessment of the interrelationship between economic and social objectives by the interveners and the participants. He further notes that the practical analysis by the interveners has not been based on the impact of the intervention on the lives of the participants and other poor people in the community but rather 'on the assumptions, preconceptions and ideological preferences of the interveners'. Even though there are 'success stories' these have been clouded with challenges.

2.5.1 Characteristics of Successful Income Generating Projects

Successful IGPs are characterised by the following attributes:

- **Skills and Knowledge**

The success of an IGP does not depend on the type of activity, but rather on the skills and knowledge of the individual or group setting up an IGP and on the socio-

economic context. In particular, for the poorest of the poor it is important that relatively low starting capital and low technical skills are sufficient to start an IGP. As a consequence, IGPs such as street trading in most cases are successful, since low capital is required, which reduces the risk for the investor. In addition, as Pickering et al (1996:59) argue, there is an immediate return from the activity. Other IGPs requiring low capital and skills are vegetable gardening and small trade.

- **Quality of Training and Support**

Hurley (1990:117) and the RESAL Seminar Report (2000:3) have noted that from experience it is known that much depends on the quality of training provided by the NGOs, on training attendance, and the support the beneficiary gets from the NGO after having started an IGP. However, acquiring skills takes time and effort. Mitlin (2000:206) adds that training helps to increase the capacity of the unskilled as well as securing higher rates of returns. Due (1991:88) also observed in his study in Botswana that those entrepreneurs who had some business experience had higher returns than those without knowledge and support.

- **Use of Personal Savings**

With regard to the starting capital, particularly for the poorest, it is preferable to invest in an IGP with your own savings rather than take out a loan. Mitlin (2000:206) gives an example of the food production projects in Dhaka. They require small capital because of the abundance of raw materials and the accessible markets. Pickering et al (1996:57) give an example of selling bananas in Uganda, which are a staple food. No capital injection is required, as all one has to do is to pick them from the trees because they grow wild.

- **Accessible Credit**

From surveys, it is known that the higher the starting capital, the higher the success rate of IGPs. Lahiri-Dutt and Sil (2004:266) and RESAL Seminar Report (2000:4) argue that it is favourable to start with an IGP providing immediate return and to gradually shift to other IGPs with a longer-term perspective. This is premised on from their findings of research done in India. Credit eases the financial strain, but the utilisation of the funds should also be supervised. Due (1991:83) also noted that women in Malawi indicated that they had more difficulty in obtaining credit as they did not have bank accounts or assets in their names.

- **Engaging in a Variety of Activities / Multiple Livelihoods**

To reduce the risk of failure, it is recommended that several IGPs should be set up, combining IGPs with immediate and long-term returns. Pickering et al (1996:56) observed that the women they were studying all had other income-earning activities to ensure a flow of an income in the event that the other activity should fail. However, this is debatable as some IGPs which focused on one project also achieved considerable success, as all their energy and attention were directed towards succeeding.

- **Gender Aspects**

The promotion of income-generation activities has to consider a number of gender-related aspects, which are particularly relevant in the context of the specific role women play. For instance in rural society in Bangladesh and India, Lahiri-Dutt and Sil (2004:257) note that in contrast to women, for men, wage employment is a very important source of income, since their mobility is not restricted. Women, on the other hand, are restricted (with some exceptions) to their home by tradition. They argue that women in developing countries lead an essentially truncated life, based on their feminine gender. Carr (1991:91) observes that in addition women perform three quarters of household tasks such as preparing meals, cleaning, and taking care of health needs. The former president of Burkina Faso, quoted by Rosenblum and Williamson (1987:255), highlighted the triple burden of women when he pointed out that:

In our society, the woman is a beast of burden ... She is exploited like a cow which produces offspring, gives milk and has the force to work and offer pleasure. When she is old and tired, she is replaced by another cow.

Because of the truncated life of women, successful IGPs have been those that can be performed at the homestead, alongside household activities. These are often the only sources of income for women. Therefore, promotion of IGPs is particularly important to increase women's income. Because of their restricted mobility, marketing goods and purchasing inputs remain a problem for many women. Since women usually do not go to the market, they prefer to produce goods that they can sell to neighbours or to traders who come to their homes. Otherwise, women depend on the assistance of male family members to market their products and to acquire

necessary market information. Pickering et al (1996:57) observed this lack of mobility in Uganda where women sell bananas to vendors who come to their homesteads.

Lahiri-Dutt and Sil (2004:268) and the RESAL Seminar Report (2000:3) state that for many women, assistance from the family is important for the success of an IGP. They gave case studies of Indian women who ran successful IGPs such as beauty parlours with loans from family and friends. IGPs are often the only source of income for women, since employment opportunities are scarce and wage employment often forces them to leave their homes. With regard to investment capital, poor women prefer saving schemes with high flexibility rather than taking a loan, where high risks are involved. Practical needs often force women in particular to use loan money or savings for non-productive purposes such as a dowry, education, medical treatment or emergencies. Female-headed households without much support from their family seem to drop out easily from savings and credit programmes.

In addition, training has to consider the specific conditions of women. Due (1991:89) observed this need in his study of IGPs in Malawi. He argues that workshops and training need to be held at times and places that are convenient for women. The venues should not be too far away from women's homes, and the groups should be homogenous and composed of women from the neighbourhood to increase their confidence. Training personnel should be sensitive to gender issues. Because of family obligations, poor women have less time to attend training. When they do attend, they should be compensated to make up for their lost time resource. However, some have argued that this practise would lead to dependency, but this is debatable.

Due (1991:89) also states that the economic empowerment of women has to go hand in hand with social empowerment, since without social empowerment women cannot enjoy equal rights in carrying out their business.

2.5.2 Challenges Associated with Income-Generation Interventions

The following have been identified as the constraining environments:

- **Globalisation**

According to Hurley (1990:41), in the mining town of Potosi in Bolivia, the collapse of the international tin price and the subsequent closure of state and cooperative tin mines brought an economic crisis. A large number of households dependent on mining tin found themselves without an income. Survival became a matter of subsisting on earnings from a series of temporary, irregular and unskilled jobs.

- **Illiteracy**

Due (1991:81) argues that lack of education can limit the entrepreneurs' ability to venture into complex projects or to expand their activities to more remunerable productive levels. A study in Botswana of small-scale entrepreneurs with limited or no formal education revealed that they did not want to take risks by taking on complex ventures.

- **Corruption**

Corruption refers to the use of public resources for private gain. Hurley (1990:17) notes that in developing countries many entrepreneurs face an extortionate system of corruption and abuse from political parties through 'Mafia'-type gangs to competitors. Lugalla (1985:147) also observes that in Tanzania corruption comes in different forms. It includes making false declarations, preferential processing of applications for state assistance or social services, and bribery. In South Africa corruption has eroded the reliability of government officials.

- **Increasing Gender Discrimination**

Another observation from the experience of IGPs by Hurley (1990:18) is that while the projects have increased the overall income of the household, they have done more harm than good for certain individuals in some households. In India it was observed that girl children who worked a full day and did not go to school had their wages controlled by their fathers, who used them to pay school fees for their brothers, thus keeping them working at their looms and hindering their personal development.

- **Lack of Assets**

Lahiri-Dutt and Sil (2004:267) observe that most of the poorest prefer wage employment since they lack the necessary assets to start IGPs and are risk averse.

In particular, women often depend on support from their male family members in running an IGP. Marketing products often remains a major problem. Because of their high workload in the household and limited mobility, marketing often has to be done by male members of the family. In addition, the poorest in particular often lack necessary market information, forcing them to rely on traders who pay extremely low prices for their products. They also argue that the poorest are highly prone to chronic diseases and natural disasters, forcing them to spend their savings and sell their assets for health expenditure, basic consumption needs or reconstruction of their houses. As a result, they have no assets to invest in IGPs. Many of the poorest (often being illiterate) lack basic knowledge of business management and cost benefit calculation. In particular, in the starting phase of an IGP in most cases they do not get the necessary support from NGOs. These are some of the reasons that they prefer wage employment to self-employment. Due (1991:89) observes that women cannot access credit because they have no assets in their own name.

- **Micro-credit**

Hurley (1990:133) argues that the provision of micro-credit alone is not sufficient. Most of the poorest people are excluded from micro-credit programmes. It is largely recognised that micro-credit programmes in Bangladesh for instance have successfully contributed to alleviating poverty and to increasing food security among the poor. However, these programmes have their limitations, particularly in reaching the poorest. Since NGOs to a great extent depend on micro-credit programmes to finance their activities, they avoid the poorest, a group with high risk in loan default. Chigudu (1991:5) and the RESAL Seminar Report (2000:1) also observed that many IGPs failed because they lacked capital and working space.

As noted earlier by Pickering et al (1996:59), individual entrepreneurs had higher financial returns than groups and they give the example of growing groundnuts. Individuals sold enough groundnuts in one season to pay for a child's school fees for a year, while the groups realised enough for only one term. This was attributed to other aspects of group activity, such as meetings, record keeping and the need to maintain cohesion within the group, which sometimes took much of their time.

- **Absence of Market Research**

Most IGPs begin production without really testing the market, so that when they try to sell their products, their prices were not acceptable to commercial buyers. The quality of the finish is not very good either. Hurley (1990:49) notes that marketing finished goods is one of the most difficult areas for IGP operations, especially if goods are not produced for the local market, such as handicrafts for export or furniture for the middle-class clientele.

Sometimes people are trained, but find nobody to employ them as there is very little demand for their skills. Often the training provided does not meet the objective of the project members or relate to the market needs. Hurley (1990:49) illustrates this point by giving an example of school leavers in Rwanda who were trained in carpentry, but could not find work or sell their products. Further, there is a lack of transport and equipment to take finished products to the markets.

Pickering et al (1996:58) cite the example of a group of women that started to make bricks without first identifying the market. The group had difficulty in selling the bricks; nor could they recall how much they had invested in the project because of poor record keeping.

- **Sustainability**

Some organisations have offered fixed salaries, free premises, free training and free materials to IGPs, yet they fail because there was no serious attempt at genuine profitability by either the group members or the organisation. (Hurley 1990:52) observes that these projects simply drain resources as they do very little to improve the beneficiaries' skills and there is no motivation to work harder as their salaries are guaranteed. If the aid were withdrawn, the women's situation would still be the same as before the intervention. There is no plan therefore to ensure sustainability and viability in the long term. This has been the experience of many projects funded by international NGOs in particular in the developing world.

2.6 THE EXPERIENCE OF INCOME-GENERATION STRATEGIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

According to Weyers (2001:29) and Mohr et al (2008:79), South Africa has a high rate of unemployment and approximately 37% of the potentially economic active part

of the population is officially unemployed. This impels development agencies to view income-generation activities as a priority. Weyers (2001:29), however, is quick to emphasise that for the success of any such intervention, the starting point should be imparting the necessary knowledge and skills to the potential participants before they can undertake any IGP.

The government has established a number of institutions to provide financial and non-financial support to small enterprises because, as Rogerson (2001:255) aptly observes, the question of improving the urban poor's access to productive income opportunities is of critical significance to poverty and inequality reduction in South Africa. The Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) (2008:1) has also played a central role, and has under its umbrella for instance the National Empowerment Fund (NEF) and the Small Enterprise Development Agency (SEDA). The department's strategic direction is towards uplifting the second economy through employment and broad-based black economic empowerment (BBBEE) to overcome problems associated with poverty and limited prospects.

DTI (2008:1) states that this entails the development of legislative frameworks, policies, strategies and programmes aimed at lowering the barriers to entry and stimulating the participation of these enterprises in all sectors of the economy.

According to the DTI (2008:1) in 1996, the department established Khula as the flagship development finance institution focusing on small business. Its aim was to bridge financial gaps not addressed by commercial financial institutions. In 1998 NEF was established to enable, develop, promote and implement innovative investment and transformation solutions to advance sustainable economic development.

The African Focus Bulletin (2004:3) states that the Department of Social Development is responsible for the implementation of a poverty-alleviation strategy that will reduce poverty and vulnerability. Most of the projects have focused on income-generation projects. The department established development centres in all the provinces that aim to reach all the sectors of the population. Non-governmental organisations have also played a crucial role, especially in supporting poor communities that have no access to the SEDA, NEF or Khula. Some of the development centres have given credit, even in the absence of a business plan or a

market research being done, resulting in the embezzlement of funds or failure of the projects because there are no markets for their products.

According to DTI (2007:1) other efforts by government

to create, support and grow a black business sector have been adopted through various Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and small and micro business development initiatives. BEE initiatives however have been criticised as having benefited a few, while small and micro business development initiatives have not had the impact required in reducing unemployment and in strengthening entrepreneurship in South Africa.

Experience has shown, as Malluccio, Haddad and May (1999:11) observe, that the projects initiated by the government institutions did not have the desired effect in the communities. The Department of Social Development commissioned Kagiso Trust as an independent institution to audit all the projects that were funded by the department in 2002. The findings were consistent with the evaluations of other development agencies described above.

2.7 THE FUTURE FOR INCOME-GENERATION PROJECTS

2.7.1 Why Income Generating Projects Alone are not Effective as a Strategy to Reduce Poverty

The general weakness of poverty programmes is their lack of integration, partly because of the problem of the artificial divide between economic and social policies. Another part is the habit of thinking sectorally, just as governments divide departments along sectoral lines. Mitlin and Satterthwaite (2004:12-15) argue that because of the multiple deprivations the urban poor face, many of these deficiencies have little or no direct link with income levels. They relate more to macro policies: the political systems and bureaucratic structures that are unwilling or unable to act effectively to address these deprivations. They give an example of inadequate provision of public infrastructure such as water and sanitation, which may increase the health burden and often the work burden as well.

So in what department does poverty, a multi-sectoral problem, belong? Mitlin (2000:209) has established that strategies to tackle poverty that are based on income generation may find it difficult to support and strengthen collective activities.

Residents may be organised into small groups to provide social collateral for credit programmes, but their interests are different, are often based on narrowly defined self-interest, and do not often have a life beyond the credit programme. While such schemes have achieved some success, it has been recognised that programmes may be divisive.

In urban areas, it is difficult to develop collaboration among local residents working in similar ventures such as selling vegetables, dressmaking or running small shops, as they are in competition with one another. In low-income communities, this collaboration may be critical to wellbeing as this may address the vulnerability associated with being poor. Stronger collective awareness may be one of the best ways to reduce vulnerability. In Khula, Bangladesh, it emerged that neighbours in poor communities were a constant source of support as they provided emotional support, occasionally donated or lent food and sometimes provided childcare. Mitlin (2000:210) highlights another concern: that not everyone may be able to participate in income-generation strategies for development and those most likely to be excluded are the poorest members of the community. They are neither consulted nor included in plans to improve the city, and the areas in which they live are often ignored.

It is the view of this study that income-generation projects are indeed inadequate as a total development strategy because they fail to address the most fundamental causes of poverty. Rather, income-generation interventions should be seen as mechanisms that can be used as tools to contribute towards development. There are many other forms of intervention which can indirectly but effectively enhance poor people's ability to earn an income. According to Mitlin (2000:212), providing crèche facilities is an understated, but significant welfare provision that can have a profound effect on the lives of poor women, freeing them from childcare responsibilities. Improving healthcare facilities can have the indirect effect of increasing people's ability to work. Therefore IGPs should never be seen in isolation, but as part of a range of development activities, as the sustainable livelihood approaches advocate.

2.8 CONCLUSION

Donors and government need to make a paradigm shift from being the experts to allowing themselves to learn from the communities and helping them to reach solutions to their problems only when called upon to give expert knowledge, advice

and support. Poverty is more likely to be reduced when politically the votes of the poor count, making politicians more accountable and responsive to their needs. The civil society should also have the capacity to fight for the cause of the poor (Hickey 2005:71).

It is the purpose of the next chapter to highlight the importance of paying far more attention to addressing the multi-faceted nature of poverty, other than inadequate incomes. The starting point for this process is focus on the assets/strengths of the poor. This does not rule out the need for donors to support creative strategies for those people who are unable to find adequately remunerated work and those unable to go to work. Mitlin and Satterthwaite (2004:301) argue that success in addressing other aspects of poverty will 'depend upon changing local contexts, removing constraints and developing the effectiveness of local organisations'. The sustainable livelihood approach will be discussed as an alternative development response to address the current challenges facing the organisation and projects in Tembisa.

CHAPTER 3

AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH: SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD APPROACHES

3.0 INTRODUCTION

The chapter outlines how there was a paradigm shift in the 1990s, because poverty was not declining, despite the large investments by donor countries. Gilling, Jones and Duncan (2001:303) state that the governments and donor communities reviewed their intervention strategies and there was consensus that more had to be done in terms of empowering the poor to enable them to increase their incomes and improve their access to assets. The need for sustainable interventions was of utmost importance and from this emerged the sustainable livelihood approaches.

3.1 SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS APPROACHES

3.1.1 Paradigm Shift in Development Circles

The 1990s saw a significant refocusing of donor and government development efforts around the goal of poverty reduction. The reasons were mainly that:

- After fifty years of international development effort, the number of poor people was continuing to grow. By some accounts, according to Gilling et al (2001:303), the total number living in poverty had grown from 1.2 billion to almost 1.5 billion.
- Gilling et al (2001:303) also note that influential research in 1998 by the World Bank's Assessing Aid study suggested that billions of dollars of development funding had had little or no impact on poverty reduction in many cases.

According to Hussein (2202:10) there was consensus among major donors such as the British Department for International Development (DFID), World Bank, Oxfam, United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) on the types of initiatives that should be undertaken to generate substantive poverty reduction outcomes. The areas of focus included:

- Increasing the income and expenditure of the poor so that households and individuals could increase their consumption of those goods and services normally recognised as essential within a society and a given environment.

- Improving access by the poor to assets, services and facilities required for functioning normally in society, including social and economic services; factor and product markets; and productive assets, including natural, financial and human capital.
- Empowering the poor by enabling their participation in political and social processes, in particular ensuring that they have the capacity to affect their immediate environment and to promote change.
- Reducing vulnerability by addressing chronic insecurity, both at individual level and at meso level.

3.1.2 The Origins of the Sustainable Livelihoods Concept

The sustainable livelihood concept surfaced in the Brundtland Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development in 1987. The report put the concept of sustainable development firmly on the global political agenda. It defined sustainable development as:

development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. It contained within it two key concepts: the concept of 'needs', in particular the essential needs of the world's poor, to which overriding priority should be given; and the idea of limitations imposed by the state of technology and social organisation on the environment's ability to meet present and future needs (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987a:43).

The origin of sustainable livelihood as a concept is widely attributed to Robert Chambers at the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) and emerged from rural development. Hussein (2002:11) states that some of the principles of sustainable livelihoods such as people-centred development had long been applied in practical development work, such as food security operations, by organisations such as DFID and FAO. Singh and Gilman (1999:539) also highlight that the issue of food security was central to the development of the sustainable livelihood concept. It was recognised that food security required attention to a range of factors found in areas of poverty.

Chambers and Conway (1992:4), in their discussion paper about sustainable livelihoods, presented them as a linking of the three concepts of capability, equity

and sustainability. In the paper Chambers and Conway offered a framework for development thinking that was both normative and practical. Their concluding policy prescriptions were presented under these three headings:

- Enhancing capability: They argued that in facing change and unpredictability, people are versatile, quick to adapt and able to exploit diverse resources and opportunities. Myers (1999:128) also concurs that sustenance does exist in poor communities, otherwise they would have died
- Improving equity: Priority should be given to the capabilities, assets and access of the poorer, including minorities and women
- Increasing social sustainability: The vulnerability of the poor should be minimised by reducing external stress and shocks and providing safety nets such as social grants

(Chambers and Conway, 1992: 31)

Since then, the terminology of sustainable livelihoods has been widely adopted. Initially, though, it was mostly used in water and sanitation programmes in the rural areas. It followed on the heels of the concepts and methods, such as participatory approaches, that have been successfully adapted to the needs of providing water supplies and sanitation. Gilling et al (2001:305) state that the premise of the SLAs is that the poor rely on a complex range of assets, and that differential access to and returns from these assets has a major impact on their livelihoods.

3.1.3 Application of Sustainable Livelihoods Approaches in the 1990s

By the early 1990s, certain donor agencies had seen sufficient merit in sustainable livelihoods to begin employing SLAs in their work:

Table 3.1.1 Donor Agencies Utilising SLAs

Name of Agency	Concerns
World Bank	Building social capital that is necessary for the development of economic capital
CARE International	Concerned about livelihoods at household level More concerned with security than sustainability
Oxfam	Rights based

UNDP	Placed greater priority on the impact of technology livelihood strategies
DFID	Concerned about increasing assets and improving access to them by the poor
FAO	Boosting agricultural productivity and raising levels of nutrition
European Union	Concerned with eco-tourism/management of coastal areas and sustainable resource use
USAID	Land reform support Market assistance to emerging farmers

Source: Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones (2002:xv), Khanya (2007:5) and Hussein (2002:24)

Even though each agency had developed its own livelihood idea with a different emphasis, they shared the concern that the economic wellbeing of poor people should be understood from the point of view of the people themselves. All agencies shared an asset-based approach, and all stressed the need for effective micro/macro policy and practice links.

From this perspective, poverty has many dimensions and the condition of poverty or wellbeing for most people and households changes over time. Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones (2002:xv) argue that income-related poverty lines or simple measures of consumption cannot solely represent it adequately. Instead, they argue that poverty requires 'a holistic and participatory appraisal of the range of livelihood activities that people draw upon, and of the strategies they employ'. The assets available to the poor in implementing their livelihood strategies and overcoming their vulnerability to conditions outside their control are of crucial importance. Poverty is not the focus, but rather building on their 'wealth'.

Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones (2002:xvi) and Carney (2002:21–2) observe that this people-centred view provides a balance to the global and more strategic perspective normally offered by a sustainable development policy approach. They add that understanding poverty from the worldview of the poor provides a structured conceptual and programme framework for sustainable human development. It is particularly appropriate for achieving poverty reduction in the local development

context, as it ensures that policies are designed to enable better access for poor people to land, shelter, markets and sources of income, to information and education, and to health and other essential services. DFID (2000a:7) concurs that the approach is based on the assumption that 'the poor make strategic choices according to their entitlements and access to resources'.

Lloyd-Jones (2002:xvi) and Carney (2002:21) both emphasise that the approach should be seen as adding value to the more traditional approaches to development, by providing a holistic and cross-sectoral approach to problem definition and analysis, and the evaluation of programmes and policies. However, unlike the integrated area-based planning approaches that were in popular in both rural and urban development in the 1970s, the sustainable livelihood approaches embody a sectoral approach to the design of programme. Hartini (2004:175) also concurs that the SLA

embodies an analytical approach to understanding poverty in a multi-dimensional way, which can provide a more comprehensive set of guidelines for identifying and assessing objectives, scope and priorities of development. This allows for multiple 'entry points' for interventions and outcomes that are either singular or multi-dimensional.

According to Lloyd-Jones (2002:xvi), the sustainable livelihood approach aims to put people and the households in which they live at the centre of the development process, starting with their capabilities and assets, and not with their problems. The situation of poor households is determined by other factors, not just by their own resources. These factors include global and local economic forces, social and cultural change, policy and government action.

3.2. DEFINITION OF SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS

Moriarty (2002:4), who has a lot of experience in using SLAs in Southern Africa in the water and sanitation sectors, observes that sustainable livelihood approaches mean different things at different levels. To programme developers, they mean identifying what mix of approaches is most likely to have the maximum positive impact on reducing poverty, such as providing a water supply, improving transport infrastructure, and developing micro-credit facilities. At the project level, it is about

maximising the impact on poverty of providing reliable water supply and sanitation service.

For the purpose of this study, however, Carney's (1998:4) definition will be used. She defines a livelihood as

comprising the capabilities, assets and activities required to make a living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base.

Moriarty (2002:4) states that this implies that individuals should earn enough money to

provide for basic amenities such as food, clothing and shelter to lead a dignified life. SLAs have also been described as 'applied common sense'. This definition implies that sustainable livelihoods therefore should provide meaningful work that fulfils the social, economic, cultural and spiritual needs of all members of a community, human or non-human, present and future, and safeguards cultural and biological diversity. However, a definition of sustainable livelihoods should go beyond the basic requirements for living (food, shelter and clothing). It is about achieving a quality of life that is embedded within the rich local cultures of many communities. The sustainability debate reminds us that this must be done within 'the means of nature'.

3.3 THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD APPROACHES

According to Carney (2002:13), Hussein (2002:14), Cooper, Goldman, Marumo and Toner (2002:25) and Khanya (2007:1) poverty-focused development activity should be:

- People-centred: Sustainable poverty elimination requires respect for human freedom and choice. People, rather than resources, facilities or services they use, are the priority concern. This may mean supporting resource management or good governance, for example, but the underlying motivation of supporting livelihoods should determine the shape and purpose of action.

- Empowering: Change should result in an amplified voice, opportunities and wellbeing for the poor. According to Cooper et al (2002:25), empowerment should also entail building on strengths, while addressing vulnerabilities.
- Responsive and participatory: Poor people must be key in identifying and addressing livelihood priorities. Outsiders need to listen and respond to the poor.
- Sustainable: There are four key dimensions to sustainability: economic, institutional, social and environment. All are important and a balance must be found between them.
- Multi-level and holistic: The realities at the micro level should inform the development of policy and an effective governance environment. Macro and meso level structures and processes should support people to build upon their strengths.
- Conducted in partnership: Partnerships can be formed with poor people and their organisations, as well as the public and private sector. Partnerships should be transparent agreements, based upon shared goals. Goldman, Franks, Toner et al (2004:4) argue 'that it is important to understand the nature of the partnership and the real locus of power as some interventions exhibit equal partnerships'.
- Disaggregated: It is vital to understand how assets, vulnerabilities, voice and livelihood strategies differ between disadvantaged groups as well as between men and women in these groups. Khanya has successfully utilised the stakeholder and gender analysis as key tools in determining these differences.
- Long-term and flexible: Poverty reduction requires long-term commitments and a flexible approach to providing support.

3.4 TYPES OF ASSETS

According to Rakodi (2002:11) and Carney (1998:7) households come in different shapes and sizes and have access to a variety of resources or assets including:

- Human capital: Our knowledge, skills and ability to labour. It refers to the labour resources available to households, which have both quantitative and qualitative dimensions. Quantitative aspects refer to the number of household members and time available to engage in income-earning activities. Qualitative aspects refer to the levels of education and skills, and the health of household members

- Social and political capital: Social networks of support such as friends, family, churches, NGOs and local government structures. These are social resources on which people draw in pursuit of livelihoods or can rely on in a crisis
- Natural capital: Land and natural resources such as water, firewood, grazing, and building materials
- Physical capital: Physical or produced capital is the basic infrastructure (houses, equipment and infrastructure such as clinics, schools, roads and electricity
- Financial capital: Access to money including wages, pensions, credit and things that can be sold such as cattle, cars, furniture, providing them with livelihood options

Rakodi (2002:11) notes that livelihoods are dependent on one's assets and capabilities. The questions development facilitators should therefore ask are: Do household members have the capacity to use their available assets to make a living? Who lives in the household and what is their potential contribution?

She emphasises that an analysis needs to be done to establish the activities that contribute to the livelihood of the household. This includes income generating work as well as domestic labour (child-care, cooking, maintenance) and maintaining links with the wider community.

When a household is confronted with a crisis, it devises coping strategies to protect its social reproduction and enable recovery. Rakodi (2002:7) states that these strategies

may be ineffective if, in the long term, consumption declines or assets are lost permanently, or if successive calls on particular strategies deplete the natural, social or financial resources on which households or communities call.

Therefore the poorest and most vulnerable households are forced to adopt strategies which enable them only to survive, but not to improve their welfare or that of their environment.

3.5 USES OF SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD APPROACHES

According to Carney (2003:18), sustainable livelihood thinking has successfully been used in many development-related settings, including:

Table 3.5 Uses of SLAs

Uses	Examples
National-level planning	Uganda's Plan for the Modernisation of Agriculture
The development of large-scale poverty eradication strategies	Khanya in the Free State (RSA)
Responding to emergencies	DFID's response to the Orissa cyclone
Monitoring and evaluation	Kipepeo project in Kenya
The development of a multi-country sectoral partnership	FAO/DFID Sustainable Fisheries Programme for 25 West African countries
Project planning	Bangladesh's Chars Livelihoods Programme

3.6 WHY ARE SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS IMPORTANT?

It has been noted earlier by Pickering et al (1996:56) that households drawing on multiple livelihood strategies tend to be more resilient than households dependent on one source of income, are better equipped to cope with threats such as unemployment, and can adapt to changing circumstance. According to Rakodi (2002:7), our livelihoods also need to be sustainable over time. For example, overgrazing today can lead to poverty in the future.

Research by Owusu (2001:388) in Ghana shows that

households seek to mobilise resources and opportunities and to combine these into a livelihood strategy which is a mix of labour market involvement; savings; borrowing and investment; productive and reproductive activities; income; labour and asset pooling; and social networking.

Grown and Sebstad (1989: 942) quoted in Rakodi (2002:7) argue that

households and individuals adjust the mix according to their own circumstances (age, life-cycle stage, educational level, tasks) and the changing context in which they live.

They state that economic activities form the basis of a household strategy. To these may be added migration movements, maintenance of ties with rural areas, urban food production, decisions about access to services such as education and housing, and participation in social networks. Rakodi (2002:7) and Owusu (2001:387) conclude that only a few households in poor countries can support themselves through one business activity (farming or non-farming) or full-time wage employment. Given the inadequate capital and skills, a poor person's capacity for developing an enterprise with ample profit margins is limited and, in any case, the risk of relying on a single business is too great. Wages have often fallen way below the minimum required to support a family, as recession and structural adjustment policies have bitten.

3.7 THE EXPERIENCE OF SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD APPROACHES

The contribution of SLAs to poverty is still being tested and its success is in its use of more accurate identification of interventions, more effective implementation and more integrated monitoring and evaluation.

3.7.1 Impact of the SLAs

Social Impact

- According to Hartini (2004:177), by providing community-level support to income generating activities, the social effects of SLAs have been far-reaching and diverse. The projects he studied contributed to the formation of social capital for the informal traders and vendors, and other village residents, as well as the development of informal social spaces for community interaction in various parts of Indonesia. He observed that communities are adopting better and more resilient methods of dealing with the challenging economic environment.

Economic Impact

- Hartini (2004:178) also states that in Indonesia the support for income generating activities has led to positive changes in economic resilience at local level. The communities reported that they now had better employment opportunities.
- Further, there was improved capacity for community saving, and hence they were no longer dependent on the loan sharks and could send their children to school.
- According to Moriarty (2002:5), in Zimbabwe the adoption of sustainable livelihood approaches in the early 1990s in identifying the role of water in people's lives has made it clear that it is crucial as a key productive resource. DFID funded the 'collector well' pilot project and it developed large-diameter wells to extract groundwater from shallow aquifers, with the specific intention of providing both domestic and productive water supplies. The wells were equipped with twin hand pumps to increase the daily yield enough to provide water for domestic needs and micro-irrigation in a 0.5 ha community garden.

The revenue derived from the gardening activities was more than sufficient to cover the operation and maintenance costs of the project. It also provided an important source of income to garden members: money that was then used for purposes such as buying agricultural inputs, paying school fees, and starting other projects. In addition to the money from selling vegetables, the garden provided improved nutrition and increased social capital in the form of greater self-esteem and heightened ability to undertake income generating projects. Other water-supply programmes are now adopting nutrition gardens to increase the benefits to communities.

Gender Impact

- Hartini (2004:178) observes that women-led micro finance programmes tended to be better run and more successful than those controlled exclusively by men.
- He also states that there was an increasing awareness of the role of women as family breadwinners and that they have the same rights as men. However, there is not enough evidence to show that the projects had a positive influence in shaping women's opportunities and economic empowerment.

Environmental Impact

- Carney (2002:21) states that SLAs have been used with considerable success for understanding the effects and livelihood implications of the natural disasters and

responding appropriately. The multi-dimensional approach is valuable in understanding how people react to a disaster, since disasters affect all aspects of people's lives. The SL framework has been used to interpret livelihood scenarios just before the cyclone in the Indian State of Orissa, and then immediately after and 3–9 months later. Comparing these scenarios helped to identify the priorities for action.

3.8 APPLICATION OF SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD APPROACHES IN SOUTH AFRICA

In South Africa the SLAs have largely been utilised by development agencies such as CARE-South Africa, DFID and Khanya, in partnership with community-based organisations with significant success. Cooper et al (2002:9) note that of all the international donors in South Africa, DFID has invested the most in a sustainable rural livelihood approach. It should be noted that the government departments are funded by these international agencies to carry out their projects.

Table 3.8 Application of Sustainable Livelihood Approaches in South Africa

NGO	Programmes Implemented
DFID	Supports sector-wide projects in forestry, land affairs and coastal marine management and uses SLA principles. Also has a local partner Khanya
Khanya	Addo Tourism Project has generated income for its members, reduced poverty and inequality, and regenerated the environmental resource base
DANIDA	Supports land reform and rural water supply programmes to enhance the livelihoods of the rural poor and raise living standards.
CARE-SA	Uses SLA framework in relief and development Mvula Trust Northern Province Household Water Project, which addressed a wider package of economic measures, including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Micro-credit to allow women to make productive use of their time • Saved transporting water

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The poorest saved up to one-third of their incomes, previously spent on water from makeshift and inadequate sources • Improved health: reduced stress and medical expenses (Moriarty 2002:5) <p>Also provides training in SLA: has trained the Mineworkers Development Agency</p>
Oxfam	Has advice centres in the former Transkei in advising and representing their clients on pension rights and redundancy benefits
Government Departments	Programmes
Agriculture	LandCare Programmes: community-based land management programmes
Environment and Tourism	Community-based tourism initiatives, but constrained by lack of funds
Land Affairs	Success hindered by decision makers at the various tiers of government
Water Affairs	Water-resource management programmes have been very successful, perhaps because most of the use of SLAs has been in this sector
Department of Social Development	Bambisanani Project in the Eastern Cape was successful as it was based on community involvement in the design of home-based care and has been replicated to KwaZulu-Natal
Source Cooper et al (2002:9–20), Moriarty (2002:5)	

3.9 ADVANTAGES OF USING SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD APPROACHES

According to Carney (2002:18), Cooper et al (2002:23) and Jones (2002:274), SLAs have several contributions to make:

- Allowing for flexibility of design which is appropriate to different country contexts
- Giving due emphasis to the coping strategies that make poor people's lives work

- Demanding a detailed consideration of the assets of poor households
- Providing an analysis of needs from people's points of view
- Putting the initial focus on demand rather than on supply
- Showing the need and scope for multi-dimensional action and trying to ensure that everyone involved in a project agrees on the diagnosis and approach to be adopted
- Focusing on enhancing household assets, acknowledging that access to resources may be constrained by the wider economic, physical and social contexts
- Identifying a way in which impact assessment can be included in projects more systematically by focusing on livelihood outcomes

3.10 CONCERNS REGARDING SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD APPROACHES

The concerns discussed in this section will also be considered in chapter seven when the researcher analyses her findings to make recommendations. The research findings validated the concerns discussed in this section.

3.10.1 Underplaying of Vulnerability, Gender and Markets

Carney (2002:22) notes that while SLAs draw on a range of analytical tools, they are not intended as replacements for other approaches. SLAs, however, have been criticised for underplaying the importance of critical factors such as vulnerability, gender and markets. For instance, Carney (2002:23) argues that it is often easy to overlook unfamiliar areas such as household financial flows, even though they are crucial to people's livelihoods.

To use SLAs, one needs to have an understanding of economics, markets and the private sector, as lack of this background can result in the downgrading of market and economic issues. This is unfortunate because economics is as much a part of SLAs as other dimensions. Carney (2002:24) argues that markets are critical in helping poor people meet their consumption needs. 'The majority of the poor in urban areas are net buyers of food and therefore require food markets that are efficient, accessible and provide a degree of price stability and predictability.' For instance, when members of a food garden cultivate one crop rather than another or a dressmakers group decide to sew uniforms, they are making economic decisions, set within social and cultural contexts and constraints. How well markets function

depends on many factors related to trust, information, contract enforcement, application of the rule of law, freedom of movement of goods and people and the market structure. According to Hamilton (1989:1523) and Harrison (1997:79), the vulnerability of poor people's livelihoods in developing countries has increased because globalisation has helped to integrate the local markets with new forms of competition, volatility and influence by larger actors with a devastating effect on livelihoods.

3.10.2 Lack of Clear Policies

Jones (2002:273) argues that the practical implications of utilising SLAs are complicated because of the range of debates about poverty responses and their effectiveness. This is because there is no clear policy guidance and the livelihoods debate is an evolving one. Krantz (2001:4) further argues that the SLAs do not address the issue of how the poor are identified. This is important because the way in which resources and other livelihood opportunities are distributed locally is influenced by the informal structures of social dominance and power within communities. The researcher was able to validate this concern and it will be discussed again in chapter seven.

3.10.3 Governance, Power and Rights

From experience, it has been observed that SLAs sometimes fail to emphasise sufficiently the need to increase the power and rights of the poor and to stimulate changes in social relations. Carney (200:23) argues that the practice of SLAs can also be extractive, like the traditional approaches, in that information gathered locally may be processed and decisions made elsewhere. This has to do with how the governance framework is understood and what role the poor people play. Therefore users of SLAs should seek to understand how people relate to the institutional environment, where power lies, and how and why change takes place. During the study this was evident in the way in which the CSC identified the needs of the beneficiaries. The process was more on obtaining information from them (extractive) rather than giving them decision-making power.

3.10.4 Sustainability

The principles of SLAs emphasise four types of sustainability: economic, institutional, social and environmental. Ashley and Carney (1999:4), however, observe that little

attention has been paid to integrating sustainability with other concerns. According to them this is of concern as

much of the original thinking around sustainable livelihoods was explicitly directed at finding ways to balance concerns about poverty reduction and the environment.

Ling (2005:10) highlights that two debates are ongoing about the sustainability of cities. On one hand are those who argue that cities rely on imports of food and energy supplies from outside their borders, hence can never be sustainable. Those opposing argue that even though cities cannot be fully sustainable, this should not stop cities from exerting themselves to organise and manage their resources sustainably so as not to deprive future generations. This argument makes sense as it motivates cities to think about themselves and the wider environment.

3.10.5 Superficial Use of SLAs

SLAs aim to achieve poverty reduction through inclusive people-centred development, but the process has often been reduced to a set of rules. Carney (2002:23) observes that in the worst cases SLAs have been used to justify existing development activities, instead of being of a process of working with poor people to identify their strengths and build on these. Loughhead and Rakodi (2002:225) state that in India for instance, while the infrastructural improvements on the slums made a significant impact on the poor people's lives, they were less successful in meeting the needs of particular vulnerable groups. The benefits which were targeted at these groups, such as vocational training did not reach them, as the local elite had control over slum-based organisations. It was also observed during the study that because people-centred development was time consuming and as a result of the lack of skills, it was easier for the volunteers and the community workers to identify the community's needs and then decide as 'the experts' which interventions would be implemented and how and when.

Singh and Gilman (1998:543) concur that it is difficult to work with development stakeholders who are used to working with local communities, while essentially ignoring the larger environments impinging on these communities.

3.11 LESSONS LEARNT

It is clear from the experiences of SLAs that poverty is very complex because of the numbers and types of circumstances that poor people face. There are also different groups of poor and vulnerable people with different problems and different needs, and a range of coping and livelihood strategies. Jones (2002:277) notes that any intervention has to take into account the range of coping strategies that poor people have developed and that work for them, so that they do not to undermine existing solutions. Further, unless support is specifically identified for the poorest, it is likely that they will not benefit from general poverty interventions. Finally, poverty is dynamic. People and households may move in and out of poverty. The causes and characteristics of these changes may relate to economic trends, stages in the lifecycle, seasonality or the impact of shocks and stresses.

It can therefore be concluded that urban poverty is a series of interlinked difficulties. Hence urban livelihood strategies centre on income-earning activities in either the formal or the informal sector, and as wage employees, unpaid family workers or in self-employment. A number of ways are proposed to increase poor urban people's incomes as well as to make them more secure.

3.11.1 Policy Engagement

Hartini (2004:179) argues that practitioners need to work consultatively for the development of government policies that better address the needs of the poor as well as developing community forums through which citizens can more effectively interact with local government officials. Rakodi (2002:93) adds that reforms at city level need to be integrated with changes to state- and national-level policy frameworks.

3.11.2 Capacity Building

Capacity building is essential for community-based organisations to ensure the project's success and sustainability. Masaiganah (1998:60) emphasises that development practitioners should build a space for people to explore their awareness and understanding of their own realities. Experience has shown, however, that some development practitioners are wary of empowering communities, because they do not want to reduce their own power. Mendez (1998:45) observes that in Mexico the local government was uneasy about the organisational strength of the people over

the problem of safe drinking water. They attempted to control the provision of water, and this was followed by ten-year general resistance until the authorities relented.

3.11.3 Safety Nets / Social Protection Measures

While some households are able to attain secure livelihoods and improve their wellbeing, many are unable to do this without assistance to increase their asset base and enable them to take advantage of development opportunities. Loughhead and Rakodi (2002:234) argue that interventions should therefore engage directly in social protection measures for the most vulnerable. All households, whether improving, coping or declining, are vulnerable. They are susceptible to shocks and stress, resulting from natural disasters, ill health, violence and unemployment.

3.11.4 Monitoring

Loughhead and Rakodi (2002:235) argue that the process of monitoring is vital to ensure better project delivery and avoid mismanagement. Transparency and accurate reporting of projects in progress is very important and must be rigorously checked.

3.11.5 Financial Services to the Poor

One of the strengths of the livelihoods approach is that it encourages its users to examine in detail how poor people manage their lives, which reveals complexity and diversity. Satterthwaite (2002:263) notes how the focus has changed over the years. In the 1950s through to the 1970s the focus was on helping poor male farmers through credit, and building up to the 1990s, the focus shifted to helping poor – mostly women – to develop off farm enterprises. The support was based on the potential to alleviate poverty and to promote economic growth. This microcredit approach was to a large extent successful in Asia and Latin America. For instance, in Bangladesh in the 1990s micro credit had expanded from the rural villages to the urban slums. However, when it was introduced to Africa, it failed to penetrate into the countryside or reach the poor urban households, as it had not been tailor-made to suit the socio-economic and political environment. The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) (2008:4) warns economic development specialists and social policy advocates against believing the hype associated with micro credit as an overarching strategy to ending poverty, changing power relations or standing in for decent social policy.

SLAs offer the opportunity to move beyond rigid sectoral divisions and to develop a new approach. However, there has not been a widespread application of the approaches at a national and regional level.

3.11.6 Implications of the Sustainable Livelihood Approach to the Study

The application of the SLA analysis in this study will assist in identifying the types of assets that the urban poor have, and as well as their vulnerabilities. It will establish how policies, institutions and processes support and hinder their access to those assets. The focus will also be on their preferred outcomes, not deciding for them, but building on them, as well as on the livelihood strategies they use and how they can be enhanced (Carney 2002:13; and Hussein 2002:14).

3.12 CONCLUSION

From the discussion, it can be argued that urban poverty cannot be effectively and lastingly addressed simply through income-generation interventions. Satterthwaite (2002:267-8) observes that for most low-income households, a real reduction in poverty is a long and complex process since it requires decreasing many aspects of deprivation such as

- Insecure and badly paid employment
- Lack of basic services
- Illegal land occupation
- Poor-quality housing
- Low educational attainment
- High levels of permanent disablement within the population
- Dangerous residential locations
- High levels of violence
- A distrust of external agencies generated by years of repression or broken promises

Carney (2002:11) argues that SLAs have been proven to add value to efforts in reducing poverty. Attention should now therefore centre on identifying where SLAs are most effective, addressing the gaps in SLAs, and acknowledging and addressing the implications that SLAs hold for institutional and organisational change.

As noted in chapter 2, the traditional approaches to poverty reduction, such as income generating activities and employment schemes, have paid little or no attention to how people live, the assets they have, or the human and financial costs associated with implementation of national programmes. According to Singh and Gilman (1998:541) SLAs can close these gaps as one's focus is to examine how macro and sectoral policies affect the micro level livelihood options available to a particular community or individual.

The next chapter discusses the historical background of the CSC and the services it renders.

CHAPTER FOUR

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE CHRISTELIK-MAATSKAPLIKE RAAD / CHRISTIAN SOCIAL COUNCIL

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The chapter looks at the historical background of the organisation. It delves into the history of the Dutch Reformed Church and its missionary work, focusing on its changing context. It further highlights how the CMR/CSC emerged from the church and draws attention to the services rendered.

4.1 ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH IN SOUTH AFRICA

According to Lindeque (1985:62), the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652 in South Africa saw the beginning of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC). In 1664 the church tried to organise its first social work intervention under the banner of the 'Ministry of Caring'. The social work services rendered were welfaristic and Williem Barenz Wiljlant was responsible for the sick. The following year, the first minister was appointed, and the first congress of the church was formed and established a fund for the sick, widows, orphans and the poor. The government also donated money towards these needs.

According to the Carnegie Report (1932:xxix), the DRC's charitable work was very restricted and welfaristic. It was confined to giving alms to the needy and the aged, the chronically sick and the incapacitated, and widows and orphans. At that time, destitution was a growing phenomenon among the white population. The DRC expanded its work from the 1880s, and included building homes for the aged, sick and unmarried mothers, orphanages and small industrial schools.

4.2 ORIGINS OF THE CHRISTELIK-MAATSKAPLIKE RAAD

Lindeque (1985:5) states that the establishment of the Christelik-Maatskaplike Raad (CMR) has its foundations in the Carnegie Commission of Investigation on the Poor White Question in South Africa. This investigation resulted from the visit paid to the country in 1927 by the president and secretary of the Carnegie Corporation in New

York. From various quarters, the Poor White Question was proposed to the representatives of the corporation as one in urgent need of investigation, and a request was addressed to the corporation by the DRC, asking for support towards this investigation. The Carnegie Corporation generously bore the greatest part of the costs of the investigation itself. In addition, the corporation sent in renowned American sociologists to take part in the investigation. Lindeque (1985:5) mentions that the government and the DRC were the two main role players.

4.2.1 Definition of the Poor White

The Commission for Poor Relief of the Cape DRC defined the poor white as:

a person who has become dependent to such an extent, whether from mental, moral, economic or physical causes, that he is unfit, without help from others, to find proper means of livelihood for himself or to procure it directly or indirectly for his children.

Not every poor person is necessarily a poor white. A man may be poor and yet have kept his independence and ability to improve his position
(Carnegie Report 1932:18).

4.2.2 Origins of the Poor White

The Poor White Problem began to claim the attention of South Africa in the 1880s. The term was used to describe the economic and social retrogression of a significant part of the white rural population of the country. The poor whites were mainly Dutch speaking. Up until the nineteenth century, almost every white man who was mentally and physically normal was able to make a reasonable living on the farms. Any man could farm on his own, as even those that had no land could obtain the use of land for a very small price. Padayachee and Haines (1985:10) and Mohr et al (2008:75) attribute the sudden change in the economic sphere to the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley in the late 1860s, and gold in the Witwatersrand in the 1880s. According to the Carnegie Commission Report (1932:4), as foreigners and European capital came pouring into the country, the prevailing subsistence husbandry was drawn into the modern 'money economy'.

Farming in South Africa at that time was mostly stock-farming on natural grazing. As soon as the grazing area in a region was fully occupied, it could no longer support the natural increase of population. Hence from the earliest times a continual trek took place to new and yet uninhabited parts. However, suitable land gradually became scarce and very expensive to purchase, hence the landless began to move to poorer regions or to seek other forms of livelihoods not based on rural livelihoods. The landless poor who remained became a dependent class.

The mining sector took a lot the labourers who used to work in the farm, resulting in a clash of interest between the farming and mining sectors. Padayachee and Haines (1985:14) state that the commercial farmers responded by enforcing repressive measures to secure a reliable cheap labour force. These measures included limiting free holding and increasing taxes on the peasants. The growing capitalist spirit, especially among sheep farmers, the increasing use of wire fencing and the extension of railway lines contributed to the rural exodus from these regions, as many of the less well-to-do sought to improve their position in fresh types of employment. Others attempted to dig for diamonds to improve their economic position, but had unfortunate results. The Carnegie Commission Report (1932:xxi) noted that not only did the alluvial diamond diggers become further impoverished, but the life on the diggings had demoralising effects on them.

The rural poor moved to the towns and cities to improve their economic position. The period between 1890 and 1905 was that of the strongest immigration in the history of South Africa. The Carnegie Commission Report (1932:9) states that by 1926, 41% of the Dutch-speaking population were residing in urban areas.

4.2.3 Response of the Dutch Reformed Church

The Carnegie Commission Report (1932:11) states that initially the DRC was the body through which all services were delivered to people in need. The services included the following types of aid:

- Poverty alleviation through funds from the deaconate
- Care for the sickly
- Care for the elderly
- Provision of school and educational amenities
- Orphanages

- Care for prisoners and their families

Owing to the involvement of other denominations in the provision of these services – such as the Lutheran, Anglican, Roman Catholic and gradually the Afrikaans sister churches – the DRC limited its service delivery to its own ranks (congregations and members).

4.2.3.1 Commissions and Congresses

- **1906 Indigency Commission**

Lindeque (1985:63) states that the commission was held to discuss the deteriorating the living conditions after the 1899–1902 war. The Poor White Question was also discussed. In response to the findings, in 1913 the government, through the Child Protection Act, gave grants to children in need.

- **1916 Poor White Congress**

According to Lindeque (1985:63) the first congress in Craddock in 1916 is where the church recognised the growing number of poor whites and the need to focus on it. It was chaired by Reverend Pienaar from the DRC. The minister of agriculture stated that 106 518 poor white people had moved to the towns and cities.

Lindeque (1985:63) notes that the flu epidemic in 1918 left a lot of children orphans who needed to be cared for. In response the church built hostels for these children. The Carnegie Commission (1934:xxix) reports that between 1917 and 1932, the church established 160 school hostels, attended by over 8 000 indigent children with the support of the state. The church also organised more congresses to discuss the issues of the growing community of the poor white. The following congresses were held:

- **1921 Drought Investigation Commission**

It was held to discuss the effects of the drought on the poor white community.

- **1923 Joint Congress**

The focus of the meeting was to discuss the growing rural exodus.

- **1934 Congress**

The congress was held to discuss the findings of the Carnegie Commission and resolve the poor white problem. The congress was targeted at all organisations involved in community upliftment work. The minister of labour, Mr Fourie, was present and told the participants that the government was happy about the conference and the findings. The government would play an advisory role and the DRC would be the implementers as the majority of the poor whites were members of the church. Minister Huyssteen highlighted the need for the church to take the lead on this mission because of the church's prior work and stated that the church had a social and religious calling to alleviate the suffering of the poor. He noted that of the 300 000 poor white people, 240 000 were Afrikaners

4.2.4 Findings of the Carnegie Commission

- It was established that despite all these efforts, the church had still not adapted itself fully to the rapid and widespread social changes at that time. The DRC, unlike the other churches, had insufficient manpower and therefore rendered insufficient social work services to the poor (Carnegie Report 1932:xxix).
- As a result of the welfare approach, there was a very marked tendency towards dependence on the state among the poor. This was not an attitude characteristic of the people prior to the rural exodus. The commission was convinced that much of the assistance was given in such a way as to have a demoralising effect on poor whites, thus increasing the difficulty of their rehabilitation. According to the Carnegie Commission Report (1932:xxx) this 'imbued poor white people with a sense of inferiority, impairing their industry, weakening their sense of personal responsibility and making them dishonest'.

4.2.4.1 Recommendations of the Carnegie Commission

The Carnegie Commission recommended that:

- The church should establish rules for a social workforce
- The church should work together with other service providers in the community
- Universities were to be requested to start training social workers

Lindeque (1985:5) notes that as a result of the findings of the Carnegie Commission in 1937, the Department of Welfare came into being and its first director-general was from the DRC. A poverty committee was also established

Lindeque (1985:136) notes that commissions were appointed to execute resolutions made at people's congresses and give feedback to the churches. Within the structure of church councils, presbyteries and the synod, a church organisation was established as an extension of the Care Board of Churches. The circuit of the Presbytery of Johannesburg was established in 1937 and a full-time social worker was appointed. The following year there were two social workers in service with requests for four more social workers.

In 1939 the committee changed its name to the Provincial Poverty Committee of the Witwatersrand and extended its geographical coverage to Germiston.

Lindeque (1985:136) highlights that in order to differentiate the services from other organisations, the church organisation was referred to as 'Poverty Care'. After much discussion and definition, 'Poverty Care' was replaced by 'Services of the Care Board', which had a deeper biblical meaning. The core services of the Care Board were providing aid in all forms of material, social, psycho-social and spiritual support to people in need of care. As a result of the growing demand for services, the need for an organised structure developed and resulted in creation of the Presbytery Commissions for the Services of the Care Board, the Synod Commission for the Services of the Care Board and eventually the General Commission for the Services of the Care Board.

According to Lindeque (1985:136), in 1964 the Provincial Poverty Committee was replaced by the Synod Committee of Goodwill. The Poverty Committee became a sub-commission of the Sinodale Kommissie vir Diens van Barmhartigheid (SKDB), which later became the Christelik-Maatskaplike Raad (CMR). The CMR was a formal Christian welfare organisation linked directly to the SKDB. As a Christian welfare organisation, child and family services were unconditionally delivered to all in need of care, irrespective of race, language, culture, religious conviction, gender or sexual orientation.

The CSC Orientation Manual (2006:5) states that the culture of the organisation is to commence meetings with prayer and to attend office prayers and public worship. Ministers also rendered services as some clients specifically requested for spiritual support. Caring is still an essential part of the DRC's fundamental beliefs and its

primary task lies in the struggle for those in need in its congregations and community. The task of church councils and their members is to visualise the problems, inform them and create aid programmes. The church recognised its wider responsibility, and thus directed counselling and mobilising tasks to the greater public, authorities and educational institutions. Apart from congregational and presbytery conferences, it organises people's congresses at local and national level through its churches.

According to the CSC Orientation Manual (2006:7), even though the CMR is a separate entity, the DRC is still involved at financial and management levels. In 2000, the Synod Commission for the Services of the Care Board within the boundaries of the Synod in the Southern Transvaal entered an agreement to change its name to the Dutch Reformed Ministry of Caring (DRMC), which functions and is registered as a non profit organisation. The aim of the DRMC is to organise, inspire and coordinate formal Christian Welfare Services.

4.3 THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHRISTELIK-MAATSKAPLIE RAAD / CHRISTIAN SOCIAL COUNCIL, KEMPTON PARK

According to the CSC Orientation Manual (2006:7) expansion of services initially rendered by the Christelik-Maatskaplie Raad, Boksburg, led to the foundation of the Christelik-Maatskaplike Raad, Kempton Park, in 1974. Initially the case-work method in social work was primarily applied to address the social needs of the community.

The manual further states that, the escalation of social problems, as well as the increasing number of people in need of social services, led to a total shift in service provision by CSC. The focus shift was from case work to group work, and then to community work and community development, in order to address the needs and problems of the broader community, brought about by the rapid pace of urbanisation, Stevens et al (2006:1) state that the nature of urbanisation of poverty in developing countries is manifested by the expansion of informal settlements which are characterised by a lack of basic urban services.

4.3.1 Expansion of Services to Tembisa

In 1993 services were expanded to Tembisa and its neighbouring informal settlements. Because the CMR was difficult for black communities to pronounce, the English translation of CMR, which is the Christian Social Council (CSC), began to be

used. The interventions in Tembisa were rendered mainly by volunteers from the white community in Kempton Park who went to Tembisa to demonstrate how to bake or sew. There was no full-time community worker at the time to facilitate the whole process of community involvement. As a result, no assessments were undertaken to determine the real needs of the people of Tembisa, and the programmes designed were not based on needs, but on what the volunteers perceived could alleviate the plight of the poor communities (CSC Orientation Manual 2006:8).

The CSC Orientation Manual (2006:8) highlights that this expansion was in line with the anticipated new dispensation in the new political era. An auxiliary worker was appointed in March 1998, and a satellite office was established in Tembisa. Volunteers from the white community in Kempton Park started to work with a group of women who were interested in baking and food gardening. The social auxiliary worker, however, was not able to facilitate the process, as she had no skills in this regard. She was assigned by virtue of being a minister's wife.

Mitlin and Satterthwaite (2004:5) note that this expansion also occurred in the 1990s when researchers were starting to realise that urban areas had been neglected by international agencies. The scale of urban deprivation had been underestimated, hence securing funding to support urban poverty reduction programmes was difficult. Rakodi (2002:28) concurs that most of the world's urban population and most of the largest cities are now in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean.

The main reason for this rapid shift of population from rural and urban areas was pull factors resulting from the growth in economic activities in industry and services that are located in urban areas. According to Mitlin and Satterthwaite (2004:7), development agencies such as the World Health Organisation, World Bank and United Nations agreed that hundreds of millions of urban dwellers were facing absolute poverty in low- and middle-income countries in urban centres.

Mitlin and Satterthwaite (2004:9) observe that urban poverty had been underestimated because:

- The depth of urban poverty was hidden by aggregate statistics for urban populations since most middle- and upper-income groups live in urban areas. This pushes up urban averages for income, consumption, access to basic

services and health outcomes. The aggregate statistics for urban areas can hide the fact that the poorest half of the urban population may be malnourished, ill and exploited as the poorest half in rural populations. This can be evidenced by the inequitable distribution of wealth in South Africa, as discussed in chapter 2.

- The scale and depth of urban poverty was underestimated because official poverty lines made little or no allowances for the bigger costs of most necessities in urban areas. Mitlin and Satterthwaite (2004:10) argue that many low-income households in cities spend between 20 and 33% of their income renting a single room. Payment of rent in rural areas is rare and, if paid, is likely to take a much lower proportion of the household income. Further, many low-income households live far from income sources, so transport costs to and from work and services take up to 5–15% of their income. The households also use 20% of their income to purchase energy sources.
- They further argue that the scale and depth of poverty was underestimated because most measures of poverty did not take into consideration living conditions, or other key aspects such as asset bases, safety nets and civil and political rights.

Jones and Nelson (2005:6) concur with these findings, which have been substantiated by research and development consultancies in the developing world cities. They argue that poverty in urban areas is qualitatively different from rural poverty, as well as being more structurally complex than is usual in rural areas. Some of the differences include the fact that urban poverty is linked to inequitable access to resources and that the urban economy is cash based.

4.3.2 Aspects of Poverty in Tembisa

According to Triegaardt (2009:3) these aspects are typical of South African townships and include:

- Inadequate and often unstable income (and thus inadequate consumption of necessities, including food and, often, safe and sufficient water: frequent problems of indebtedness, with debt repayment significantly reducing income available for necessities)
- Inadequate, unstable or risky asset base for individuals, households or communities with low levels of education and skills

- Poor-quality and often insecure, hazardous and overcrowded housing ,especially in the informal settlements of Madelakufa, Ivory Park, Kaalfontein and Winnie Mandela
- Inadequate provision of public infrastructure (for example piped water, sanitation, drainage, roads and footpaths), which increases the health burden and often the work burden
- Inadequate protection of poorer groups' rights through the operation of the law, including laws, regulations and procedures regarding civil and political rights: occupational health and safety; pollution control; environmental health; protection from violence and other crimes; and protection from discrimination and exploitation
- Myers (1999:72) concurs with Chambers (1983:110) that the voicelessness and powerlessness of poorer groups within political systems and bureaucratic structures lead to little or no possibility of receiving entitlements to goods and services; of organising, making demands and getting a fair response

4.3.3 Sources of Funding

A constant effort is being made to motivate and involve the community and funds have been sourced from:

- Subsidies from the government, a major source for salaries and administration
- DRC
- Private sector
- Volunteers who are constantly trying to raise additional funds in order to sustain the services
- Individuals

Source: CSC Orientation Manual (2006:12)

4.4 SERVICES RENDERED

The CSC Orientation Manual (2006:15) states that in order to address the community's growing need for social services, the CSC liaises with other role-players and service providers. Networking has played an integral part in ensuring that services being rendered are holist in nature.

4.4.1 Community Development

The methodologies used have not been fully participatory because of the initial use of volunteers who did not have the skills to work with communities.

Income Generation

The organisation has been supporting income generating projects in Tembisa and works with groups and individuals as its response to the high unemployment rate in the country. As indicated in chapter two by Mohr et al (2008:499), approximately 37.3% of the potentially economic part of the population is unemployed. The support includes workshops, equipment and supplies. The income generating activities consist of:

- Selling second-hand clothes
- Sewing
- Food gardening
- Beadwork
- Crèches
- Pottery
- Baking and catering
- Shoemaking

Currently the organisation has only five projects running.

Skills Training

These have mainly been in-house and were not tailor-made for semi-literate group members. The 1–2 day workshops were on making speeches, food gardening, project management and the costing and pricing of products. CSC Orientation Manual (2006:16)

4.4.2 Family Care Services

According to the CSC Orientation Manual (2006:17) these services constitute family care:

Preventative and Therapeutic Services to Individuals and Families

- Crisis intervention, including trauma debriefing
- Family therapy
- Individual and family life skills training

- Networking with other role-players, such as psychologists, therapists, government departments, and other NGOS.

Statutory Intervention

This involves the protection of vulnerable children in terms of Child Care Act No.74 of 1983 and the services are

- Removal of children at risk
- Family reunification
- Foster care placements
- Adoption investigations

Substance Dependency

- Individual and family counselling
- Investigations in terms of Act 20/1992
- Referral to rehabilitation centres
- Dissemination of information to create awareness
- Therapeutic support group for substance dependants and their families

Practical Assistance to the Poorest Segment of Society

- Second-hand clothes distribution
- Emergency food parcels
- Daily provision of prepared sandwiches to hungry job seekers

Source: CSC Orientation Manual (2006:12)

4.4.3 HIV/AIDS Community Based Programme

The CSC Orientation Manual (2006:21) states that the purpose of the programme is to create a supportive environment for people infected and affected by HIV and AIDS to help them deal with the social, psychological, and economic effects of the pandemic.

Services Rendered

- Provide psycho-social support to orphans and vulnerable children (OVCs) and their families

- Conduct home visits to assess needs
- Distribute food parcels to those in especially difficult circumstances
- Assist families in accessing grants and identity documents
- Provide debriefing on compassion fatigue to the community volunteers
- Provide meals and homework supervision to OVCs
- Provide statutory services to children infected and affected by HIV/AIDS

4.5 MONITORING AND EVALUATION

The organisation's mechanisms for monitoring and evaluation consist of the project visits every fortnight and the monthly progress reports written by staff.

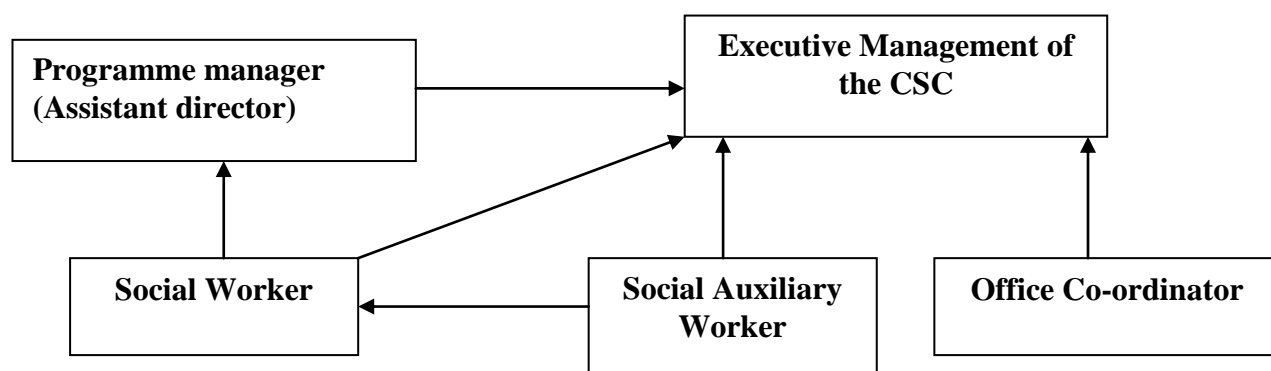
4.6 CURRENT ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

In 2000, the Synod Commission for the Services of the Care Board within the boundaries of the Synod in the Southern Transvaal entered an agreement to change its name to the Dutch Reformed Ministry of Caring (DRMC), which functions and is registered as a non profit organisation. The aim of the DRMC is to organise, inspire and coordinate formal Christian welfare services. CSC Orientation Manual (2006:3)

Christian social councils, in the Southern Transvaal are responsible for the execution of ground level social work. The councils consist of a group of DRC congregations in a specific geographical location. The councils therefore have to report to the presbytery annually.

The organogram of the Dutch Reformed Church's Ministry of Caring in the Southern Transvaal is given below:

Christian Social Councils



4.7 CONCLUSION

The historical background of the organisation has been discussed with the purpose of highlighting the visioning of the strategic directions the CSC has undergone. The next chapter delves into the research methodologies that were utilised to establish the reasons for the apparent lack of success and sustainability of the projects as well as make recommendations for a more sustainable approach.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

5.0 INTRODUCTION

The chapter deals with the methodological aspects of the study. It explains the rationale for the design and the methodologies. It also highlights some of the issues that came out during the field study, as well the challenges the research team faced.

5.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The study used the qualitative research design, as this does not provide the researcher with a step-by-step plan, but rather allows the researcher's choices and actions to determine the design. As De Vos, Strydom, Fouche and Delport (2005:269) note, those undertaking qualitative research have a amazing choice of designs. This enabled the researcher for instance to adapt the interview guides to the literacy levels of all the respondents. For the purpose of this study, one of Creswell's (1998) five strategies of inquiry was used and that was the case study.

According to Creswell (1998:61), a case study can be regarded as an 'exploratory or in-depth analysis of a "bounded system" (bounded by time and/or place) or a single or multiple case, over a period of time'. However, Babbie (2001:285) argues that there is little consensus on what constitutes a 'bounded system' as described by Creswell (1998:61). He notes that the case being studied may refer to a process, activity, event, programme or individual or multiple individuals. 'Bounded system' may even refer to a period of time, rather than a particular group of people. De Vos et al (2005:272), however, argue that the sole criterion for selecting cases for a case study should be the opportunity to learn. For the purpose of this study, the bounded system refers to an in-depth analysis of the processes and activities of the group.

The exploration and description of the case took place through detailed, in-depth data collection methods, involving multiple sources of information that were relatively rich in context. The data collection methods utilised in this primary analysis of the study included observations and interviews: these being semi-structured one-to one and focus group discussions. The focus group discussions made use of participatory assessment techniques such as time lines, and problem and wealth ranking. The

secondary analysis entailed literature review involving researching at the libraries and on the Internet, as well as discussions with other practitioners on the subject of concern.

In this type of design, Saunders et al (2003:170) mention that the researcher needs access to, and the confidence of participants. The researcher was able to gain the trust of the groups through their interaction at the monthly meetings, as well as project monitoring visits the researcher conducted on behalf of the community worker. When the researcher was still a volunteer in the organisation, one of her responsibilities was to conduct monitoring visits if the community worker had other commitments. De Vos et al (2005:208) argue that this it is vital for a researcher to gain the trust of the respondents.

One group, Sedi la Malapa, however, did not want to disclose their assets as they thought that the organisation would stop supporting them. The group has high member turnover, as will be discussed in the next chapter. Through the data gathering, the researcher was able to situate the experiences of the groups in the larger context, even though the focus remained on the issue being illustrated by the case. The literature review enabled the researcher to enter the field with knowledge of the relevant literature before conducting the field research.

Mark (1996:219, quoted in De Vos et al, 2005:254) refers to three types of case studies, these being the intrinsic, the instrumental and the collective. The study focused on the collective case study, that is, it studied five groups all with different membership and interests, which furthered the understanding of the researcher about the population being studied. The groups were chosen so that comparisons can be made between cases and the development theories underpinning the two approaches under study.

5.2 KEY CONCEPTS AND VARIABLES

For the purposes of this study, a concept will be referred to as a fixed phenomenon or it can indicate variation in quantity, intensity or amount, such as the level of education of the subjects.

According to Kerlinger (1986:31), a variable is a symbol to which values are assigned

The important variables in this study will comprise:

- Assets
- Sustainable livelihood strategies
- Income generation
- Poverty

5.3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

For the research to have a high respondent rate, it had to be conducted at a time that all the members were actively involved and this was from November 2007 to March 2008. November is when they usually start to discuss profit sharing, hence even those who were lax during the year participate in group activities in anticipation of the year-end 'bonuses'.

5.3.1 Sampling Framework

The non-probability sampling method was utilised as this type of sample is based entirely on the judgment of the researcher, De Vos et al (2005:328) highlight that a sample is composed of elements that contain the most characteristic, representative or typical attributes of the population, as was evident in the selection of project members.

Sampling is utilised in qualitative research, though it is less structured, less measurable and less strictly applied than in quantitative research. De Vos et al (2005:328) state that there are no rules to the sample size: the size is determined by what the researcher wants to know, the purposes of the inquiry, what will have credibility and what will be useful.

The two types of sampling techniques that were utilised in the non-probability sampling method to select the respondents were purposive/judgmental sampling and the convenience sample. The selection of respondents took into consideration the key elements in qualitative data gathering, as stated in Babbie and Mouton (2004:288). These are enculturation, current involvement and adequate time. The three elements were important for the study, as it required respondents who had worked in the projects for a considerable time and were knowledgeable about the historical background and current project activities. The researcher hoped that all respondents would give their time for the interviews.

The sampling frame comprised the list of all project members in all five groups and the (CSC) management board members. The management sampling frame consisted of all the members who attended the monthly management meetings. The key informants included the official from the Department of Social Development who was responsible for monitoring the organisation, the community worker at local government stationed in Tembisa, the ward councillors, and the CSC management committee member. These were selected using the purposive technique. This was because each organisation has one official from the Department of Social Development to monitor its activities, and each ward in Tembisa had one councillor, hence there is no sampling frame from which to select the respondents. This technique was also used to select the two project members from each of the five groups. The researcher needed data from the oldest member as well as those who joined afterwards to see whether there were differences in motivation for joining the income generating group. The researcher selected the project members with the assistance of the community worker, who had a better knowledge of the group processes, so as to enable the researcher to obtain and verify data about past performances from those who were directly involved. According to Welman et al (2005:69) and De Vos et al (2005:328), this would ensure that a representative sample of the population was obtained. The same technique was used for selecting a respondent from the board members.

Babbie and Mouton (2004:166) and Saunders et al (2003:173) state that the advantage of the judgmental/ purposive sampling technique was that the researcher already had knowledge of the population and its elements under study. The limitation of this selection however is that it is subjective, as it solely depends on the judgment of the researcher.

The convenience sampling technique had to be used at the last moment as one of the respondents selected using the purposive technique in two of the groups (Winnie Mandela and Seotloana food gardens) did not come for the interview owing to family crisis. Welman et al (2005:69) say that this technique allowed the researcher to select respondents according to availability.

The challenge with this type of sample according to Babbie and Mouton (2004:166) is that 'data gathered through convenience sampling technique has to be generalized

with great caution'. Nachmias and Nachmias (1987:185) concur that there is no way of estimating the representativeness of the convenience samples.

5.3.2 Respondent Groups

The respondents were the:

- CSC Management Committee member (1)
- CSC community worker (1)
- Community worker from local government in Tembisa (1)
- Project leader and project member from each of the five groups(10)
- Focus group discussions (5 groups whose membership ranged from 3-11)
- Ward councillors: key informants (3)
- Department of Social Development official responsible for the affairs of CSSC key informant (1)

The project leaders and the members had the same interview guide. This was almost the same as the interview guide for the focus groups as the data collected from the individuals had to be cross-checked.

The key informants did not have the same interview guide, as their areas of focus were different. The aim was to establish what the government was doing at meso and macro levels to ensure services/resources were available for the community through interviews with the DSD and local government officials. It was also to find out how the information regarding these services/resources was disseminated. This enabled the researcher to find out whether the groups were aware of the resources available in their communities and utilising them (De Vos et al, 2005:209).

The councillors were used to verify (triangulation) the existence of these services and how they were ensuring that their communities had resources, as well as how communities mobilised these services to improve their situations (Welman et al, 2005:143).

5.4 DATA COLLECTION

The researcher had worked with communities while still in the employ of World Vision–Zimbabwe. She has also participated in similar research to evaluate programmes and therefore has the skills required to undertake this research. The

researcher's education and training have been in the area of community development.

The researcher can speak Zulu, Xhosa and Ndebele, but had difficulties in comprehending Tswana, Venda, Sotho and Tsonga, thus had to enlist the help of assistants who were fluent in these languages. It proved difficult for the research assistants to translate the data into English. Welman et al (2005:200) argue that language is a very important aspect in the South African context because of the many official languages. To manage this problem, the research team had feedback meetings after the group sessions to clarify issues and ensure that there was a common understanding of the data gathered.

5.4.1 Document Study

This took the form of analysis of the projects' documents at the CSC office in Kempton Park, which involved an investigation into the nature, functioning and historic background of the IGPs. The documents are maintained continuously to monitor the functioning of the IGPs. According to Bailey (1987:290) these documents could include:

- Agendas and minutes of meetings
- Financial records
- Process records
- Progress reports
- Literature review on the subject matter

Reliability and Validity of Document Study

The researcher was cautious about the authenticity of documents as some were not a true record of the reality on the ground. The researcher tested the validity and reliability of these documents using one of the methods outlined by Babbie and Mouton (2001), which is to compare the relevant documents with data collected through the one-to-one interviews and focus group discussions. The researcher discovered that the projects did not have any records of minutes, progress reports and income and expenditure records, hence it was not possible to know whether they were making a profit or running below their costs. At the monthly meetings the group

leaders reported that they had made a profit, but there was be no corresponding documentary evidence.

Advantages of Document Study

Bailey (1987:292) states that the advantages of document studies are:

- It is relatively low cost and more affordable than one-to-one interviews
- Non-reactivity: unlike other methods of data collection where participants are aware that they are being studied, the contents of documents are not affected by the activities of the researcher

The researcher did not need to make personal contact with the participants (De Vos et al 2005:318).

Limitations of Document Study

According to De Vos et al (2005:318) and Bailey (1987:291), the limitations of document study are:

- Reports or statistical records are often incomplete, which means there are gaps in the database that cannot be filled in any other way. For instance, groups did not submit any reports to the office. The social auxiliary worker was responsible for submitting the bi-annual progress report, which did not have any information of management value.
- Written documents become illegible over time. Some groups indicated that their records had been lost.
- No standardised way of writing reports. The groups had no standard way of doing things, such as report writing or filing financial records in the projects, thus making comparisons difficult. Some did not even have records of their income and expenditure.

5.4.2 Semi-structured Interviews

The researcher used interviews to gain a detailed picture of the participant's perceptions or accounts of the subject under discussion. Bailey (1987:174) says that this method gave the researcher and participant a great deal of flexibility as the researcher was able to follow up particular interesting avenues that emerged in the interview and the participant was able to give a fuller picture. The interviews were also used to validate observations made during project monitoring visits.

The researcher had a set of pre-determined questions on an interview schedule, but De Vos et al (2005:296) emphasise that the interview should be guided by the schedule, not dictated by it. This enabled the participants to share more closely in the direction the interview was taking and they also introduced issues the researcher had not thought about, such as accreditation of experienced dressmakers who do not have formal qualifications. The interview schedule was developed beforehand so that the researcher could think explicitly about what she hoped the interview would cover. It also forced the researcher to think of the difficulties that might be encountered, for example in terms of question wording or sensitive areas. The questions were adapted from Shankland (2000:22), Carney (2002:63–66) and Swanepoel and De Beer (1998:106–121)

In this relationship the participants were perceived as experts on the subject and were therefore allowed maximum opportunity to tell their stories. Welman et al (2005:168) emphasise that all the questions were all open-ended to allow the participants to express themselves freely and no questions requiring yes or no answers were posed.

The one-to-one interviews were used for all the respondents, and the focus group discussions were used for the groups to verify information given in the one-to-one interviews. The research assistants recorded the data after permission had been sought before the proceedings started. The researcher assisted with facilitation during the discussions with the Sotho- and Tsonga-speaking groups of Zama-Zama and Winnie Mandela.

Advantages of Using One-to-one Interviews

The advantages according to De Vos et al (2005:298) are that:

- They were a useful way of getting large amounts of data quickly and
- were an effective way of obtaining in-depth data

Limitations of Utilising Interviews

De Vos et al (2005:299) outline these limitations:

- Respondents telling the researcher what they think they want to know.
- Although personal interaction and cooperation were essential, some participants were unwilling to share

- Sometimes the interviews took an unexpected twist: they changed from an interviewing relationship into a therapeutic one as some members used the platform to talk about personal issues

5.4.3 Focus Group Discussions

Five groups participated in the study and included all the members of each group, except for Winnie Mandela and Seotloana. The group sizes ranged from 3 to 8 members. The group with three members (Sedi-la-Malapa) had experienced high member turnover because of members' expectations not being met. Only the leader remained from the original group. The other two elderly members had just joined.

Welman et al (2005:203) state that the participants should be tasked with setting the ground rules at the beginning of the session so that no one would be hindered or feel offended by the discussions. The group interviews were a means of better understanding how the participants felt or thought about an issue, product or service. They add that the group interview allows each participant to discuss his or her views until group consensus is reached. The groups were focused, as the members are involved in collective activities. All the members of the income generating groups participated, some more than others because of group dynamics. The groups were manageable in number as they did not exceed ten in each group. The researcher tried to create a tolerant environment in the focus group that would encourage participants to share perceptions, points of view, experiences, wishes and concerns without pressurising the participants to reach consensus. The research team was able to maintain a favourable atmosphere as even though there were some disagreements, they were resolved amicably. The researcher also ensured that information obtained from the groups was accurate by cross-checking it with interviews from the CSC management as well the project members during the entire process of data gathering.

Advantages of Utilising Focus Groups

According to De Vos et al (2005:296) and Welman et al (2005:203-4):

- The method is a friendly and a respectful one and conveys a willingness to listen without being defensive
- Focus group discussions produce concentrated amounts of data on the topic of interest

- They do not require any literacy, just the ability to listen and analyse
- They rely on the interaction in the group to produce the data
- The comparisons the participants made between one another's experiences and opinions were a valuable source of insight into complex behaviours and motivation
- The synergy of the group had the potential to uncover important constructs, which may be lost with individually generated data
- They created a fuller understanding of the phenomenon being studied
- They stimulated spontaneous exchange of ideas, thoughts and attitudes in the 'security of being in a crowd'
- Multiple viewpoints or responses were obtained in a shorter period of time than in individual interviews

Limitations of Utilising Focus Groups

According to Weyers (2001:128) and Welman et al (2005:203), the limitations are that:

- Some of the participants provide the researcher with the 'official account', which is not necessarily valid, especially where the leader was autocratic. This occurred with the Seotloana group and Sedi-la-Malapa groups
- They require a researcher who is skilled in group process so that passive participants may not be unduly influenced or inhibited by active participants. This was observed especially among participants who were interviewed first before the focus group
- Participants' social posturing or desire to be polite inhibits them from expressing their views. For instance, in one group where the leader was dominant, the other members did not respond to questions, but looked at the leader so that she could answer
- The groups were reluctant to discuss delicate issues such as their finances. This finding was similar to Acho-Chi's (2002:146) study of mobile street food vendors in Cameroon

During the focus group discussions, participatory assessment techniques were utilised. According to Weyers (2001:129–131) the rationale for using these techniques is:

- They are based on a reversal of learning, as advocated by the SLAs. The researcher learns directly from the people in a face-to face manner and without preconceived ideas of the content of the data that will be collected
- They emphasise the sharing of information and ideas between the participants and between the participants and the researcher
- They seek diversity and, instead of seeking averages, the focus is on identifying contradictions and anomalies
- They focus on visual instead of verbal communication. This was essential, as most of the group members are semi-illiterate

Types of Participatory Techniques Utilised

- **Ranking Techniques**

According to Kotze (2009:40), 'ranking' refers to the processes of placing elements in order of preference, by writing or drawing them or voting. These placed participants' views on an issue and indicated their weight difference with regards to the problems or wealth ranking. Marbles were used for the problem and wealth ranking. The advantages of these techniques were that they generated information on the participants' priorities, raised awareness of things not often thought of, and provided opportunities for discussion. The exercise revealed that the participants did not regard themselves as the poorest, but as 'coping poor', as in Loughhead and Rakodi's (2002:230) categorisation, which will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

- **Diagramming Techniques**

According to Weyers (2001:136), these cover the patterns of daily living and inter-group relations. The research team made use of seasonal calendars and daily routine diagrams to establish:

- How much time was spent at the projects and household chores
- Which were the most difficult months of the year and the coping mechanisms
- The researcher was also able to draw up a list of assets accessible to the groups and community.

5.5 DATES AND SETTINGS FOR DATA GATHERING

Table 5.5.1 Dates for Data Gathering

Activity	Date	Venue
Document Study	May–Sept 2007	UNISA, CSC Office Kempton Park/Tembisa
Interviews		
CSSC community worker	13 November 2007	CSSC Office Kempton Park
CSSC board member	4 December 2007	CSSC Office Kempton Park
Ward councillors Tembisa	12 February 2008 13 March 2008 20 March 2008	Tembisa
Local government community worker:	29 January 2008	Tembisa
Department of Social Development official	25 January 2008	Kempton Park offices
Project leaders (5)	14–28 November 2007	Tembisa
Project members (5)	14–28 November 2007	Tembisa
Focus Group Discussions		
Winnie Mandela Food Garden	15 November 2007 20 March 2008	Tembisa
Seotloana Food Garden	16 November 2007 20 March 2008	Tembisa
Sedi la Malapa	13 November 2007 13 March 2008	Tembisa
Kodumela Sewing Group	22 November 2007 13 March 2008	Tembisa
Zama Zama Sewing Group	20 November 2007 13 March 2008	Tembisa

5.6 PILOT STUDY

Welman et al (2005:148) argue that when a new instrument is developed, it is vital that it be tested before it is administered to the actual sample. The purpose is:

- To determine whether the relevant data can be obtained from the participants
- To allow the researcher to focus on specific areas that may have been unclear previously or to test certain questions in order to make modifications, should the need arise
- To assist in estimating the time and costs that may be involved
- To pre-empt problems that may arise during the interviews

The pilot study was informal and the group selected, based on availability, was Sedi la Malapa. The researcher was also testing the research assistants to find out whether they could put into practice the theory they had learnt. The pilot test group discussion lasted over four hours. The researcher and the two assistants identified questions that were repetitious, and also combined other questions to make the interview guide much shorter and simpler. Some questions had to be rephrased, as they did not elicit the information required.

This process set a trend that at the end of each focus group, the research team would discuss their individual experiences and the responses to ensure there was a common understanding. This was done because the researcher was not conversant with the languages used by the majority of project members, which were Sotho and Tsonga. The two research assistants spoke Sotho and Tsonga, hence were able to ask and explain questions to the respondents in their mother tongues (Welman et al, 2005:200).

5.7 DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

According to Creswell (1998:139) and Welman et al (2005:211), qualitative analysis transforms data into findings. This process involved reducing the volume of raw information, sifting significance from trivia, identifying significant patterns and themes, and constructing a framework for communicating the essence of what the data revealed. The analysis involved a search for general statements about relationships among categories of data.

Creswell (1998:143) also notes that in qualitative research the fluid and emergent nature of the inquiry makes the distinction between data collection and analysis far less absolute.

The analysis was twofold in nature. The first aspect involved data analysis at the research site during the data collection, and the second involved data analysis away from the site, following a period of data collection. The data analysis at the site was a challenge for the researcher because of language barriers.

Welman et al (2005:212) emphasise that as the data is being collected, the researcher should be undertaking ongoing fine tuning to generate the most fertile array of data. During the data collection process the revisions yielded new data that was subjected to new analysis. After all the data had been put together, gaps were identified and the research team went back to the respondents to fill the gaps. A process of reading and making notes to establish patterns, themes and categories then began. The researcher also searched for other plausible explanations for these data and the linkages among them. The analysis was done manually, using two theme identification methods. Welman et al (2005:212) state that this process is one of the most vital tasks in qualitative research. Two of their methods were used:

- Counting words and repetitions of words which occur more frequently
- Making comparisons of answers given by different participants in a focus group to establish why there are differences

5.8 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

- Language barriers: The researcher had to rely on research assistants to translate Sotho and Tsonga into English, which was not their mother tongue either, and sometimes they had difficulty expressing themselves
- Dependency syndrome among the respondents: Respondents always expect to receive without giving. They see help coming from outside, hence miss the opportunities that are within their communities. They also wanted to be paid for being respondents
- High member turnover: Membership at some groups was very turbulent. At Sedi-la-Malapa for instance the group started with 34 members and they all left, except for the group leader. At the time of the group discussions two new members had

just joined in. It was a challenge to verify information provided by the project leader

- Closure of three groups due to lack of interest: The research had initially targeted eight groups, but by the time the research was undertaken three of the groups had been closed down and the members had gone their separate ways
- Absence of records at project sites and at the CSC office in Kempton Park.

5.9 CONCLUSION

The data gathering was one of the most demanding parts of the study. This chapter has highlighted some of the challenges encountered. It has explained the rationale for the specific design and the methodologies utilised in the research as well as how data was analysed. The next chapter discusses the findings of the study.

CHAPTER SIX

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

6.0 INTRODUCTION

The chapter begins by giving a community profile of Tembisa, which includes the current socio-economic status of the community, strengths, challenges, opportunities and threats. It then discusses the results of the study and how they relate to findings from other studies discussed in the theoretical chapters.

It has been discussed in chapter two how the development thinking initially focused on people's problems and needs. IGPs were one of the interventions that experts assumed would alleviate poverty. But alas, the levels of poverty and inequality increased, contrary to expectations. Singh and Gilman (1999:539) observe that even though billions of dollars in aid were being pumped into these projects, the number of the people living in poverty increased. In South Africa, like the rest of the developing world, despite the substantial amounts of donor funds being directed to poverty alleviation, Triegaardt (2009:2) observes that almost half of the population continue to live below the poverty datum line. Development interventions have been top-down, with the technocrats deciding what are the perceived problems. The methodologies of the CSC are still premised on the traditional approaches. Section 6.6 on the apparent causes of failure will discuss this in greater detail.

In chapter three sustainable livelihoods were discussed as a response to this apparent failure to alleviate poverty by the international donor agencies. Gilling et al (2001:303) highlight that from the late 1980s to the early 1990s there was a paradigm shift because of the lack of success in alleviating poverty. Krantz (2001:10) says that there was a realisation among the development agencies that the concept of poverty should be understood from the worldview of the poor: what is it that constrains them from improving their lot?

Poverty has many dimensions and requires a multi-sectoral approach. According to Rakodi (2002:8), the starting point therefore had to shift from focusing on the problems of the poor to building up their strengths or assets. This is the alternative

approach that the researcher is proposing in this study to be utilised in future interactions with the community.

6.1 TEMBISA COMMUNITY PROFILE

Tembisa is situated approximately 17 kilometres north of Kempton Park. It is halfway between Johannesburg and Pretoria. The city falls within the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality.

Tembisa started in 1957 at the request of the then minister of Bantu administration and development. According to Bonner and Nieftgodien (2008:183), the purpose was to establish a single regional township to serve the areas between Pretoria and Germiston. The name of the township means 'The Place of Promise'.

Most people who lived in these areas had come from rural areas for better job opportunities. This was a result of industrial development. As this process unfolded, more people flocked into these areas. According to the Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa (1974:446), in 1952 the minister appointed a committee to investigate and report on the possibility of establishing a regional township. The committee recommended that the township should be in the vicinity of Kaalfontein railway station. From there, the purchasing committee was constituted and authorised to negotiate and purchase land in the appropriate area. The 2570 ha land was bought from Mr J Meyer and Mrs MZ Van Wyk and the administration was done by the East Rand Administration Board.

Tembisa was granted municipal status after an enactment by parliament in terms of Black Local Authority Act of 1982. Subsequently there was an election of councillors in 1983. The Black Local Authorities Act drew a heavy negative response from the community as it was designed to perpetuate apartheid.

The Ekurhuleni Growth and Development Strategy 2025 (2005:1) states that in 2000 Tembisa became part of the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality after eleven East Rand local authorities amalgamated in the final phase of local government rationalisation and transformation in post-apartheid South Africa.

6.1.1 The Situation in Tembisa

According to Roberts (2006:28) Ekurhuleni's townships share similar characteristics:

Tembisa's Strengths

- Skills are wide ranging
- There is a thriving informal sector where the unemployed engage in multiple livelihood strategies, such as tuck shops, street vending, selling food, clothing and household goods, car washes, and crèches. Acho-Chi (2002:132) concurs that this sector is providing income to poor urban households
- There is a good network of roads, railway lines and telecommunications
- There is good infrastructure, such as private and public healthcare facilities, schools and community centres, and water and sewerage systems

Table 6.1.2 Assets of the Urban Poor in Tembisa

The study established that the assets were similar to those discussed in chapter three by Rakodi (2002:11).

Human	<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Knowledge and skills that improves the value of labour and making it more productive○ Health and nutritional levels necessary for sustained labour input
Financial	<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Access to cash in the form of income, social grants and savings○ Remittances from children or family○ Loan sharks
Social (social relationships that people draw upon in order to expand their livelihoods)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Networks of social relations such as kinship ties, friendship ties, membership to faith based organisations and burial societies and 'stokvels'○ Access to information about opportunities
Physical	<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Housing and equipment○ Income derived from letting out rooms○ Use of homes as workspace○ Public such access to health and education
Natural	<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Land used for food gardens

Challenges in Tembisa

Despite a generally buoyant economy in Ekurhuleni, the metro has high levels of unemployment and underemployment. According to Roberts (2006:15) and the Ekurhuleni newsletter – Ekurhuleni Talks (2009:4) – the metro contributes 20% of Gauteng's GNP and around 6.6% to national production. Meikle (2002:38) observes that urban poor people survive through undertaking a variety of activities which mainly take place in the informal sector. This is because the urban economy depends on cash, because goods such as water, food and housing have to be bought.

Roberts (2006:13) and the Ekurhuleni Growth and Development Strategy 2025 (2005:2), highlight the challenges Tembisa is facing as including:

Sectoral Problems

- Lack of income and employment opportunities
- An unemployment rate of over 34.3%
- Technical skills levels too low and not a good fit for the skills demand for the local economy
- Thirty per cent of the local population living in poverty
- Scarcity of well-located land suitable for housing development
- Environmental degradation owing to urbanisation
- Infrastructure backlogs such as lack of housing
- Service infrastructure old, inadequately maintained and subject to frequent breakdowns, such as water and sewerage systems
- High prevalence of HIV/AIDS

Institutional Problems

- Dependency reinforced by the approach of government departments
- Pensions/grants not being paid to deserving applicants
- Lack of support services
- Inadequate access to basic services because of spatial fragmentation and the absence of an equitable distribution, hence some target groups forgotten, eg those living in squalor in informal settlements, youth, unemployed
- Poor links with formal structures
- Bureaucracy limiting opportunities

- People unaware of what is happening about projects – government departments not accountable
- Community workers inadequate and overworked

6.2 BACKGROUND OF THE INCOME GENERATING PROJECTS

6.2.1 Lesedi-la-Malapa Sewing Project

The project was started in 2000 by Meriam Maluleka, who is the project leader. She initiated the project because she saw a lot of unemployed women who had no income. When she started the project, there were 34 members. Through the Uniting DRC in Lekaneng in Tembisa, she got in touch with the CSC. Merriam says the organisation used to donate material resources in truckloads, which, she complained, have since stopped. The women were sewing clothes, as well as selling second-hand clothing which they got from the organisation. They use the premises of the local Uniting Dutch Reformed Church in Lekaneng Section.

Meriam made most of the decisions and stated that tasks assigned to members were frequently not carried out. The other members did not actively participate in decision making, but when their expectations were not met, they left the group. The group members expected the organisation to continue to provide them with resources; hthey made no attempt to be self-sufficient. They used all their profits for their own household uses and did not save anything for their stock. The respondent from the Department of Social Development responsible for monitoring NPOs in Tembisa confirmed that this was the reason that IGPs were not successful. The community expects to keep on getting start-up capital from sponsors.

The member turnover has been high. All other 33 members have since left the project because it did not meet their expectations. According to the group leader, new members join, but subsequently leave. During the study there were only three members, including Merriam, but these two have since left.

Besides sewing, in the past the group has been engaged in other income generating activities such as baking cookies and selling them. Individually they have other income- earning activities at household level, and these are renting out rooms, and selling tripe and chicken feet. This confirms Pickering et al's (1996:56) statement that urban women are engaged in a number of income-earning activities.

6.2.2 Seotloana Food Gardening Project

The project was initiated by a teacher, Elizabeth Masonoko, in 2001 at Seotloana Primary School, where the project is based. Elizabeth was concerned about the unemployed women who were taking care of orphans. She mobilised poor women, who initially started sewing pillows and duvets. Through networking, Elizabeth was referred to the CSC and was able to get assistance for the women in the community. There were twelve members in the group, half of whom were pensioners who had orphaned grandchildren in their care. They also decided to cook meals to sell to teachers at the school, but the profits were marginal as they had to pay for part of the school's electricity bill. They are still involved in selling snacks to children at the school during school breaks. In 2003 they decided to start a food garden and CSC assisted them with seedlings, fertiliser and equipment.

Currently their focus is only on the food garden. The group's membership was eight during the research, but sadly one member died later, after succumbing to cancer. They have one man in the group.

6.2.3 Kodumela Moepa Thutse Sewing Group

The project was started in July 2002 by four young people from Ward 11 who were out of school and unemployed. Their objective was to keep young people away from drugs and crime, and enhance their self-worth by finding something meaningful to do. They then approached a local dressmaker to help them learn basic sewing skills. Six of the members obtained jobs at a clothing factory in 2006. Mrs Mavuso, the dressmaker, has been their mentor, and over the years has provided the youth with a platform to nurture their skills as well as earn an income if they get big orders from churches.

The organisation has assisted the group with equipment to expand their services as well as technical support. They use her premises and from the income generated they pay for her overheads such as electricity and material resources.

6.2.4 Winnie Mandela Food Gardening Project

The project was initiated by a nurse at Winnie Mandela Clinic in 1996 to enhance the food security situation among poor unemployed women in the informal settlement. She managed to mobilise women who came to the clinic and they secured

permission to use the current land to grow vegetables. CSC assisted them with seedlings, fertiliser and equipment. The group has a much larger garden than other food gardens in the area.

The group's membership was eight during the research. The group are trying to be self-sufficient. This was boosted by the R50 000 they won in a food garden competition.

6.2.5 Zama-Zama Sewing Group

The project was started in 1999 by the minister of the Uniting Reformed Church at Emoyeni Section; He wanted the unemployed women in his congregation to have income-earning opportunities by equipping them with sewing skills. The minister identified five women who had sewing experience, and requested them to train the other women in the congregation. He then referred the group to the CSC for material support and the organisation assisted them with sewing machines and the other accessories required in sewing. The organisation has also assisted the group with repairing the machines. The trainers recruited other women from the community. The trainees had to pay an administration fee of R100 to cover the cost of the material resources they would need during the three months' training. They have now increased the fee to R200.

6.3 CHRISTIAN SOCIAL COUNCIL'S ATTEMPTS TO INITIATE COLLABORATION AMONG THE INCOME-GENERATION PROJECTS

According to the CSC Orientation Manual (2006:9) in March 2000, the organisation decided to bring all its projects under an umbrella body called Tshwaranang/Bambanani. This was a noble idea that in principle would draw upon the resources available in the community, but there was no able community mobiliser or facilitator to drive this process.

The objectives of this body were to:

- Bring together all projects in Tembisa so as to collate available skills and expertise
- Facilitate cooperation between projects to share skills
- Ensure that projects are properly governed and that finances are administered accordingly

- Facilitate skills training to bridge knowledge gaps
- Assist members with the necessary market survey

A social auxiliary worker was assigned to this task, but because she did not have the skills, Tshwaranang/ Bambanani did not achieve its objectives. In 2005, a community worker was appointed, and the members started to meet regularly every month. However, attendance was rather erratic as members complained about the transport costs, for which they felt the organisation should take responsibility. There were also language barriers, as some members did not understand the community worker. A retired community member who had vast experience in project management was identified to assist the community worker with facilitation. He organised information-sharing workshops with the members. These were fruitful as they were presented in a language they could understand. When the community worker resigned in September 2007, and there was no one from CSC to coordinate these meetings, everything came to a standstill. This also proves that the idea did not entirely originate from the projects, as the project leaders did not show any initiative to continue with the forum.

6.4 FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

The projects were analysed, based on what assets they have.

6.4.1 Management of Assets: Lesedi-la-Malapa

Financial

The group did not have financial records to account for all its income and expenditures, even though Merriam said they wrote everything down. As there were no records, it was difficult to determine how much profit they made and they could not remember anything.

They do not regard themselves as having assets, and did not want to divulge any information as they thought that the organisation would stop supporting them. From previous interactions with the group it is known that the three members all own houses and have outside rooms for rental income. Acho-Chi (2002:146) faced a similar situation during his study of urban street vendors in Cameroon who were reluctant to tell him whether they made a profit or not. It appears that divulging financial information is a sensitive issue. Merriam indicated that the group had not made any profit in the past year

The group had no access to affordable credit. Merriam indicated that she had once gone to the bank to apply for a loan, but the requirements were too stringent for the group. However, they are not willing to invest part of their individual incomes (from pensions and rental income) in the project.

The group members were not aware of any resources available in their community, hence their inability to mobilise community resources. However, they complained that their local council officials ignored them and were not helpful.

The most difficult time economically was during the first three months of the year when people were not giving them orders because of the 'dry season'. Winter was their busiest as they got many orders for tracksuits.

Physical

The organisation bought them the equipment to start their project, but they did not pay the loan, as per agreement. The group had seven sewing machines, four of which are not working and one over-locking machine. The women stated that they cannot afford to repair the machines. They also told the researcher that they had an order from a pre-school to make tracksuits and had been paid a deposit. When asked why they could not use part of the deposit to repair the machines, they said that the money would not be enough to buy the fabric and accessories. They requested the organisation to pay for the repairs as usual. Each woman is responsible for the day-to-day maintenance of the machines she uses. The officials from the Department of Social Development and from local government both confirmed during the interviews that this attitude is rife among the IGPs and community-based organisations they were working with in Tembisa. Mrs Mukwevo, as the most experienced member of the group, is responsible for quality control.

Human

The group had the highest turnover with only the group leader, Merriam, remaining from the original group. According to the findings of the Swaziland Seminar Report on Community Based Planning (2003:11), this is a common trend in groups that are non-functioning and whose members' assets vary greatly, making the development of common visions difficult.

The group currently has three members who are all pensioners. Two have been with the group for just two months. The previous members' ages ranged from 25 to 67 years. The members were generally in good health and were able to carry out their tasks. They also had access to health facilities to improve their human capital. The current members are semi-literate and have attended only short courses in dressmaking. They have different sewing skills, and these include sewing tracksuits, ladies' and men's wear and linen.

They do not have any meetings to discuss their progress and plan for the future, hence the apparent lack of strategic direction. When a member joins, he or she has expectations that are not met, resulting in high turnover.

Discipline appeared to be a recurring problem in the group, as some members did not come to work regularly and still expected to be paid out equally with those who had met their commitments. When the profits were not shared equally, they left in anger. The members did not have any shared goals, hence each pursued her own agenda: for some it was just to pass time while actively seeking employment; for others the attraction was the resources that were donated by the organisation. Still others took sewing material and did not return with the finished product or income generated from the sale. The key informants also complained about the general lack of commitment from some group members, hence frustrating the others.

Social

Group members have their own networks of social support, which include their relatives and the church. They can use these during a crisis.

6.4.2 Management of Assets: Seoltoana Food Garden

Financial

The group had only recently started to record their sales in a book, but admitted that not everything was accounted for. Hence, neither the group members nor the research team were able to calculate how much profit, if any, the group had made. They stated, however, that in the past they had made a profit of about R1 000 annually, which they shared. They save this money in their savings account at the bank. The group said that 2007 had been a good year for them as they had made considerable profit: over R2 100. This money did not take into account the costs of

their input, and the CSC provided them with inputs each season. They say they could not remember how much profit they had made in other years as there were no records.

The group are aware of and are able to call up resources in their community. The group mobilised resources from the Department of Agriculture who tried to dig a borehole in the garden, but it was dry. They entered food garden competitions to raise money for their project, but were not successful.

As a result of the networking meetings they attend, they were trained in organic farming, which they have tried to implement.

They complained, however, of the non-responsiveness of the development centre at the local council when they approach it for skills training. Their local councillor was aware of their activities and of their contribution to the community, but could not assist them to mobilise resources to expand their project. This finding is similar to the findings of Carney (2002:23) that officials abuse their authority for their own benefit at the expense of the poor.

The most difficult time economically is winter as it is too cold to work outside, and the vegetables are blighted with the frost and do not grow fast. The household income-raising strategies that sustain them during this time include selling snacks to children, selling second-hand and new clothes, and sewing aprons. They are also eligible for social grants, which included pensions and foster care allowances.

Physical

The group has all the necessary garden equipment and three sewing machines, one of which is not working. It is everyone's responsibility to ensure that the equipment is used properly and kept in the tool shed.

Five of the members own houses and all the members have access to health facilities.

The organisation has been buying garden equipment for them. It installed an irrigation system with a tank and a garden tool shed in 2007. They have also been

supplied with seeds, fertilisers and compost each season. They have even been assisted with paying for extra help to weed their garden during the rainy season.

Human

In March 2008 the group had eight members and their ages ranged from 46 to 64 years. All the members were generally in good health and were able to carry out their tasks, except for one pensioner whose legs keep swelling. They also had access to health facilities to improve their human capital.

The group had a meeting every week to discuss how much income had been generated, their challenges, absenteeism and plans for the following week. The group leader was responsible for delegating tasks and for making sure that all tasks assigned had been carried out. She indicated that the leadership style was sometimes autocratic, especially if there were targets to meet, such as removing weeds.

Discipline was occasionally a problem, as some members did not come to work regularly because they had other sources of income such as pensions. This often resulted in the group not being able to meet their targets. Some of these members became upset when they did not receive income for the period they had stayed away from the project. As with all groups, people joined for different reasons and hence their commitment was not always the same, as was portrayed in the group discussions.

Social

The members had support from their extended families, which they could rely on. Some of members also constituted support systems for their children and siblings who had passed away, leaving their children in their care. The church was another vital social support structure for the group, especially if there was death in the family.

Natural

The group had access to land and water at the primary school.

6.4.3 Management of Assets: Kodumela Moepa Thutse Sewing Group

Financial

The group kept a record only of what they bought and not of the income they obtained, but because of human error not everything was recorded. Mrs Mavuso, as the group leader, was responsible for sourcing orders to sew, as well as banking the income generated. There was no transparent way of sharing the income generated, as she was the one who determined how much of the profits the group would share after she paid her overheads. The group said that 2007 had not been a good year for them as they did not get many orders from churches, and most of their work had been making alterations. They attributed this to competition from other groups. Mrs Mavuso indicated she had banked over R2 000, but could not remember the exact amount.

The group had no access to credit because of the strict lending requirements from financial institutions. The group had tried to mobilise resources from the local development centre in the past, but their efforts were sabotaged. They had a tender to sew uniforms for a local primary school, but the official from the development centre allegedly took the tender from them and gave it to her 'connection'. They no longer want anything to do with their local development centre. The key informant from the Department of Social Development confirmed that the allocation of tenders was not very transparent; hence it was possible that the group could have had the tender taken away from them.

Human

At the time of the research the group comprises five members whose ages range from 23 to 58 years. All the members have the capacity to work, and are in generally in good health, which is vital in determining the quality of labour.

The group held meetings only when they had something important to discuss. Their working arrangement allowed them to discuss issues as and when the need arose as they share one room. The group leader is responsible for delegating tasks and quality control, and for making sure that all tasks assigned have been carried out. They expressed their desire to improve their skills level, but no organisation was able or willing to offer them such a course. Providing skills training is one of the mandates of development centres, but because the group had had a nasty experience with

officials at the centre, they felt that they would not be assisted. This validates the concerns raised in chapter three about governance issues that government officials abuse power at the expense of poor.

Social

The group individually have networks of reciprocity which they can call upon during a crisis. Faith-based organisations in the community were identified as another vital social support network for the group. All the members were part of a burial society.

Physical

Only the group leader owns a house and uses one of her rooms as a workspace. All the group members have access to education and health facilities to improve their human capital. Meikle (2002:46) argues that this asset provides the opportunity for poor households to improve their own human capital.

They also have the necessary equipment to accomplish their tasks. The group leader is responsible for maintaining the machines, and even does some repair work.

6.4.4 Management of Assets: Winnie Mandela Food Garden

Financial

It was observed that the group had recorded their sales, but not all the time and that the recording was not systematic either. They did not record their expenditure, just the income, hence it was difficult to ascertain whether they were making a profit. They were reluctant to state how much of their prize money they had used.

The group is also a 'stokvel' club to help members save money to purchase household furniture. The group state that from 2007 the project has been very successful because they won R50 000 in a competition run by the Department of Agriculture.

The women know what resources are available, as well as how they can mobilise them. They have accessed resources from the Department of Agriculture, which gave them a generator as well as a water storage tank. They have also been trained in organic farming by another non profit organisation, and have a section dedicated to organic farming.

Physical

The group have all the necessary garden equipment which they got from the CSC. It is everyone's responsibility to ensure that the equipment is used properly, and kept in a storeroom after use.

Human

The group members' ages ranged from 25 to 61 years. All the members were generally in good health and were able to carry out their tasks. They had access to health facilities. However, none of the group members had finished matric because their parents could not afford to send them to school. This confirms Chambers' (1983:111) vicious circle of poverty theory that poverty can become generational.

The group had a meeting every week to discuss how much income had been generated, as well as their challenges, absenteeism and plans for the following week. There was consensus in the delegation of tasks. Each member was allocated a certain portion to maintain.

Social

They had social support from their families and also supported each other during a crisis. Faith-based organisations in the community were identified as another vital social support network.

Natural

They have access to municipal land, which they have permission to use.

6.4.5 Management of Assets: Zama-Zama Sewing Group

Financial

The group relies on the administration fees from the women they train to run the project, but they have not been able to make any significant profit as the cost of the material resources is going up. Only the church committee determines the fees. Besides training, the group get orders from crèches and individuals. The group were reluctant to state how much profit the group made from the orders.

The group have no access to credit and have used the community newspaper to advertise their project. They did not know about the existence of the development centres.

Human

All the members have the capacity to work and are in generally in good health. They are only two members, as the other three lost interest because the venture was not economically viable for them.

There also appear to be skills deficiencies as the finishes on their products are not satisfactory or neat. The members only completed Grade 7 as in those days it was not a priority to send a girl child to school.

Social

Martha and Flora both have a network of reciprocity which they can call upon during a crisis, such as extended family, their burial society and the church.

Physical

They have 12 sewing machines, but five are not working. They also have two over-locking machines and an iron to accomplish their tasks. They are both responsible for maintaining the machines.

6.5 CHRISTIAN SOCIAL COUNCIL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE INCOME GENERATING PROJECTS

The respondents were asked about the role the organisation played in their projects. Their response was that CSC had helped them with start-up equipment and raw materials. The agreement was that the projects would pay back, but to date only one project, Kodumela Moepa Thutse, has paid back a third of the capital invested by the organisation. The organisation has not followed up to establish why the loans have not been paid back. Some of the sewing groups just vanished with all the sewing machines.

As a result of their dependence on the CSC, they feel that the organisation should continue to support them with material resources. Only Winnie Mandela Food Garden indicated that they are now self-reliant and that the organisation should assist others.

However, they still want the organisation to buy them sewing machines and build a latrine for them, even though they have the money do to so.

There was consensus on the importance of Tshwaranang/Bambanani, which the IGPs felt was going to take them to greater heights by working together and sharing skills. But they say they were disappointed as their expectations were not met. Promises had been made to assist the groups with drawing up business and marketing as well as frequent visits to their projects to give guidance and support, but these were not fulfilled. The CSC had also promised to arrange study tours to other projects, but this did not materialise. Weyers (2003:54) warns about starting something with a group/community and then abandoning it. He states that this harms their attitude, and the next development practitioner who enters their community will bear the repercussions

The respondents indicated that in future CSC should provide transport and refreshments to ensure that attendance was regular. They struggle to raise the taxi-fare and sacrifice money intended for their basic needs.

6.6 CAUSES OF POVERTY

These findings are consistent with the findings of May (1998:3) and Roberts (2006:119).

The group members said they are poor because:

- They did not complete their education because their families could not afford to pay the fees
- Those who completed secondary education did not have the funds for tertiary education to be trained in a field of their choice
- The younger members of Kodumela sewing group did not have assets such as houses or opportunities to acquire them
- They had limited income-earning opportunities
- If they had opportunities, these did not yield enough income to allow the development of assets, which are key to food security, material wellbeing and social status
- Their poverty also stemmed from structural disparities that had a historical background. The gap between the poor and rich keeps on increasing as they have no access to credit or training to enhance their skills

- The members also felt that they were poor because the government was not supporting them in their efforts to improve their situation with capacity building and making credit easily available to them

Toe's (2007:91) study of Maoche village in Mozambique revealed similar allegations of government's lack of support. The researcher concurs with him in that poverty cannot always be explained by the behaviour of the poor. To escape poverty, one needs to have a combination of assets to cope with stress and shocks, as well as to enhance one's capability and assets for the present and future. These findings are line with the Poverty Inequality Report (1998:4) and Roberts (2006: 119).

6.6.1 Perceptions of Poverty

All the group members categorised themselves as poor, but did not rank themselves as comprising the poorest segment of society. Their description would fit into Loughhead and Rakodi's (2002:229) coping poor category. These authors identify three levels of poverty; at the bottom being the declining poor, followed by the coping poor, and then at top are the improving poor.

Table 6.6.1 Loughhead and Rakodi's levels of poverty

Improving poor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have a range of assets such as houses • Have links to local leaders • Have saleable skills • Have opportunities to increase their human capital
Coping poor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have assets and can meet their basic needs • Vulnerable to shocks and stresses • Cannot increase their security or well being without external assistance
Declining poor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack assets • Suffer from multiple deprivation • Extremely vulnerable to loss of earning, illness, eviction or breakdown of support

They identified the poorest households (declining poor) as those:

- Living in informal settlement without basic services
- Sick and infected with HIV and TB
- Widows
- Destitute
- Disabled
- Elderly without family
- Illegal immigrants

Respondents were asked how people became poor. Their response was that if one was born in a poor family, chances of getting out were few and isolated. This confirmed the 'deprivation trap' theory promulgated by Chambers (1983:111).

Those who were becoming richer had assets that such houses, cars and 'spaza' shops and taxis, or had been involved in some illegal business deals.

6.7 IMPACT OF THE PROJECT

The respondents were asked whether their situation had improved over the years since they had joined the projects. The response from the sewing groups was that their profits were dwindling over the years, even though there were no records to verify this. The food gardens, however, said their situation was improving, especially Winnie Mandela, who obtained a huge capital injection through a provincial food garden competition which they won.

Benefits accrued by virtue of being members of the projects include:

- They have acquired skills such as baking, sewing and organic farming. The food gardens had benefited from the workshops held by the Department of Agriculture.
- Food security at household level has increased. When they are paid for their work, they are able to meet some of their household food security requirements
- They have increased income earning opportunities. For instance, some group members from Sedi-la-Malapa, through their interactions with the volunteers, were able to obtain part-time cleaning jobs at Hersland Old Age Home. Six of the eleven members from the Kodumela Moepa Thutse sewing group managed to secure full-time jobs at a clothing manufacturing company
- Some of the trainees from Zama-Zama have been able to start making clothes for their surrounding communities

- Nutritional status at household level has been enhanced because of the availability of the fresh vegetables from the food gardens
- Self-worth has increased
- Their social networks have increased as they support one another. For instance, at Kodumela Moepa Thutse Sewing Group they contribute money to buy materials to design garments for clients if there is no project money

6.8 THE APPARENT REASONS FOR FAILURE

When this research began, very little activity was taking place in the projects under study. In addition, some of the projects that had been meant to be part of the study had wound up. Interviews with the project members and key informants and my own observation revealed certain reasons for the apparent lack of success for the income generating projects. The discussion will move from the micro to macro level.

Micro Level

- **Dependency Culture**

Some of the members interviewed indicated that when they joined the projects they had very high expectations and had hoped the organisation would do everything for them. This was because the organisations' entry into Tembisa was around the time of the change in government in 1994. The members expected the injustices of the past to be rectified by being provided with services enjoyed by the other advantaged racial groups. This concurs with Botchway's study of the Kudumane rural community in (2001:146), where the previously disadvantaged community expected the new government to start redirecting social services to them because they had been deprived of opportunities in the past.

The CSC does not give cash, but makes purchases on behalf of the groups to ensure that the funds requested are used for the purpose outlined. In the past it has bought sewing equipment for six groups on condition that the groups pay back over an unspecified period. Only one group, Kodumela, paid back R300 of the loan. The others did not pay and some members disappeared with the machines because no one from the organisation went back to demand repayments.

Further, the organisation has been promoting dependency by buying equipment for the food gardens or repairing sewing machines, thus discouraging the groups from

thinking about buying their own equipment as they know that the CSC will buy it. This has an effect of blocking the respondents' problem-solving ability as they know that the CSC will always come up with a plan. As Hurley (1990:52) noted in his study, the people lacked motivation to work harder or even to become aware of their capacities and potentials. According to Cooper et al (2002:26) this attitude tips the scale of partnership and governance, as government officials and development facilitators are seen as the providers and hence not subject to scrutiny.

- **Lack of Discipline and Commitment**

Also related to dependency another common problem was a lack of discipline and commitment. It appears those with more assets are not as committed to the project as those with fewer assets. The members did not have a common goal. For instance, when they were bidding for orders for church uniforms or when weeds had to be removed in time to plant the next crop, some members just did not appear or feigned illness.

- **Utilisation of Top-down Methodologies by CSC Personnel**

The CSC has not actively involved the community in the needs assessment, project design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation phases of the project cycle. Cooper et al (2002:26) also observe that where attempts have been made, these have been merely tokens. For instance, the women were asked what types of projects they would like to undertake to increase their household income. Thereafter the process was driven by the CSC.

The projects were initially facilitated by volunteers who did not possess any community work skills. They tended to impose their ideas on the groups, and the group members did not want to offend them, hence just went along. Because the ventures implemented were not their felt needs, there was no spirit of ownership. This is evidenced by the baking project initiated at both Sedi-la-malapa and Seoltoana by a volunteer. She taught the women to bake cupcakes, which they would then sell. She did not consult them in deciding what to bake or how much local people could afford to pay. After she had done her costing, she told the members to sell the cupcakes for R2 each. However, because they could not get customers, the women decided to sell them for half the price, thus running at a loss. The volunteer was frustrated and decided to abandon the project. Weyers (2003:54) advises

against starting a project and leaving it unfinished, as this dampens the community self-esteem, and makes it extremely difficult for the next facilitator to gain the trust of the community.

The volunteers further entrenched the dependency culture by giving the projects a lot of freebies. During the interviews it was also observed that people expected payment in the form of food to attend monthly networking meetings. The researcher observed that because there were no rewards, this led to poor attendance.

The organisation did not have social workers who were trained in community work to facilitate this process, hence perpetuating the dependency on the organisation. Even though they consulted with the groups, the process was rather an information extraction exercise. This also applies to the way in which the local government officials consult with the community when compiling integrated development plans (IDPs). Guijt, Pretty, Scoones and Thompson (1995:61) observe in similar projects that consultations are made, but with no transfer of control over decision making and resources to the beneficiaries. None of the group members was ever involved in the drafting

- **Sustainability**

With the exception of Winnie Mandela Food Garden and Kodumela Moepa Thutse, the groups have not shown any attempt to be self-reliant. This could be attributed to the free seedlings, garden equipment and sewing machines the organisation gives them. This is a finding similar to the one alluded to earlier by Hurley (1990:52) in chapter 2 that some organisations shelter the people involved in IGPs excessively, making them insufficiently geared towards economic viability. The groups are not successful because there is no motivation to aim for viability.

- **Lack of Skills**

The sewing groups were not successful because their skills were not competitive. They needed refresher courses to update their skills. This is vital, especially to Zama-Zama, who train community members in basic dressmaking. The products sampled were not good quality or presentable, as there was no proper quality control, hence they could not compete with clothing shops like PEP. They did not have basic record keeping or project management skills either. Due (1990:81) argues that lack of skills

can have many negative outcomes, which could include difficulties in costing and marketing products and limiting expansion into other more remunerative activities. Those IGPs that have been successful depended on the members' levels of skills and knowledge. The training programmes that were organised were not tailor-made to suit the semi-literate to illiterate project members, hence they did not benefit from the project management workshops.

- **Illiteracy**

Only three respondents from the groups had completed Grade 10, and this concurs with Due's (1990:81) study of small-scale entrepreneurs with limited or no formal education in Botswana, where he found that a lack of education can limit entrepreneurs' ability to venture into complex projects or to expand activities to more remunerable productive levels. His study revealed that they did not want to take risks by taking on complex ventures.

Table 6.8 Level of Education for Group Members

Level of Education	Number
Never been to school	4
Grade 1	0
Grade 2	1
Grade 3	0
Grade 4	5
Grade 5	0
Grade 6	0
Grade 7	8
Above Grade 8	6
Matric	0
Total	24

However, Botchway (2001:87) argues that education by itself does not necessarily guarantee more sustainable livelihoods. Education can only contribute to poverty reduction in a sustainable way if the dimensions of participation and empowerment are included.

- **Marketing**

None of the groups had a tangible marketing strategy, other than word of mouth. Only Zama-Zama used the print media by advertising in the local community newspaper, *The Tembisan*.

The sewing groups sometimes get orders to sew T-shirts and tracksuits for crèches. At other times the local faith-based organisations give them orders to make uniforms for them. There are many other sewing groups in the community, hence competition is very stiff, but they do not seem to be endeavouring to gain a competitive edge. As Harrison (1997:79) notes that the availability of cheap clothing from stores such as Jet and PEP, and a thriving second-hand clothing market, makes it harder for them to find customers.

The food gardens' marketing is much easier because the vegetables market themselves (everyone passing by can view the garden through the fence). The major customers are the people in the surrounding community. The competitive edge is that the vegetables are picked fresh from the garden, unlike the vegetables at the corner stalls and at major vegetables markets in Tembisa. The groups have also made the price affordable, thus attracting more customers. They have been supplying vegetables to one of the aftercare centres. Meikle (2002:39) argues that urban farming has become a vital strategy for the urban poor to cope with household food insecurity and malnutrition that have resulted from negative global impacts. The study confirmed this, as the food gardens have fared much better than the sewing groups.

The groups did not have effective marketing strategies, hence sometimes failed to sell all their produce, resulting in losses. Hurley (1990:49) concurs that most IGPs begin production without really testing the market, so that when they try to sell their products, their prices are not acceptable to the community and the quality of the finished product is not very good. He argues that marketing finished goods is one of the most difficult areas for IGPs operations.

Other similar studies have revealed that most IGPs have not been sustainable, owing to lack of management and marketing experience. The Lesotho Positive Action Society Report (2002:3) says that utilising the marketing and communication skills of

the private sector could make IGPs sustainable. However, projects do not have the financial resources to undertake such marketing.

- **Competition from other IGPs**

The sewing groups faced stiffer competition from other groups than the food groups. For instance, Kodumela Moepa Thutse indicated that there were three other sewing groups in the same street making the same things. As discussed under marketing, this is another example of what happens when a needs analysis is not conducted to explore the viability of a project. Chigudu (1990:4) states that women have a tendency to copy what other women are doing without really testing the market. The researcher also noticed that the women wanted to venture into activities that other groups were doing, such as bead work, even though the market is saturated.

Zama-Zama, the group that provides training, is being hindered by the following;

- The church committee does not respond to their need to increase registration fees so they can run their centre profitably
- They do not get enough people to train. For instance, in 2007 only 12 people registered instead of 30
- The certificate they award is not accredited, hence the trainees cannot easily get jobs
- Some trainees just disappear without paying the registration fees

The food gardens' competitive edge was that their vegetables were fresher and cheaper than the street vendors who got their stock from them.

- **Absence of Records**

The groups did not keep reliable records of their incomes and expenditures. In some groups, such as Sedi-la-malapa and Zama-Zama, this can be attributed to the low levels of literacy among the members. Because there were no records, it was not possible to estimate the actual losses and profits made by the groups. None of the groups could remember the profits they made from the time they started. The researcher had to rely on what they could remember, which was very little. Where records were available, the information was scanty, and no conclusions could be made. This was aggravated by the unavailability of all the records for the capital the organisation has invested in the projects. Pickering et al (1996:56) also observed this tendency among the group of women engaged in brick-laying in Uganda.

- **Lack of Assets**

A significant number of members in Kodumela Moepa Thutse (6) and Sedi-la-Malapa (35) had left the group in search of wage employment. This is similar to what Lahiri-Dutt and Sil (2004:267) observed, that most of the poorest prefer wage employment since they lack the necessary assets to start IGPs and are risk averse. They prefer wages because they are more secure than relying on selling products. This is because they have no other assets that they can convert to cash to buy food and pay rent.

- **Lack of Planning**

The groups do not seem to have a strategic plan. For instance, the food garden members let the weeds grow to an unmanageable level, instead of removing them while they were still small. During the December holidays, the food gardens resemble a jungle as they all go on 'leave', with no plan about who will water the plants or do the weeding.

- **Transport**

The sewing groups spend a lot of money on transport when they go to buy their raw materials from the wholesalers, who are cheaper. This erodes almost all their profits. The vegetable gardens cannot transport their vegetables to the market, hence some of their vegetables perished as there was no demand in the surrounding community. Hurley (1990:49) also found this challenge in Rwanda where carpenters had been trained and were making furniture which they could not transport to the market.

- **Rodents**

Food garden projects have been particularly vulnerable to rodents in the area, which ate their vegetables even before they were ripe, thus depriving them of an income. The rodents have also destroyed the irrigation pipes in Seotloana.

Macro Level

- **Access to Credit**

The women did not have access to credit to expand their business or acquire equipment. This is line with findings of most studies of projects, including those by Chigudu (1991:5) and by the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) (1994:4). IFAD observed that credit was a problem for all small businesses and was

particularly acute for women. The groups cannot approach banks because the banking laws contain discriminatory provisions and the women therefore have to rely on informal financing sources such as money-lenders that demand high higher interest. However, IFAD is quick to add that from their experience, credit is not a panacea for the poor. The experience of the Tembisa IGPs has also shown that sometimes credit makes the situation of the poor worse because the non-productive use of credit does not create income, and leads to problems in loan repayment. None of the groups supported by CSC have been able to pay back for the equipment that was bought on their behalf and they still expect the organisation to buy more machines and repair the broken ones. Hurley (1990:133) adds that micro finance agencies avoid giving loans to the poorest segment of society as they have no assets which they can use as co-lateral and are viewed as a group with high risk in loan default. Due (1991:89) also observed that women have more difficulty in obtaining credit as some of their assets are not registered in the women's own names and they do not have bank accounts either.

- **Bad Governance at Local Level**

Satterthwaite and Tacoli (2002:63) observed that the urban poor are vulnerable to bad governance at local level because of their reliance on publicly provided services. This was confirmed by the groups, who indicated that they did not have any connections at the council offices, hence did not receive preferential treatment, as opposed to those with connections. Kodumela lost a tender to sew school uniforms, allegedly because one of the officials at the development centre wanted a relative to get the tender. This results in further disparities between the rich and the poor. The project members therefore felt that the government was not supporting them in terms of capacity building and making credit easily accessible to them. The ward councillors interviewed appeared to be under no political pressure to address the needs of the groups. The issue of bad governance was also raised as a concern in chapter three.

- **Lack of Linkages within Government Structures**

It was observed that different government departments are working with the groups, but none seems to care about what the other is doing. Cooper et al (2002:25) state that government policies encourage cooperation between departments, but there is no one to ensure that this happens and this results in duplication of resources and roles. This was confirmed by the DSD official interviewed, who stated that there was

competition between local and provincial government officials. The provincial government officials allegedly embarked on similar projects to those of local government with the same target communities.

This challenge is compounded by a lack of effective representative structures in the community. None of the project members indicated that they had ever been called to a community meeting to discuss community issues with the councillors to enable them to contribute to the integrated development plans. This shows that there are still weak processes which do not allow input from the grassroots on how policies have impacted their livelihoods.

- **Government Policies**

According to Lloyd-Jones (2002:xvi) the situation of the household is determined by many factors, including global and local economics and the social and political context. Government policies have particularly affected the sewing groups, especially the strategy of trade liberalisation. Liberalisation is one of the principles of globalisation, and is based on the premise that economic welfare will be improved by freeing private business from regulation by the state. Hamilton (1989:1523) notes that this involves dismantling regulatory structures in financial markets, markets for traded goods, and labour markets. South Africa is part of the global economy and has therefore committed to dismantling these regulatory structures in financial markets and traded goods. This has severely affected the viability and profitability of the sewing groups, as they cannot compete with cheap clothing from China, for instance. The sewing groups are competing with clothing shops such as PEP and Jet, which have better products at cheaper prices.

Pryke (1999:229) observes that city governments have little choice but to operate along the lines laid down by the 'dominant rhythm of neo-liberalisation'. Harrison (1997:82) also argues that the immediate impact of globalisation on the domestic clothing industry was competition from imports, legal and illegal, in the market. Prior to this liberalisation, the South Africa clothing industry provided 80% of the units consumed domestically. According to The Star Business Report (2009:2), the Trade Law Chamber of Southern Africa estimates that, as of 2006 South Africa was importing about 75% of clothing requirements. Of the clothes made locally, the South African clothing and textiles industry has to import 80% of cotton required to remain

profitable. This is evidence that the sewing groups really need to consider alternative ventures to ensure that they raise their incomes.

According to Shevel (2009:6), in the past six years 69 000 jobs have been lost. She states that to curb further job cuts and the closure of factories in the South African clothing and textile industry, the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) is spearheading a proposal calling for:

- Production subsidy for companies
- The provision of capital at an interest rate of prime minus 5% for the next 2–3 years by the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC)
- Increase in its equity exposure in clothing and textiles by IDC
- Establishment of guidelines to increase competitive edge
- Coordinated skills development programme
- Government to procure its clothing and textiles locally
- Enforcement of tax and labour law compliance
- Establishment of customs fraud clothing unit

6.9 CONCLUSION: AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH

The findings of this study have confirmed those of other researchers, as discussed in the literature review. The reasons for the apparent failure of the IGPs are interlinked and require a multi-sectoral intervention that will address the multiple deprivations that the urban poor face as advocated by the sustainable livelihood approach.

The next chapter will deal with the recommendations that will be drawn from these findings. These recommendations will take cognisance that:

- People aspire for a range of outcomes
- They have their own objectives and their own understanding of what it means to be in and to escape from poverty
- There is a need for negotiations between the community and the development facilitators to agree on common objectives for projects or services, as well as on the appropriate strategies to be supported to meet the community's objectives

CHAPTER SEVEN

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

7.0 INTRODUCTION

The chapter focuses on the themes emerging from the investigation into the apparent reasons for failure of IGPs in Tembisa discussed in the previous chapter and makes recommendations, based on the sustainable livelihood framework discussed in chapter three.

According to Welman et al (2005:211), the identification of themes is one of the most fundamental tasks in qualitative research. In this study, the key words were identified using the technique of counting significant words that occur more frequently than others. These words will now be discussed.

7.1 EMERGING THEMES

7.1.1 Different Levels of Poverty

All the respondents regarded themselves as poor, but not as the poorest members of society, as was revealed through the ranking exercise. The majority (11 out of 24) owned houses; nine were receiving pensions from the government; and some received child support grants or foster care grants. The respondents classified themselves as 'coping poor', using Loughhead and Rakodi's (2002:29) three-tier classification model.

From the study it was also clear that the respondents knew what caused them to be poor and appeared eager to escape the poverty trap. This eagerness is vital as it plays an important role in breaking the cycle of poverty. Sachs (2005:242) acknowledges that the starting point for ending poverty is the poor themselves, as they have a realistic idea about their conditions and how to improve them, 'not a mystical acceptance of their fate'.

7.1.2 Limited Income Earning Opportunities

None of the groups indicated that there were enough income-earning opportunities in their communities, especially for those who had not completed their matric and had no tertiary training. The informal sector was saturated, resulting in a lot of

competition. The jobs that they could get were menial and the wages were just too low to enable them to escape the poverty trap.

7.1.3 Limiting Institutional Contexts

From the study it emerged that the urban poor make strategic choices according to their entitlements and access to resources, as mediated by the parameters of institutional contexts. As Harrison (1997:79) highlighted in chapter two, the sewing groups were vulnerable because of the markets being liberalised and thus opened to stiffer competition. In chapter three Satterthwaite (2002:8) raised the concern that the poor make choices based on the constraining environments that they live in. Cooper at el (2002:8) argue that the constraints of poor people cannot be solved by one government department, nor can they be solved at local level, because poverty is multi-faceted.

7.1.4 Lack of Power and Influence

There was consensus among the respondents that they lacked power and influence to be heard in resource allocation decisions by all tiers of government. Carney (2003:36) concurs that this lack is common among the world's poor. The respondents did not have a voice over public policies and priorities. This powerlessness led to deprivation and low access to resources. This is also one of the concerns of SLAs that development facilitators do not accommodate the poor in their planning and implementation. The participation that they advocate for is just to extract information from the poor to use in their development plans.

7.1.5 Bad Governance at Local Level

All the groups voiced their concerns about corrupt and incompetent government officials who were not responsive to their needs. The respondents revealed that only those with political connections could access resources as they had the information and contacts on where and how to access financial resources and government tenders. This was discussed in the theoretical chapters as being one of the constraining environments that lead to vulnerability.

7.1.6 Limited Knowledge of Local Resources

The groups exhibited limited knowledge about the resources that were available in their community. Only the food gardens were able to access resources from other

government departments, such as the Department of Agriculture and other NGOs offering skills training in organic farming. They indicated that to them the most important resource was access to credit. This was because the development centre was invisible, as only one group, Kodumela Moepa Thutse, was aware of its existence.

7.1.7 Culture of Dependency

A culture of dependency emerged from the group discussions and was confirmed by the respondent from the Department of Social Development. This culture is firmly grounded among the urban poor and is perpetuated by development practitioners and politicians who make promises to the poor to obtain their votes. This results in projects not driving towards self-reliance because the urban poor feel that the state is obliged to provide them with free social services and social grants to meet their basic needs. None of the projects, except for Winnie Mandela Food Garden, had a sustainable plan to keep them afloat without CSC intervention. Cooper et al (2002:26) also observed this tendency and argue that this leads to government officials and other development facilitators not being held responsible for effective service delivery by the target communities because they are the providers.

7.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

A real reduction in poverty is a long and complex process since it requires reducing many aspects of deprivation at micro, meso and macro level. The researcher is making the certain recommendations based on the findings of the study and the literature review.

7.2.1 Promotion of Active Involvement of Beneficiaries

The CSC needs to create awareness among the respondents that there are vehicles for change. Poor people must be key actors in identifying and addressing livelihood priorities. Carney (2002:13) concurs that outsiders should listen and respond to the poor. However, some organisations are not flexible enough to cater for the required dynamism and flexibility of fully participatory interventions. There are also underutilised resources within their communities that the poor can tap into, especially the development centres set up by the Department of Social Development (Cooper et al 2002:23-24).

The adoption of a SLA will close this gap as one of its principles is to be people centred. According to Ashley and Carney (1999:7)

sustainable poverty elimination will be achieved only if external support focuses on what matters to people, understands the differences between groups of people and works with them in a way that is congruent with their current livelihood strategies, social environment and ability to adapt.

7.2.2 Behaviour Change

The urban poor must change their behaviour and attitudes to their dependency on the state and donor agencies. This is a long uphill task that requires patience. The urban poor will protest initially, but when they realise that their participation is no longer a token, but a transfer of control, they willingly own the process.

7.2.3 Increasing Household Asset Bases

Increasing household asset bases is intended to lead to more secure livelihoods. The main assets in the groups were social and physical. This is consistent with Sachs's (2005:244-5) observation that the extreme poor lack human, physical and natural assets.

7.2.3.1 Human Assets

Capacity Building

The respondents had the health and nutrition levels necessary for sustained labour input, but not the educational standards and skills that would make their labour productive. Without these, poor people cannot enhance their skills and earning capacity. It is imperative therefore to develop poor people's skills by engaging reputable service providers, so that these skills can increase their income-earning opportunities. Offering internal two- or three-day workshops with no substance is not adequate for acquiring skills to run a business, especially for the semi-literate. Skills that were found to be lacking included record keeping, costing the products and day-to-day management of the projects. This is consistent with Hartini's (2004:179) study in the rural parts of Indonesia, which observed that building the capacity of poor people and community-based organisations is essential to a project's success.

Cooper et al (2002:25) agree with Hartini (2004:178) that the sustainability of development projects depends largely on the capabilities of project members. The

core of all SLAs is that development interventions should take into account the strengths and capital assets of target communities to see whether they will be able to drive and sustain the project. According to Cooper et al (2002:25), the majority of projects fail and are 'topped up' to try and sustain them. This is consistent with the Tembisa IGPs which have been 'topped up' six to seven times.

7.2.3.2 Social Assets

Satterthwaite (2002:259) makes a distinction between social assets built on informal networks and social assets derived from participating in wider political and civil society organisations. He notes that two of the most important social assets for the urban poor are their capacity to form organisations which undertake joint tasks such as the South African Homeless People's Federations (SAHPF), which promotes saving among its membership and also lobbies the state to assist them with resources to build their homes.

Second, through membership in community-based organisations, the urban poor can develop joint interests which can enhance their understanding of cultural diversity. Sanderson and Hedley (2002:255) concur that this asset can be used to mobilise the urban poor so that they willingly participate for their own benefit and their communities. Satterthwaite (2002:267) observes from the experience of the SAHPF that the scope of successful negotiation for civil society organisations depends on the responsiveness of government structures and the presence of political and legal frameworks that provide protection for organised urban poor groups.

7.2.3.3 Financial

None of the groups, except Winnie Mandela Food Garden, indicated that they had enough or any savings which could be converted to physical assets as an investment. Meikle (2002:46) recommends that the urban poor should be motivated to develop a culture of saving to help them deal with stresses and shocks. In South Africa this culture is lacking, hence the heavy reliance on credit facilities. The former president of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, highlighted the importance of saving in a media briefing on 28 July 2008 after a cabinet meeting:

South Africa and other developing nations with large current account deficits and high inflation face a risk of negative investor sentiment. One of the ways in which developing countries could mitigate this risk was by increasing savings

and investment to take advantage of global and continental opportunities. The key challenge for the South African economy is to ensure that at the end of the global economic adjustment, our economy is more productive, with higher savings and investment and with more rapid growth at a sustainable current account level.

This was after Finance Minister Trevor Manuel had introduced the new Taxation Laws Amendment Bill in June 2007, which aims to help South Africans manage their savings in an environment of rising personal debt. Manuel (2007:1) said that raising thresholds for taxable earnings would effectively put R8.8-billion worth of personal income back into the pockets of taxpayers:

Long-term savings for pension, provident funds and individual retirement annuities can now grow tax-free so as to maximise the savings 'nest egg' of future retirees.

The IFAD (1994:4) observes that poor women do not have access to credit facilities and this was confirmed in the study as none of the groups indicated that they had access to micro finance. The only credit accessible to them was through the loan sharks (*abomashonisa*). The loan sharks offered credit at very high interest rates. The urban poor cannot access finance from the banks as they do not have collateral. The development centres offer credit facilities only to IGPs who are willing to form cooperatives with similar projects in the community. The projects said they did not want to consider this move: as one group leader put it 'there would be many problems'.

Development practitioners should therefore link the urban poor with state institutions such as the Department of Trade and Industry, which offers micro finance to small businesses through its KhulaStart initiative. KhulaStart uses the group solidarity methodology (gives loans to groups, not individuals) almost similar to the development centres whereby

individuals select themselves into groups of 3–10 members and need to meet the criteria established for group participation. Most importantly, the group has to be a cohesive one. The loans are disbursed on an incremental basis from R300 to R3 500 per member within a group. The group decides, based on the

activity of the individual businesses, how much each member has to receive, and will subsequently stand surety for the full amount owed by the group as a whole.

DTI (2008:2)

7.2.3.4 Physical Assets

Eleven of the twenty-four respondents owned RDP houses. May et al (2000:236) and Rakodi (2002:47) state that housing is a critical asset for the urban poor. Secure housing is a productive asset that can cushion the urban poor against the long-term impact of poverty through the generation of rental income, using it as a workspace or as collateral for loans.

7.2.4 In-Service Training for Community Workers

There is need to devote more resources to keeping community workers up to date with the current trends and methodologies in the development arena. This will equip them with the skills to effectively facilitate the process of empowering communities through ensuring that control is transferred over to the beneficiaries, and their involvement is not only consultative. The starting point would be for community workers to be equipped with participatory methodologies, as these ensure that local knowledge is fully utilised.

Organisations such as Khanya which have vast experience in applying SLAs could be consulted to provide training, as this is one of the areas of expertise.

7.2.5 Development of Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation Mechanisms

This should not solely be the work of outsiders who are commissioned, but must involve the target beneficiaries, so that they can feed back to management/policy makers. The CSC does not have any monitoring and evaluation mechanism for the IGPs. A lot of crisis management could be avoided if a system was in place. Cooper et al (2002:26) observe that most organisations have only financial-based monitoring and evaluation systems, and this is true of the CSC. There is a pressing need for the establishment of these systems.

7.2.6 Closure of Current Projects

The researcher recommends that some of the projects be closed and attention be drawn to the poverty trap areas as identified in the integrated development plan, which include all the informal settlements. The CSC has invested a lot of resources over the past ten years, but the groups are still struggling to be self-sufficient.

The groups have confirmed that they do not comprise the poorest segment of society and identified those in informal settlements as being the poorest. New areas to focus on would be the Madelakufa or Vusumuzii informal settlements.

7.2.7 Promotion of Transformation in Management Boards

Participation in the decision-making process at the CSC is racially biased in terms of its management and board membership. The African board members are just tokens and do not have the platform to steer the strategic direction of the organisation. Their presence is merely to fulfil the funding requirements. Their duty is solely to be present at meetings to form a quorum. Participation hence has to start with the board members before it can be taken to the target communities, as they represent the poor.

7.2.8 Adoption of a Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

According to Carney (2002:13) and Hussein (2002:14), when initiating new community projects, the adoption of a sustainable livelihoods framework will guide the community worker in understanding and identifying:

- The types of assets that the urban poor have
- Their vulnerabilities
- How policies, institutions and processes support and hinder their access to those assets
- The preferred outcomes of the urban poor, not deciding for them, but building on them
- The livelihood strategies they use and how they can be enhanced

7.2.9 Advocacy

At this level, the bulk of the work is for development practitioners to advocate for the rights of the urban poor, as they are the ones who get to meet the policy makers as well the decision makers in government. The policy makers are more focused on

policy than action; hence it may be necessary to change their attitudes about the poor and how to deal with them.

7.2.9.1 Advocate for the Visibility of Development Centres

The development centres are invisible and they should be lobbied to ensure that they deliver on their mandate to promote sustainable social development. According to Cooper et al (2002:19), the centres have been mandated to:

- Promote local economic development with the emphasis on IGPs
- Build institutional capacity to address the structural conditions associated with poverty

Jones (2002:276) concurs that the causes of poverty stem mostly from lack of access and rights.

7.2.9.2 Promotion of Good Governance

The study revealed that the urban poor are highly dependent on the government and non-governmental organisations for the provision of basic services. According to Satterthwaite (2002:267) government departments are particularly important to the urban poor as they can ensure the rule of law and the presence of a democratic and accountable political and bureaucratic structure. This calls for civil society organisations to challenge departments that are sometimes corrupt, ineffective, and uncommitted to increasing the wellbeing of the poor. Ward councillors and government officials also need to be held accountable for effective service delivery and not be feared because they are seen as the 'big providers'.

Politicians who often make false promises to the electorate (especially towards elections), – for instance that the government will provide housing and increase the number of beneficiaries qualifying for social grants – should also be brought to account by the electorate.

7.2.9.3 Promoting Institutional Linkages

Many NGOs, CBOs and government departments are working in Tembisa with the common purpose of reducing poverty, but the linkages among them are weak. This often results in duplication of resources. According to Jones (2002:277), 'urban poverty is a series of interlinked difficulties, hence requires institutional linkages to

promote access to resources'. Proximity to resources and facilities means very little when access is denied. This implies that for any project to succeed, it requires a multi-disciplinary team as well as collaboration between organisations and government departments. There are already structures to promote networking among the service providers in Tembisa that meet monthly, but attendance is erratic. However, if everyone commits to active participation at these meetings, this will certainly bring to account those service providers who are not fulfilling their obligations.

7.3 CONSTRAINTS IN APPLYING SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD APPROACHES

The chapter would not be complete if the challenges that have been experienced by the donor agencies and development practitioners utilising SLAs were not discussed. Some of the challenges have been discussed in chapter 3.

7.3.1 Cross-Sectoral Sustainable Livelihood Approaches versus Sectoral World

Sustainable livelihood approaches use a cross-sectoral approach in a world that is sectoral. Singh and Gilman (1999:543) observe from their own practice that it is difficult to engage government ministries in cross-ministry activities, as in practice each ministry works independently to achieve its objectives. This sometimes results in duplication of services, as has been noted earlier. Cooper et al (2002:8) concur that governments are usually organised by sectors and South Africa is no exception. They argue that:

poor people's livelihoods revolve around livelihood outcomes, not sectors.' Their constraints cannot be solved by one ministry alone, neither can they be solved at local level. During the study it was observed that the Department of Agriculture was supporting the food gardens with implements, but there has never been a consultative meeting between the department and the CSC to discuss both parties' plans for the food gardens and to avoid duplicating the distribution of resources.

There is a lack of integration of services within departments. For instance, the Kodumela Moetse Thuse sewing group was referred to the development centre in Tembisa to apply for registration on their database so that they could benefit from

tenders to sew uniforms for orphans and vulnerable children in the area. The officials at the centre indicated that they did not have the application forms and referred them to the finance Department of Social Development offices in Germiston. When they went to Germiston no one knew which forms they had to complete and they were sent back to Tembisa. This lack of responsiveness to poor people's needs aggravates their scepticism about the goodwill of the government.

7.3.2 Linking Micro Realities and Macro Policies

It has proven difficult to establish the link between micro realities and macro policies. Cooper et al (2002:22) note that prior to 1994, the government followed a traditional top-down approach in designing and implementing poverty alleviation programmes. After 1994, the new government wanted to include its citizens in the conception and implementation of policies and programmes that would reduce poverty. The study has revealed that although the government has sound policies, the transition has not been easy for either the government systems or the implementing authorities.

At national level, policy makers and top government officials design policies which have to go down to provinces and then to local authorities for implementation. This essentially has limited the opportunities for the provinces, let alone the poor who are the target beneficiaries of these programmes. The policy makers do not go to the grassroots to hear what the poor have to say, hence the failure of macro policies to relate to the micro realities. Cooper et al (2002;23) observe that only a few of the interventions consider the people's livelihood outcomes and strategies in their designs.

As noted in earlier chapters, the design and implementation of the integrated developments plans at the micro level has been a step towards including the poor, but this has been a token because the consultation has been merely to extract information from the people. None of the groups under study were ever invited to community meetings by the local authority for their input in drafting the IDPs. This is compounded by shortages of skilled officials to facilitate this process.

Another reality that is ignored by CSC and other development stakeholders is the larger environment impinging on the communities. Singh and Gilman (1999:540) argue that

livelihood systems consist of a complex and diverse set of economic, social and physical strategies. These are realised through the activities, assets and entitlements by which individuals make a living. They are derived from people's capacities to exercise choice, access opportunities and resources, and use them in ways that do not foreclose options for others to make a living, either now or in the future.

7.3.3 Participatory Methodologies are Time Consuming

It is a time-consuming process to have interventions in which beneficiaries are empowered to play a significant role in their design, monitoring and evaluation. It is also easy to set unrealistic targets and underestimate the need for feedback and follow-up. The respondent from the DSD indicated that government officials were also under pressure from politicians to deliver; hence they could not use participatory methodologies which required more time. The politicians wanted positive reports to give to their constituencies to garner support. Singh and Gilman (1999:541) also note that that this is not an easy task, as it entails a long-term change in behaviour patterns.

7.4 SUMMARY OF STUDY

The aim of this small-scale, exploratory and qualitative study was to investigate the apparent reasons for failure of the IGPs in Tembisa and to make recommendations on future interventions. The reasons for failure were found to emanate from the micro, meso and macro levels, which are intertwined, thus requiring a cross-sectional and multi-disciplinary response. They have included lack of skills and access to credit, political will, poor linkages in government tiers and NGOs, use of non-participatory methodologies by government and NGOs, lack of cohesion in groups, and a lack of sustainability plans. The study also noted that the macro-level environment was the most difficult to resolve, as it involved policy changes and required a lot of lobbying and advocacy from the development practitioners.

Cash was noted to be a key asset in the urban household, as the economy is cash, hence raising incomes should be a priority for any intervention targeting the urban poor.

The researcher made certain recommendations, one of which was that a sustainable livelihood framework be adopted, based on the evidence of how successful this approach has been in South Africa and other parts of the developing world. This success hinges on the principles advocated for by the approach which ensures that poverty is tackled from all its angles of deprivation.

Adopting a SLA will ensure that the declining poor, who are invisible because of their powerlessness and isolation, are targeted. The traditional approaches have failed to reach this group, as they have not analysed the needs from the poor person's view, or demanded a detailed consideration of their assets and coping strategies.

7.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study has two major limitations. One obvious limitation is that it was a single case study limited to CSC Kempton Park. The other is that the research was only a qualitative investigation.

7.6 CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY

It is the first-ever evaluation of IGPs at the CSC-Kempton Park. The findings of this research can assist the management of the CSC at head office to allocate more resources to the capacity building of community workers. Currently all the staff development is directed towards casework and statutory work, even though the organisation is involved in community work in the 'townships'.

7.7 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Future research could be more extensive and multi-disciplinary, covering all the CSC offices, other community-based organisations and government departments promoting IGPs.

7.8 CONCLUSION

From the study it has been observed that many external and internal reasons can lead to the success or failure of IGPs. The study has also revealed that IGPs work best if they are offered as a package linked to credit, training and support in an enabling economic, political and social environment. The apparent reasons for failure of the Tembisa IGPs have been identified, and these were stem from the micro, meso and macro environments. The study has also established that reducing poverty

requires a multi-sectoral approach to the multiple deprivations. The SLA framework has been identified as one of the methods that been proven to provide an analytical starting point for understanding urban poverty and deprivation. Sustainable livelihood thinking and action is a lifelong process and requires building up and strengthening assets, networking and collaboration on macro-micro-linked cross-sectoral policy analysis from government departments and a shift in implementation. The sustainable livelihoods approach has helped to promote people's innovative ways of surviving that ensure that in the event of a crisis in one survival strategy there are other income-earning options to purchase fuel, water and food.

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