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Targeted Programmes as a means of sustainable livelihoods for poor people, especially women: a case study of Zibambele Public Works Programme in KwaZulu-Natal.

By

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Abstract

This study investigates whether public works programmes are a means to sustainable livelihoods using the Zibambele road maintenance programme, a public works anti-poverty programme implemented in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. The study is driven by the rising levels of unemployment and poverty that prevail in the country. Poverty has a spatial dimension with rural areas bearing a large proportion of the poor, particularly women. Sustainable livelihoods would rely at least in part on an improvement in women's positions. The focus of this study is to establish whether Zibambele has an impact on women's control over household resources, decision-making, power in the household and securing livelihoods.

In addressing unemployment and poverty, the developmental reforms of the government in South Africa have gone against the argument that market driven reforms alone, render economic growth. The South African government has addressed poverty and unemployment through a wide range of options such as public works, which embody John Keynes' idea of the need for state intervention in the workings of the market. It has implemented a variety of social assistance programmes. Public works programmes are heralded as playing a dual role: providing employment to unemployed people who are economically active, and, on the other hand, creating useful economic infrastructure. Women are specifically targeted and approximately 95 per cent of contractors are women. Zibambele aims to improve their position by reducing their risk of poverty.

The data was collected by interviewing contractors of the Zibambele programme who reside in Nkwalini in Umbumbulu (Durban region) and Nxamalala, in Sweetwaters (Pietermaritzburg region) in KwaZulu-Natal, and through focus group discussions. The interviews were supplemented with information from DoT officials and documentation from the department.

The analysis shows that the Zibambele programme has significantly helped many women. Zibambele promotes livelihood activities of contractors and in some instances gives the women power to make decisions in their households. It also shows concludes that the programme gives women dignity, which further enables them to engage in activities that bring money to their households. Although Zibambele has positive benefits for short-term unemployment, this may not be applicable in the long-term and can create serious effects on the poor participating in the programme. In light of this, sustained employment is needed for poverty reduction.

The South African government has realised that with the scale of unemployment and poverty that exists the market cannot simply be left to resolve these problems, instead an active state is needed. Therefore it has actively directed resources to the poor through the implementation of public works and social assistance.

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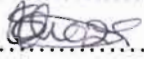
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Declaration of Originality

This dissertation represents original work by the author and has not been submitted in any form to another University. Where use has been made of the work of others it has been duly acknowledged and referenced in the text.

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List of Acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
CBOs	Community Based Organizations
CBPWP	Community Based Public Works Programme
CSG	Child Support Grant
DG	Disability Grant
DoT	Department of Transport
EGS	Employment Guarantee Scheme
EPRI	Economic Policy Research Institute
FCG	Foster Care Grant
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
KIDS	KwaZulu-Natal Income Dynamics Study
MEC	Member of the Executive Council
NPWP	National Public Works Programme
OAP	Old Age Pension
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
PWPs	Public Works Programmes
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RRTF	Rural Road Transport Forum
SLA	Sustainable Livelihoods Approach
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
WFP	World Food Programme

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Employment creation and poverty reduction are arguably the two most crucial challenges facing the South African government. If South Africa is to reduce the level of poverty and unemployment, the question is, what role does government have? In stylised terms, there are two approaches. On the one hand, the government could create an enabling environment in which the market could operate freely. On the other hand, it might try a more interventionist Keynesian approach. In post apartheid South Africa, despite the fairly conservative macro-economic policy, Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR), the government has in fact intervened in the provision of programmes which impact on rural poverty. It has implemented three interventionist programmes which are unusual in that they have significant potentials of reaching women, especially women in rural areas where poverty is greatest. Firstly, the government embarked on a process of land reform (willing seller-willing buyer) which is a mix of interventionist and market reforms. Secondly, it has continued and expanded the cash transfers as a form of direct poverty alleviation for the poorest. Thirdly, it has also tried different types of public works programmes (PWPs).

Most public works schemes have been criticized on the basis of three issues: their failure to target women, their capacity to get people out of poverty and the temporary nature of employment (that is, they allow people to work only for a few months) associated with these programmes. This study investigates whether one particular PWP, the Zibambele road maintenance programme in KwaZulu-Natal, has in any way benefited the poor women which it aims to target. It also investigates whether the Zibambele programme has an impact on their livelihoods and whether it has made a difference to issues of empowerment and decision making with respect to resource allocation at the household level.

In South Africa, Zibambele is probably the most well-known government effort that endeavours to reduce poverty in rural areas. The Zibambele road maintenance programme is a poverty relief programme directed at women in extreme poverty, initiated

by the Department of Transport in KwaZulu-Natal. Since 2001, it has prioritized employment creation for unskilled rural women. Zibambele aims to improve the lives of women-headed households, and they have come to constitute over 95 per cent of all contractors (McCord, 2003: 7; SDR, 2003: 54). This is based on the premise that women-headed households comprise the majority of the poorest families (Indonsa, 2003: 5). Zibambele's road maintenance programme hires a household on a contract basis to repair a particular length of road, for eight days a month, with an income of R390 per month (Igalelo, 2005). The practical functioning of the programme focuses on women as key to the improvement of household welfare. One of its innovative features is that the contract is with a family or a household, and not an individual, so that if, for instance, a household member participating in the programme falls sick, another member within the household can take up her place (McCord, 2002: 39).

South Africa is home to 45 million people and it is estimated that unemployment stands at 42 per cent, and approximately 8.4 million people cannot find work ¹(Statistics South Africa, 2003 cited in Basic Income Grant financing reference group, 2004: 13-14). South Africa is classified as one of the 50 richest countries in the world, yet poverty and unemployment continue to afflict millions of citizens (Development Report, 2005: 39). According to the narrow definition, aggregate unemployment rose from a high of 20 per cent in October 1994 to 29 per cent, in September 2001.² When this is compared to the 'broad definition', it rose from 31 per cent to above 45 per cent³ (Aliber, 2003: 476). In South Africa, unemployment is chronic⁴ and reached 24 per cent among the rural population in KwaZulu-Natal (Barrientos and Hulme, 2005: 1).

Poverty is not a new phenomenon in South Africa. Approximately 72 per cent of poor people reside in rural areas (May, 2001: 303). Poverty was perpetuated through colonial and apartheid policies that destabilized the economic functioning of South Africa's rural

¹ This figure is given by Statistics South Africa and gives the expanded definition of unemployment.

² This is by using Statistics South Africa's narrow definition, where a person is classified as unemployed if he was actively seeking for work over previous four weeks.

³ This is when the person desires to be employed but has not looked for work in recent weeks.

⁴ The chronic poor are those who consistently live below the poverty line. A defining characteristic of chronic poverty is its persistence over time.

population through dispossession and restricted movement (Development Report, 2005: 44). Estimates from using a Purchasing Power Parity (PPP)-adjusted '\$1 a day' poverty threshold suggest that poverty increased from 11, 5 per cent in 1993 (4, 3 million people) to 19, 8 per cent in 2000 (8, 6 million people). This indicates that the absolute number of people doubled (Van de Ruit and May, 2003 cited in Development Report, 2005: 39-40). When using the International poverty line of PPP \$2 per day, almost 34.1 per cent were living below PPP \$2 per day in 1990-2003 (Development Report, 2005: 40).

In South Africa, the poverty that exists has three dimensions: spatial, gender and race. Poverty is largely a rural phenomenon; the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Northern Province (now Limpopo) are the main areas where the poor reside in rural areas (RDP, 1995 cited in Swanepoel and De Beer, 1997: 6). Women-headed households in the poorest households are more affected. Statistics reveal that sixty per cent of women-headed households are poor; compared to 31 per cent of male-headed households (South Africa Human Development Report, 2003: 56). Poverty is not confined to one racial group; it is however mostly in the African and coloured population, compared to whites and Asians. In 2002, 56.3 per cent of Africans were living in poverty, compared to 36.1 per cent coloureds, 14.7 per cent Indians and only 6.9 per cent of Whites (South Africa Human Development Report, 2003: 42). May (2001) draws a stark contrast between the African and White population, noting a 61 per cent poverty rate in the African population, compared to 1 per cent in the white population (May, 2001: 304).

1.2 Rationale for the study

The nature of poverty that exists in rural areas suggests that there could be a role for PWPs in reaching the poor. PWPs can provide employment opportunities for the disadvantaged and vulnerable, especially women, given that they constitute the majority of the poor in rural areas. The rural poor often live in remote areas with inadequate infrastructure. PWPs may be especially relevant in areas without adequate infrastructure. Through the provision of infrastructure (such as roads and clinics) such programmes complement economic and social growth.

Given that female-headed households are at a high risk of poverty, it is important that they play an active role in decision-making especially that associated with economic activities. The crucial question is, are they involved in any decision making of that nature? The study will investigate the nature and degree of female decision-making within the household. This is in line with Kandiyoti's (1988) argument that, "...interventions to increase women's direct control over income are likely to have different consequences for different categories of women, depending on their age, class and material status" (Kandiyoti, 1988: 6). Budlender (1997) adds that males and females might have conflicting interests and differential control over resources. Furthermore, in households where it is the man that works, there is no guarantee that the money will be shared equally (Budlender, 1997: 520). In addition, in most households the responsibility of caring for the household rests primarily on the women's shoulders. The numerous roles that women play in their households such as caring for the sick or their own illnesses may prove to be a constraint in their participation in livelihood activities.

Equally important in examining the role of women in rural areas is the fact that women are faced with major challenges and additional care responsibilities in the increase of HIV/AIDS infections and deaths related to the epidemic. Antenatal surveys reveal an increase from 1 per cent in 1990 to 25 per cent in 2001 (Department of Health, 2001 cited in Adato, Ahmed and Lund, 2004: 2). If a household member falls sick, it is the task of the females in the household or an extended family member to care for that person. This affords women little time for productive and community activities (De Satge, Holloway, Mullins, Nchabaleng, and Ward, 2002: 45). Illness or death may also prove costly in terms of loss of their earnings, especially in cases where there is no one to substitute the woman. As Narayan, Patel, Schafft, Rademacher, and Koch-Schulte (2000) argue, "where formal institutions provide inadequate safety nets, the illness of one person within the family can affect the economic stability of the entire household" (Narayan et al, 2000: 53). They add that in other countries such as Ghana, good health is a vital asset since the poor depend on their labour for generating income (Narayan et al, 2000: 53). It is therefore important to ascertain if caring features prominently in the Zibambele contractors' livelihoods or activities.

At another level, it is necessary to establish whether the income from Zibambele influences livelihood activities. More importantly, how the money is spent and who makes the decision on the pooling of money within households. All these factors are important for assessing the success or failure of Zibambele as a programme geared to improve the lives of poor households.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The aim of the dissertation is to investigate whether targeted programmes are a means to sustainable livelihoods for poor people, especially women in KwaZulu-Natal, through a case study of the Zibambele public works programme.

The following are the specific objectives of the study.

- a) Ascertain if women participating in Zibambele play an active role in decision making in relation to household income and how resources are managed within the household.
- b) Ascertain whether caring for a sick member of the household or the contractor's own illness becomes a constraint in participating in Zibambele activities.
- c) Ascertain the benefits or constraints experienced by the poor in engaging in livelihood activities, such as casual work in agriculture.
- d) Ascertain the perception of participants regarding the usefulness of Zibambele.

1.4 Outline of the Dissertation

This dissertation is organized into six chapters. Chapter One, consists of an introduction to the study, the research problem, the rationale behind the study and the objectives of the study. Chapter Two uses literature on the role of the state and the market, livelihood dimensions and the sustainable livelihoods approach, to provide framework for the research questions and the analysis of data. Poverty alleviation programmes, which include land reform, social assistance and public works that the government has

implemented, are also discussed. A review of potential strengths and weaknesses of PWPs is given in this chapter. Chapter Three presents the methodology and describes the study areas, study design and thematic analysis that were used in analyzing the data and the limitations of the study. Chapter Four introduces the case study on Zibambele public works programme, providing the necessary information for the analysis chapter. It highlights the background information leading to the implementation of the programme, the selection process of the programme, aims and progress so far and the savings clubs. Chapter Five contains detailed analysis of the research data. Based on this analysis, the conclusion and recommendations are discussed in Chapter Six.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Can the state make a difference in promoting development and reducing poverty? This question is important in view of the poverty that exists in South Africa. Market driven development alone cannot address the needs of South Africa's poor, including women. This chapter starts with a brief discussion on the role of the State versus the Market approach to development. The government implemented GEAR, which failed to generate the anticipated employment and wealth. Although GEAR itself is a conservative macroeconomic policy, the government has pursued support for three large programmes not usually featured in such policy orientations: land reform, social assistance and public works. Each of these is briefly described in this chapter. This chapter will also discuss the dimensions of livelihoods and the principles of the Sustainable Livelihood Approach, which will be useful in the evaluation of Zimbabwe.

2.2 The State versus Market Debate

There are strong debates on what should be the role of the state and the market in the development process. Proponents of government intervention argue that the state is needed when there is continuous market failure. They further argue that the market cannot efficiently provide 'public goods' such as roads, sanitation or defence, which implies that the private sector lacks the incentive to supply them (Lipton and Simkins, 1993: 18). Some critics have called for the state to be given a 'big push' to break out of the circle of low investment and low growth which arguably causes persistent poverty and thus creates unfavorable conditions for growth (Lipton and Simkins, 1993: 17). Lipton and Simkins (1993) observe that developing countries that have embraced exclusive market-oriented policies and withdrawal of the state have not improved their conditions. This is particularly true for poorer African countries (Lipton and Simkins, 1993: 18).

The foregoing echoes the views of Keynes, who argued that the smooth and efficient operation of the market system would not directly address the microeconomic problem of resource allocation between branches of production. Keynes proposed government intervention as a means of maintaining market equilibrium. He further stressed that the state should intervene in order to tackle market failure or absence of markets (Gerschenkron, 1962 cited in Padin, 2003: 282). In development, the prime concern of the state is the welfare of its citizens. Some developing countries potentially have the incentive, legitimacy and the organizational scale and scope to engage in the development process (Gerschenkron, 1962 cited in Padin, 2003: 282). Keynes' policies assume that a democratic state will adopt economic policies for the development and social transformation of a society (Le Roux and Graaf, 2001: 197-198). Chaliand holds that this might pose a danger in that the bourgeoisie can take over institutions of the state to further their own interests rather than serving the needs of the poor (cited in Wilson and Ramphela, 1993: 309). The implication is that the poor may not derive any significant benefit from the state.

Keynes's approach was posed as a challenge to the dominance of Adam Smith's ideas. Smith regarded the state as an obstacle to economic development and progress. He advocated three areas where government intervention was acceptable: defence, justice and public works (Stiglitz, 1996: 155). The state should certainly not play a central role in job creation. If the market forces do not take over and do not work, the jobs created will not be self-sufficient and will simply add to the burden of the state and the taxpayer (Wilson and Ramphela, 1993: 317). Adam Smith argued that markets naturally lead to most efficient outcomes and for growth to be attained the best way was to keep government out of the way. The slogan for the basic formula for economic growth was to 'get the prices right.' Getting the prices right, will give everyone an incentive to efficiently allocate resources (Stiglitz, 1996: 155). Nevertheless, it has come to be accepted that relying on the market does little to address economic stability or poverty. Free capital flows do not accompany rapid growth but may have harmful effects to economic development, thus aggravating economic crises (Moll, 1993: 261). In South Africa, before the 1994 elections, the African National Congress (ANC) policy reflected

an impulse to expand the role of the state in the development process, through direct state economic intervention or on market failures (Wilson and Ramphele, 1993: 317).

In the 1980s and 1990s, the Washington Consensus came to dominate international development thinking. The Washington Consensus policies were based on the belief that political and social problems should be left to the market and the rule of law rather than state intervention. It stipulated that states should hand over all power, except that to ensure and enforce the rule of law (such as private property rights, free repatriation of profits, and so on) to the logical forces of the marketplace over states. It sought to effectively formulate and implement sound market -oriented economic reforms (privatization, liberalization and deregulation) to assist countries in the South to achieve progress toward economic growth and stability (Soederberg, 2004: 281-282). In doing this, the state's activist role was rejected and it was promoted as a minimalist state.

Interestingly, none of the countries that are successful pursued either of these strategies. Instead, they followed a different path and implemented mixed economies in which the state continued to play a vital role in the economy (Stiglitz, 1996: 155). Stiglitz argues that in responding to market failure, states that replace the market have made serious mistakes. He draws examples from the East Asian governments who identified the limitations of the markets but continued to promote their use (Stiglitz, 1996: 156; Amesden, 1989 cited in Padin, 2003: 283). Even sceptics have accepted that the state played a critical role in directing development successes, for example, the East Asian Miracles (World Bank, 1993 cited in Padin, 2003: 283). In other words, Stiglitz does not insist on developing countries minimizing the role of the state. On the contrary, he concludes that economic performance can be improved by the combination of the market and the state playing a crucial role. South Africa's combination of a conservative GEAR, accompanied by a substantial commitment to social spending, has elements of the mixed economy model.

2.3 Livelihood Dimensions and Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

The concept of livelihoods in addressing poverty issues was developed in the recent past. The term livelihood is recognized to have no single meaning. For the purpose of this study it is defined as, "activities, which make up a living" (Chambers, 1995: 23). This is what is required in order to support life. Chambers (2004) argues that a livelihood encompasses,

...adequate stocks and flows of food and cash to meet basic needs and to support well-being. Security refers to secure rights, physical safety and reliable access to resources, food, income, and basic services. It includes tangible and intangible assets to offset risk, ease shocks and meet contingencies (Chambers, 2004: 4).

A livelihood provides the support for the enhancement and exercise of capabilities and capabilities enable a livelihood to be gained. In other words, this definition establishes a correlation between the capabilities that a household has and the different assets and activities required for living. Sustainability in livelihoods comes when there is a long term prospect of sustenance and when it copes with shocks⁵ and stresses⁶ ranging from drought, civil war and policy failure through coping and adaptive strategies (De Satge et al, 2002: 8). Families employ different strategies in order to reduce their vulnerability and increase their income by diversifying⁷ into more complex livelihood strategies, both of which improve their standard of living. This also makes the household secure and stable (Chambers, 1997: 169). Chambers (1997) mentions five dimensions that show the extent to which the rural poor diversify their livelihood strategies. These are capability, person and activity, enterprise, social relationships and seasonality.

a) Capability: family members develop different skills, which allow them to adapt to changing situations. Meera Kaul Shah (1993a) reporting on a participatory poverty assessment in Ghana noted,

⁵ Shocks refer to 'sudden events that impact on livelihood security.'

⁶ Stresses can be defined as ongoing difficulties that constrain household's livelihood potential.

⁷ Livelihood diversification can be described as a process by which rural households pursue diverse and multiple activities and assets for survival and to raise their living standards.

Men mentioned that it has become important to acquire diverse skills like carpentry, masonry, and plumbing to the skills of a mechanic to have a secure livelihood. Farming alone does not provide enough. Additional skills are important as a fall-back option during periods of financial stress or a bad agricultural year. A man having these skills cannot be considered 'poor' (cited in Chambers, 1997: 169).

b) Person and activity: Family members, by gender, age, aptitude and skill, embark on various responsibilities, and access food and income in many different ways. For example, on a given day, one adult may be collecting firewood, another member preparing food, cooking, cleaning and washing, another herding cattle, another mending an implement, another member working for a neighbour, and another member working in an office in a town etc.

c) Enterprise: There are various household and farm enterprises, with different types of livestock, varieties of crop species, many diverse vegetables and practical plants in home gardens, various food, fodder, and other common property resources, the retail of a wide range of farm and gardening products.

d) Social relationships: people cultivate long lasting personal relationships with neighbours, relatives, trades, moneylenders, teachers, priests, healers and others, seek to maintain and extend personal relationships. Poor people need networks for small loans. Those with extended families have networks of mutuality and support.

e) Season: seasonality is a persistent factor in the lives of the rural poor. Labour demand, disease, mortality, quality and quantity of food, income, livelihood activities, expenditure and debt are only a few of the dimensions of deprivation and well-being, which differ seasonally (Chambers, 1997: 169).

The sustainable livelihood approach (SLA) seeks to understand how households use resources at their disposal to construct livelihood strategies at the local level. The approach ascertains the various assets and resources that are available at both household and community levels and investigates the combinations of those factors that can reduce people's vulnerability and levels of poverty (Bank, 2005:160). This approach has its origin in the ongoing concerns about the potential effectiveness of development activities. Rather than focusing on the poor, donors and governments have concentrated on

resources and facilities such as water, land and clinics. The overall objective of SLA is putting poor people at the centre of development. The measure of success is any potential or actual change in the livelihoods of people. The approach's expectation is that a refocus on poor people will effectively contribute to the overriding aims of poverty reduction (Ashley and Carney, 1999: 5). Appendini (2001) points out that the central objective of the livelihoods approach was "to search for more effective methods to support people and communities in ways that are more meaningful to their daily lives and needs, as opposed to ready-made, interventionist instruments" (cited in Haan and Zoomers, 2005: 30).

According to SLA's principles, poverty-focused development activities should have the following five core features,

- a) People centred: External support should put people in the centre of development. It should begin by recognizing the potential of the individuals, their opportunities and needs, their diversity and also respect for their views. People should be assisted in achieving their livelihoods.
- b) Responsive and participatory: poor people should be the principal actors in identifying and addressing livelihood priorities. The role of outsiders is to respond to the concerns voiced by the poor and create an environment where the poor can be successful in addressing their livelihood priorities.
- c) Multi-level: Development activities should be based on micro-level and macro-level structures and not treated in isolation. It stresses that poverty can only be reduced through employing multiple levels.
- d) Sustainable: there are four key dimensions to which a livelihood can be sustainable and these are economic, institutional, social and environmental. These dimensions are all important in development activities and a balance must be maintained across the board.
- e) Dynamic: It is important to recognize that people's livelihoods are dynamic as well people themselves. An understanding of such dynamics will enable dynamic patterns of support (Carney, et al, 1999; De Satge, et al 2002: 5-6).

In attaining the SLA's goals, a more holistic approach to understanding livelihoods (which includes how the poor define poverty and the multi-dimensions of poverty) is important (Haan and Zoomers, 2005:33).

2.4 South Africa's Interventionist Programmes

The South African government has shown strong commitment to social spending on health and education, which together comprise large amount of government spending. Less has been spent on housing. Two state programmes, which could have had a marked effect on poverty alleviation, are land reform, and social assistance. Both are income or asset-based and are targeted at rural areas.

2.4.1 Land Reform

In South Africa, land reform is an example of how the state can play a proactive role for purposes of benefiting the poor. Land dispossession arising from apartheid policies saw the majority of the black people in dire need of land. Approximately 68 per cent of the rural black population is in dire need of farmland (Marcus et al, 1996 cited in May, Rogerson, Vaughan, 2000: 241). It is against this background that the transition to democracy viewed the land reform process as an economic strategy that had the potential to address and resolve the inequalities of the past and hence alleviate poverty in the rural areas. The Department of Land Affairs is the driver of this programme. The key objectives of this programme are to address the dispossession of land by the apartheid policies and contribute to economic growth. It also aims at improving poor families' access to credit so that such families can engage in a wide range of productive activities thus ensuring economic growth (Du Toit, 2000: 76; Deininger and May, 2000).

South Africa's land reform has three components: land tenure reform, land restitution, and land redistribution (South African Human and Development Report, 2003: 36; Deininger and May, 2000). Land tenure reform is to provide security, strengthening the

ownership and occupational rights of labour tenants in the farms that are privately owned (Lahiff, 2001: 1). Land restitution is designed to return the land or provide compensation to the black majority who were brutally removed between 1913 and 1994. This includes people who were not compensated after being dispossessed of their land (Lahiff, 2001: 3). The redistribution programme aims to transfer 30 percent of the land to the black people, including farm workers and labour tenants to use for settlements and for productive purposes in order to improve their lives and livelihoods (Deininger and May, 2000; Lahiff, 2001: 4).

However, the three aspects of land reform have made little difference to the beneficiaries' living conditions as it was hoped for a decade ago on the eve of the transition to democracy (Attfield, Hattingh and Matshabaphala, 2004: 412). For example, according to UNDP Human and Development Report (2000), less than 1 per cent has been redistributed to the poor, black households. The target that the ANC set in 1994 was 30 per cent. Of the 54, 000 land claims lodged, only 27 have been settled in favour of claimants (UNDP Human and Development Report, 2000: 30). Since 1994, access to land for previously disadvantaged groups has been based on the principle of willing buyer-willing seller (Attfield et al, 2004: 411). In view of the current result of land reform, solving the problem of poverty cannot lie solely on land reform but it remains an important part of the solution.

2.4.2 Social Assistance

In instances where people are dependent on others, because of infirmity, disability or age, social assistance in terms of grants and non-contributory pensions can become a long-term part of social policy (Barrientos, Hulme and Shepherd, 2005: 9). There is increasing recognition that an effective and sustainable programme for the reduction of poverty requires a combination of labour absorbing growth, targeted transfers and the provision of safety nets for those who are unable to benefit from growth or other development initiatives (Barrientos et al, 2005: 6).

The South African welfare system of the twentieth century targeted the white population. It was originally given to whites, then gradually coloured, Indian and finally black people were included. Excluding the formal social security and welfare systems, there were wide ranges of benefits designed to protect the white population. The system grew in scope and later included the various 'population groups' (Indians, Coloureds and Africans) (Lund, 2006: 161). The urban population took first coverage and the rural came last (Lund, 2002: 182). The government provides five main grants that support the elderly and children: the Child Support Grant (CSG), the Old Age Pension (OAP), Care Dependency Grant (CDG), The Disability Grant (DG) and the Foster Care Grant (FCG)⁸ (Lund, 2006: 162). This study will only focus on the CSG and OAP.

South Africa is one of the few developing countries to have successfully established a non-contributory pension for the elderly. The non-contributory pension is a means tested monthly cash transfer provided to women of age 60 and men of 65 and above. There were 3.12 million people that were receiving pensions and grants, in March 2000 in a country of about 43 million, in which the elderly comprise 60 per cent or 1.9 million (Republic of South Africa, 2000, cited in Lund, 2003: 683). In June 2002, there were 1,913,000 beneficiaries that were receiving R620 per month. It rose to R640 in 2002 (Lund, 2002:189). It stands at R820 per month in 2006 (Lund, 2006: 162). The OAP is received by more than 80 per cent of all elderly South Africans, the vast majority of whom are Africans (Lund, 2006: 163).

When selected as South Africa's policy for addressing child poverty in the mid-1990s, the CSG was unusual in that it introduced cash, rather than an in-kind benefit that was non-conditional. The CSG was introduced in 1998 and children from birth to 14 are targeted by the programme (Case, Hosegood and Lund, 2005: 467; Lund, 2006: 164). In June 2002, approximately 149,000 beneficiaries were receiving the grant (Lund, 2002:

⁸ The CDG is for the caregivers of children with severe physical and mental impairment until the age of 18. The FCG is intended to support a child whose birth parents are not able to adequately care for them. The DG specifically covers those with mental and physical disabilities; the median age of 18 indicates that it is targeted at those who are unable to gain access to the labour market.

188). The grant was received by 5.5 million by mid 2005 (Budlender, Rosa and Hall, 2005: 3). In 2002, parents or caregivers that earned below R1100 (using PPP \$470) received R110 per month for each child. Payments were increased and in March 2005 stood at R180 per month (Lund, 2006: 164).

The OAP and the CSG have the potential to reach the needy. Evidence from Brazil reveals that the non-contributory social assistance to elderly people has had a positive impact. They estimate the positive impact of the grant in relation to poverty alleviation among the poor older people, strengthening of women's position within their social units, and particularly elderly women, promoting agricultural production investment and as a key to efficient resource allocation to rural areas (Delgado and Cardoso, 2000 cited in Lund, 2002: 189). The non-contributory pension also plays a crucial role in household-income and is usually pooled within households for household expenditure. Pooling has been found to be important in the context of poverty. According to the Economic Policy Research Institute (EPRI) (2002), these grants have reduced the average poverty by roughly 23 per cent. Yet it is argued that the poor still remain poor in spite of the security net received (EPRI, 2002: 1). However, this does not imply that social assistance does not contribute to the reduction of the poverty gap.

Interestingly in South Africa, these grants are unconditional. Conditional cash transfers are widely promoted and positively evaluated in Latin America. According to the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) (2005) Latin America's Oportunidades (formerly PROGRESA) in Mexico and Bolsa Escola in Brazil implemented a comprehensive programme, which gives mothers from poor rural communities cash grants (UNRISD, 2005: 138). About 5 million women in poor rural households receive the money on condition that their children visit healthcare centres and attend school (UNRISD, 2005: 138). Mothers may also be required to do some community work. However, it is important to note that this is not a public works programme as such.

2.4.3 Public Works Programmes (PWPs)

The third example of a programme of state intervention is the PWP. The idea of addressing unemployment through public works is usually associated with John Keynes' original argument that the workings of the market system will not by themselves create full employment. He argued that what is necessary to ensure full employment is to give a boost to effective demand and one way to ensure that the government effectively delivers is through public works (Michie, 2006: 100). South Africa is not an exception in implementing PWPs to alleviate poverty. Several countries in Asia, such as Korea, Thailand, the Philippines and India have used PWPs (Subbarao, 2003 cited in Economics Statistics Analysis Unit (ESAU) Briefing Paper, 2004). In Africa, countries such as Botswana, Ghana, Kenya and Egypt have also implemented them (ESAU Briefing Paper, 2004). Latin American countries such as Argentina and Bolivia have also gone through similar routes in alleviating poverty. Many of these programmes have been food-for-work programmes initiated under World Food Programmes (WFPs) support and other food aid donors for the provision of substantial amount of relief and rehabilitation after tragedies and for longer-term programmes of rural development (ESAU Briefing Paper, 2004).

PWPs can address three central problems facing South Africa: poverty, unemployment and poor infrastructure. PWP's objectives are,

To create, rehabilitate, and maintain physical assets that serve to meet the basic needs of poor communities and promote broader economic activity. To reduce unemployment through the creation of productive jobs. To educate and train those on the programme as a means of economic empowerment and build the capacity of communities to manage their own affairs, strengthening local government and other community based institutions, and generating sustainable economic development (McCord, 2003: 7).

There are factors which can potentially be development benefits arising from PWPs. The first is infrastructure creation. The infrastructure that is created through public works can be utilized by the poor, giving access to markets and services. For example, rural roads can give rural communities the opportunity to gain economic access to towns and cities

(Adato and May, n.d: 18). Adato et al (2004) add that carefully designed PWPs have the potential of asset creation for example, schools, clinics, water supply and irrigation networks and the construction of roads and market stalls that can allow communities to gain easy access to markets through training and organizational capacity development (Adato et al, 2004: 3-4). This is important in view of the fact that the poor often lack critical services such as transportation, schools, and health-care clinics (Latvia, 1998, cited in Narayan et al, 2000: 74; Adato and May, n.d: 18; Devereux, 2001: 9). PWPs play a crucial role in furthering social access within the communities and between them. Moreover, it is stated that in South Africa a third of the rural people encounter problems in getting access to social and economic opportunities in cities and towns (Khosa, 1997 cited in Adato and May, n.d: 34).

The second factor is enhanced household income and job security. In South Africa, some hold that a positive feature of public works is that they have incorporated community empowerment, capacity building and transformation (McCord, 2003: 26-27). Through self-targeted public works, the poor can be reached saving means testing costs, if they are willing to work for the low wages (Adato et al, 2004: 3-4). Remuneration from PWPs can play an important role in increasing access to capital of financial institutions, to people who have not previously had a relationship with such institutions (Ahmed et al, 1995). Access to financial credit can create long-term business opportunities for both the formal and informal sectors (Adato and May, nd: 32). Households participating in PWPs get access to short-term employment, which can help in crises. Some PWPs are extended, which provide long-term employment for households participating in them and increase assets.

Thirdly, PWPs can be designed so that there is wide participation by women. In South Africa the rate of females who are unemployed is high. Apart from this, there is a high percentage of women headed households (McCord, 2002:13). Female-headed households are divided into two types: de jure and de facto⁹ (Woolard and Leibbrandt, 2001: 65). The

⁹ De jure female headed, is a household where the woman is the head. The other where the male is working away from home, for a long period of time is the de facto female- headed.

province of KwaZulu-Natal contains the highest proportion of women headed households. Research suggests that there is an uneven distribution of assets and income sharing between men and women within households (De Satge et al, 2002: 47). Posel (2001) adds that, in 1993, 27 per cent of households were women headed. KwaZulu-Natal had a much higher figure representing one third of the province's households. By 1998, this number had increased to above 40 per cent, mostly in the rural areas (Posel, 2001: 657-659). Including women in income-generating programmes could lead to more income and greater economic empowerment. It is important to explore whether PWPs contribute significantly to power accumulation at the household level.

Fourthly, public works can be useful in providing income in seasons when labour falls such as between harvesting and next pre-harvesting season. They operate best when they are flexible that is, a programme can be implemented relatively quickly where there is a need and then phased out when no longer needed (Adato and May, n.d: 31).

Lastly, public works can potentially be an economic boost through the education and training component that is included in the whole programme. Participants of the programme can be given on and off-site job training. This is essential because it creates an opportunity of finding employment in private sectors, which may require their newly acquired skills (Adato and May, n.d: 34). Acquiring education and training could also be advantageous because finding a job where people could get valuable exposure and experience is a main problem (National Economic Forum, 1994 cited in Adato and May, n.d: 3; Adato et al, 2004: 3-4).

Experience from India suggests that public works can be an effective mechanism for targeting the poor. The Employment Guarantee Scheme (EGS) in the Indian state of Maharashtra, implemented in 1970, provides employment in poor rural areas. This programme has been described as the most successful direct governmental effort. The main objective of the programme is to “sustain household welfare in the short run, through the provision of employment, and to contribute to the development of the rural economy in the long run through strengthening rural infrastructure” (Devereux, 1995

cited in McCord, 2003: 12). Rural infrastructure is maintained through soil conservation programmes, reforestation and rural road building (McCord, 2003: 12).

However, a major weakness of PWPs can be that people are hired for short-term employment and for a limited period. After that they are unemployed once again (Adato and May, n.d: 31). A critique of public works is that since most public works are usually of a short duration and do not last for a year, sustainability is an issue. Another critique of PWPs is that they do not enable participants to become financially self-sufficient or to raise their incomes above the poverty line (Adato and May, n.d: 34).

In South Africa, the Community Based Public Works programme (CBPWP) a sub-component of the National Public Works Programme (NPWP) is being implemented and has been identified as a presidential lead project within the NPWP. CBPWP is proposed as a key instrument for national employment creation (McCord, 2003: 9). CBPWP required community participation in project management and included other priorities of the trade unions and Community Based Organizations (CBOs), job training and providing poor communities with the necessary assets (Adato and Haddad, 2002: 6). The Department of Public Works stated that in the CBPWP the participation of the rural poor in the design, and implementation of the programme was important. The community, through its representative community structure was permitted to decide how it should be designed, and who should be selected to work in the programme (Adato and Haddad, 2002: 7).

However, a number of problems were identified in the implementation of this programme. For example, based on a study in the Western Cape, Adato and Haddad (2002) identified problems related to targeting. CBPWP had little evidence of reaching the poorest among the poor, whether within districts or communities. In addition, within districts, the public works were not well-targeted in terms of poverty, unemployment and infrastructure. Some districts with very high poverty and unemployment had no labour-intensive public works (Adato and Haddad, 2002: 31). This leads to the question of whether development can be attained through the CBPWP. It is clear from the above that

PWPs are at times not effective in meeting their objectives. On the contrary, experience with PWP varies by region, and the fact that the CBPWP was not effectively executed is not an argument against public works.

South Africa is also currently embarking on numerous water development and conservation programmes that seek to address poverty. One of the most remarkable is the Working for Water Programme (WWP). This programme was launched as a multi departmental public works project, aimed to clear high water-consuming alien vegetation, and at the same time provide employment to the less skilled such as rural women. The three benefits of this programme are improved quality of water, conservation of biodiversity and ecological functioning and the empowerment of communities through the labour-intensive clearing programme (Hosking and du Preez, 2004: 386). Additional benefits include, downstream industrial development, flood control and soil erosion control, reduction in the intensity of fire and benefits associated with the livestock-holding capacity of land. The WWP provides communities with the opportunity to train in a range of work-related skills such as machine operation (Hosking and du Preez, 2004: 386).

The International Food Policy Research (IFPRI) based on PWPs in Botswana, Niger, Zimbabwe, and South Africa have recommended that PWPs are most beneficial if they,

- a) Target the shortages of infrastructure and resources and prioritise on high-return investments.
- b) Mainstream into cross-sectoral aspects of national planning.
- c) Show flexibility so as to fight chronic poverty as well as crises.
- d) Equally important is the need to ensure community participation at the initial planning stage of the programme, maintain important assets, and promote women's involvement by keeping the choice of work activity open to them, flexible working hours and project location, and the provision of day care services (Adato et al, 2004: 3-4).

All the recommendations have been mentioned in the chapter, except for the second, as there is no evidence in South Africa where PWPs have been mainstreamed into cross-sectoral aspects of planning.

The factors, which make Zibambele unique are, firstly contracting women into the programme. Secondly, the banking system of paying the women via their bank accounts. Thirdly, its continuing nature, in that the contractors' contracts are renewed yearly. Lastly, the community identification it provides to the women participating in it. These characteristics will be dealt with in Chapter Four. This study has been designed to establish whether these features have an impact on women's control over household resources, decision-making and securing livelihoods.

2.5 Key Research Questions:

The following research questions were asked in order to pursue the objectives of the study.

- a) What are the benefits and constraints of participating in Zibambele?
- b) How do the women who participate in Zibambele manage their resources?
How is money pooled within the household? Do the women have any influence on how resources should be managed in their households?
- c) How is decision-making in relation to household income made?
- d) Does caring for sick household members or the contractor's own illness affect the contractors' participation in livelihood activities?
- e) What sort of activities do rural women engage in to secure their livelihoods? What are the benefits or constraints of women participating in these activities? Do the resources from Zibambele make a difference in their lives?

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the role of the South African state in designing appropriate interventions that promote economic growth and social development. Balancing these two objectives is critical to the achievement of long-term objectives, like poverty reduction, unemployment and social deprivation. It is for this reason that the South African government has taken responsibility for at least creating jobs and providing social assistance to those who cannot provide for themselves.

A key issue emerging in this chapter is that developmental prospects will remain gloomy if the state reverts to the strategy of relying largely on the market to reduce poverty, and fails to do more via effective income programmes. The experiences of the East Asian countries show that the state can provide a safety net against the failure of the market. The economy in these countries is not modelled on an exclusively market approach, but the state also plays a crucial role. The lesson is that states that try to replace the market are doomed to fail. To achieve a sustainable development trajectory, it is better to combine market and state interventions. The South African government has seen that land reform on its own is not effective in alleviating poverty. Seemingly, grants and public works are important instruments in poverty alleviation. The evidence from India suggests that it is possible for developing countries to implement PWPs that contribute towards the realization of their development goals.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the population and sample of the two areas in the study, the research design, the instruments used in collecting the data, data analysis and ethical issues.

3.2 Research Design

This study makes use of qualitative research methods. The merits of qualitative research methods are that they "...excel at interpretation- giving an understanding of why things are the way they are and how they got to be that way" (Morgan, 1998: 12). Other strengths of qualitative research is that they ask the questions, why, how, and explore the circumstances under which things occur and provide a greater depth of understanding a phenomenon. Similarly, qualitative research is flexible, emergent, and iterative. This means that the study design is not fixed; there is constant interaction between design and discovery. New findings continue to emerge. The investigator is always involved with the research process, observing how participants respond to the topic and investigating data for new insights that might lead to changing a technique, revising questions, or changing direction to follow new leads (Ulin et al, 2002: 111). Social phenomena are viewed holistically in qualitative research. Qualitative research can sometimes empower the participants of the research in that they can become an active part rather than assume the role of subjects. The investigator serves as a kind of instrument in the research process (Ulin et al, 2002: 4).

According to Babbie and Mouton (2001) the chief goal of research under this method is to depict and comprehend instead of explaining human behaviour (Babbie and Mouton, 2001: 270). In attaining research themes the researcher will apply Patton's question typology of using open-ended questions that are based on experience questions, opinion

or value questions, feeling questions, knowledge and background questions (Maykut and Morehouse: 1994: 90-91).

Interviews included common questions, regarding the core research aims, which were asked to all respondents. This was done partly in the interest of comparing responses from each group. These aims were guided by a questionnaire regarding the work history of respondents and the nature of decision making in their households. The reason for this line of questioning was to examine internal dynamics, such as decision-making and resource allocation which can be either cooperative or conflicting. The purpose of the questions was also to gain an in-depth understanding of how illness affects their participation in the programme, what kind of activities the local people engage in, women in particular, how they felt about the programme. This was to highlight the priority areas for improving their livelihoods.

3.3 Sampling Design

In qualitative sampling, “purposiveness is a strategic approach, not a single technique” (Ulin et al, 2002: 59). This means seeking participants with an ability to bring rich information (Ulin et al, 2002: 59). Using purposive sampling, a total of 20 women were selected. It is a sampling method in which the researcher will choose the respondents based on the characteristics that the researcher is concerned with (Katzenellenbogen, Joubert and Karim, 1997: 179). For this reason, the participants were chosen based on the characteristics that they were poor women, living in rural areas, participants in the Zibambele programme, and of different ages. One shortcoming of this sampling is that “there is usually little control over who is selected within the category” (Williamson, Karp, Dalphin and Gray, 1977: 107). The respondents were approached individually by the researcher and asked if they were willing to participate in the study. Even though the names of the respondents were written in the consent forms, they were assured that the information they would give would be kept confidential.

3.4 Study Areas

For collecting the primary and secondary data, the study areas were two semi- rural sites, Sweetwaters in Pietermaritzburg and Umbumbulu in Durban. In Sweetwaters the specific area was Nxamalala (ward 3); in Umbumbulu, it was Nkwadini (ward 98). The researcher selected these areas with the assistance of the Department of Transport DoT, Pietermaritzburg Region and Durban Region. The location of these two areas is shown in the Appendix.

3.5 Profile of Study Areas

Table 1 presents the profile of the study areas. Both Nxamalala and Nkwadini were considered good settings for the purposes of the study in terms of rural poverty.

Table 1: Profile of study areas

Site (Reference)	Nkwalini (ward 98)	Percent: (%)	Nxamalala (ward 3)	Percent: (%)	
Population	38873		14066		
Estimated population per race group	African	31600	81.2	14018	99.7
	White	5972	15.4	19	0.14
	Indian	1207	3.11	6	0.04
	Coloured	93	0.17	24	0.17
Persons					
Employed	1996	5364	32.7	2433	21.6
	2001	7740	31.3	1521	15.8
Unemployment	1996	3050	18.6	3783	33.6
	2001	7317	29.6	4769	49.8
Not economically active	1996	7959	48.6	5013	44.6
	2001	9648	39	3282	34.2
Total	1996	16373		11229	
	2001	24705		9572	
Persons					
Education (2001)	No schooling	2544	11.1	1383	18.8
	Some primary	2937	12.8	1824	24.9
	Complete primary	1113	4.8	558	7.6
	Secondary	8115	35.5	2460	33.6
	Grade 12	6597	28.9	1014	13.8
	Higher	1521	6.6	81	1.1
Total	22827	100	7320	100	

The research areas are situated in KwaZulu-Natal province, which is on the eastern seaboard of South Africa. Nkwalini is in Umbumbulu, the closest town is Isipingo. Nxamalala is situated in Sweetwaters. The wards differ in terms of living standards, Nkwalini is very remote compared to Nxamalala, and has a large population of 38873. Nxamalala has a total population of 14066. The closest town is Pietermaritzburg.

In both areas, the population is predominantly African (Census, 2001 cited in StatsSA, 2005). The figure for the employed population in Nkwalini was 7740 in 2001, with a percentage of 31.3, compared to Nxamalala's 15.8 per cent (Census, 2001 cited in StatsSA, 2005). This increase in employment is important for the reduction of poverty and for the generation of livelihoods. Unemployment is high in Nxamalala and it increased to 49.8 per cent in 2001, while in Nkwalini it increased to 29.6 per cent (Census, 2001 cited in StatsSA, 2005). Unemployment in South Africa has stood as a major challenge and the main reason for poverty. Despite government's efforts to address illiteracy, in 2001, 18.8 per cent of the people in Nxamalala have had no schooling, compared to 11.1 per cent in Nkwalini. Nxamalala has a higher percentage of people with complete primary education, standing at 7.6 per cent, compared to Nkwalini's 4.8 per cent (Census, 2001 cited in StatsSA, 2005). The 2001 Census also indicates that Nkwalini has a higher percentage of people with secondary and Grade 12 education, standing at 35.5 and 28.9 per cent respectively, compared to Nxamalala's 33.6 and 13.8 per cent (Census, 2001 cited in StatsSA, 2005).

3.6 Data Collection Techniques

Primary information was collected by means of in-depth interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs). Interviews with the DoT Zibambele Regional Director in Durban, Mr Mzila and the Deputy Director, Mr Dimba in Pietermaritzburg, were used to gather information about the programme. It is possible that this could have introduced a bias. Both informants agreed to the use of their names in this dissertation. The aims of these interviews were to understand the policy the Department abides by, and how it promotes the empowerment of the women participating in the programme. Information was collected at the work site of the participants in both study areas. Secondary data was collected through the DoT planning documents.

Semi-structured interviews allowed the researcher flexibility in the order the questions were considered, in order to allow the interviewee to be elaborative when responding to issues raised by the interviewer. The interviews were designed to obtain information on for example, the respondent's demographics, their employment history, decision-making in their households and their perceptions of Zibambele.

Participants responded to open-ended questions which are designed to allow the interviewee to put forward any ideas and guide them to discuss issues of interest in detail (Denscombe, 1998: 113). One of the main advantages of open-ended questions is that the interviewee is in a position to determine the nature of the answer because the researcher does not suggest the response. Open-ended questions were designed in such a way that they suited the needs of the respondent's particular situation. Maykut and Morehouse (1994) add that open-ended questions avoid answers that will simply give 'yes' or 'no' responses or short phrases. Open-ended questions have a further advantage because they are 'a conversation with a purpose' (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994: 88).

In-depth interviews establish a one-to-one relationship between interviewer and respondent. In an in-depth interview, information comes from the thoughtful reflection of one person aided by exchange with the interviewer-one person's point of view (Ulin et al, 2002: 46-48). The purpose was to determine the participants' perceptions and opinions. Ten women contractors were selected for the in-depth interviews. The purpose of the study was explained to the contractors. As a result, they appeared relaxed and saw the interviews as a way of showing the merits of Zibambele and its potential future growth. In this situation, it would be easy for the presence of DoT officials to lead to possible bias. However, the researcher's honest sense was that the contractors had positive perceptions as well as negative.

One advantage of in-depth interviews is that they allow prolonged engagement to be used by the researcher to become familiar with the interviewee, establish a relationship with the interviewee and to promote trust (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994: 80-81). The validity

of the interviews was considered by asking participants to comment on the interpretation of the interviews conducted by the researcher.

The purpose of using FGDs in this study was to acquire an in-depth understanding of the participants' livelihood activities. FGD is the use of group interaction to produce data and insights that would be less accessible without the interaction found in a group (Morgan, 1988 cited in Ulin et al, 2002: 92). FGD participants relate to each other as well as to the interviewer. FGDs were chosen because they provide information on how groups of people think or feel about a particular topic and give greater insight into why certain opinions are held (Denscombe, 1998: 114-115). Besides, "a setting can be [provided] for a discussion without fear of criticism, an in-depth discussion of a topic can be obtained, such discussions can be very useful in constructing questionnaires" (Struwig and Stead, 2001: 100).

The researcher conducted in-depth interviews first and then the FGDs. The main reason for this was that FGDs, "can stimulate people to share their own ideas and debate the views of others" (Ulin et al, 2002: 93). Some of the information asked in the FGDs served to complement information that had already been gathered from the interviews. For example, in asking the question, what are the advantages and disadvantages of Zibambele. The participants for the FGDs were selected from those who had not participated in the in-depth interviews. This was done consistently in both areas. Older women were interviewed separately from younger women. The reason was that "younger women may be reluctant to discuss their views in front of older women. Thus... age may become a defining variable when assigning people to discussion groups" (Ulin et al, 2002: 93). The study conducted two FGDs in each area, and there were four to five participants in each group. To elicit rich information from the respondents the researcher used the three types of qualitative interviews: main questions, follow-up questions and probes. Rubin and Rubin (1995) suggest that this is one of the effective ways of getting rich information from interviewees (cited in Ulin et al, 2002: 84). The women were asked about the benefits and constraints they are faced with in Zibambele and who makes

decisions in their households with regard to how much they should spend. Questions on decision-making in the households and the constraints they face in engaging in livelihood activities tended to take a long time, as women became more argumentative.

FGDs also have their limitations. Morgan (1988) points out that they bring an uncertainty of not knowing if individual behaviour will be reflected (Morgan, 1988:21). On another note, “they require skilled group facilitators, the facilitator maybe biased in directing the discussion, the participants maybe unwilling to disclose all their thoughts on the topic and generalization on the population is not possible given the small sample size” (Struwig and Stead, 2001: 100).

3.7 Data Analysis

All interviews and FGDs were recorded on a tape recorder and these taped interviews were transcribed. The FGDs and in-depth interviews were conducted in Zulu and then translated into English. In analyzing and interpreting the narrative data, thematic analysis was used. As Hayes (2000) states “... [it is] a useful way of exploring the richness of qualitative data” (Hayes, 2000: 171). The common feature of thematic analysis of a qualitative study is to identify the common themes that occur in a particular study (Hayes, 2000:171). Essentially, themes here are recurrent topics that become apparent in the material analyzed, and which appear a number of times in the material being analyzed.

The establishment of the same theme can be explained using different words, arise in different circumstances or brought up by different people. As a result, in thematic analysis the researcher has to go through the data carefully and try to identify these emergent patterns of themes (Hayes, 2000: 173-174). The data was read, re-read and the notes from the field were carefully reviewed. The re-reading of the notes was to identify themes that emerged with the intention of attaching categories or codes to the texts representing these themes. These identifiable themes and patterns from each interview

were then synthesized. The themes are ideas that come up many times in the data and raised by different people (Hayes, 2000: 173-174). The themes and the codes were used to explain the findings. A step- by- step method of Hayes' thematic analysis is discussed in the appendix.

3.8 Ethical Issues

The reason for an informed consent is that the participants must understand “the possible risks and benefits, voluntary participation, assurances of confidentiality, the purpose of the study, how they were chosen to participate, data collection procedures [and lastly] who to contact with questions and concerns” (Ulin et al, 2002: 61). As Rubin and Rubin (1995) state, “when you encourage people to talk to you openly, you incur serious ethical obligations to them” (cited in Ulin et al, 2002: 61). In the study, ethical issues surrounded the fact that parts of the study deal with (a) household power battles and (b) participants may fear losing their jobs if they are too critical of Zibambebe. Hence, the researcher pointed out from the onset that the participants will remain anonymous and information provided will remain confidential. The researcher was obliged to inform the participants what the research was about, not necessarily the topic for discussion. The researcher designed consent forms that firstly briefed the participants about the nature of the study and started the interviews by giving the participants informed consents. The identity of the participants was protected by the use of pseudonyms except in the case of the two DoT officials.

3.9 Limitations of the Study:

Development studies is concerned with implementing effective strategies for the uplifting of the lives of poor communities. It is hoped that the study will contribute by providing information on how decision-making in the household can either influence or affect the development of livelihoods for poor people.

The limitations of the study were that, firstly, the findings and discussions of the study cannot be generalized to broader areas as it was only limited to two areas. Secondly, the study was only concerned with livelihood promotion in improving the lives of poor contractors. Other useful aspects such as whether the Zibambele public works programme has reduced the poverty of the contractors were not included.

Thirdly, since approval was attained from the DoT, the Zibambele supervisors went on site with the researcher because the areas are far and require the researcher to be mobile. Their presence may have affected the responses given by participants, in that they might have given more positive responses in the fear of losing their jobs. The supervisor stayed in the car at a far away distance yet his presence could have constrained open expression of views. Lastly, financial and time constraints also limited the researcher in including more respondents in the study.

Chapter 4: The Aims and Design of Zibambele

4.1 Introduction

The characteristics of Zibambele road maintenance programme were briefly mentioned in Chapter Two. This chapter draws on interviews with key informants and on material from DoT, to look at the official perspective of programme aims, selection process, progress of the programme and savings clubs. Interviews were with people likely to promote the programme and their claims were tested in the interviews and FGDs with contractors. The chapter starts with a brief description of the KwaZulu-Natal province, where Zibambele is implemented.

4.2 Characteristics of KwaZulu-Natal

The province of KwaZulu-Natal is home to approximately 20 per cent of South Africa's population of 44 million. Although KwaZulu-Natal is the third smallest in South Africa, it is a province with the largest population in the country. The estimated total population in 1995 was 9.8 million residing in 1.6 million households. The growth rate of the population is around 2.3 per cent per year and it is projected to increase and reach 12.9 million by 2010 (May and Lipton, 1996:6, Adato et al, 2004: 2). In addition, it is the third poorest province in South Africa and it is mostly African women that are affected by poverty (Ngwane, Yadavalli and Steffens, 2001: 201; McCord, 2002: 36). The KwaZulu-Natal Income Dynamics Study (KIDS) indicates that KwaZulu-Natal is experiencing worsening poverty. Aggregate unemployment rose from 20 per cent in October 1994 to 29 per cent, in September 2001.¹⁰ When this is compared to the 'broad definition' it rose from 31 per cent to above 45 per cent¹¹ (Aliber, 2003: 476). According to Lewis (2001) an estimated GDP growth of well above 4 and 5 per cent, would not reduce the broad unemployment levels to lower than 30 per cent among the semi and unskilled (Lewis, 2001 cited in McCord, 2003: 3). Besides, some maintain that it has the highest incident of

¹⁰ This is by using StatsSA's narrow definition, where a person is classified as unemployed if he was actively seeking work over the previous four weeks.

¹¹ This is when the person desires to be employed but has not looked for work in recent weeks.

deprivation in terms of access to services and perceived well-being (Leibbrandt and Woolard, 1999 cited in Adato, Carter and May, 2004: 6-7).

In spite of the above, research has shown that KwaZulu-Natal has the basis for development activities. The province's economy is diverse with no single predominant industry. Its manufacturing sector includes industrial chemicals, timber, paper and pulp. However, the creation of employment opportunities is one of the greatest challenges facing the province (May, 1996: 6). KwaZulu-Natal has the best natural resources in terms of good soil, higher rainfall patterns and under utilized irrigation potential (May, 1996: 7). Despite this, the number of households involved in agriculture is estimated to be below a million (62.5 per cent) with about 0.5 million households having a small plot for home gardening (May, 1996: 8).

4.3 The Design of the Zibambele Public Works Programme

The implementation of Zibambele represents a step towards the reduction of poverty in the province. This programme was initiated by the DoT in KwaZulu-Natal. The DoT claims that the Zibambele road maintenance contract system is one of the most successful and exemplary development programmes in South Africa's anti-poverty programmes. According to the DoT, the programme is aimed at the rural poor and aims to help the needy by reducing their risk of poverty (DoT, 2001:1).

Zibambele was designed to use a bottom-up approach instead of a top-down approach. The top-down approach to development refers to the trend of the state in a local and regional, national context to implement development with minimal consultation with the communities who are meant to benefit from development projects. In the bottom-up approach potential beneficiaries of a project are supposed to be involved in the adoption and running of the development project (Roodt, 2001: 471). This is meant to empower the poor to advocate for their rights. One of the aims of the study will be to investigate whether women are given a voice. It was envisaged that through Zibambele, poverty would be stabilized not only in the short but also in the long term (SDR, 2003: 55). This

would be made possible by the flexibility the programme offers, which permit the women leisure time to work on other personal activities, which generate money (Indonsa, 2003: 5).

The rationale for Zibambele lies in the important role of rural infrastructure and in economic growth, and the fact that rural roads play a key role. They provide transport of both agricultural and non-agricultural goods, enabling producers to have access to markets, provide access to important services (such as health, cultural, educational and domestic services) and enhance employment opportunities for local residents. Inadequate road maintenance results in the rapid deteriorating of the roads, reducing the probability of the communities achieving economic benefits and assisting the region as a whole (DoT Manual, 2001: 1).

Graders and road workers have traditionally undertaken road maintenance. Levelling the ground surface has been the responsibility of graders, however, coarse gravel material, or dry conditions, has impaired their effectiveness. The other problem is that, for a long time in South Africa, road workers were lodged in road camps and transported long distances every day to perform routine road maintenance in areas where unemployed labour is in abundance (DoT Manual, 2001: 1). This prompted the DoT not to involve external expertise in Zibambele, but to make use of the local potential as a way of being more effective in promoting sustainable impact for poverty alleviation. According to the DoT (2001) Zibambele becomes an option for lower order roads in that a contractor is appointed to maintain a length of road. For this reason this method has been integrated as a foundation of the department's poverty relief programme (DoT Manual, 2001: 1).

As mentioned earlier, PWPs have been implemented in other countries. In Kenya, the focus has been on rural roads. Zibambele was replicated from the Kenyan Lengthman Model.¹² Zibambele is a Zulu name, which means 'doing it for ourselves'. The name

¹² The Lengthman or length person model refers to a person responsible for a section of road of about 1.5 kilometres length.

captures its unique adaptation in meeting the social conditions prevailing in rural KwaZulu-Natal (DoT, 2001: 2). It contributes positively to labour intensive methods in road maintenance. The objectives of this programme are,

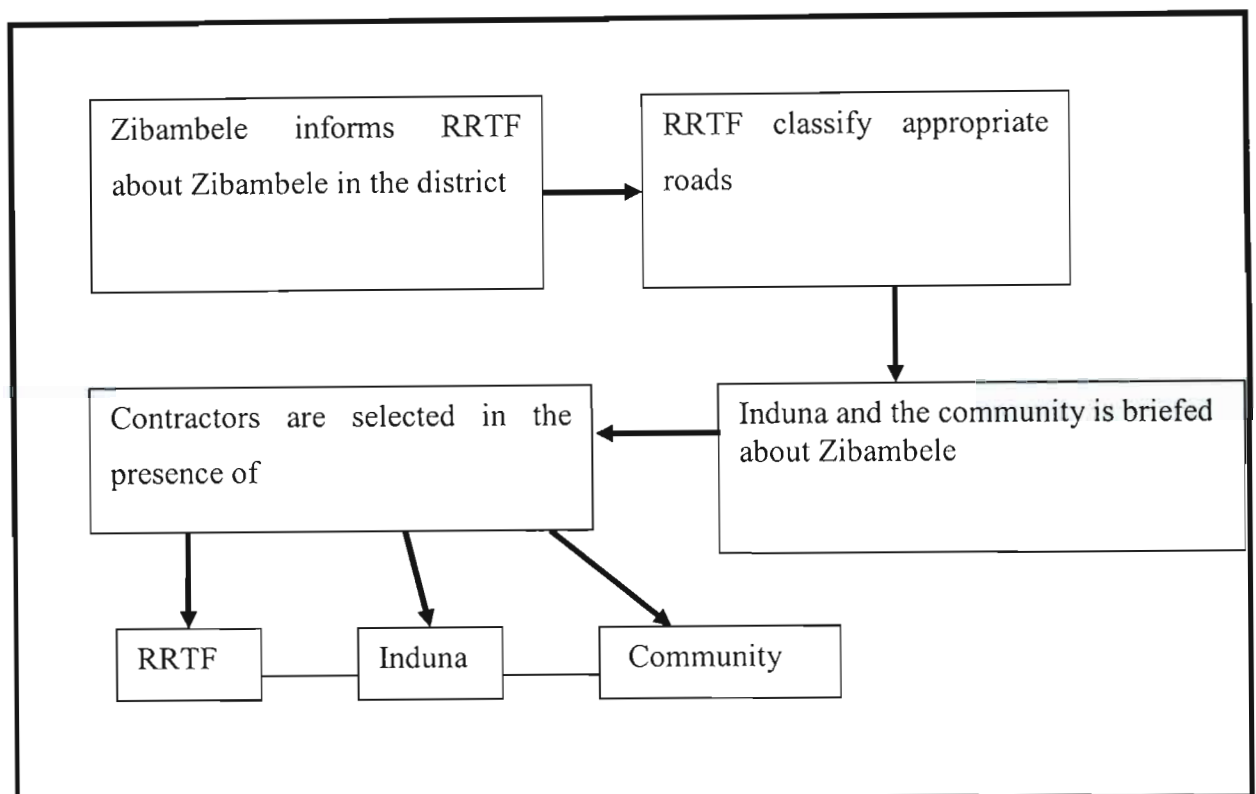
To maintain the province's rural road network, provide destitute rural households which have no other source of income with a regular income; put people to work who are unemployable due to their poverty; improve life chances of the contractors and their children (nutrition, education, dignity and economic activities); enable contractors to organize themselves into credit unions and invest savings in other productive activities and create sustainable work opportunities (DoT, 2001: 2).

Apart from contributing positively to labour intensive methods in road maintenance, the DoT presents, through Zibambele "life skills training on how to organize collectively through credit unions and to assist them to invest savings in other productive activities" (SDR, 2003: 55). This claim was interrogated in the study. The migration of men to urban areas has been caused by lack of job opportunities. In contracting a family or household, the intention is to eliminate the vicious cycle of poverty. The contract is set for a 12 month period. It is however extended for another year as long as it still serves the community's needs (DoT Manual, 2001: 7).

Zibambele's process of selection of contractors is unusual. Zibambele programme targets women who are the most vulnerable. This programme has been intended to bring more opportunities to women. According to the DoT (2001) the selection process begins by demarcating the roads with painted steel standards. The households that are living in close proximity are invited to a selection meeting and they themselves identify the very poor who should be in the programme. This is done in the presence of the induna and Rural Road Transport Forum (RRTF) representative (DoT, 2001: 2). This is an advisory body to the Member of the Executive Commission (MEC) of Transport. This is designed to show transparency in the selection process, and to accurately exclude better-off households. However, it remains to be seen if this aim is achieved. According to the DoT, the induna and RRTF know the households in their communities and their situations, thus causing the genuinely poor people to be chosen. This is also one good way of eliminating

bias. However, the selection process does not guarantee that the poor will always be selected. As KwaZulu-Natal is extremely politically divided thus there could be a high chance of co-optation. But apparently this process has remained relatively non-party political. It is highly likely that the induna is one party and the RRTF representative to be another party.

Figure 1: The Structure of the Selection Process



The Department official recommends and gives valid reasons of the specific roads that cannot be suitable for the contractors to maintain (DoT Manual, 2001: 3). Selected contractors are then assigned the basic responsibility of the work to be carried out, which include that she will work for eight hours a week performing her maintenance duties. If she fails, she will receive a notice from the Roads Superintendent warning her that her contract will be terminated. The contractor is given at a one month's written notice of termination. Once contractors are hired they are assisted by the department to open bank

accounts where their remuneration will be paid (DoT Manual, 2001: 7). The intention was to cut out one possible area of corruption and to get poorer people into mainstream financial institutions. This is one of the most innovative aspects of the programme.

According to the Regional Director of the DoT Durban region (Mzila, interview, 10/11/2005) the department explains to the community that they want to identify households that have no salary or support. Then the community identifies them. If the number of the contractors is not enough, then they choose those that receive any grant, be it pension or any child grant. He further stated that the Department rates a person not in poverty to be earning between R1050-R1500 per month (Mzila, interview, 10/11/2005). Zimbabwe has had some problems with regard to the selection process. For example, a woman stated that the programme did not select her in spite of her poverty. However, the DoT argued that she was not chosen because she was viewed as better off than those that were selected (Indonsa, 2003: 5; McCord, 2003: 29). This raises a question of whether the large and vulnerable section of the population is not kept outside the programme.

The contractors' duties include,

To clear and keep clear, side drains, dish drains, culvert inlets and outlets, pipe culverts, and all other outlet channels and drains of silt, earth deposits and other deleterious matter. Gather, load, transport and deposit foliage cuttings in a designated area. Gather, load, transport and deposit other debris and litter in a designated dumping area. Fill, and keep filled, potholes and eroded channels. Gather, load and transport small rocks to damaged erosion bolster positions as required. Repair damaged erosion bolsters as required. Cut foliage growing adjacent to the road surface in a manner such that water falling on the road surface is allowed free movement off the surface (DoT, 2001: 4-5).

According to the Deputy Director of the DoT in Pietermaritzburg, each contractor maintains approximately 500-800 metres or 1 kilometre shared between two contractors (Dimba, interview, 25/11/2005). When the women are contracted, they are given implements, such as a wheelbarrow, a pick, a shovel, and a hoe (DoT, 2001). It is claimed that these tools play an important part in the livelihoods of the households in that they add to the scope and quality of their gardening activities (Indonsa, 2003: 5). This is meant

to empower women by improving their economic standards by involving them in employment and income generation projects.

The plan of targeting women seems logical in that women are more inclined than men to use their income for the benefit of the entire family, whilst men spend more on themselves (Kandiyoti, 1988:5; Devereux, 2001:18; Budlender, 1997: 520-521; McCord, 2003: 28). A number of studies (Case and Deaton, 1998; Case and Menendez, forthcoming) show that in South Africa pensions received by women have more of a redistribution effect than men's pensions (Case and Deaton, 1998; Case and Menendez, forthcoming).

4.4 Progress of the Programme

Within a period of three years the programme had covered 14, 000 households growing from 6 031 contracts in the 2000/2001 financial year, to 10 000 contracts in 2001/2002 to about 14 000 in 2002/2003 (Indonsa, 2003: 5). Initially the Zibambele contractors were paid an amount of R200, which gradually increased to R334, R350, and R370 to the present R390. This is a month's wage for working two days in a week (Igalelo, 2005). It was claimed that the 10 000 permanent jobs represented 0, 77 million workdays in 2001/2002. The DoT aimed to create 40,000 jobs by 2006 (McCord, 2003: 28). However, this target has been extended to 2009. At the end of 2005, 27 000 jobs had been created (Dimba, interview, 18/11/2005).

There is a record of a public meeting, an Imbizo, held in Ndwendwe where women spoke forcefully that the programme has enabled them to climb out of abject poverty and despair (Igalelo, 2005). They said that the programme, had given them an opportunity to fend for their families and meet other vital desires for example, schooling and health care (Indonsa, 2003:5).

4.5 Zibambele Savings Clubs

It was not the intention of the researcher to investigate the savings clubs and skills development of the programme. However when the interviews were conducted interesting information emerged, thus the researcher included it in the study. The DoT encourages the women to join savings clubs with a long-term objective to create opportunities for investment, which would in turn increase the long term empowerment of Zibambele (DoT, 2001: 8). Each Zibambele contractor contributes R20 a month. According to Igalelo (2005) in one year 575 savings clubs set up in the province by Zibambele members had saved approximately R2 million (Igalelo, 2005). In an evaluation meeting¹³ that the researcher attended, the savings clubs committee (2005) stated that club membership is restricted to contractors and the money is not deducted from their salary, as they are not compelled, but encouraged to join. The contractors elect people to lead the clubs and these form the savings clubs committee. They are responsible for keeping the women's savings books and for banking the money (Savings club committee, interview, 11/11/2005).

With the multiple objectives of PWPs in South Africa, there is great concern to see if Zibambele is able to succeed in other areas besides poverty. From the above, the fundamental question is not whether growth can be attained from the savings clubs but how effective they are in meeting the programmes objectives.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the claims made by the DoT and others. These claims have been positive. The researcher has shown the innovative aspects of the programme. Evidence from the field to find out from participants themselves what effect the programme has had, follows in the next chapter.

¹³ This meeting is held annually to discuss the year's progress.

Chapter 5: Findings and Discussion

5.1 Introduction

This study gathered information that provided an insight into the livelihood activities of contractors of the Zibambele PWP. It also investigated whether factors such as decision-making in the households affect or influence their livelihoods. This chapter discusses the findings of the main themes of the study and seeks to understand whether there is any link between literature on the livelihood approaches discussed in Chapter Two and what the women's perceptions are with respect to the promotion and development of their livelihoods. In analyzing the results, the differences between the study areas will be compared, where possible.

5.2 Demographic Profile of the Sample

This study focused on twenty female contractors employed by Zibambele, ten respondents from Nkwadini in Umbumbulu, South of Durban and ten respondents from Nxamalala in Sweetwaters. The women were willing to discuss issues pertaining to household decision-making.

Table 2 presents a demographic profile of the respondents. The respondents' ages ranged between 20 to 64 years, with the mean age being 42. Respondents from Nkwadini were somewhat younger than those from Nxamalala). Each household consisted of five to seven members. A majority of the respondents stated that they live with their children and mostly grandchildren. A high proportion of the total respondents have lower primary education. Nkwadini had six respondents and Nxamalala had four respondents with lower primary. Only one respondent (from Nkwadini) had reached high school (grade 10). Nkwadini respondents had higher education than Nxamalala respondents, especially when comparing those with no education, primary or high school. Four Nxamalala respondents and two Nkwadini respondents had no education. The home language for all respondents was Zulu; only four respondents from Nkwadini and six from Nxamalala could not speak

or understand English. Of the total respondents, six chose Xhosa as their home language. However, all respondents spoke Zulu. With regard to marital status nine respondents indicated that they were married, two never married, one divorced, three were cohabiting and five were widowed.

Table 2: Selected demographic characteristics

	Nkwalini		Nxamalala	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Age:				
20-24	2	20	0	0
25-29	0	0	0	0
30-34	0	0	1	10
35-39	3	30	1	10
40-44	1	10	2	20
45-49	2	20	0	0
50-54	0	0	4	40
55-59	2	20	0	0
60-64	0	0	2	20
Highest Education:				
High school	2	20	1	10
Secondary school	0	0	1	10
Primary school	6	60	4	40
No education	2	20	4	40
Language:				
Zulu	10	100	10	100
Xhosa	4	40	2	20
English	6	60	4	40
Swazi	2	20	4	40
Marital Status:				
Married	6	60	3	30
Never married	0	0	2	20
Cohabiting	1	10	2	20
Divorced	1	10	0	0
Widowed	2	20	3	30

It is important to understand the education background of the respondents, for one to get a clearer picture of the skills level that individuals possess if they are to cope in the work place. Table 1 shows that a majority of the respondents do not have sufficient education that can enable them to qualify for future employment opportunities. This also indicates that women in the rural areas need to uplift their economic and social status, as literature reveals that a majority of Africans enter the world of employment with low levels of education. This was largely caused by the apartheid regime, which permitted whites to enjoy many privileges at the expense of the African, Indian and Coloured population. The black population was set aside to do low skilled jobs (Terreblanche, 2002: 387). The above figures show that the apartheid policies had severe impact, especially in view of the low number of respondents who have higher primary and secondary education and high numbers with no education. Thus, the age of the respondents has an important meaning in the study, as the old people are the most vulnerable. The information presented above is closely linked to the following section.

5.3 Work History

With regard to previous employment, a majority of the respondents did casual jobs prior to joining Zibambele. Thirteen (65 per cent) were employed in domestic work, gathering firewood, employed as farm labourers for nearby households, and building houses for their neighbours.¹⁴ Earning from these activities were R2, R5 and R10 a day. The respondents explained that much of the work entailed weeding cane fields, and when the work was completed, they would be unemployed for some months. They added that when Zibambele was implemented they stopped working in their jobs because the programme offers a better salary and the number of working days are fixed. In total seven (35 per cent) of the respondents stated that they were not employed prior to Zibambele work but relied on their husbands that were working. However, their husbands lost their jobs when the companies they worked for closed down. One explained that her husband was working for Spar in Phoenix, another said her husband worked for a construction company in Pietermaritzburg. They stated this as the reason for working for Zibambele

¹⁴ The type of houses they built were stick and mud

since there was no other income earner in the household. Nine of the respondents worked for Zibambele since its inception. Respondents made the following comments,

I used to work for Indians as a maid, they paid me R5 a day. I was working from Monday to Friday. I worked for this family for a period of 9 months. That was in 1997. I stopped working, as there was too much work and little money and worked for another family, which paid me R10 a day (in-depth interview, Nkwalini 9/11/2005).

I used to collect firewood for people. I was paid by being given food to eat. I would eat and spare some for my children back home. Sometimes I asked my neighbour for food (in-depth interview, Nkwalini, 9/11/2005).

The findings correspond with literature on the repercussions of the apartheid regime. Among other things the apartheid's policies of restrictive access to markets, infrastructure and education created and deepened poverty amongst the black population (Adato and Haddad, 2002:5). The restriction on education access is one of the major reasons why most of the respondents are not educated and lack valuable skills that can enable them to get better jobs. Given their educational background the majority of black South Africans occupy the bottom lowest-paid jobs. This is attributed to the apartheid policies. From this study it appears that low level of education is associated with low wages. This hinders their development. For this reason, Terreblanche (2002) argues that there is a close relationship between educational achievement of an individual and poverty (Terreblanche, 2002: 383). This is important as the level of education attained can correspond with future employment status. As earlier discussed in Chapter Two, the role of public works becomes appropriate in helping the unemployed poor with low skills. On another note, the Zibambele programme is justified in bringing employment to the women in the rural areas as most stated that there were no jobs around their areas, they lacked money and had to care for their families, which made it difficult to look for work in far away places.

One conclusion from this study is that Zibambele enables the women to earn money since they have very limited employment potential. Working in Zibambele has given job security to the women. This is contrary to casual work, which is unstable and has very low income. This makes Zibambele unusual, unlike other PWPs that are temporary in nature.

5.4 Perceptions of Zibambele

The study sought to explore how satisfied respondents are about Zibambele, and whether it facilitates their development. Respondents were asked about the advantages and disadvantages of participating in Zibambele. The response from both study areas was very positive, in that all the respondents were very satisfied with the programme. Most of the women said that it has enabled them to make choices about their lives and to fulfill them. A majority of the women expressed their frustration about their living conditions before they secured employment with Zibambele. Respondents explained that as a result of participation in the programme, they have realized that many people are living in poverty in their community. They mentioned that men and women in their communities ask them to talk to the DoT supervisors to employ them as well. They stated that even the better off want to be employed. Even though the jobs are on a contract basis, they seem content that their contracts will be renewed, next year.

Typical responses were that after securing the job with Zibambele their conditions changed for the better in terms of educating their children and providing food for their households. Respondents added that Zibambele introduced savings clubs for their development. They stated that they have established gardens to provide vegetables without having to purchase them from the shops. Respondents from the focus group discussions stated that they were happy they were working for two days in a week and earning R390, but with the prospect of an increase next year. Respondents commented,

I am very happy about what Zibambele has done for me. Zibambele took me from the dumps and gave me life. Now I can eat, feed my children, and pay for their

school fees. I even have a child doing standard 10, and I pay her fees with the Zibambele money (focus group discussion, Nxamalala, 18/11/2005).

Zibambele came at a point when I was very desperate for employment. When my husband was retrenched my family had to depend on my neighbours for food and live on imfino (wild spinach) we were growing at home, we stayed in the dark with no candle to light. Now at least we can buy candles (in-depth interview, Nkwalini, 13/11/2005).

Zibambele has made me to be recognized in my community. I am proud of Zibambele. Before I could only drink water because it is free, but now I can buy flour and mealie-meal for my children (focus group discussion, Nxamalala, 18/11/2005).

Many women said that Zibambele has enabled them to borrow money from other people because they are working. They stated that prior to Zibambele employment, people in their communities would refuse to lend them money, questioning how they will repay the loan since they were not employed. Most of the women reported that they are now at a better position because they can even purchase food on credit from the shops. Prior to Zibambele work, shopkeepers did not allow them to buy on credit. One woman stated,

Zibambele has given me dignity. I can now borrow money from other people in my community and they give it to me because they know that I am working and can pay it back. Before they used to refuse to borrow me saying that I was not working how will I repay it (focus group discussion, Nxamalala, 18/11/2005).

I come to work even when it is raining because I know that I will be paid, if I stay away then it will mean that I do not want to have food on the table, I cannot stop having food (focus group discussion, Nxamalala, 17/11/2005).

It is clear that the reliability of this modest amount of money brings some security. The general feelings of the respondents in the study were that they are happy to be employed in the programme as it has improved their living conditions.

At the same time there were some mixed comments about other aspects of the programme. High on the list of dissatisfaction was the problem of the salary. As much as the contractors of Zibambele were pleased that they were working, a majority responded that they would appreciate an increase as their salary is small. A woman stated,

I know that Zibambele cannot fulfill our needs, but maybe if the number of working days can be increased so that the income can also rise (focus group discussion, Nkwadini, 14/11/2005).

I would like my salary to be increased but I also think that what I'm getting now is far better than before when I was not working. It is better than nothing (in-depth interview, Nkwadini, 15/11/2005).

A significant problem highlighted in the interviews and the FGDs was the issue of contractors who are frequently absent from work. Seven women felt that the DoT officials should do something about them as this affects other contractors, especially those who share a particular length of road. They stated,

The problem is that some of the women we work with absent themselves on a frequent basis. This discourages us because even though they do not come to work they still get the same amount of money as those who come to work everyday. I do not want to work for other people. The Department must do something to stop this habit (focus group discussion, Nxamalala, 24/11/2005).

The DoT must seriously view and tackle the problem of absenteeism. The supervisors should be vigilant of contractors who remain absent. If the DoT continues to condone absenteeism it will undermine the sustainability of the programme.

Most of the respondents stated that the other problem was need for protective clothing such as overalls, gloves to protect them from broken bottles that cut their hands when working. They added that since they are on contract they will not be compensated if they get injured. Even on rainy days they need to have boots when cleaning the drains. They feel that the DoT should at least provide them with these.

Overall, the perceptions of the respondents in Zibambele are positive. The findings indicate that Zibambele gives the women recognition and provides them with an identity within their communities. The findings further indicate that Zibambele brings a stable income, which was not available to them prior to working for the programme. This has helped them improve their social and economic status. It is human nature for contractors to want more money. This is rational especially when compared with local grants, for example, the OAP. When the DoT officials were asked if there are any contracts that have not been renewed, they responded that the DoT tries to avoid such an act. The reason given was that Zibambele wants to help the women and their families, to an extent that if a particular contractor does not perform, another member of the family is taken as a substitute instead of terminating her contract. On another matter, when the officials of the DoT were asked about providing protective gear for the contractors, the response was that there is nothing they can do for the women. They said the women themselves are responsible for wearing protective clothing, the only item the DoT provides is the orange vests, to enable them to be seen on the roads.

5.5 Income and Decision-making in the Household

In determining how resources are allocated in the respondents' households, the study was interested in finding the role respondents play in decision-making in the household, and how this influences or impedes livelihood activities. Income and decision-making is important in the household as it determines how resources are allocated or pooled within households. Four out of twenty respondents stated that other household members contributed in the running of the household. They added that they have low and erratic incomes. Eleven respondents between the ages of 30 and 45 reported that their partners

do not influence or decide how they should spend their income. The marital status of these respondents was mixed, in that it included the single but cohabiting with a partner and those who were married. They added that they make the decisions on what to spend their income on, because they are employed.

When my husband was working I could not say what his income should be spent on. It was him who decided how much money should go for food or other expenses in the household. The rest he took and used for himself. When things were short or finished in the house he would tell me that he gave me money to buy what was needed. Now I can also have the right to say what should be bought. If there is something short, at least I know that I have my income (in-depth interview, Nkwalini, 10/11/2005).

My husband is not the one who is working, I am. I am the one who decides what to buy at home. Sometimes this makes us quarrel because when a man is not working in the house, it lowers his status. If my husband asks for some money I give it to him, but he does not decide for me what to buy with my money. I give him some money to buy something for himself and keep the rest. If he needs some more he will have to come back and ask for it (in-depth interview, Nkwalini, 10/11/2005).

Contrary to the above, four older respondents aged 50 to 64 reported that it is their partners or husbands who make decisions for them as the heads and men of their households. They commented,

My husband is not working but he has the right to tell me what to buy for the household. There is nothing wrong with that since he is the man in the house and I am married to him. He knows how much I earn and when I get it (focus group discussion, Nkwalini, 10/11/2005).

One respondent aged 20 stated that she plays no part in decision-making because her step-father is the one who controls her income and demands it. She added that she was studying standard 10 before she dropped out of school to take care of the household. She commented,

My mother died in April this year. Because there was no one to feed us, I had to drop out of school to replace her in Zibambele so that I can provide food for the family. The problem I am faced with is that my step-father takes away all the money that I earn. I am always in disagreement with him. He demands that I give him the money. He buys alcohol with the money I get. When he takes it all we rely on the neighbours for food. Sometimes I am able to buy food for my sister before he demands it. He is not sick but does not want to look for work (in-depth interview, Nkwalini, 9/11/2005).

Despite the Zibambele's emphasis on the women's income, in this case, the man could have a contract with Zibambele but he was irresponsible and did not make use of it. That is why the child took the responsibility.

The study revealed the two types of female-headed households, the de facto and de jure. All the respondents in both study areas stated in their households there was no 'absent' male household head. This is the type of household that was classified in Chapter Two as the de facto female-headed. A majority of the respondents were either the heads of their households, in other words were referred to as de jure female-headed. Some stated that their husbands were present and given the title of 'head' of household. The findings also suggest that when the male is employed the income is not shared equally. Confirming this finding is the observation of Budlender (1997) who states that in households where the female performs unpaid tasks and the man works, it is not guaranteed that the money will be shared equally (Budlender, 1997: 520).

Contrary to the above, there were two cases where young women aged 20 and 23 who were not heads of the household, were taking care of and responsible for the household.

The fathers were the 'heads'. These respondents cannot be classified as the household heads but children of the heads of the households. These findings also reveal that women who are the income earners in the household are likely to have conflicts over the income earned with the male members of the households, who are supposedly the 'heads'. This corresponds with Budlender's view that males and females might have conflicting interests and differential control over resources (Budlender, 1997:520). Such conflict may direct the income of the women to be used in ways she does not approve of.

The findings of the study indicate that while some of the women make decisions on how to spend their incomes, others still need to consult older members of their households. In the latter case, these are respondents who are income earners in the households and the husbands or members of the family are not employed. The insight from these findings corresponds with literature. Budlender (2003) notes, "...even though an individual may bring in the highest income in the household she might not necessarily exercise control over what happens to that income" (Budlender, 2003:67). On this issue, it is clear that for development to occur, women's involvement is needed.

However, some women have the power to make decisions and their level of participation is significant on major decisions in the households. These findings are consistent with the findings of the UNRISD. The UNRISD (2005) points out that in other countries, employment opportunities for women have given them greater power over decision-making in the household (2005: 99). In this case it then becomes insignificant whether the head is male or female. This information reveals that the income earner has more bargaining power on how money should be spent in the household.

The study gives an insight into the range of problems that are associated with the term 'headship.' In addition, it shows that there are many definitions of household head and this definition can sometimes be used to address specific situations. The conclusion drawn from the above findings is that headship can be determined by the woman in the household showing respect to the male because in the black culture and especially in rural

areas, older women respect their husbands. This corresponds with Budlender's (2003) argument that

...in many African cultures the household head will be the oldest male. In a multi-generational household, he will often not be the highest income-earner, or even control the resources of the household. Ideologically, and in terms of respect, he is the 'head'. But to say he is the economic head would be incorrect (Budlender, 2003: 53).

The implication of the findings is that women who are not decision makers are more prone to be poor and vulnerable, than those that are decision-makers in their households. In some rare cases younger women that become the 'silent heads' of households are even at a higher disadvantage and are at risk of severe poverty. In addition, the inability to independent spending of some of the respondents' income might impede or limit livelihood activities of some of the women.

5.6 Income Earned by Men

Closely related to the above, when respondents were asked their opinion on Zibambele's plan in contracting more women than men, many stated that it was logical because the income they earn is spent wisely on the needs of the entire household compared to that earned by men. They commented that husbands who are the ones earning an income use the money for drinking and return home with no money.

It is true that money earned by women is spent wisely, because they know how to satisfy and try to cover all the needs of the family whereas men spend the money on alcohol. When a man is working and earning, he first wants to spend the money on himself before the family and in that way the family suffers (focus group discussion, Nxamalala, 29/11/2005).

Men cannot handle money and cannot spend it wisely. They buy alcohol or spend it with girlfriends (in-depth interview, Nkwadini, 7/11/2005).

This information provided by the women suggests that money earned by women is the most effective way of ensuring the upkeep of the family. This is supported by Budlender (1997) who states “in view of the conventional wisdom which affirms that women are more apt than men in utilizing their funds wisely and creatively for the benefit of the entire family, (Budlender, 1997: 520-521). Case and Deaton, (1998) concur by citing South Africa as a point of reference. They state that the welfare impact of pensions received by women has had a much greater effect on the welfare of the household, than that received by men (Case and Deaton, 1998). This justifies the high participation of women in the programme.

5.7 Burial Society

When discussing the benefits of Zibambele in their lives, respondents said that joining a burial society that could help their families in times of death was one of the benefits. Twelve respondents said that they have burial schemes to cover their families in case of death. Seven stated that the money is taken by means of stop-order facility. Five explained that they have schemes next to their communities where they pay monthly but not by stop order. One of the respondents commented,

I joined a burial society and have included my husband and children. I know that Zibambele income is R390, but I normally do not know how much I will get per month because sometimes I get R330, sometimes R340 from my salary after the burial society deductions (in-depth interview, Nkwadini, 10/11/2005).

I do not know how much I earn every month. I was told that I would be earning R390 but now I do not know what my monthly salary is. Sometimes I get R360 instead of R390, sometimes its R340 or R330. I know that this is because I joined a Burial scheme with Standard Bank; it is an Indian Company that owns it. But I do not know how much I am paying per month (in-depth interview, Nxamalala, 16/11/2005).

When analyzing this situation two problems emerge. Firstly, there are many companies that prey on the elderly or poor with various schemes. Evidence indicates that even with pension payouts there are different schemes intent on registering the elderly in their schemes without proper explanations. This finding is confirmed by Lund who makes an example using the pension payout in South Africa. She argues "...these firms use aggressive marketing tactics, and make wild promises to older people, who often have little formal education, about what the benefits of the private policy will be" (Lund, 2003:689). Because a majority of the women in the study are illiterate, they do not inquire from these companies why their monthly installments are inconsistent. It is in such cases that education could play a key role when utilizing resources. However, this is not the case in both areas as the majority of respondents have low education. In this context, it would be laudable if the DoT could implement adult literacy classes directed to educating the women. Empowerment education is important, as lack of knowledge perpetuates poverty.

5.8 Significance of Savings Clubs

The aim of the savings clubs is to inspire the contractors to be future business entrepreneurs. After saving a certain amount of money the contractors can decide as a club which business to invest in. In that way, when they are empowered new people can be hired promoting further development of their communities. The women are informed after each savings meeting as to the total amount saved for that month. This is appropriate as it prevents the misuse of money and it creates accountability and responsibility by the savings committees. However, some of the women seemed disgruntled about the time it will take to save a sufficient amount to start a business. When some of the contractors were asked about this, five pointed out that they have pulled out of the saving clubs due to various reasons. However, they were quick to state that they will resume saving next year. They stated,

I have stopped saving because I have many responsibilities to cater for with the income, but I hope to continue next year (focus group interview, Nkwalini, 3/11/2005).

Four women said that they sometimes do not see the benefits of the savings clubs, even though they participate in them. One of them said,

My problem is that I have joined the savings clubs but I feel that I want to know what the result will be, because in the savings club in my area, we have tents and tables that we are renting out. However, we do not get any money at the end of the year. I would like to get some money from the tents that are rented, maybe at the end of the year. My other problem is that people that do not save diligently are the ones that are delaying the process of reaping the rewards in the savings clubs because they pay for some months and other months do not. I think that this delays the process of the organization making profit (focus group discussion, Nkwalini, 2/11/2005).

The formation of the savings clubs is a good start. However, in some of the areas, the women are not motivated because they have not seen the benefits of their saving. The inconsistency of some respondents weakens the incentive of other respondents to continue saving in the clubs. The other function of the savings clubs is to promote investment, which would entail women setting up projects for income generating activities. For example, a savings club based at Maqongqo (outside Pietermaritzburg) has ventured into making reflective vests for road workers, which they sell at R25 each (Dimba, interview, 15/11/2005). Even though these clubs are done collectively, they serve an important function in the development of livelihoods by investing a lump sum in income generating activities such as the renting out of tents. However, the inconsistent savings or default by some members raises a key question of sustainability, and whether those currently saving will be motivated to continue. This is in view of the fact that the future of the clubs in lifting the women out of poverty depends entirely on how much the contractors are able to save. Perhaps if they could be motivated to save on a continuous

basis and reminded of the benefits this could bring, this would contribute towards sustaining the savings clubs. Another useful idea would be for the members to save individually and maybe meet as a group.

Respondents are of the opinion that the savings clubs can help them venture into big business, which can generate additional income. Even though this is a positive sign it is a long-term project and the failure of some respondents to contribute diligently might hinder the progress of the clubs. Livelihood approaches focus on livelihood promotion, which increases the resilience of households through improving a wide range of sectors that would strengthen the ability of the poor to reduce poverty, such as savings and credit, involving the community in service delivery. Such activities are normally long-term programmes, which have an element of participation and empowerment (Carney, et al 1999). However, it is important to note that for the savings clubs to materialize and use the money for livelihoods, participants should be committed to save the specified amount each month.

In addition, Zimbabwe initiated the savings clubs but the women are responsible for their management. This is one way of ensuring that the women become active in their own development. These findings are consistent with the aims of livelihood approaches in ensuring that external support puts people at the centre of development. On another note by introducing the savings clubs, Zimbabwe is showing that development activity cannot be based in isolation, thus macro and micro level structures are needed. These multiple levels can reduce poverty. The study shows that the poor people should be the principal actors in identifying and addressing livelihood priorities, Zimbabwe creates the environment where the poor can address their problems. On another note, the study has confirmed that Zimbabwe utilizes the bottom up approach. For example, the DoT initiated the savings clubs, but the women are the principal actors in the running of the clubs. The DoT merely encourages them to join the clubs, but no one is compelled. The evidence is seen in the Nkwalini study, where some participants said that they had initially joined the clubs but later stopped contributing. It was their prerogative to do that. The women decide when to hold meetings, who to elect to be in the savings club

committee, and what to do with the money saved. The DoT does not in any way control this. The role of the DoT should then be to assist the women in educating them about how to use the money wisely, to attain sustainability of the project.

This is what the savings clubs serve to achieve as the women are encouraged to save monthly and when they have saved a large sum they can decide what business they would want to venture into. From a development perspective, the success of such programmes can only be guaranteed if the community is responsible in driving their development strategies.

5.9 Health

The study asked about how the contractors cope in times of illness, how they find a replacement and how they manage the payment of the salary. A majority of the respondents stated that they normally require the service of their neighbours or family members, such as sons, daughters or husbands. However, for those with no husband or older children, they have to ask their neighbours. When asked about the cost the household incurs in cases of an illness, all the women stated that they always go to the local clinics, which are free. One of the female respondents stated,

When I am sick or a member of my family is sick I cannot come to work because there is no one in my household that can assist. I have to rely on my neighbour but the problem is that I will have to pay that individual because she will suffer working in the heat and dust. If I am sick for a whole week I will lose a lot of money paying my replacement (in-depth interview, Nkwalini, 26/10/2005).

I was sick one day and came to work. Fortunately one of the supervisors came and found me sleeping on the ground and she took me home. My daughter had to come and replace me. In that way it is easy because I do not have to pay her as the money goes to the pooling of the entire household. But other times my daughter had to go to the market to sell, then I asked my neighbour but did not

pay her anything because we help each other so many times (in-depth interview, Nkwalini, 28/10/2005).

Sometimes falling sick or when a member of the household falls sick is a problem because you are forced to pay your replacement all your salary. I had to pay a neighbour R45 a day. I was sick for 3 three weeks and as a result almost all my salary was gone. I sometimes wish I would not fall sick or someone in my family would not fall sick, because I lose my income paying that individual (focus group discussion, Nxamalala, 26/11/2005).

The study shows that the respondents view illness as a problem. This is supported by literature which states that illness affords women little time for productive and community activities (De Satge et al, 2002: 45). Illness or death may also prove costly in terms of losing their earnings, especially in cases where there is no one to substitute the woman. As Narayan et al (2000) argue, "...where formal institutions provide inadequate safety nets, the illness of one person within the family can affect the economic stability of the entire household (Narayan et al, 2000: 53).

Thus, illness is identified as a problem in participating in Zibambele activities. The main problem is that respondents cannot come to work when sick but others opt to, to avoid paying their income to someone else. On this issue, women even go to the extent of avoiding asking a neighbour to replace them but would rather get a household member, who in some cases is a child because then the money is used for the entire household. In other instances, children below the age of 18 replace their parents, which is against the DoT policy¹⁵. Similarly, what is surprising is that they even opt to bring a sick child or baby to the work site, which is also against the DoT rules. When a household member falls sick, the activities of the Zibambele contractor get disrupted, in that the respondent cannot get to work. Even the tradition of relying on neighbours becomes a problem as in most cases they have to pay them. This reduces the money spent on livelihood activities. More interesting is the neighbour replacement not household replacement. This is not

¹⁵ The DoT does not allow children below the age of 18 to replace their parents or relatives.

what the programme intends to promote, but because there are sometimes no household member to substitute the contractor even for a few days.

5.10 Skills Development

One of the repercussions of the apartheid policies is the lack of skills in the black population. This is what exacerbates the rate of poverty among the black population. With this reality in mind, the DoT introduces the contractors to the learning of skills, which can be of assistance in employment opportunities. Skills training is important as long as it creates employment for people. Respondents reported that they have derived some considerable skills such as filling potholes and eroded channels, repair eroded roads and maintaining the roads. They felt that the skills gained could be useful to the community.

Twelve contractors pointed out that they are at an advantage now compared to before as they can do other work with the skills learnt from the programme. However, eight stated that sometimes they encounter problems when they are learning the work. They mentioned that the main problem was that sometimes it was hard to remember what they learnt the previous day. They pointed out,

I have learnt to clear trees from the side of the roads, fill eroded channels, clean pipes and the road. But my problem is that I have a problem in filling the eroded bolsters. I forget what I learn the previous day. I sometimes get home and try to remember. I need to be reminded constantly until I get it right. The person teaching us does not spend a lot of time in teaching us. We are taught maybe a day or two, and then we have to do it on our own (in-depth interview, Nkwalini, 26/10/2005).

I have learnt how to repair the roads. It has helped me because before I did not know how to but now I can use the skill in applying for another job elsewhere where I can repair roads (focus group discussion, Nxamalala, 28/11/2005)

Based on these findings, it can be concluded that the duration of the training is inadequate. Although the training provided by the DoT is small-scale, the important fact is that it can help the participants in future employment. On another note, the women had no idea what other work they can do except one related to what they are doing now. Literature indicates that public works can also be an economic boost through the education and on-site job training. This can further empower the women. The intention is to improve their chances of pursuing private sector jobs, which need new skills (Adato and May, n.d: 34). It is further stated that acquiring education and training is advantageous because finding a job where people can get experience is a main problem, and experience is a skill in itself (National Economic Forum, 1994, cited in Adato and May, n.d: 34).

5.11 Social Assistance

As mentioned in Chapter Two, the South African government provides social assistance which includes child grants; disability grants and pensions. Benefits consist of cash transfers, and have served as an income supplement in many households. The findings in both areas reveal that the child grant is the most commonly mentioned and the old age pension comes second. Fifteen respondents stated that they receive at least one child grant. Those with many children receive two or three child grants. Three respondents stated that their husbands receive pension. Two respondents stated that they do not receive any transfer at all citing reasons of not having the necessary documentation. Beneficiaries of the grant commented,

I have five children, four grand children and my husband is deceased. I get a child grant for three of the children. This money helps the Zibambele income. I have a 25-year daughter who is working in Pietermaritzburg but does not stay at

home and does not make any contribution to the household. So the grant supplements the Zibambele income, it helps me to buy food and pay for school fees for some of the children (in-depth interview, Nxamalala, 27/11/2005).

I get a child grant for two of my children, with the money I get from Zibambele and the grants I am able to buy some containers with spices from town and sell them in the community. I can then put food on the table for my children (in-depth-interview, Nkwalini, 26/10/2005).

My husband gets a pension, and I get a child grant for two of my grandchildren. In total, the monthly income for my household is close to R1500. With this money, I am able to buy food and pay for my children's fees. My husband's pension helps to buy what we are short of in the house (focus group discussion, Nxamalala, 29/11/2005).

From these findings it is clear that the provision of grants by the government has contributed to some livelihood activity of some households and has contributed to household well-being. This indicates that a considerable proportion of the black population in rural areas relies highly on government grants to livelihood opportunities (Deininger and May, 2000: n.d). Since women heading households in the rural areas are income constrained, they tend to depend on the state transfer such as pensions and grants compared to male-headed households. It is evident from the study that a majority of the poor women depend on the grant and earnings from Zibambele to support their households. The more grants a household gets, the more secure that household will be. However, households with many dependents irrespective of their age raise the risk of poverty.

In sum, the implications of the findings show that the combination of the CSG and OAP has a positive impact in the living standards of poor households. This is a strong reason why social assistance should continue to be given to those who are deserving, which are mostly the poor.

5.12 Rural Livelihoods

As discussed in Chapter Two, the goal of the livelihood approach is rural development. The concept of livelihoods stresses the activities that the poor can engage in to secure an adequate living standard. In improving the lives of the poor, the livelihoods approach focuses on a bottom-up approach, starting from the priorities put across by the poor. Their needs are then merged with the vision of the authorities aiming at poverty reduction.

Six respondents said that they use Zibambele income to make ends meet. Reasons provided were that since the Zibambele income is little, they resort to petty trading. They explained that they use part of the Zibambele money to buy items, which they sell to get extra money. They also grow crops that they sell at a market. Six respondents stated that they are relying on the savings clubs to enable them to invest in income generating activities in the near future. Only two respondents reported that they do not use Zibambele income to engage in other activities to bring in money. On the contrary, three respondents reported that they supplement the Zibambele income by working for other people during the days when they are not working. They commented,

I sell containers with spices to the community. I normally get 100 per cent profit; for example, when I buy spices for R100, after selling them I will get R200. Sometimes I buy with more money sometimes with less. But it helps me add to my Zibambele income (in-depth interview, Nkwadini, 24/10/2005).

I sell fruits and vegetables on a seasonal basis. For example, during the summer season, mangos are in abundance. I buy them and sell at the market when I am not working. But if it is not on season, especially winter I do not do any activity because there is no variety of fruits and vegetables to sell. This money has helped me in catering for my household, instead of waiting for the Zibambele income because it is not sufficient. Before I used to use candles for light, now I can afford electricity (in-depth interview, Nkwadini, 25/10/2005).

I buy seeds with Zibambele money and grow vegetables to sell. Since I am working my 24 year old daughter sells the vegetables at the market. However, I cannot calculate how much I make a day or month because I live from hand to mouth. But my life has changed because I have Zibambele work on the one hand and sell the vegetables on the other. Before I depended on what neighbours could give me, now I can buy most things for the family. Now that it is the rainy season, I grow spinach and cabbages (focus group discussion, Nkwalini, 25/10/2005).

I work for other people when I am not working for Zibambele. The income for Zibambele is little so I have to find other means of earning extra money. The work I do is to make bricks out of mud that can be used when building a house. Sometimes I am paid R200 it depends on the amount of work. With this money I can supplement the Zibambele income. I am then able to buy food, clothes, electricity and send my children to school. Without the other work I struggle to live (focus group discussion, Nxamalala, 26/11/2005).

When asked about the reasons for not doing any activity. The reasons were,

I have heard that there are other Zibambele Savings clubs that have saved a lot of money and used it to start their business. That is why I am saving with the hope that the savings club in my community starts a business. For a business to be successful you need a lot of money, if you have less money it is fruitless (focus group discussion, Nkwalini, 10/11/2005).

I would love to grow crops and sell them but I do not have sufficient land and the livestock eat my crops because there is no fencing around. I only grow crops to feed my family not to sell (in-depth interview, Nxamalala, 28/11/2005).

These findings reveal that the kinds of livelihood activities that respondents engage in vary and are sometimes diverse. This confirms what is suggested in literature that the

livelihoods of the poor are usually varied and often multifaceted. Moreover, one reason for diversified livelihoods is to increase the income for the household, and make their lives better (Chambers, 1995: 27). Apart from this, it indicates that most of the women realize that they have to have other means of supplementing the Zibambele income in order to survive. This corroborates with Devereux, who states that the labour-based entitlements can be used to develop livelihoods through "...the use of income as working capital to increase profits from informal activities such as petty trading" (Devereux 2000, quoted in McCord, 2003: 23). However, the benefits of livelihood activities that respondents engage in are not substantial but still help in improving the household. For example, they are able to buy clothes, send children to school, buy electricity, and generally live an improved life. This does not mean that they are no longer poor, but it means that their lives are improved.

With regard to the five dimensions that were discussed in Chapter Two, the study revealed that the participants form networks or relationships with neighbours and other people. In this study, participants borrow money from these networks. On another note, they diversify their livelihood, as the income from Zibambele alone is not enough. Seasonality also plays a major factor in the participants of Zibambele. These women diversify their livelihood according to the season, in order to make extra money. The findings further indicate that the livelihood activities of respondents are determined by season. Some of the women make mud bricks in the winter season, while others sell fruits and vegetables during the summer season. From the findings it is clear that only two respondents do not engage in other ways to supplement their income. Literature reveals that among various reasons poor people do not engage in livelihood activities because they use their income first for their basic consumption, education and health, social capital and then use it for income generating activities (Devereux, 2000 cited in McCord, 2003: 27).

6.1 Conclusion

In conclusion, the study indicates that livelihood activities of the respondents are diverse. However, the work that the women do is often not long-term, but supplements the

Zimbabwe income. Respondents find these activities useful in that they help them to survive instead of relying solely on Zimbabwe income and they become an alternative source of income. The failure to engage in any livelihood activity can be the consequence of various factors, such as lack of sufficient income, exclusion or having less power in decision-making in the household and lack of land. Social problems such as decision-making in the household also impede women from making decisions to engage in activities to bring in extra money.

Zimbabwe is a means to generate income for basic necessities, such as food, clothing, electricity and a means to generate income for livelihoods, which can be an effective measure to alleviate poverty. In some instances, a household is in a better position to engage in livelihood activities if it receives a grant from the government. The combination of the CSG, OAP and Zimbabwe contribute to a better life for households. Households that do not receive a grant find it difficult to engage in activities that can bring in extra money. These factors are noted as impacting on the development of a livelihood.

These findings confirm that targeted programmes are an effective way to encourage livelihoods of the poor. This is confirmed through the Zimbabwe road maintenance programme which does contribute to livelihoods.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This study was carried out in rural areas and investigated whether targeted programmes are a means of sustaining livelihoods for poor people, particularly the contractors of Zibambele road maintenance programme in KwaZulu-Natal. The programme illustrates some positive ways in which the new government of South Africa has intervened in the alleviation of poverty.

This study confirms that poor households engage in various livelihood activities to reduce their levels of poverty. Inevitably, the income from Zibambele does contribute to household livelihood activities. The diverse nature of activities is apparent in this study, as households do not rely on just one activity but combine a number of them. In the research areas, Nkwalini and Nxamalala, the main rural livelihoods are composed of agricultural activities, trading and working for other people. The study has also confirmed the seasonality of these activities. For example, collecting firewood for other people, selling and weeding people's gardens. The flexibility that the programme offers enables households to combine it with other work to generate income. From the findings, the programme accounts for a significant proportion of women's income generating activities.

The system of social assistance underlies a strong effort in contributing to assisting poor families. This case study concludes that guaranteed employment in Zibambele and the relatively generous system of pensions and grants mitigate poverty. The study shows that the OAP and CSG contribute to rural livelihoods. OAP, CSG and the income from Zibambele is the only regular income for many poor households. This reliability of income contributes to better living. Pension transfers and CSG are therefore perhaps the state's most important contribution to rural livelihoods. The combination of the three (OAP, CSG and Zibambele) contributes to the provision of education and food security. The study also suggests that households depend to a lesser extent on family members or close relatives to make ends meet.

The women undoubtedly have positive perceptions of the programme and the immense gratitude shown by the women towards Zibambele is an indication of how they value the benefits they receive. Zibambele has brought both social and economic benefits to the women in both areas. Among the social benefits, in the communities, the women are identified as individuals who have become economically active as they had little job satisfaction before the inception of the Zibambele programme. In fact, it has given them a sense of dignity and raised their self-esteem. For some, the income from Zibambele gives them the financial independence to improve their lives whilst members of some households are economically deprived by others. Although in some cases, Zibambele money is the only source of income. A better quality of life might generate optimism for the future. On another note, the money may be little to someone not suffering from poverty, but interestingly, to them it is a source of pride. This is shown in the study where some women left other work for Zibambele, even though the programme paid lower wages.

Evidence from this study shows that most women save money through the savings clubs. Although the impact of these clubs is mixed, they have the potential to make a partial contribution to livelihood strategies. If members involved in clubs can be consistent in their savings and use the money to venture into business, they are likely to be more empowered. In addition, business can enable the women to network, discuss ideas and develop business skills. However, they can be assisted by the DoT by way of training them in forming cooperatives and running sustainable businesses. This is important as lack of information and training can undermine the potential of the women's abilities as entrepreneurs. Equally important, is that venturing into business can further help create jobs for other unemployed people in the community.

Feasibility of a livelihood initiative depends on who controls power at the household level. Women's control over resources is crucial for the well-being of the household. The study shows that some women depend on the head of the household, being the husband for decision-making in the households in spite of their earnings. In households where the man is the 'head' the woman has to consult him on how to spend the income. This can be

detrimental to the welfare of the household, in view of the fact that not making extra money limits spending on education and nutritional needs. For some women involved in decision making, it becomes easier to engage in livelihood activities.

It has been shown in this study that public works programmes are appropriate when there is no other work with higher wages. Thus, the intervention of government is commendable. From the findings, it is apparent that Zibambele is an effective programme for poor households. This programme will have a maximum effect if it can be continued on a long-term basis. The government therefore has to realize that this programme can substantially increase the benefits of the poor and should be replicated in other poor rural areas.

The study shows that when contractors fall sick or tend to their sick dependants, livelihood opportunities get affected. Illness is a constraint in participating in Zibambele and sometimes the women are compelled to ask for assistance from their neighbours. However, this strains the household income as the contractor finds it necessary to pay the neighbour for the days she worked. With the little income earned, most contractors find themselves going to work even when sick, to avoid being replaced.

The study suggests that the objectives of the programme have been achieved. For example, one can conclude that Zibambele does, indeed, fulfill its objectives of providing poor households with regular income. It has been proven in the study that the positive effects of this income are tangible and immediate. Zibambele income contributes to the nutrition, education, dignity and economic activities of the participants and has hence, improved the living standards of the targeted households. Moreover, the establishment of the savings clubs also shows how it has fulfilled its objectives of organizing contractors into credit unions and investing savings in other productive activities. However, the sustainability of these clubs remain a question that cannot be answered for now.

Some Implications for Policy and Programme Design

Firstly, it would be a useful safety measure if the women were provided with protective clothing like gumboots and gloves, especially in view of the work they do, such as clearing side drains, dish drains and pipe culverts. Since the DoT provides vests for them it would also be recommended that the wearing of vests be enforced as it was noted that most women in both areas do not wear them (while working on the roads), which can be dangerous. The DoT should consider occupational health and safety training for the contractors about what the purpose of wearing protective clothing, such as the vests is.

Secondly, the DoT should consider the enforcement of rules of attendance. It is wrong for contractors to get paid if they have not worked. This weakens the morale of other contractors and sets the wrong precedent. If the DoT does not solve the problem of absenteeism now it might be difficult to curb it in future. Absenteeism should not be condoned since the women only work for two days in a week and are free to do their personal work on the other days.

Thirdly, the DoT should consider setting up a child centre for the women to keep their children instead of bringing them to the work site. This is very dangerous as they work next to the roads and the dust inhaled can be a problem. National planners need to see the connection of women's participation in development programmes, and the need for affordable childcare facilities.

Fourthly, there is a need for the DoT to re-examine the training component of the programme. Although women stated that they acquire new skills in working for Zibambele, most did not know how they could apply the skills learnt after leaving the programme. They only referred to repairing roads. The DoT has taken some steps towards equipping women with skills for future development, however there remain many challenges, as there is little evidence that the programme improves participants' skills adequately. The DoT has to refocus on its skills development goal and provide more training for participants' future employability.

Fifthly, even though Zimbabwe provides women with the opportunity to save money, they still need projects that enhance their capabilities through education or training, as they can be exploited and their contributions taken for granted. This is important in view of the fact that the majority are illiterate. Thus, setting up cooperatives to help or teach them how to handle their money (savings clubs) and how to venture into prosperous and safe businesses would be effective.

Lastly, the government has to develop a comprehensive programme that can build partnerships with other government departments to ensure that they have a component of public works, to proceed and implement public works on a larger scale, as a key to poverty alleviation.

To conclude, the South African government has played an active role in intervening to reduce poverty and unemployment through public works, reiterating Keynes's ideas that market reforms alone cannot lead to economic growth. It has intervened by getting people to be active and productive. This intervention in the economy is commendable and is doing some good. However, as Adato et al (2004) suggest, South Africa's PWPs need to be integrated in other programmes and mainstreamed into national policy planning. (Adato et al, 2004: 3-4).

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Appendices

Appendix A: Hayes' Specific steps in Thematic Analysis:

1. Data was organized for analysis, the interviews and notes transcribed.

The researcher transcribed the interviews for analyses and to enable the use of a typescript of the results. With regard to observational data, information collected was in a written format to avoid loss of the material. After preparing the data, the themes were then established. This was done using the Inductive method thematic analysis, which is where major themes from the data begin to emerge (Hayes, 2000: 175-176).

2. Interviews were read and items generating interest noted.

After thoroughly reading the data, the researcher noted any point of interest that was significant to the study. The transcript or observational record was examined separately. According to Hayes (2000), it is important to note that at this stage, themes have not yet emerged as the researcher is addressing particular items of information which appear essential to the study topic (2000:176).

3. Items that are of interest were categorized into proto-themes.

In this stage, through the process of arranging the bits of data, major themes began to arise. Hayes (2000) points out that related items addressing similar topics should be gathered together (2000:176).

4. Proto-themes were studied in trying an initial definition.

At this stage, Hayes (2000) asserts that this is the start of some kind of 'proto-theme' (2000: 176). Each pile was looked at individually in order to make out what the theme was. It was then that a provisional name was given.

5. Each theme was considered separately and each transcript re-examined to gather the important material for that particular theme.

The researcher went through each transcript, looking at the themes that run through each. The transcripts were re-read, to find any information that was important to the theme

being investigated by the researcher. This is important because it is possible to miss out on valuable information when not looking for it (Hayes, 2000:176).

6. By applying the material linking to each theme, each theme's final form was created: name, definition and supporting data.

After this was done the researcher was then in a position to,

- i) Give that particular theme a label. According to Hayes, labeling at the beginning stages can be problematic as themes tend to change their focus when they are categorized (Hayes, 2000:177).
- ii) Define the theme.
- iii) Include the relevant data, with interview data which could be quotations, data from observations in the relevant observations.

7. The relevant descriptive data was chosen to be used in the reporting of the theme.

In some instances, it is not feasible for the researcher in Qualitative analysis, to cite every single quotation which appears important to each theme. Thus, the significant quotations or observations which reveal a particular theme clearly were chosen. However, some researchers criticize this stage as selective and reflecting bias (Hayes, 2000:177).

It was easy to follow Hayes' steps. The problem occurred with the seventh step when selecting the important quotations. It was difficult to choose some out of the many that seemed important. The researcher had to read and re-read them to avoid bias.

Appendix B: Research Questions

Introduction:

My name is Sibongile Khoza. I am currently a Masters student at the University of KwaZulu Natal. I am conducting a study to determine whether programmes that target the poor are a mechanism for the promotion of sustainable livelihoods for poor people. The study will focus on the Zibambele public works programme in KwaZulu-Natal as a case study. I am very grateful for giving your time to answer these questions. May I stress that the questionnaire is confidential. Please feel free to ask me to clarify any question that you do not understand.

Thank you.

SECTION 1: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1. Language spoken at home: (circle the appropriate option)

English.....-01	Venda..... -05
Xhosa-02	Shangaan/Tsonga..... -06
Zulu-03	Swazi -07
Tswana-04	Ndebele..... -08
Other (Specify) -09	

2. How old are you?

3. What is your marital status?

Married	-01
Never married	-02
Co-habiting	-03
Divorced	-04
Widowed	-05
(Other)	-06

SECTION 2: HOUSEHOLD INFORMATION

Members of your household? (begin with the household head)	Relationship to the head of the household	Relationship to you	Age	Sex	Last level of completed education	Where is he/she now?	Is he/ she employed?	If not employed, why is he/she not working?	What type of work does he/she do	Does he/she make a contribution of any kind to the household	Who are the members of the household who reside elsewhere (no of days, weeks, months)

1. What type of house do you live in?

Shack	-01
House	-02
Traditional house	-03
Flat	-04
Outbuilding	-05
Other (Specify)	-06

2. How many rooms does the house have?

3. Does the household own this house?

Yes -1

No -2

4. **If yes:** Does the household pay a loan or rent for this house?

Yes -1

No -2

5. **If YES:** How much loan or rent does the household pay per month?

SECTION 3: WORK HISTORY

I will now ask about work you have done recently?

1. When did you start working in Zibambele?

2. What were you doing before you were employed in Zibambele? (probe: how long employed before this job)

3. How much were you paid per week/month?

4. Why did you decide to work in Zibambele?

SECTION 4: INCOME AND DECISION-MAKING

Now, I would like to know about your income, household expenditure and decision-making in your household.

1. How much is your monthly income since you started working in Zibambele?

2. Do you keep your earnings?

3. Does anybody else in your household or others in general have a say on what you spend your income on?

If yes, who makes the decision for you?

4. Have you and your partner disagreed on the spending of your income? If yes, please give an example
5. Did it affect the way you spend your income? (Probe, how)
6. What does most of your income go to?
7. How much do you spend for household expenses such as food, rent, water?
8. What other sources of income does your household have (probe for grants, remittances, from relatives etc).
9. What was the total household income in the last month, including salaries, grants, and other sources of income?
10. Who brings the most money into the household?
11. What gets pooled in your household and how?
12. In your opinion, does the income from Zibambele make a difference in the well being of the household? If yes, how? If no, why not? Does it impact on the roles you play in the household?

SECTION 5: Other Forms of Self-Employment

In this section, I would like to know about other work that you are doing now for an income

1. How do you get by?
2. How much money are you getting from this work (above) on a monthly basis, if any?
3. What are the reasons for not doing any other work?
4. How does the income from Zibambele contribute, in any way, to livelihood activities of the household?

SECTION 6: TRANSPORT

Now, I am going to ask you questions about how you get to and from your place of work.

1. What kind of transport do you use to get to and from work?
2. How long does it usually take to get to and from work each day?
3. How much does it cost to get to work each day?

SECTION 7: HEALTH INCIDENCE

In this section, I would like to know about any member of your family that has been sick and how this affected your Zibambele work.

1. Has any member of your household been sick in the past few months or weeks? If yes, who was it? (If no, move to q: 7)
2. What was the nature of the sickness or illness?
3. How many days or weeks was the person sick or ill?
4. Who was responsible for caring for the sick member?
5. What was the actual cost to the household in terms of medication, hospital bills?
6. Did it affect your work in Zibambele? If yes, how? If no, why not?
7. Have you ever fallen sick and had to be substituted by a household member? If yes, to whom was the money paid? Or did your replacement get it?

SECTION 8: PERCEPTIONS OF ZIBAMBELE

Now, I would like to know about your perceptions of Zibambele

1. Taking everything into account, are you satisfied with Zibambele?
Probe: If yes, why/If no, why not?
2. Has working for Zibambele made a difference in your life? If yes, how. If no, why not?
3. Can you comment on how men perceive Zibambele's aim of empowering women through the programme?
4. In your opinion, does Zibambele contribute towards alleviating poverty? If yes, how? If no, why not?
5. What in your opinion could the government do to help households improve their living conditions?

QUESTIONS FOR FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

In this section, I would like to know about your income, household expenditures and decision-making in your household

Section 1: Skills Training

1. What skills training have you learnt from participating in the programme?
2. Do you think it offers any prospects for future employment?
3. Are there any challenges that you think remain?

Section 2: Income and Decision-making

1. Some people argue that income earned by women is used for the needs of the entire family than that earned by men. What are your views?
2. Money that is paid directly to women can cause conflict if men consider that their role of being a provider is undermined. What is your opinion?
3. What major factors affect women's input into decision making in the household?
Please briefly explain.
4. Does the income from Zibambele contribute, in any way, to livelihood activities of your households?

SECTION 3: ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

(In this section, I would like to know about any other kind of work that you have done for an income, apart from the Zibambele work)

1. Are you involved in any activities that would bring extra money to your households? If yes, what are they?
2. What reasons do you think impede women from doing any other work?

SECTION 4: HEALTH INCIDENCE

In this section, I would like to know about any member of your family that has been sick and how this affected your Zibambele work.

1. In your opinion, do women's roles in caring for the sick impact on their Zibambele work?

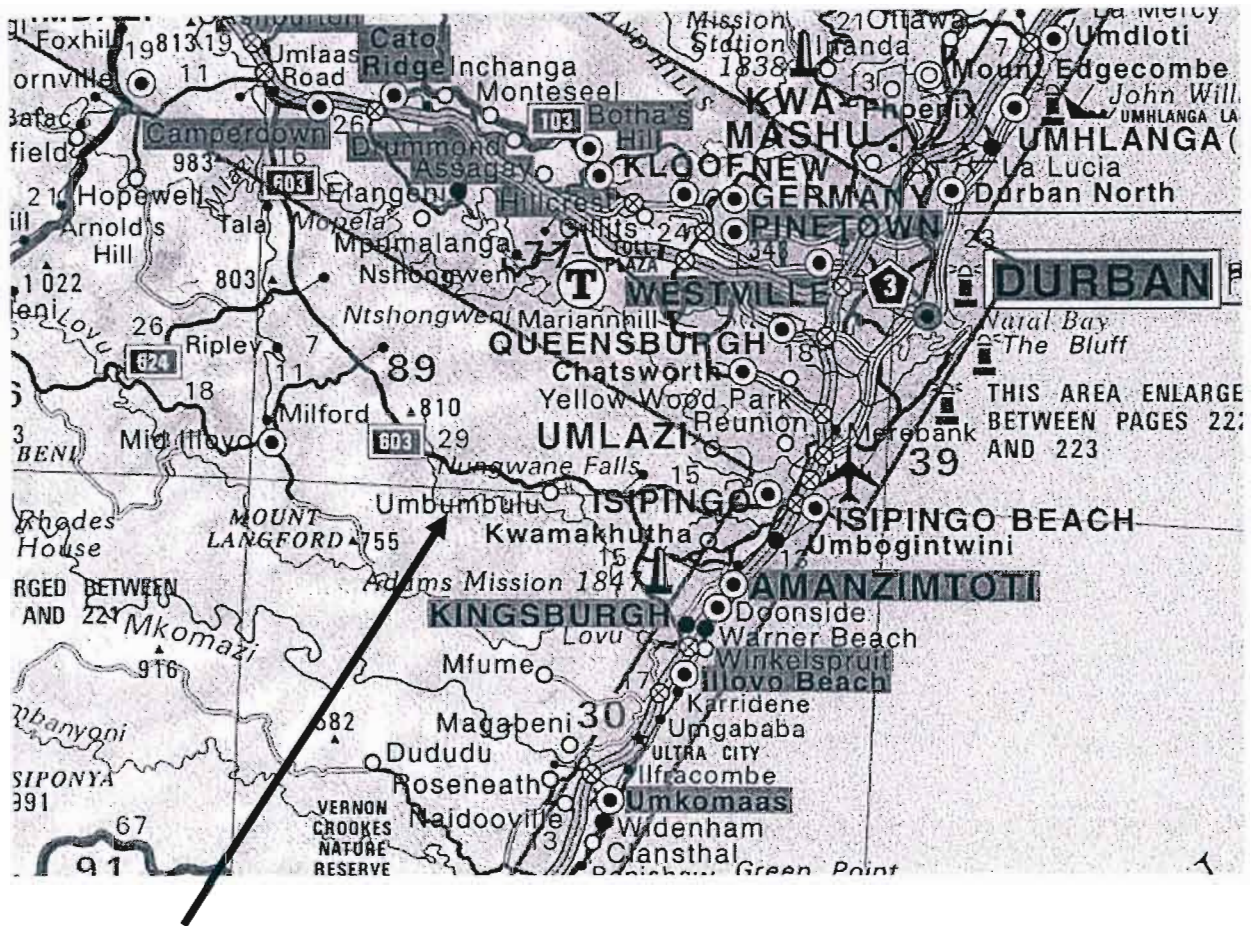
Section 4: Perceptions of Zibambele

(Now, I would like to know about your perceptions of Zibambele)

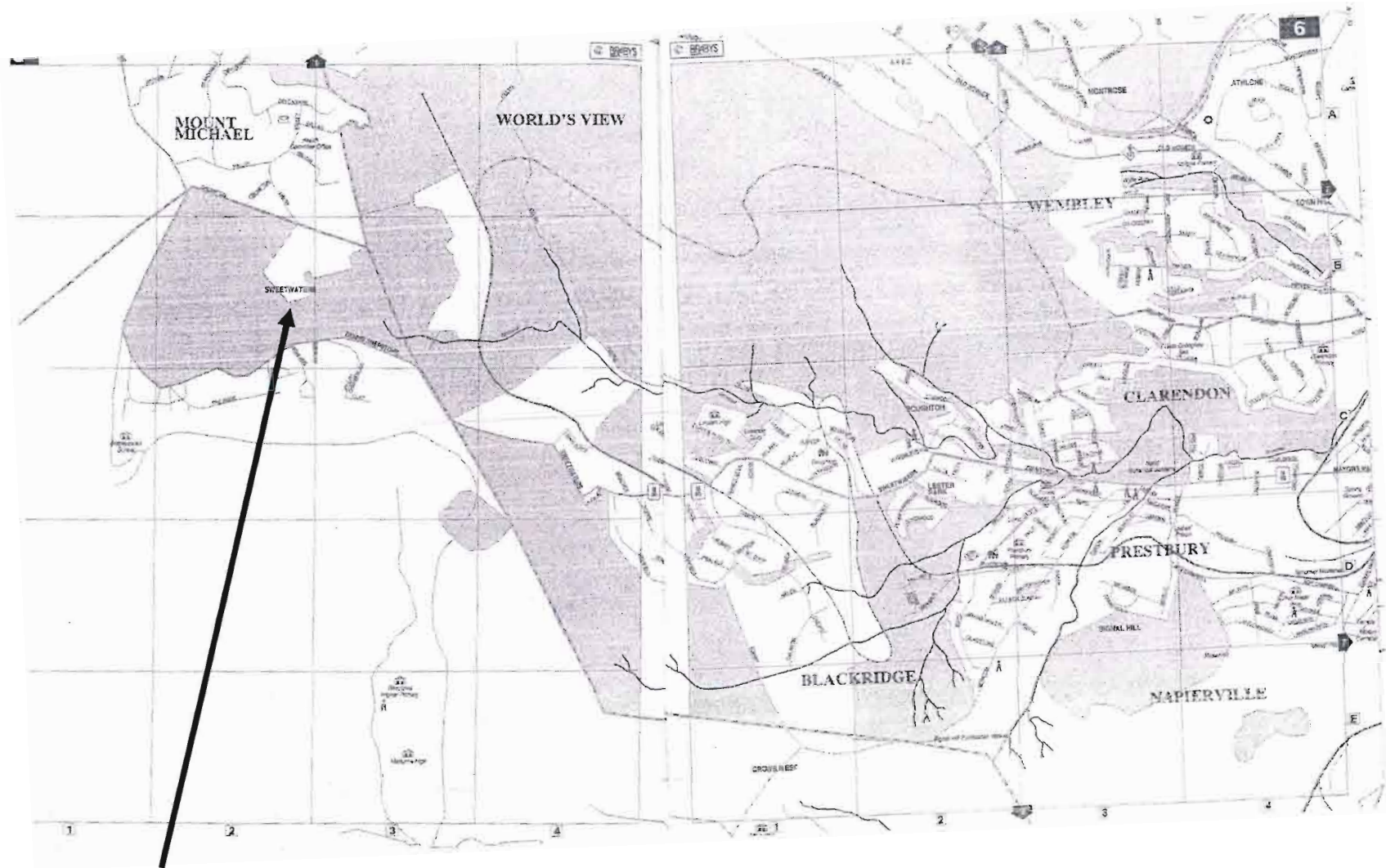
1. Some people argue that working for Zibambele has its advantages. On the other hand, others think that it has disadvantages. What are your views?
2. Has working for Zibambele made a difference in your lives? If yes, how?
3. Are there any ways in which Zibambele has supported you or been of any assistance?

Is there any thing else you would like to add? Thank you for your time in answering these questions.

Appendix C: Maps of Study Areas



Map 1: Map showing the location of Umbumbulu, in Durban.



Map 2: Map showing the location of Sweetwaters in Pietermaritzburg.

Appendix D: Zibambele contractors working on a road in Nkwalini



Zimbabwe contractors working on a road in Nxamalala

