LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AGRICULTURE AND LIVELIHOODS

A Case Study of the effect of the Blue Crane Development Agency upon Livelihoods of farm workers in Somerset East, Eastern Cape.

By

Adetola S. Okunlola

Supervisor: Wynand Louw

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Abstract

A total of 25 million South Africans are living in poverty, the majority of them in rural areas (SPII, 2007) added to this, the percentage of people living in poverty in rural areas more than doubles those living in the same conditions in an urban context (Armstrong, Lekezwa & Siebrits, 2008). Alleviating poverty and promoting development in rural areas is S*trategic Priority no.3* in the National Government's medium term strategic framework, through the Comprehensive Rural Development Programme (DRDLR, 2010). It has also been shown that poverty alleviation through small-scale agricultural projects can be successful in both creating income and improving household nutrition (Lahiff, 2003).

The South African Government has attempted multiple varied approaches towards poverty alleviation in rural South Africa with mixed success. One of these approaches is that of a formalised strategy for Local Economic Development (LED) at the municipal government level. LED has been placed firmly in the remit of local government and in some areas has been undertaken by LED agencies (LEDAs) which are autonomous entities but are operating within municipal legal structures. The Blue Crane Development Agency (BCDA) is one such LEDA based in the Blue Crane Route Municipality of the Cacadu District of the Eastern Cape.

The main aim of this study is to explore how the BCDA's agricultural projects affected the livelihoods of their participant communities. The study utilises the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) in order to measure primarily qualitative differences the LED program has made to local livelihood strategies and outcomes. The research takes the form of a case-study, utilising in depth interviews and Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) tools.

It was found that the agricultural LED projects did increase livelihoods and capital during the time they were ongoing. However, as the projects had ended there was no long term increase to livelihood strategies and security. Multiple factors were responsible for the project failures. These include the lack of clear delineation in roles between the BCDA and their employees, lack of re-investment once projects were inherited by the beneficiaries and insufficient post hand-over mentoring.

The study makes several recommendations towards improving project design and sustainability of the BCDA projects, as well as suggestions for further research.

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Keywords

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Key Acronyms

BCDA   Blue Crane Development Agency

BCRM   Blue Crane Route Municipality

CRDP   Comprehensive Rural Development Program

DAFF   Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries

DRDLR   Department of Rural Development and Land Reform

GDP   Gross Domestic Product

IDP   Integrated Development Plan

ISDRDS   Integrated Rural Development Strategy

LED   Local Economic Development

LEDA   Local Economic Development Agency

NGO   Non Governmental Organisation

PLAAS   Program for Land and Agrarian Studies

PRA   Participatory Rural Appraisal

RDP   Redistribution Program

SLA   Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

SLF   Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

UNDP   United Nations Development Program

UWC   University of the Western Cape

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Declaration

I declare that 'An evaluation of the effect of the Blue Crane Development Agency upon the Livelihoods of Agricultural Workers in Somerset East, Eastern Cape.' is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at the University of the Western Cape or any other University, and that all the resources I have used or quoted have been indicated or acknowledged as complete references.

Adetola S. Okunlola   January 2012

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Signed

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1   Introduction

There have been a number of attempts worldwide to alleviate rural poverty, such as large scale top-down approaches, NGO activities, genetic modification of crops and poverty reduction strategy programmes (PRSP's) to name but a few. The research presented in this thesis is concerned with a relatively new form of poverty alleviation through small scale agricultural projects on a Local Economic development (LED) scale. The LED policy of the South African government enables municipalities to engage with development agencies in order to deliver LED. One such agency is the Blue Crane Development Agency (BCDA) based in Somerset East, part of the Blue Crane Route Municipality of the Eastern Cape. The BCDA has been running agricultural projects for a number of years with varying degrees of success. This research investigates changes to the livelihoods of farm workers involved in the projects through registering the perceptions of those involved.

The first of the 2000 Millennium Development Goals is to 'Reduce the proportion of people living in extreme poverty by 2015 (defined as people living on less than $1/day)' (UNDP, 2010). The World Bank estimates that over 1.4 billion people live below the poverty line globally (roughly a quarter of the worlds population) and roughly 380 million of these people live in sub-Saharan Africa (World Bank, 2010).

South Africa has a population of approximately 50 million people (StatsSA, 2010). It is estimated that 49% of the population live below the national poverty line (set as R354 per month per adult), of which 24% live below the World Bank $1 a day absolute poverty line. A total of 25 million South Africans are living in poverty, the majority of them in rural areas (Studies in Poverty and Inequality Institute [SPII], 2007) and the percentage of people living in poverty in rural areas is over double that than those living in an urban context; 54% compared to 22% (Armstrong, Lekezwa & Siebrits, 2008).

The rural economy in South Africa is growing, but at a poor rate, which leads to rural-urban migration; 211,600 people migrated from the Eastern Cape in 2010 to other, mostly urban, areas (SSA, 2010). Unemployment presents a huge challenge to South Africa. 6.1 million people were registered as unemployed in 2010, 37% of those being unemployed for over a year (South African Institute of Race Relations, 2010). Alleviating poverty, therefore, is of paramount importance for the millions of South Africans living on the edge of survival and for the social sustainability of

regions. Local economic development, including agricultural development, is generally a vital part of the development process in South Africa, and more particularly a concern for the rural areas.

The Eastern Cape has an estimated population of 6.8 million people, most of whom are black, with Xhosa being the most spoken language (SSA, 2010). The province has the second highest poverty rate (after Limpopo province), with 72% of the population (4.6 million people) living below the national poverty income line (Human Science Research Council [HSRC], 2004). Roughly 10 million hectares of land (59% of the arable land within the province) is owned by 6,500 white commercial farmers, employing approximately 70,000 farm workers (Eastern Cape Socio Economic Consultative Council 2000, cited by Lahiff, 2003).

The newly restructured National Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (DRDLR) spent 6.6 billion rand during 2009 on initiatives which sought to improve mostly black rural livelihoods in South Africa and to address poverty levels (DRDLR, 2009). Alleviating poverty and promoting development in rural areas is S*trategic Priority no.3* in the National Government's medium term strategic framework, through the Comprehensive Rural Development Programme (DRDLR, 2010). In the 2009/10 financial year 25% (R500 million) of the land reform budget was set aside for rural development (De Satge, 2009). However, evidence collected from different underdeveloped rural settings suggests that the impact of rural initiatives on socio-economic transformation and the subsequent poverty alleviation has been limited and modest.

 A fundamental constraint significantly inhibiting LED initiatives in rural areas has been a pervasive lack of capacity within local authorities to initiate and drive LED programmes (Nel, 2001). This has led to many examples of Municipalities outsourcing their LED responsibility to organs of civil society that are more able to perform this function successfully. In the case of the Blue Crane Route Municipality (BCRM) of the Eastern Cape, the LED function was outsourced to the Blue Crane Development Agency (BCDA). The proposed research wishes to assess the success of the BCDA in improving livelihoods of the small scale farmers in the area.

1.2   Outline of the Case Study Area

The Blue Crane Route is a rural area in the Cacadu District in the Eastern Cape region of South Africa. The three major towns include Somerset East, Pearston and Cookhouse and an area of approximately 9900 square kilometres with a population of more than 40 000 (BCDA, 2010). Somerset East is situated 180 kilometres from Port Elizabeth, the economic hub of this province.

In 2003, the Blue Crane Route Municipality (BCRM) decided to apply to the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa (IDC) for 'the establishment of a development agency that would fully

concentrate on the development and implementation of socio-economic projects in the area and their implementation' (BCDA, 2006:1). In 2004 the BCDA was established with support of R15 million spread over a period of 7 years from the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC). The agency has identified three sectors to concentrate on: tourism, agriculture as well as business and marketing.

Figure 1 (below) contains an organogram of the BCDA (BCDA, 2011)
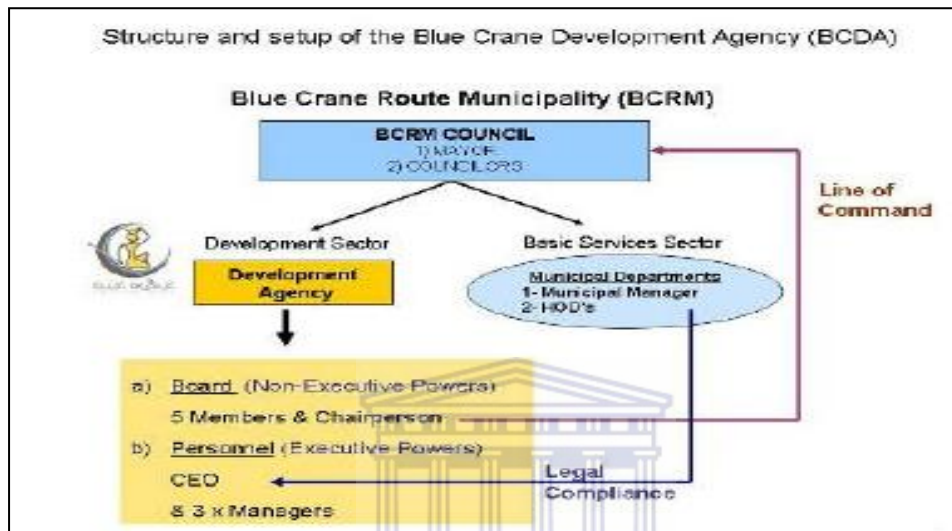
The Blue Crane Development Agency[1] has a variety of projects which are all registered in the Municipality's Integrated Development Plan (IDP) The Agency enjoys support from the private sector. It has key projects in several strategic areas including: tourism, country housing and lifestyle estates, aviation, industrial parks, agriculture, fruit farming, renewable energy, a shopping centre, urban design and waste recycling. Through these projects it hopes to create roughly 3000 jobs over a total of seven years (BCDA, 2010).

This research comprises of a case study of a cross section of 19 fruit farmers involved in the BCDA agriculture projects. Both the BCRM and the BCDA hope to serve as a blueprint for 'outsourcing' the LED process. As such, there is a need for research out to establish if it is indeed a valid model to 'blueprint' and replicate in other areas.

1.3   Theoretical Framework; The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach focuses upon the various livelihood strategies people employ in order to survive. This differs from a classical approach to poverty alleviation which focuses upon employment and income generation only (Ashley & Carney, 1999). The SLA is housed within the

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[1] The BCDA shall also be referred to as the 'Agency'.

'humanist' paradigm, and Sen's Capabilities Approach which heavily influenced Chambers & Conway's 1992 work on Capabilities, Equity and Sustainability in which we find the description of a livelihood

> '...the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels in the long and short term.' (1992:6)

Capabilities refer to what that individual can do with their 'entitlements' in order to attain what they deem a good quality of life (Sen, 1988) and assets refer not only to financial capital but to resources and social links. *Stresses* are natural recurring stresses upon a livelihood such as seasonal changes 'Stresses are pressures which are typical, continuous and cumulative, predictable and distressing, such as seasonal shortages, rising populations and declining resources...' whereas *Shocks* are one off, unpredictable events '...shocks are events which are typically sudden, unpredictable and traumatic, such as fires, floods and epidemics.' (Conway, 1987 cited in Chambers & Conway, 1992:10).

Sustainability can relate to a global level as well as a local level and refers to both environmental resources and social links; in that something is sustainable when it 'involve(s) the long-term maintenance and survivability, if not the enhancement, of stocks and flows of food and income adequate for basic human needs to be met, without undermining other such livelihoods, or potential livelihoods for the coming generation' (Attfield et al., 2004:407).

1.4 Literature Review of the Key themes relevant to the research

1.4.1 Rural Development

Rural Development refers to the improvement in quality of life of those living in rural areas, or as Chambers states 'Rural Development is a strategy to enable a specific group of people, poor rural women and men, to gain for themselves and their children more of what they want and need' (Chambers, 1983:147). Approaches within Rural Development have evolved through the years, with a paradigmatic shift concerning differing concepts as to what development *is* leading to differing methods of promoting development, from the Green-Revolution, through to Non Governmental Organisations (NGO's), Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) Micro-Credit , Sustainable Livelihoods and more recently focusing upon the effect of markets, poverty reduction strategies and making markets accessible to the poor (Ellis & Biggs, 2001, Percy, 2011).

In South Africa, rural development was highly affected by the Apartheid legacy in that much of the rural arable land is owned by commercial white famers, while many Blacks still live in the former 'Bantustans' which are extremely overcrowded. This has led some to declare that South Africa has 'two agricultures'; one relating to support for white farmers and the other to regulate agricultural output and land use management in former 'Bantustans' (Phuhlisani Solutions, 2009).

In South Africa rural development is driven by the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform and its Comprehensive Rural Development Programme (CRDP) (DRDLR, 2010). The CRDP focuses on three aspects '...coordinated and integrated broad-based agrarian transformation; an improved land reform program; and strategic investments in economic and social infrastructure.' (DRDLR, 2010: online). Land Reform is a major aspect of rural development in South Africa, and the DRDLR co-ordinates land reform efforts through many regional and provincial offices; however, land reform delivery has been slow in rural areas (PLAAS, 2003).

1.4.2 Poverty and Quality of Life

Understandings of what poverty is have changed over the last 30 years. Poverty is no longer measured only in terms of monometric or material resources. It also now defined by factors such as pride, self-esteem, safety and happiness; Poverty is now viewed as being 'multidimensional' (Alkire, 2002). Measuring poverty is of utmost importance as it enables one to gain information which influences policy and practice poverty reduction.

Poverty measurements are not new in South Africa; they have been changing and adapting ever since the 1928 Carnegie Commission into the so called 'Poor White Problem', followed much later, in the 1980's, by a second Carnegie Commission which, in turn, was followed by the 1993 World Bank 'Project for Statistics on Living Standards and Development' (Magasela, 2005). Since 1994, more comprehensive reporting measures have been undertaken, such as the work undertaken by the 'Committee of Inquiry into a Comprehensive System of Social Security for South Africa in 2002' (SPII, 2007). However, Magasela (2005) argues that there is still a need for *multidimensional* poverty measurement in South Africa, as there is yet no single defining measurement used, in order for the government to truly see whether it is meeting the mandates as set out by the Constitution (RSA, 1996).

1.4.3 Poverty Reduction Strategies (PRS)

Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) were introduced by the World Bank/IMF in the 1990s as a tool to promote cohesion between a country and development agencies, as well as be a blueprint upon which a country can receive an IMF loan. PRSP's are papers which outline a country's poverty reduction strategy clearly (Phuhlisani, 2009). South Africa's PRS is highly influenced by the World

Bank model but adapted to the South African context to allow for South Africa's unique developmental history (Phuhlisani, 2009).

South Africa utilises several different strategies to reduce poverty. The ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) outlined the 'shared communal vision of desired poverty reduction goals' (Hunter et al., 2003:13) through a variety of means. Utilising neo-liberal macro-economic policies such as the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR), more recently the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiatives of South Africa (ASGISA) and other non-monetary PRSs such as free basic education, primary healthcare and the delivery of mass free housing, the Government hopes to reduce poverty both in terms of improving income and providing basic life security (Hunter et al., 2003).

1.4.4 Local Economic Development

Local Economic Development (LED) initiatives have proved complex and are not always successful (PLAAS, 2010). LED initiatives refer to formalised/official approaches to local economic development which 'include initiatives designed both to promote growing local economies and address poverty alleviation' (Rogerson, 1999:1). LED initiatives in South Africa have been of mixed success due to this lack of consistency. New approaches are being employed for LED such as participatory 'bottom-up' LED, as in the case of the Hertzog Agricultural Co-Operative (HACOP) located in the former Ciskei Homeland (Nel, Binns & Motteux, 2001).

1.5 Significance of Study

It is vitally important that there is an improvement of livelihoods in rural areas, as that is where poverty is at its worst in South Africa (Greenberg, 2010). Rapid population growth without the matching economic growth has negative effects in many developing areas (Beyer, Peterson & Sharma, 2003) and lack of sufficient employment in South Africa leads to high rural-urban migration, which in turn leads to overcrowding in cities (SPII, 2007). However, development in the rural areas of South Africa has been slow and mired with challenging issues, from the lack of funding, miscommunication (or indeed, zero communication) between government departments, skills shortages, rural-urban migration and huge challenges with the roll out of Land Reform (Greenberg, 2009, Hall, 2010). These issues then are reflected by the choice of the BCRM to rather outsource their LED to an outside agency, namely the BCDA than to try to house the LED process solely within the existing structures of the municipality.

1.6   Research Problem

The BCDA has a vision '[t]o be an internationally recognised model agency for the delivery of sustainable developmental projects in a rural context' via acting as an agency to 'conceptualise opportunities and facilitate sustainable developmental projects related to Agriculture, Business and Tourism to the benefit of all citizens with special emphasis on job creation and Black Economic Empowerment opportunities' (BCDA, 2011:1). However, it remains to be seen if their projects actually materially impact on the well being of livelihoods and raise their standards of living in a sustainable fashion. The fruit farming project that this research focuses on, has not been evaluated within this context, and although the project seems successful in terms of output, there has been no comprehensive research into whether the farmers themselves have experienced any improvement in their livelihoods. Since the BCDA wishes to be seen as a replicable or blueprint model for other similar projects in South Africa, it is important that their approaches do *actually* improve livelihoods.

1.7   Research Question

The purpose of the study is to explicitly explore whether the BCDA fruit farming project has improved livelihoods. An improved livelihood is one that has been strengthened against shocks and stresses, varied, and more constant for those involved - as perceived through their own eyes. The study uses qualitative research design and methodology in order to gain complex, layered information regarding the different effects the BCDA project has had on the livelihoods of the participating farmers.

1.8   Research Aims

The research has the following aims:

- o   To determine the livelihood strategies and structural opportunities employed by the participants before their introduction to the BCDA project.

- o   To explore any improvements in livelihood strategies as well as structural opportunities as a result of the BCDA project.

- o   To explore the tangible and non tangible impacts of the BCDA on livelihood outcomes.

- o   To explore whether their livelihood outcomes could be improved through any changes to the project.

1.9   Research Design

The study employed a qualitative research design or approach. The qualitative design falls within the 'interpretative paradigm' as it seeks to *understand* and *describe* a phenomenon. This is unlike the positivist paradigm which seeks to prove or test a hypothesis against a set of 'universal laws' (DeVos, 1998).

1.10   Research Methodology

The research followed a Case-Study design, in this case, the 19 case study participants were all beneficiaries of agricultural project's of the BCDA.

This methodological design was chosen for a variety of reasons. The case study technique is fitting as '[i]t is a very useful design when exploring an area where little is known or where you want to have a holistic understanding of the situation, phenomenon, episode, site, group or community.' (Kumar, 2011:127). In addition, Babbie & Mouton (2001:281) state that: '...case studies take multiple perspectives into account and attempt to understand the influences of multi-level social systems...' in this case, looking at the impact of the BCDA's farming project (a project refers to a social system of which the case study group are all members of).

1.11   Chapter Outline

o   **Chapter One** *(titled introduction)* provided the context and need for the research, as well as outlining the research frame and process and ethical code of conduct. The focus of the following chapter is outlined below:

o   **Chapter Two (***titled: Literature Review***)** comprises the literature review section of the thesis. The literature review shall provide an overview of relevant literature pertinent to the research including: Paradigms of development, Rural Development paths and policies globally and in the South African context as well as Local Economic Development.

o   **Chapter Three (titled: *Theoretical Framework*)** forms the theoretical basis in which the research is grounded. The chapter focuses upon the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach and provides an overview as well as the strengths and critiques of the SLA.

o   **Chapter Four (***titled: Research Design and Methodology***)** provides a breakdown of the research design and process as well an explanation of the tools employed during field work and reasoning behind their choice.

- o **Chapter Five (*titled: The Blue Crane Route and the Blue Crane Development Agency*)** presents the case study area of the BCRM and the role and organisation of the BCDA, as well as a summary of the Agencies projects.

- o **Chapter Six (*titled: Analysis and Discussion of Results*)** Offers the results of the study. It draws upon the data collected and focuses upon both recurring topics and themes important within the SLA. The chapter also offers further discussion based upon research findings.

- o **Chapter Seven (*titled: Conclusion*)** finalises the research through a summation and conclusion of the research process and findings. It is followed by the reference list and appendices.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1   Introduction

The Literature Review is organised in the following sections: Development Paradigms, South Africa's unique development path, and Local Economic Development.

2.2   Development Paradigms

2.2.1   Definitions of Development

Development is a slippery concept. There is no one all-encompassing definition of what development is or what it should be. Simon (1997:185) explains that:

> '...definitions [of Development] are contextual and contingent upon the ideological, epistemological or methodological orientation of their purveyors. Many of these are evident from the labels associated with the multiplicity of approaches to development proffered over the last fifty-odd years...with 're-construction and development', 'economic development', 'modernization', 'redistribution with growth', 'dependent development', 'interdependent development', 'meeting basic needs', 'top-down development', 'bottom-up development', 'Another Development', 'autochthonous development', 'autarchic development', 'agropolitan development', 'empowerment', and, most recently, 'post-development', 'anti-development' and even 'post-modern development.'

As such, development has had a tumultuous and not always successful history; large scale efforts seem to be informed by the trial and error of the last decade with many failing attempts having negative impacts upon the people they were designed to help (Pieterse, 1998). Traditionally development consists of two elements: promoting economic growth and overcoming poverty (Phuhlisani, 2009). Kothari (2007, cited in Correll, 2008:456) states that '[d]evelopment is dangerous precisely because it can be used by anyone to justify almost any economic, social or cultural activity … it has become a tool to legitimise the dominant patterns of economic development.' Sachs (1992:1) goes so far as to state that 'development has grown obsolete'. Even with such doubts and criticisms, development still occurs and needs to occur, it is in finding the *right mode* of development wherein lies the test.

2.2.2   Shifting paradigms of Development

Development in the 1950's was based upon growing GDP and was primarily focused upon the 'modernisation' of countries. Modernisation theorists and promoters such as the Bretton Woods Institution believed that the market-led capitalist growth system, which had created progress and prosperity in industrialised countries, would also work in the 'underdeveloped' countries; development was viewed as a linear process and countries which increased their GDP were

expected to experience a 'trickle-down' effect into the rest of society (Coetzee & Graaff, 1996). Modernisation theory discounted indigenous local knowledge and traditions as 'obstacles to development' and worked on large scale models which, in the end, neither provided the promised 'trickle-down' nor had positive environmental or social impacts (So, 1990). Much of this rhetoric is still employed by the 'Washington-Consensus' held by the WB/IMF which believes in trade liberalisation and structural adjustment geared towards high exports and low public spending (Ashley & Maxwell, 2001).

The 1970's saw development focus upon new indicators such as poverty reduction, inequality and unemployment (Correll, 2008). Development discourse shifted towards a Marxist perspective, with Frank's (1969) 'Dependency Theory' taking hold. Frank stated that the modernisation attempts in developing countries had only benefitted the developed countries by allowing them to more exploit developing countries with unequal terms of trade. However, although Frank's work fell within a wider Marxist discourse it is worth noting that earlier Marxist moves towards development were similar to their modernisation predecessors in that they also focused upon large scale agricultural projects and economic growth, all be it if there were differences in the way the benefits accrued from such projects were to be shared (Phuhlisani, 2009).

The 1980's and 1990's saw another shift in development paradigms. Due to the failures of previous large scale, 'Top-Down' projects, attentions were turning towards small scale, participatory approaches. Sustainability, participation and empowerment became key words of the 'Bottom-Up' movement. This movement was termed by some as the 'new-paradigm' of development and included approaches and methodologies such as the basic needs approach, humanist approach, PRA, Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) and the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA), the movement focused not upon income growth but alternative 'quality of life measures' (Chambers, 1992, Padayachee, 1995). These 'sustainability focused' paradigms were quickly absorbed into mainstream development thinking and embraced by the United Nations (UN). The UN focus on human development, participation and social growth has more recently been termed the 'New-York Consensus' in opposition to the previous 'Washington Consensus' (Fukuda-Parr, 2003). Sen defines sustainable development as being 'development that promotes the capabilities of people in the present without compromising the capabilities of future generations' (Sen, 1997:1)

 The sustainability focus has been carried through into the 2000's with large bodies (such as the UN, bilateral aid agencies (such as Oxfam) promoting 'sustainable development'. UNDP defines sustainable development as '[t]he process of enlarging people's choices and freedoms so that they may lead a long, healthy and secure life, acquire knowledge and have equal access to the resources

needed for a decent standard of living without compromising the prospects of future generations' (UNDP, 2011).

The reference to future generations is particularly relevant today, with mounting concerns in relation to global warming and environmental sustainability. In South Africa, for example, the Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism warned that ' climate change is everyone's problem and that over the next fifty years it may well define the worst social, economic and environmental challenges ever faced' (Phuhlisani, 2009:8). He cited research undertaken by South African National Biodiversity Institute [SANBI] which indicates that

'Climate change could lead to provinces like Mpumalanga, Limpopo, the North West, KwaZulu-Natal and even Gauteng becoming malaria zones by 2050, with the number of South Africans 'at high risk' quadrupling by 2020 – at an added cost to the country of between 0,1% and 0,2% of GDP. Clean water resources will become more scarce, small-scale agriculture is also likely to be hard-hit with less rainfall in some regions and too much in others. Regional migration will accelerate, placing added burdens on urban centres. In short, climate change will intensify the worst effects of poverty through losses in biodiversity, agriculture, health, and almost every sector of society. In a developing country like South Africa this means that our poorest communities will also be worst hit by the impacts of climate change.' (Phuhlisani, 2009:8)

Against this background, the renewed focus upon sustainability and livelihoods is understandable and necessary, whether it be social or environmental or both.

One of the current focus of development activities is on making markets work for the poor, or 'M4P'. The need for pro-poor economic growth and access to and inclusion in markets is one of the driving factors behind the M4P approach. States and foreign donors have been intervening by providing the poor with goods and services due to their lack of ability to engage in current market systems. The M4P approach, like the SLA was formed from a multitude of experience but originates from the Department for International Development's (DFID) work, particularly a DFID 2000 paper named '[m]aking markets work for the poor', which led to a variety of M4P interventions world - wide (DFID,2005). M4P has been defined by DFID (2005:1) as:

'an approach that aims to accelerate pro-poor growth by improving outcomes that matter to the poor in their roles as entrepreneurs, employees or consumers of markets. M4P focuses on changing the structure and characteristics of markets to increase participation by the poor on terms that are of benefit to them. It addresses the behavior of the private sector and therefore reinforces the strengths of market systems, rather than undermining these systems. In this way'

M4P, like the SLA, can be an approach, an intervention and a framework. It has been utilized in many forms world-wide. In the South African context, Urban Landmark, an organisation that researches urban property markets, has been exploring M4P approaches in improving access to the

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land market for the poor in Cape Town and across Africa (Urban Landmark, 2011). M4P offers a new approach through which poverty can be alleviated and which does not place the cost and burden of doing so upon the state nor donors.

Lastly, present day development discourse concerns itself with new combinations of traditional neo-liberal means to attain quality of life ends, and 'post-development' discourse (Graaff, 2010). 'Post-development' critics view the development 'machine' as being ineffective, exploitative and ultimately a tool used by developed countries to impose upon developing countries. However, most 'post-development' authors do not offer solutions to development issues, nor do they clarify their standpoint, other than being 'anti-mainstream'. Pieterse (1998) explores these issues in an article entitled *My Paradigm or Yours? Alternative Development, Post-Development, Reflexive Development* and concludes that although there are many critics with good points of contention, their arguments are not strong enough to abandon all development efforts completely.

2.2.3   Rural Development Paths

It is a well documented fact that poverty is worse in rural areas than urban areas worldwide (DESA, 2008, WDR, 2008, FAO 2005, ARD, 2005). In response, rural development stratagems have been many and varied in the last fifty years, generally mirroring the overriding trends in development. The reasons for promoting rural development have also changed, from production for the purpose of feeding the urban masses, to development for the sake of investing in rural areas and peoples themselves (Louw, 2009).

Definitions of Rural Development differ partly because there is no clear definition of what constitutes a rural area. Ashley & Maxwell (2001:397) highlight some of the alternating definitions of rural

> 'IFAD (2001:17) adds to this that rural people usually live in farmsteads or settlements of 5-10,000 persons, Beyond these 'Wiggins & Proctor say that even though there is no exact definition, rural areas are 'clearly recognisable' core features, related to natural resources and population density, rural areas can be characterised in different ways: as places where most people spend most of their working time on farms (ibid.); by the abundance and relative cheapness of land (Wiggins and Proctor); by high transaction costs, associated with long distance and poor infrastructure (Binswanger and Deininger, 1997, cited by Kydd and Dorward); and by geographical conditions that increase political transaction costs and magnify the possibility of elite capture or urban bias (Binswanger and Deininger, 1997)'

Rural development then, is also hard to define; Van der Ploeg et al (2000) states that the notion of rural development 'has emerged through socio-political struggle and debate' and is multifaceted and multi-level by nature. Chambers (1983:147) defines rural development as

'...a strategy to enable a specific group of people, poor rural women and men, to gain for themselves and their children more of what they want and need. It involves helping the poorest among those who seek a livelihood in the rural areas to demand and control more of the benefits of development.'

Singh (1986:3) defines rural development as 'a process leading to suitable improvement in the quality of life of rural people, especially the poor'. Singh suggests that rural development can be defined as a process, a phenomenon and a strategy and also acknowledges it to be a multi-dimensional and comprehensive subject. The World Bank (1997:1) suggests that

'Sustainable Rural Development can make a powerful contribution to four critical goals of poverty reduction, wider shared growth, household, national, and global food security and sustainable natural resource management.'

Much of the shifts in rural development have been concurrent with the aforementioned shifts in development practice and understandings of poverty and quality of life. Ellis & Biggs (2001) provide a useful timeline for conceptualising the different themes present in rural development in the last fifty years which is shown below in figure 2.

Figure 2: Rural Development Themes (Ellis & Biggs, 2001:439)

Figure 1: Rural development ideas timeline

| 1950s | 1960s | 1970s | 1980s | 1990s | 2000s |

modernisation
dual economy model
'backward' agric.
community development
lazy peasants

transformation approach
technology transfer
mechanisation
agricultural extension
growth role of agric.
green revolution (start)
rational peasants

redistribution with growth
basic needs
integrated rural devt.
state agric. policies
state-led credit
urban bias
induced innovation
green revolution (cont.)
rural growth linkages

structural adjustment
free markets
'getting prices right'
retreat of the state
rise of NGOs
rapid rural appraisal (RRA)
farming systems research (FSR)
food security & famine analysis
RD as process not product
women in devt (WID)
poverty alleviation

microcredit
participatory rural appraisal (PRA)
actor-oriented RD
stakeholder analysis
rural safety nets
gender & devt (GAD)
environment & sustainability
poverty reduction

sustainable livelihoods
good governance
decentralisation
critique of participation
sector-wide approaches
social protection
poverty eradication

As can be seen in figure 2, the shift in ideas within rural development mirrors the shift within common development practice. From 'modernisation' in the 1950s to more 'poverty focused' basic needs and integrated approaches of the 1980s then onto a focus on participatory 'bottom-up' methods in the 1990s and finally to sustainable livelihoods and 'post-development' in the 2000's. Development attempts and policies thus reflected these shifts in ideas.

As with modernisation praxis in mainstream development, the Green Revolution of the 1970s and 1980s in rural development saw the promotion and implementation of large scale, heavy, modern farming machinery using new high yielding crops which had proved successful in modernised societies. This agricultural revolution was unsuccessful however, due to a variety of reasons. The approach could not adapt for geographical challenges, and was more successful in areas with certain terrain which lead to intra-regional inequalities. It also lent itself to already wealthy larger farmers who could afford the initial capital output, and so failed to help small scale subsistence farmers, and the approach generally utilised methods which had negative environmental impacts (Shepherd, 1998, Louw, 2010).

Due to the negative impacts of the Green Revolution, the focus of rural development shifted away form large scale efforts towards a smaller, more localised, sustainability focused approach. Sustainable agriculture then concerned itself with lower external inputs, valuing indigenous knowledge, non-technical production methods and resource management (Louw, 2010); this is exactly converse to the principles of the Green Revolution. Sustainable agriculture has been defined by the American Society of Agronomy as agriculture that

   1) Enhances environmental quality and the resource base on which agriculture depends,

   2) provides for basic human and fibre needs,

   3) is economically viable, and,

   4) enhances the quality of life and farmers as a whole (in Reeve, 1990:8)

Another important aspect in the sustainable agriculture movement is that of empowerment. As MacRae et al. (1989) state '[sustainable agriculture] has its roots in a set of values that reflects a state of empowerment, of awareness of ecological and social realities and of one's ability to take action...' (cited in Reeve, 1990:9).

Research undertaken by The European Initiative for Agricultural Research and Development (EIARD) suggests that the current rural development paradigm is characterised by certain features as shown in Figure 3 below.

Figure 3: Main features of Current Rural Development Approaches (Adapted from Percy et al., 2009:2)

> - **Country-led.** National frameworks for agricultural or rural development within PRSPs – with a focus on policy, governance and coordination.
> - **Multi–sectoral approach.** Recognizing that policy and governance are critical, and that wider enablers such as roads, markets, financial services are needed for rural growth and equity – although tensions and coordination issues remain widespread.
> - **Enabling not delivering.** Focus on enabling rural development not delivering it, and supporting national governments
> - to achieve their own objectives through pluralistic actors including private sector.
> - **Enhanced growth focus.** Balancing growth and equity to address production needs and inclusion objectives together.
> - **Donor alignment and harmonization.** Increased donor effort on alignment with national frameworks, and harmonization
> - of efforts – as a result of Paris and Accra. Increased use of harmonized sector support mechanisms,
> - General Budget Support and multi-donor approaches. However still patchy in places.
> - **Enabling not delivering.** Focus on enabling rural development not delivering it, and supporting national governments
> - to achieve their own objectives through pluralistic actors including private sector.
> - **International focus.** Parallel efforts to address international level normative constraints to national development
> - such as trade, climate change, and harmonization with donor country foreign policy.
> - **New supra-national initiatives.** The advent of a new generation of processes around which to organize rural development
> - planning - such as CAADP which is African-owned and led, and at an international level the Common Framework for Action (CFA) and the proposed Global Partnership for Agriculture and Food Security (GPAFS).

South Africa forms part of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and has shown a commitment towards the principle and practice of sustainability in their signing of Agenda 21, a framework and plan for sustainable development at the national, regional and global level. The Framework has explicit goals, two of which are: ensure sustainable agriculture and rural development (Gaol 14) and strengthen the role of farmers (Goal 32) (SADC, 1996). In adopting this framework, South Africa has shown a commitment to the principles of sustainable agriculture which is theoretically applied in the 2010 CRDP.

2.2.4   Agriculture for Rural Development and Poverty Reduction

The role of agriculture in rural development has changed over the last 50 years. Byerlee et al. (2005:3) give us a brief history of agriculture's role in development activities

'Prior to and during the 1950's agriculture was viewed only as a source of food and labour to fuel economic growth, the 1960's brought about a change towards seeing agriculture as 'a central role...as a driver of growth, especially in the early stages of industrialization'. This was due to two reasons 'First, it was recognized that traditional agriculture could be transformed rapidly into a modern sector through the adoption of science-based technology, thereby making a large contribution to overall growth. Second, economists now explicitly identified the strong growth linkages and multiplier effects of agricultural growth to the non-agricultural sectors'.

The 1980s and 1990s saw agriculture shift from being a main focus in national development strategies to being the focus of rural area development strategies and lastly, the 2000s have seen a massive growth in literature concerning agriculture as an engine (or *the* engine) of poverty reduction and pro-poor growth (OECD, 2006, WB, 2008, DEAS, 2008).This is interesting because as we have previously seen, agricultural activity is not the *key* livelihood strategy employed in most rural households, however, it still serves as one of the most *important* in two key areas. Firstly due to the role it plays in increasing nutrition levels, as Vink (2003:21) states 'There is sufficient evidence

that agriculture ensures a more stable food supply and improves nutrition at household level' and secondly as providing a safety net (both in terms of food security and capital to be sold if needed) in times of crises (OECD, 2006, ARD, 2005)

Currently, the agricultural sector accounts for 57% of total employment, 17 % of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and 11 percent of export earnings in Africa. Only 7% of Africa's arable land is irrigated (compared to 37% in Asia), and water availability per person is 70% of the global average (FAO, 2005). African governments spend only 4-5% of their budget on agriculture as opposed to the 8-14% spent in Asia (Fan et al., 2008). External assistance to agriculture has declined since the 1980s and agricultural exports of developing countries still face significant tariff barriers and tariff escalations in developed country markets, although Less Developed Countries (LDCs) benefit from substantial preferences. In addition to this, most developing countries do not have the capacity to attain demanding international trade standards (DESA, 2008). This has lead to the formation of inter-country groups such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC), which enables LDC's within the SADC group more trading power, and more bargaining power in international markets (SADC, 2011)

 In South Africa specifically, the natural environment is under stress due to massive losses in biodiversity (34% of terrestrial ecosystems and 2,000 species are threatened), high levels of air pollution, spiralling waste issues and an intensification of floods and droughts (Wynberg, 2009 cited in Phuhlisani, 2009). Due to water scarcity and declining farm profitability, there has been a loss of over two-thirds of farms since 1990. Meanwhile unregulated and poor fertiliser and pesticide use has lead to more than 5 million hectares of cultivated land being seriously acidified (and rendered unusable). Due to mechanisation of agricultural processes and production, the number of farm workers has dropped from 1.6 million to 628,000 in 2005 (which, when viewed as a percentage of population, allowing for population growth, is a drop from 8.3% to 1.3%) (WWF, 2009) Lastly, due to several factors such as the structural remnants of apartheid, Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEEE), land reform and South Africa's existing macro-economic policy, there is a huge gap in the level of support to large scale commercial farmers, and middle size/subsistence farming, with most government support and investment geared towards larger farms which can create higher economic gains (PLAAS, 2008, 2010, 2011).

This all paints a pretty grim picture with regards to future attempts to develop (both socially and economically) through agricultural means. However, the same reports that deliver such disconcerting statistics also take pains to make clear that agricultural growth is the way forward in poverty alleviation, and forms a much larger body of evidence that points towards agriculture as

'playing a vital role in reducing poverty in developing countries...' (Prowse & Chimhowu, 2007). DESA (2008:1) states that '[a]griculture is key to poverty reduction... GDP growth generated in agriculture is, on average, four times more effective in benefiting the poorest half of the population than growth generated outside agriculture...'. Byerlee et al. (2005:4) states that 'Agricultural growth reduces poverty through direct impacts on farm incomes and employment, while indirect impacts are through the growth linkages discussed above, as well as its impacts on food prices'. Many publications such as the 2005 World Bank report titled 'Agricultural Growth for the poor' and the 2008 World Development Report, 'Agriculture for Development' focus upon the capacity agriculture has, not only in development but also on meeting the Millennium Development Goals (WB, 2005, WDR, 2008). Much of this work has been spurred by the global food crisis and aims towards promoting food security through agricultural production as a means to combat the crises (Kay, 2008). Mather & Adelzadeh (1998: 12) posit that '[no] other economic sector has more potential to assist South Africa in meeting its Millennium Development Goals, halving unemployment by 2014 and feeding its nation, than the rural and agricultural sector' and as such investment within the agriculture sector is necessary and frugal.

The renewed focus upon agriculture in Africa led to the formation of the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP), developed by the New African Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) in 2003, in which CAADP 'identified agricultural research, technology dissemination and adoption as the fourth long term pillar for Africa's development' (FAO, 2005:6).CAADP provides a 'common framework (rather than a set of supranational programs) reflected in the key principles and targets defined and set by the Africa Heads of State and Governments, in order to (i) guide country strategies and investment programs, (ii) allow regional peer learning and review, and (iii) facilitate greater alignment and harmonization of development efforts.' (WB, 2008:230). Such large programmes show attempts by NEPAD countries to revitalise their agriculture industries for the purpose of poverty reduction and social development first and economic growth second. South Africa is currently working towards signing a South African CAADP compact by 2012 (CAADP, 2011).

The S.A government also realises the importance of investing in agriculture. The 2010 Department of Forestry and Fisheries' (DAFF) 'Agricultural Production Strategy Framework' states that 'agriculture has a fundamental role to play in industrialisation and development, and that the role of agricultural production lies in

1. The qualitative and quantitative production of food for the purpose of ensuring national food security;

2. The economic growth and development of agriculture, and in;

3. Rural economic development.' (DAF, 2010:7)

The importance of agriculture has been recognised by both the state and non-state actors, what needs to happen now is the implementation of policies and strategies which not only support large scale agriculture for economic growth, but small and medium scale projects with a focus on pro-poor LED and poverty alleviation (PLAAS, 2010, 2011).

2.3   South Africa's Development Path: 1994-Present.

The post 1994 South African government was faced with the task of writing the wrongs of Apartheid. Since 1994, the Government has implemented a number of programmes and policies to promote equality and ultimately improve quality of life for South Africans. This section shall briefly outline these attempts, and then specifically focus upon those directly aimed at the rural areas.

A basic timeline is offered below to outline the various policy strategies employed.

2.3.1   The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) 1994 and the Growth, Employment, and Redistribution (GEAR) 1996

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was established in order to reduce poverty and inequality as well as create access to water, jobs, land, education and healthcare for the millions of South Africans living in poverty (Aliber, 2003, cited in Manona, 2005). The RDP was based on five key programmes 'Meeting Basic Needs, Developing our Human Resources, Building the Economy, Democratizing the State and Society and Implementing the RDP' (RDP, 1994:9) and sought to build the economy through employment creation and creating a country which was attractive to foreign investors, as well as exercising fiscal constraint (RDP, 1994).

The Growth, Employment, and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy was a macro-economic strategy launched in 1996 that was aimed at job creation and economic growth through reduction of trade deficits and export led growth not dissimilar to the neo-liberal approaches of the World Bank/IMF (Mather & Adelzah, 1997). The GEAR Strategy hoped to create 400,000 jobs a year and reach a 6% annual economic growth rate, as well as focusing on three key economic sectors as per RDP requirements, those of: education, health &welfare and housing, land reform & infrastructure.

2.3.2   The Accelerated and Shared Growth-South Africa (AsgiSA) 2006

The Accelerated and Shared Growth-South Africa (AsgiISA) programme was implemented in 2006 as a 'national shared' growth initiative in order to reach the Government's target to halve poverty and unemployment by 2014 (AsgiSA). ASGISA hopes to continue GEAR's efforts of reaching a 6%

growth rate by 2014 by identifying the country specific 'binding constraints' that inhibit economic growth. The Government sees this as a break from the 'Washington Consensus' as it is 'country specific' and 'restraint focused' (Mlambo-Ngcuka, 2006).

2.3.3 Rural Development Policies in South Africa: Land Reform

Arguably the most crucial aspect of South African policy relating to rural areas is the Land Reform Programme. The Programme is now housed in the newly named Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (DRDLR). The aims of the Programme are laid out in detail in the in 1997 White Paper on Land Policy and are efficiently summarised by Attfield et al. (2004:10)

'1 [To] reverse almost a century of dispossession of land on racial grounds since 19 June 1913

2. Substantially increase black ownership of land for residential and productive purposes with special emphasis on the poor, new entrants to agriculture, farm workers, labour tenants, and women

3. Bring all people occupying land under a unitary, legally validated system of land holding, in particular to secure the tenure of people living in former Bantustans (3.9 million households), of labour tenants and farms workers (0.8 million households), and those living in informal and squatter housing in and around urban areas.'

The land reform programme focuses on three key pillars:

- Land Redistribution: Which redistributes land on a willing-seller/willing-buyer basis and provides grants to groups coming together to buy land in order to farm commercially. The grants provided included a settlement/land-acquisition grants (SLAG) of up to R16,000 which were utilised between 1994 and 1999, then moved onto providing land redistribution for agricultural development grants (LRAD) in 2001. LRAD grants are of between R20,000 and R100,000 dependant on the contribution made by the claimant, a minimum being R5,000 per individual (DRDLR, Hall, 2003).

- Land Restitution: This programme attempts to give back land to those who were moved from their land under the Apartheid regime and had sufficient proof of previous land ties. Claims could be made in groups or on an individual basis, with more urban claims being individual whereas many rural claims numbered thousands of people (Hall, 2003b).There was a three year deadline to lodge a claim, ending in 1998, in which time 63,455 claims were lodged, of these claims, 72% are from urban areas and 28% are from rural areas, however rural claims account for more than 90% of all people claiming land (Hall, 2003).

- Land Tenure: Land Tenure is concerned with strengthening and improving the rights of those living on farm lands, such as farm workers. This was done through two acts: the Extension of Security of Tenure Act 62 (ESTA) of 1997 and the Labour Tenants Act (LTA) 3

of 1996. ESTA enables occupiers to buy the land they occupy (with the approval of the owner) through SLAGs, it also places duties on the occupier and requires the owner to follow due course in evictions. The LTA seeks to 'secure tenants right to land' to help them become 'independent farmers of their own land' (Hall, 2003c:24).

There have been numerous issues with the land reform processes; with the major issues being concerned with a lack of capacity within the DLA (now DRDLR), a lack of real commitment by the Government, issues with land acquisition and a lack of post settlement support for those who have received land (Hall et al., 2003, PLAAS, 2003a, b, c, j, Jacobs, 2003). Criticisms have been levelled at the government for only focusing on promoting large-scale (for export) agriculture and minimally attempting to empower poor small-scale/subsistence farmers through the programme (PLAAS, 2001, 2003, 2008, 2009). Of particular concern has been the recent split of the former Ministry of Land Affairs into the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF) and the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (DRDLR), with some suggesting that this split will only worsen issues. Hall (2009:2), for example, makes the point that

'...the new cabinet has drawn a more critical response from rural people's organisations and lobby groups. Their main objection is that the core problem facing land reform has not only been its slow pace...but the extremely poor level of support for new, small and cash-strapped farmers who have been settled on this land. Agriculture, they insist, should be integrated with land reform and should be at the heart of rural development. Separating agriculture from both rural development and land reform, then, is to move in the wrong direction.'

There are also those who believe that separating land reform and commercial agriculture could leave 'support to the remainder of less 'viable' land reform farms (from a market-oriented point of view) ... to an under resourced Rural Development and Land Reform Ministry' (Greenberg, 2009).

However, it must be recognised that the Land Reform Programme does not run in isolation to other rural policies which *do* aim to integrate agriculture and land reform (such as the 2009 CRDP). These are outlined in the following section.

2.3.4 Rural Development Policies in South Africa: Old and New

The rural development policy of the initial Government of National Unity was the Rural Development Strategy, which was co-ordinated by the RDP office; however, this policy was 'eclipsed' when the RDP office was closed in 1996. It did, however inform the following Rural Development Framework (RDF) of 1997 (Phuhlisani, 2009). The RDF was overseen by the Department of Land Affairs (DLA), however it was not confirmed as national policy, after a wait of three years, the government proposed the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (ISDRDS) in 2000.

2.3.5   The Integrated Development Programme (IDP)

Integrated Development Programmes were created as a function of the decentralising government and a shift in focus towards for more 'bottom-up' and integrated development efforts '[i]t is geared towards integrated economic, spatial, transport, institutional, administrative, fiscal, environmental and other strategies to attain the optimal allocation of scarce resources in a particular area'. (Hall et al., 2007:7). The government of South Africa has pursued a decentralisation programme similar to that of Ecuador landing much of the responsibility for social development in the hands of Municipalities often without the financial backing needed to be able to deliver effective results, similarly to Ecuador '[w]ith decentralisation, municipalities often find themselves ill-equipped technically and fiscally to address the problems of their residents (Andersson 2004:234; Reilly 1995:ix)' (Cited in Keesa & Arguso, 2006:116).

Local Government in each Municipality must, by law, create its own IDP and present a five year strategic plan, as well as help to assist the DRDLR in its roll out of land reform. The formation and delivery of LED is also a role of local government and is housed within IDP processes (DPLG, 2005). The role of local government and their IDP requirements are set out in the Municipal Systems & Municipal Structures Act (117 of 1998).

The plans have shown limited success in some areas and there are still many obstacles and unresolved issues in their application, e.g. a 2003 DPLG survey found that 91% of Municipalities do not have the capacity to formulate and implement IDP (Rossouw-Brink, 2007) and a 2006 survey undertaken by Rhodes University found that 'only 48% of small towns had developed a defined LED policy(a LED policy is a required as part of the IDP and it's strategies must be based upon the overall aims and vision of the IDP). The same reports note that only 56% had established some form of LED unit and only 12% have a councillor with LED responsibilities.' (Rogerson, 2011:162, Nel & Goldman, 2006). LED shall further be explored in section 2.4.

2.3.6   The Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (ISRDS)

The ISRDS was designed to 'realize a vision that will attain socially cohesive and stable rural communities with viable institutions, sustainable economies and universal access to social amenities, able to attract and retain skilled and knowledgeable people, who equipped to contribute to growth and development' (ISRDS, 2000). The ISDRDS intended to use already existing departments, and assigned 15 Ministers and Deputy Ministers specific responsibilities in managing 13 poverty nodes in which the programme would run (Phuhlisani, 2009).

However, there were difficulties within the application of the ISRDS, including: utilising a 'one-size fits all approach', a dissatisfaction with the long-term needs of some projects, poor measureable

objectives and lack of clearly clarified roles, let alone the difficulties faced when trying to organise and communicate between 15 ministries (Phuhlisani, 2009). In 2009 the government released the Comprehensive Rural Development Programme, which aims to build the ISRDS.

2.3.7   The Comprehensive Rural Development Programme (CRDP)

The CRDP arises from strategic objective number three in the Government's Medium Term Strategic Framework (MTSF) 2009 – 2014, The 'Comprehensive Rural Development strategy is linked to land and agrarian reform and food security and centres around a three pronged strategy:

- a coordinated and integrated broad-based agrarian transformation;

- strategically increasing rural development; and

- an improved land reform programme.' (CRDP, 2009:3)

The 2009 CRDP document states that

'The vision of the CRDP is to create vibrant, equitable and sustainable rural communities and includes: contributing to the redistribution of 30% of the country's agricultural land; improving food security of the rural poor; creation of business opportunities, de-congesting and rehabilitation of over-crowded former homeland areas; and expanding opportunities for women, youth, people with disabilities and older persons who stay in rural areas.' (CRDP, 2009:3)

The programme was based upon results from three pilot projects; two based in Riemvasmaak in the Northern Cape Province, and one in Muyexe Village in Giyani in the Limpopo province. The CRDP, like previous programmes, attempts to be straightforward through creating clear roles for each actor and laying prominence on co-ordination, however, this is a very complex task. Phuhlisani (2009:43) provides a useful diagram of the complexity of this manner of co-ordination depicted below in Figure 4.

Figure 4: The CRDP (Phuhlisani, 2009:43)
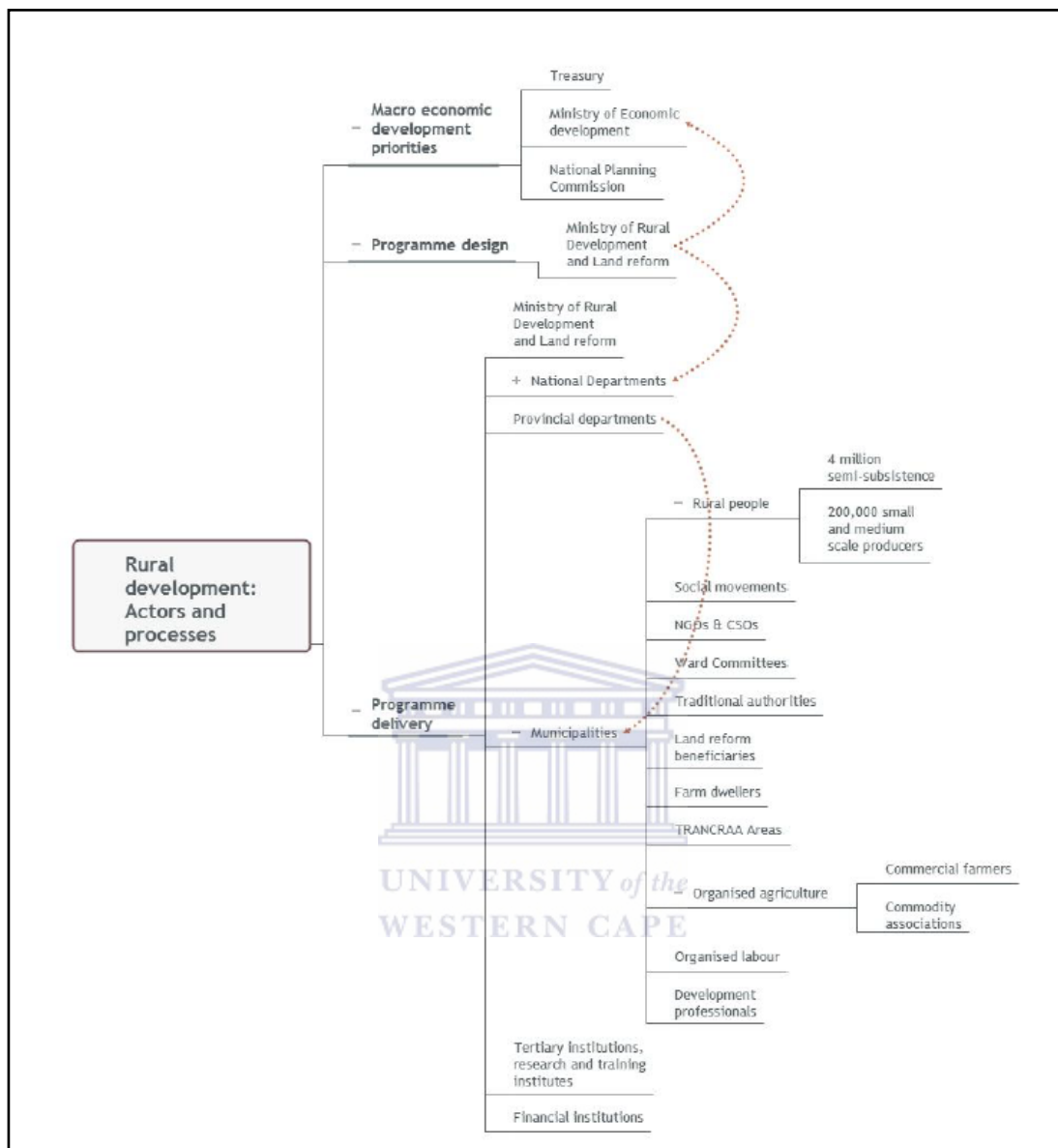
Central to the CRDP is the employment creation strategy which aims to 'create para-development specialists at the ward level that will be equipped to train and mentor selected community members so that they become gainfully employed' (CRDP, 2009:4) these specialists will in turn train community members who will be employed within Extended Public Works Programme (EPWP) for a minimum of two years. In this way it is hoped to employ one individual per household, on the condition that the employed share 50% of their income with their household (CRDP, 2009). Figure 4 highlights the management and structure of the CRDP. As with the Land Reform Programme, there are worries with the 'bifurcation' of state policy and the capacity for such a new department as the DRDLR to handle such a large and complex programme 'Given the crosscutting nature of rural development and the complexity of the co-ordination requirements other commentators are

concerned that the shift of co-ordination responsibility from the Presidency to a new and relatively junior department will make this task impossible to achieve.' (Phuhlisani, 2009:43)

The DRDLR has reprioritised 505 million Rand for the planning and pilot stage but as of yet, has not had any money allocated to the programme (DRDLR, 2009) and there is a 'limited resource base' within the Ministry of Rural Development and Land Reform to implement the programme (Phuhlisani, 2009).

2.4 Local Economic Development (LED): Globally and Locally.

LED has been adopted world-wide, and in South Africa specifically, it serves as an umbrella term for the integration of previously informal mechanisms of localised economical development into the new 'developmental local government'. South Africa has a long history of informal local economic development and, to date, has the strongest LED network in Africa (Binns & Nel, 1999, Mnona, 2005, Parker, 2004).

The BCDA is a LED agency (LEDA) that works within the municipality to deliver LED in the BCRM. In order to fully understand this process and the issues facing such an entity, it is necessary to briefly focus upon the inception and evolution of LED worldwide.

Local Economic Development (LED) is a concept that is not easily defined, several definitions have been put forward and utilised by different institutions and academics. The World Bank (2006:3) defines LED as

'...a process by which public, business and non-governmental sector partners work collectively to create better conditions for economic growth and employment generation' in order to '...build up the economic capacity of a local area to improve its economic future and to improve the quality of life for all.'

Blakely, (1994:xvi) defines it as

'the process in which local governments or community-based organizations engage to stimulate or maintain business activity and/or employment...The principal goal of LED is to stimulate local employment opportunities in sectors that improve the community, using existing human, natural, and institutional resources'

In a report on pro-poor LED by the African Institute of Community Driven Development (Khanya-aiccd) and Rhodes University, LED is defined as

'all activities which local governments and other stakeholders at local level engage in to enhance growth, incomes and livelihoods, specifically including that of poor people.'

Lastly the DPLG, in its 2005 National Framework for LED, sees LED as including:

'the role of the locality within multiple, complex networks that may extend right up to the global scale; the role of institutions in supporting economic development and the importance of strengthening these institution; both the 'hard infrastructure' provided by new technologies and the 'soft infrastructure' of social networks and interaction; the mix between co-operation and competition that is required to support development; the importance of knowledge transfer and innovation; and, the need for sustainable and inclusive patterns of growth.' (2005:4)

For the purpose of this paper, LED shall be defined as a formalised process of local economic development which includes local governmental departments, private and public institutions and community based groups that focus upon pro-poor economic growth. There has been much dialogue concerning the primary role of LED and whether it is pro-poor or pro-growth. Pro-poor LED is concerned with LED which both empowers and benefits the poorest members of society, e.g. LED 'which would explicitly target low income communities and the marginalised as the policy focus of government policy (REFERENCE)'. It has also been defined as 'bottom-up' LED.

Pro-Growth LED, on the other hand, is primarily concerned with 'high economic growth rates' and creating a viable investment area (Nel & Goldman, 2006, Rossouw-Brink, 2007). The two, however, are not mutually exclusive; the City of Cape Town has an LED strategy combines both pro-poor and pro-growth and views them as mutually supportive (Nel & Goldman, 2006).

Much of the LED in the Northern Hemisphere has been of a pro-growth focus, whilst in the South it has been more a 'Bottom-up', pro-poor initiative (Nel, 2001, Nel &Goldman, 2006). In South Africa it is acknowledged that there are two differing forms of LED: rural and urban. Rural LED concerns itself with pro-poor growth, whereas traditionally, urban LED has been concerned with promoting economic growth and making the urban areas more attractive to investors. LED has both formal mechanisms such as those built into government and policy and informal mechanisms such as those employed by NGOs and informal self-reliance networks (Nel, 2001).

LED came about primarily in the United Kingdom as a response to firstly, the economic slump post World War II and secondly, in response to the failure of other developmental efforts to curb unemployment and boost the local economy (Geddes, 2004). According to Nel (2001, adapted in Rossouw Brink, 2007:16) it became more widespread in the North in response to three major trends:

- o 'Increasing decentralisation of power and decision-making to the local level, which parallels the neo-liberal era reduction in the role of the state in the economy

- o Globalisation forces, which in a context of diminishing importance of the nation-state compel a local level response

o Economic change within localities, varying from de-industrialisation to local innovation which requires local leadership, response and direction

o The dubious results achieved by macro-level planning and regional development interventions'.

LED in South Africa came from necessity caused by the stagnating post-apartheid economy and post 1994 economic crises, as well as from initiatives from communities and organisations trying to survive and forming an active civil society in the face of poverty, unemployment, disempowerment and disenfranchisement (Nel, 2001, Parker, 2004.). LED can be viewed on a policy level, an institutional level and a project/programme level (Rossouw-Brink, 2007). In South Africa LED represents the formalised connection between all 3 levels or the actors within those levels, as Parker (2004:27) states '[in South Africa] LED policy focused on joint ventures between government, the private sector and local communities.' This is further reflected by Nel's 2001 identification of four types of LED currently existing in South Africa:

1. Local Government LED initiatives

2. NGO/Community LED initiatives

3. Section 21 Initiatives (where 'not for profit' companies are set up by local government to oversee the LED process, as in this case study: the BCDA)

4. 'Top-down' LED (where existing government structures are in charge of LED, often used as a way to kick start LED processes).

The Section 21/Local Economic Development Agency (LEDA) approach has grown in popularity as a viable alternative to placing more work on already cash and time strapped Municipalities. The IDC (2009, cited in Rogerson, 2011:162) states that 'the development agency idea serves as a possible alternative to facilitate economic development within Municipalities by providing dedicated capacity and strategic intent, while allowing the existing Municipal structures to continue addressing priority basic service provisioning – thereby still meeting their Constitutional and developmental obligations.'

Other than the already existing LED at a community level, LED has been embedded in the form of South Africa's 'developmental government' and the terms of the 1996 Constitution and other key policies which shall now be explored.

2.4.1 LED at Policy Level

LED policy has been shaped by three key pieces of legislation: the Constitution of 1996, the White Paper on Local Government of 1998, and the Local Government Municipal Systems Act of 2000.

The 1998 White Paper introduced the concept of 'developmental local government' which it defines as '[l]ocal government committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs, and improve the quality of their lives' (REFERENCE) The White paper was then systematised within the Municipal Systems & Municipal Structures Act (117 of 1998) which defined the role of in the formation and delivery of IDPs. Rogerson (2011:151) quotes van der Heijden (2008) in stating that the essential aim of the Act is to 'provide for the core principles, mechanisms and processes that are to enable municipalities to move progressively towards the social and economic upliftment of local communities'.

The LED National Framework is the responsibility of the DPLG, (which, in 2009 was re-named as is now known as the Department of Cooperative Governance) which released the framework entitled *Stimulating and Developing Local Economies-National Framework for Local Economic Development in South Africa 2006-201 1* in 2006. Prior to 2006 attempts had been made by the government to draw up a policy on LED including the 2001 policy document *Refocusing development on the poor* and the 2002 Draft LED framework. The final publication of the 2006 paper was seen as a milestone in South African LED policy, indicating a 'greater maturity' concerning LED and for the first time a clear set of guidelines for activities was articulated (Rogerson, 2011). The document outlines seven core objectives for the framework as well as eight outcomes for the next five years (until 2011), it also provides a list of responsibilities of municipalities in LED.

There have been important policies which directly and indirectly affect LED including:

o The 2006 Policy Guidelines for Implementing Local Economic Development in

  o South Africa (DPLG 2006)

o The 5-year Local Government Strategic Agenda and Implementation Plan which appeared in 2006 (DPLG 2006b)

o The Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative (DTI 2005)

o The National Spatial Development Perspective (NSDP; The Presidency 2006)

o The Regional Industrial Development Strategy (RIDS; DTI 2006), and

o The National Industrial Policy Framework (DTI 2007), (taken from Rogerson, 2011:152).

South Africa has hence shown a sincere commitment to LED in terms of policy, with LED being one of the 5 Key Performance Areas (KPAs) of local government (DPLG, 2006). LED financing has been a major issue. Firstly suffering from not having a dedicated fund for LED, and thus relying on donors who were often unreliable and had limited, and secondly, facing problems *after* the LED Fund was setup in 1999 with a budget of 42 million Rand which was subsequently changed into the Municipal Infrastructure Grant (MIG) in 2004 due to poor outcomes. The MIG provides grants for LED, which some have argued have a negative impact on LED as it does not promote self-reliance (Rossouw-Brink, 2007, Rogerson, 2011).

However, even with a specialised grants facility, the outcomes of LED efforts have not been impressive. The implementation and performance of LED within South Africa is characterized by major divides between well resourced municipalities and the smaller, lacking Municipalities (Nel &Goldman, 2006). Where some large-scale urban LED efforts have proved moderately successful in promoting economic growth (as in the instances of Cape Town and Johannesburg), most LED efforts have been disappointing, especially in poorer rural areas (Rogerson, 2011, Nel & Goldman, 2002). Rossouw-Brink (2007) cites Meyer-Stamer (2003:4) who states that 'LED in South Africa tends to be confused and highly selective'. Additionally, the limited capacity and experience local governments have in promoting economic development, is unlikely that LED will make a difference' This confusion and difference in results of LED programs highlights the need for further research into how LED activities can attain successful outcomes and eventually, make a difference.

2.4.2   Issues with LED

There have been many studies into why LED initiatives have been unsuccessful. These studies have identified many barriers to successful LED implementation which can be summarised as follows:

o   There is no strict definition of what LED is, and therefore confusion arises as to the various roles and responsibilities of departments of government. There are also issues of the overburdening on local government without real support from central government.

o   Lack of skills, capacity and resources at the local/municipal level to carry out implementation.

o   Contextual elements include increasing poverty, the toll of HIV/AIDS and poor levels of education /out-migration of skilled worker in rural areas as well as the disempowerment of individuals caused by Apartheid.

o   Insufficient support from Government for NGO/CBO efforts and local government.

- The fact that huge infrastructure backlogs, low tax bases and capacity constraints, public administration in much of small town and rural South Africa has sought only to meet immediate needs in terms of provisioning basic services (Rogerson:24, 2011, Nel, 2001, Nel & Goldman, 2006, Tomlinson, 2003, Binns & Nel, 1999)

In response to these issues, new and varied strategies towards LED have been researched, developed and furthered. A report published by Nel & Goldman (2006) state that there are three main categories in LED research, e.g. locality focused research in large cities, locality focused research in small cities and thematic or sectorally based investigations. The report states that '[t]he most undeveloped aspect of South African research on LED relate to thematic or sectorally-based investigations...'. Differing methods of LED delivery constitute a thematic investigation, and thus there is a need for more research to be carried out regarding the most effective method of LED delivery. In reference to the author's case study, BCDA is the main instigator for LED and the study aims to see if it has been successful in one of its LED aims, improving the quality of life for those involved. This research will contribute to the existing body of knowledge on LED methods and delivery. Such research is well-timed, as increasingly, municipalities are looking toward LEDA's as previous LED to implement LED processes.
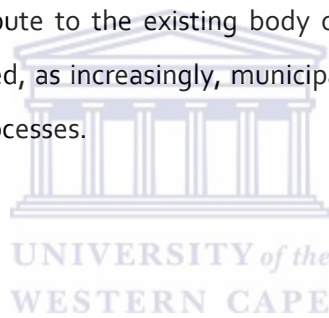
CHAPTER THREE
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework, theoretical framework employed in the study. It first provides an overview of the history of the approach and the framework as offered by Scoones (1998), then outlines its facets as well as some of the limitations of the approach and finally it focuses on some of the applications of the approach in South Africa.

3.2 A Brief History & Overview of the SLA

The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) is a developmental approach which concerns itself with the definition, understanding and improvement of 'livelihoods'. It is, in simple terms, a 'people centred, bottom up and dynamic' approach to developmental thinking; 'Sustainable Livelihoods Approaches have evolved from three decades of changing perspectives on poverty, how poor people construct their lives, and the importance of structural and institutional issues (Ashley & Carney 1999). Over the last 30 years, there has been a shift in the way poverty is viewed, going from purely economic measures to looking at a person's quality of life and capabilities.
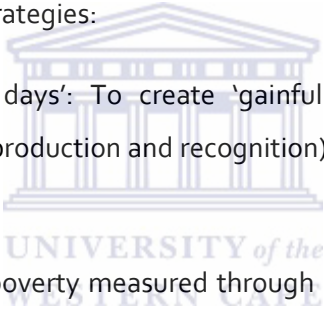
With this, there has been a shift in developmental approaches. The move towards Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) and the growing dissatisfaction with 'resource based' donor funding also shifted the emphasis towards the 'people' themselves, and what the 'people' hold important to their lives. These changing attitudes, coupled with the growing awareness concerning environmental sustainability and a desire for more holistic, realistic measures of development, led to the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (Ashley & Carney, 1999.)

The Approach was influenced by a number of disciplines. Norton & Foster (2001:12) state that 'It has conceptual roots in various traditions, including applied social science, agro-eco systems/farming systems analysis and especially participatory approaches to rural development.' The term 'sustainable livelihood' can be traced to Chambers and Conway's (1992) work on capabilities, equity and sustainability, who, in turn, were influenced by Amartya Sen's writing on capabilities and freedoms. The description of a livelihood as put forward by Chambers and Conway (1992:6) is

'...the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels in the long and short term.'

An individual's capabilities refer to what that individual can do with their 'entitlements' in order to attain what they deem a good quality of life (Sen: 1984) and Assets refer not only to financial capital but to resources and social links. Stresses are natural, recurring stresses upon a livelihood such as seasonal changes; 'Stresses are pressures which are typical, continuous and cumulative, predictable and distressing, such as seasonal shortages, rising populations and declining resources...' whereas shocks are once off, unpredictable events; '...shocks are events which are typically sudden, unpredictable and traumatic, such as fires, floods and epidemics.' (Conway, 1987 cited in Chambers & Conway, 1992:10). Sustainability can relate to a global level as well as a local level and refers to both environmental resources and social links; in that something is sustainable when it 'involve[s] the long-term maintenance and survivability, if not the enhancement, of stocks and flows of food and income adequate for basic human needs to be met, without undermining other such livelihoods, or potential livelihoods for the coming generation' (Attfield et al., 2004).

Scoones (1998) proposes that from this definition five 'key-elements' can be emphasised that are important outcomes of livelihood strategies:

1. The 'Creation of working days': To create 'gainful employment' (which includes, as suggested by Sen: income, production and recognition) for (a suggested benchmark of) 200 days a year.

2. Poverty Reduction: Either poverty measured through inequality measures, pure economic terms or perceived relative poverty (or other poverty measures)

3. Well-being and Capabilities: To increase an individual's capacity to utilise their 'entitlements' and thus enhance their 'capabilities' (following the notion put forward by Sen in numerous publications). This measure includes intangible measures such as self-esteem and dignity.

4. Livelihood adaptation, Vulnerability and Resilience: A Sustainable Livelihood must be able to adapt to and cope with stresses and shocks.

5. Natural Resource Base Sustainability: How the natural resource base of an individual can resist 'stress' and 'shocks'.

The approach focuses on people themselves and the strengths that they have and recognises that there are many different means that are employed by individuals or households to survive. Other than formal employment. For example, each individual may have strong ties with the community or family, so in times of need, can rely on them for aid; this aid forms part of a livelihood. The SLA

seeks to understand that there are many factors involved in and influencing livelihoods and that all are interconnected. The approach has been institutionalised by many NGOs (such as CARE International) and donors, most famously the UK's Department for International Development (DFID). Certain key principles are at the core of the approach, which have been expanded by many practitioners and authors, for the sake of brevity, only a chosen few will be listed here.

Selected core principles of this approach are:

- o People Centred

- o Responsive and Participatory

- o Using Micro-Macro Links

- o Conducted in Partnership

- o Sustainable

- o Dynamic

- o Multi-Dimensional

- o Cross sectoral

- o Poverty reduction (Note: this is not explicitly stated in the framework but is assumed in it's paradigm)

(DFID, 1999., Meikle et al, 2001., Ashley & Carney, 1999., FAO, 2000)

The SLA has been used successfully as an analytical tool, a set of principles and a developmental objective. It has been used to aid project design, project review and assessment of sectors, as well as many other variations (Farrington, 1991, Farrington et al., 1999). Carney (2001) states that the SLA has been successfully used for national level planning, poverty eradication plans, disaster response, sectoral reform and institutional analysis to name but a few. In the South African context, the SLA has been used by Khanya in large scale poverty eradication programmes as well as community based planning (Khanya, 2003). It has also has been successfully utilised in different forms in South Africa such as for gathering information, impact assessments and as a framework for development (see Attfield, 2004, Lahiff, 2003, Glavovic, 2007, Bradstock, 2005.,Goldman, 2000, for further information).

The SLA is, however, also notoriously difficult to operationalise (See section 3.3), thus frameworks have been developed to act as a guide to the practical application of the approach Section 3.2.1 shall focus on, and briefly explain the framework proposed by Scoones in 1998, from which the DFID framework was developed.

3.2.1 The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework is a framework adapted to help in the operationalisation of the Approach. Figure 5 presents the Framework originally proposed by Ian Scoones in 1998, and Figure 6 shows the framework as adapted and used by DFID.

The *Vulnerability context* refers to the context in which a household exists, for example, factors such as the houses location making it prone to flooding or being in an area affected by civil war. *The Asset pentagon* refers to the *Capital* which that household holds: *Human, Natural, Financial, Social and Physical* (See Table two). These assets then allow a household to engage in the transforming *Structures and Processes;* the *Structures and Processes* refer to the processes and structures that household has contact with/is situated in (for example, government structures, social structures etc) and the results of a households engagement with these structures and processes are varied *Livelihood Strategies. Livelihood Strategies* are different pathways employed by households in order to attain desired *Livelihood Outcomes* The *Asset Pentagon* is in turn, influenced by the achieved *Livelihood Outcomes.*

Figure 5: The original Sustainable livelihoods Framework (Scoones, 1998)

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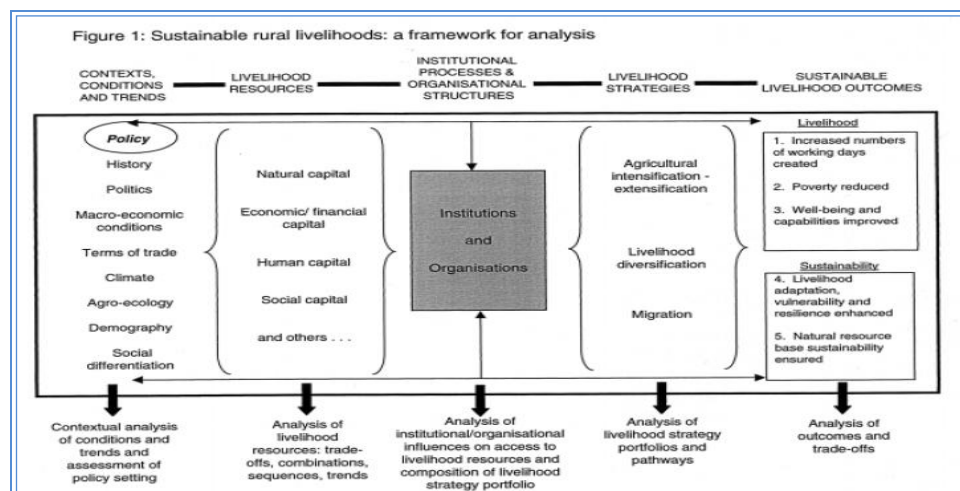
Figure 6: The DFID Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (DFID, 1998)
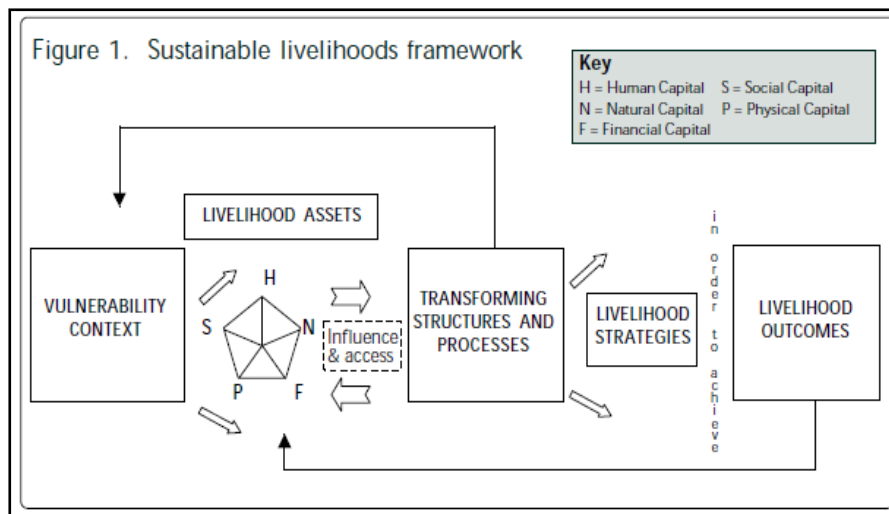
Figure 7: The Asset pentagon explained (original work of author, 2011).

❖ Human Capital: Factors such as the skills, knowledge and health that allow a person to pursue livelihood strategies.
❖ Natural Capital: The natural resources available to use in pursuing livelihood strategies such as land, water, forests, air quality, erosion protection, biodiversity degree and rate of change.
❖ Financial Capital: Refers to the 'Available Stocks' such as money or livestock, and 'Regular Inflows' such as salaries or grants.
❖ Physical Capital: The 'basic infrastructure and producer goods' that one utilizes in everyday life such as roads, sanitation, and access to information.
❖ Social Capital: The social connections people use in order to create livelihood outcomes such as formalized groups, family or religious groups.

Each part of the framework influences the other and what is of most importance within the framework must be decided by the group the framework is being applied too.

Figure 8: A working example of the SLF (original work of author, 2011)

A working example would be a household within a poor community with limited natural resources but lots of social capital (Asset Pentagon). Thus strong bonds within the community to help that household, and with a strong NGO network in the community (Structures) which also provide aid in the form of food. Therefore through the community support network and the NGO the household has a livelihood strategy to gain sustenance. Subsequently, this strategy creates the livelihood outcome that the household can eat and get the nutrition they need, which in turn means that that household can work on improving other aspects of their capital.

The SLA has been used in numerous cases worldwide; its critique's and uses shall be discussed further in Section 3.5 of the following Literature Review

3.3   Limitations of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

There are many issues with and critiques of the SL approach

'To its potential critics, an SL approach may appear excessively micro-focused, time-consuming and complex, with only limited value-adding. It does not obviate the need for existing methods and tools, and yet requires investment of time and resources to implement wider perspectives and achieve a degree of synergy among existing initiatives...' (Farrington et al, 1999)

These issues can be split into 2 broad categories: Conceptual and Methodological.

3.3.1   Conceptual Concerns

The approach was hailed as a new approach, however, even at the time of its conception there were doubts as to whether it was really different or was merely Integrated Rural Development (IRD) repackaged 'Concerns have been expressed, however. The first is that the livelihoods approach is simply IRD under a new name. It is easy to see why; the two approaches have much in common.' (Carney, 1999:2). As the approach can be identified within the human development paradigm, it shares many similarities with previous participatory methods, and is in danger of being old news repackaged.

There are also questions about whether the approach is truly participatory and as 'people-centred' as it claims to be, (after all the framework is a framework developed in the universities of the North to be used in rural areas of the South), a reminder of how the approach is still reminiscent of earlier 'top-down' methods (Chambers, 1999). The framework is complex and is difficult to explain even to trained staff (FAO, 2000), thus, when taken to the field, (and more often than not, translated) it is daunting and complicated, making it less accessible. This has practical ramifications when it comes to operationalisation 'we structured the participation around the concepts in the sustainable livelihoods framework (e.g., "vulnerability" and "assets"). We found that this limited participation, given that some participants had difficulty in understanding what these meant in the sense that the framework uses them and this led to less time for bringing out problems and priorities in a less structured format' (Adato & Meinzen-Dick, 2002:31).

Linguistically, the concept of SL is also hard to translate; the 2000 FAO Inter-agency Forum on Operationalizing Sustainable Livelihoods Approaches highlighted that although the approach is in use in many French and Spanish speaking countries there is not a translation which fully captures the full remit of the approach 'Although *sustainable livelihoods* can be translated into Spanish as *sistemas de vida y desarrollo sostenible*, there seems to be no adequate French equivalent. In fact, none of the possible French translations ...captures the concept fully...' (FAO, 2000 [online])

SL approaches aim to be highly holistic and recognise multiple and interconnected factors affecting a livelihood. However, as with Sen's Capabilities approach, it has been stated that by trying to be holistic it is over ambitious and too complex (Cahn, 2002., Carney, 1999 Farrington et al., 1999), thus making it hard to understand and operationalize. It has also been stated that the concept does not allow enough room for the role of politics, power and history; although the framework allows for institutions (formal and informal), it does not acknowledge how much influence politics and power relations have upon livelihoods (Carney, 1999., Norton & Foster, 2002). As Ashley and Carney (1999:35) state '...the SL framework overall can convey a somewhat cleansed, neutral approach to power issues. This contrasts starkly with the fundamental role that power imbalances play in causing poverty', FAO (2000: http://www.fao.org/docrep/x7749e/x7749e08.htm) also accept that '...while the framework helped practitioners focus on policies, institutions and processes, the political dimension of these structures and processes needed to be made more explicit'. There are also intra-household power dynamics that may not be recognised by the approach.

Adorno & Meinzen-Dick (2002) also place emphasis on the issue of treating culture within the economic constructs of 'capital'. They highlight that culture is omnipotent to all resources and capitals and therefore cannot be placed *within* a limited context such as human capital or 'institutes'. They, like Norton & Foster (2002), also argue that not enough emphasis is placed upon history and the historical context of livelihood creation. Critiques have also been levelled at the choice of what makes a capital, who chooses the capitals and how to measure a capital. The 2000 inter-agency FAO forum on operationalizing sustainable livelihoods approaches in Pontignano (Siena) raised the following issues when 'capital' was being discussed; '[h]ow do we rate natural capital on a single axis when land is abundant but of poor quality? How do we rate human capital when health and literacy are low but labour supply is abundant? When we rate social capital as high, medium or low, what is to be our yardstick of comparison (regions within the country, the world)? (2000 http://www.fao.org/docrep/x7749e/x7749e08.htm). Realistically, each capital influences the other, and there are neither clear definitions nor boundaries between types of capital. What may be deemed as capital to one individual may not seem so to another.

The issues of what is included in a 'capital', what is important and what makes a livelihood are also troublesome. It is tough to work with and operationalize such fluid concepts. When working with peoples perceptions of poverty and livelihoods. It is hard to compare outcomes, as there are no truly objective measures, as Farrington et al. (1999:12) state '[h]ow will we know whether livelihoods have been improved, particularly given the qualitative, subjective and often transient nature of some aspects of livelihoods? For instance, it is difficult to assess levels of, or changes in, social

capital or vulnerability. The difficulty is compounded by the fact that livelihood security is a matter of perception, which can change easily without any change in tangible outcomes'. With a 'people-centred' focus, the people involved must identify what is important and relevant to them, which can be manifested in many hard to measure factors such a satisfaction, happiness and self-esteem. As with Sen's capability approach, not only does this cause problems with measuring 'intangible' factors, but also raises the issue of 'the adaptive preference problem' as discussed by Sen (1989), whereby those living in poverty may be so used to reduced standards in living that they have a severely reduced standard of 'quality of life', and are happy to live in less than ideal circumstances. To truly practice the SLA in a participatory manner, this may become an issue as the development worker is be in a position to impose their notions of quality of life.

In terms of the SLF, there have been critiques that although the framework is 'people-centred', people are actually not part of the framework 'the first principle of SL approaches is that they are "people-centred", people are not "visible" in the current framework.' (FAO, 1999), the same has been said for 'poverty' or 'poverty alleviation', as the framework does not explicitly mention nor include poverty alleviation within it (Ashley and Carney 1999). There are also issues of ' prioritisation of action', Norton & Foster (2001) point out that due to the large scale of the framework, no indications are given on how to prioritise an action, which can cause problems knowing the full and complex nature of the framework. Some practitioners feel that the framework does not actually provide 'right' and 'wrong' answers, only 'grey areas' or possible suggestions 'It is possible, they suggest, that SL analyses result in a 'mass of grey 'pros and cons' rather than clear conclusions.' (DFID 2001: 14, Chambers, 1991, FAO, 1999).

3.3.2 Methodological Limitations

The SL approach has come under heavy criticism concerning the operationalisation of the SL framework. This is due to a variety of factors, many of which are due to the holistic and over-reaching nature of the approach. As mentioned above, the approach is not specific in dictating how to apply the framework, in what capacity and in what order. Although the approach recognises certain methods which are suitable to collecting and utilising information and much has been written about appropriate participatory tools, there is no one template to apply to all situations (which is also one of the approaches greatest merits).

The approach calls for cross-sectional action, this may be impossible in the real world, where programs are funded by one government department or one NGO with a specific focus. Even the most simple task is complicated tenfold when all sectors have to be included; to communicate between two government departments is complicated, let alone several departments and different

agencies. Although ideal on paper, in practice many have questioned if a cross sectoral approach is truly possible (Farrington, 2001). This concern is shared by Carney (1999:12) who states that '...there are worries about whether it is possible to transcend sectors in the way the livelihoods approach proposes. Both partner countries and donor organisations themselves tend to be organised along sectoral lines. Budgets are allocated in this way and efforts to cross sectoral boundaries have often proved fruitless.' Thus the approach calls for a complicated effort in organising projects cross-sectoraly.

The approach has also been critiqued for being too complicated, which can cause complications when trying to work cross-sectorally and with many agencies involved. In order to be effective, all involved must fully understand all the concepts and processes involved, as Farrington et al. (1999) explain 'Learning processes are important to promote on at least two levels: first, the teams using the approach need an initial familiarisation and learning period, where necessary devising simplified versions of the framework for local presentation'. Explaining the SL approach/framework so that everybody understands is time consuming, especially when translated, which can add extra expenses to a project and even if understood by all, different actors attach different meanings to say, what 'human capital' may entail (FAO 1999).

The holistic nature of the approach calls for participatory methods from the onset, which involves promoting as much 'active participation' as possible, in all capacities. This, coupled with a cross sectoral approach which recognises and includes all factors (including the recognition of informal and formal processes and institutions), leads to a huge undertaking, not only of fact-finding but understanding. A development worker in this context is expected not only to know what is presented to her/him, but to have a thorough grounding in the historical/political context of those they are working with '...understanding how conflict over access to resources impinges on livelihood choices, and what can be done to address this. Developing cost effective modes of livelihood analysis that ensure that the needs of the poorest are prioritised..' is how Farrington et al (1999:1) describe one of the 'main difficulties' in the operationalisation of the SL approach. This may not be possible, especially in the case of foreign 'consultants' coming to work within a community. To implement the approach fully and thoroughly is a mammoth task in any context. The approach is costly in time and resources when properly applied due to all the above factors.

There is a need to identify and collaborate with other groups and actors within the community (field of work); these may include community groups, political entities, unions, religious institutions and government. It is sometimes complicated to make appropriate and fruitful collaborations (Lahiff, 2003). Sometimes Government departments are hard to involve in the process and can impede the

approach '...it can be difficult to 'bring government along'...it [the SL approach] may not be attractive to key partner organisations organised on sector lines (who may even perceive it as a threat)' (Norton & Foster, 2001:14).

Another important critique of the SLA is that the approach can only work with co-operation from all sectors (especially government sectors), this calls for a level of good governance within the area/country. Lahiff (2003) recognises six key areas of good governance which must be ongoing in an area for the SL approach to work. This is a key issue because many of the places which 'need' the SL approach do so due to bad governance. Many poor countries/communities suffer from poor communication links, organisation and corruption within government which feeds into ongoing underdevelopment. Thus the SLA may not work as the networks needed to successfully implement the approach are not in existence.

The approach recognises that trade-offs will have to be made when focusing on which livelihood strategy is to be chosen. However, choosing what trade off to make (via choosing what path of action to best take as a development agent) may not always be appropriate nor participatory. Farrington et al. (1999) states that there are problems with '...understanding how, in practice, to handle trade-offs, for instance between local pressures (e.g. for increased short-term income or better infrastructure) and wider concerns about resource sustainability and national-level policy considerations.' The issue of trade –offs with sustainability and livelihoods are also a key issue. For those living in absolute poverty, sustainability may not be an option; Carney, (1999:1) posits that

'Resource degradation is an acute problem in rural areas. The new approaches stress the importance of sustainability. Sustainable rural livelihoods can only be achieved if natural resources are themselves used in sustainable ways. Maintaining objectivity in decisions about what constitutes sustainable use is likely to be an enormous challenge, particularly in areas where people are already extremely vulnerable and have few options other than increased use of resources.'

Ellis- Jones (1999:188) reinforces this by stating that

'The Sustainable Rural Livelihoods approach is responsive to peoples' own interpretation and priorities for their livelihoods. While it is about people, it does not compromise on the environment, but integrates it within a holistic framework. This, in itself, can cause conflicts as poor people, in the short term, may be forced to neglect sustainability. It is essential, therefore, to work with rural people to help...'

Sustainability is key to the SLA, however, in cases of sustainability vs. starvation (for those involved), it may not be the best angle to approach the combating of immediate issues (although the approach has been successfully adapted by FAO into a livelihood assessment toolkit which is for use in emergency response areas) (FAO, 2009). Questions can also be raised about the importance

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of social/economic sustainability and whether they are more important than environmental sustainability, in the case of either or, which should be chosen?

Since the poor do not always have access to capital and are heavily marginalised, some argue that the SLA is inappropriate, and a political approach would be more effective 'it raises the question of whether the needs of the poor might be met more quickly and more fully through political struggle than through dealings with the bureaucracy.' (Farrington et al. 1999:11). In the same vein, others have stated that the approach may help us to understand the poor but does not reach the 'poorest of the poor' or that the approach may help identify issues but not change them (FAO, 1999).

3.4   Is there a Role for the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach in Rural Development? Positive Uses and Outcomes of the SLA.

The previous section discussed some of the important critiques often levelled at the SLA. However, the author is of the opinion that the approach is still useful and relevant for rural development. In terms of the complications of operationalisation, Adato & Meinzen-Dick (2002:25) state that 'although use of the sustainable livelihoods framework can appear daunting, using it to assess the impact of agricultural research is both manageable and helpful in suggesting relationships to examine.' When the SLA/SLF is implemented with what Chambers (1991) terms 'optimal ignorance' (a practical notion for exercising common sense), the approach can be broken down and implemented, so it can be seen that although complex, when communication is clear and efficient, the framework can be utilised well.

Like Sen's Capability Approach, the attempted holisms of the SLA has been one of its biggest critiques, however, it is this holism which separates the approach from more basic, limited approaches (Conway et al., 2002). It is important that we understand that poverty and livelihoods are multi-dimensional, and the SLA understands this. The approach is 'pro-poor', in that it emphasises that the 'poor' do have assets and at least attempts to 'get below the surface' of 'informal institutions' (Farrington, 2001). The fact that the approach also attempts to take into account informal institutions and processes makes it more 'true to life', as many of the most pivotal and influential processes and influences on a life/livelihood are informal, these would not be picked up by other, more conventional, approaches.

Partly due to this dynamism the approach is also now being taken up in the business sector as is apparent by the formation of the World Business Council for Sustainable Development, which seeks to '...provide business leadership as a catalyst for change toward sustainable development, and to promote the role of eco-efficiency, innovation and corporate social responsibility' (WBCS, 2004:19). The SPII has also recognised the utility of using the SLF as a measurement tool 'The 'livelihoods

framework' …can make a contribution to this [poverty] exploration…' (DuToit, 2005:2, cited in SPII, 2007).

3.5 The SLA in the Global Context.

The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework has been adopted and researched by different institutions, ranging from the larger UN bodies such as UNDP, Oxfam and CARE International to research institutions such as the UK based Overseas Development Institute and Rome based Society for International Development (ODI, 2003). The original framework proposed by Scoones (1998) and later adopted and utilised by DFID has also been adapted numerous times, please see Appendix 1 for CARE International's adaptation and the Rural Livelihoods System Framework, developed and utilised by the Overseas Development Institute (ODI), Institute for Social and Economic Change (ISEC) and the Institute for Rural Management (IRMA), which uses a Nine-Squared Mandala instead of the traditional asset pentagon (NADEL, 2007). The incorporation of the SLA into common development discourse has been synonymous with the global move towards sustainability, changing understanding of the nature of poverty and the renewed focus upon developing rural areas (Sporton, 1998). The ODI (2003:xii) states that 'the SLA was in tune with wider shifts in approaches to development through the 1980s and 1990s; towards a focus on human-wellbeing and sustainability rather than economic growth'. Although some critics have argued that the approach is now dated, it is still being utilised throughout the development sphere; it is one of the key objectives in the FAO's Strategic Framework 2000-2015 (FAO, 2011), and its continued utilisation and application goes some way in disproving its critics (Scoones, 2009).

3.6   The SLA in the South Africa Context

The SL approach has also proved itself as a useful tool in many different capacities. The approach has been used successfully as an analytical tool, a set of principles a developmental objective, in project design, project review and assessment of sectors, as well as many other variations (Farrington, 1991, Farrington et al, 1999.) In the South African context, it has been successfully utilised in different forms such as for gathering information, impact assessments and frameworks for development (see Attfield, 2004., King, 1997., Lahiff, 2003., Glavoviv, 2007., Bradstock, 2005.,Goldman, 2000, for further information). It is also useful as it was never meant to be a static 'closed' framework, rather, an open guideline that can be adapted to different uses; the fact that the approach is constantly being updated and amended means that it is dynamic, matching the dynamic nature of poverty and livelihoods (publications from DFID, FAO and ODI constantly question and update the SL approach).

In the South African context, as previously mentioned, Khanya-aiccd has been using the approach within projects and evaluations since 1998 (Khanya, 2011). Elsewhere, much of the terminology offered by the SLA has also been take into policy speak and documentation, for example the CRDP (2009:8) states '[t]he priority areas to give effect to the above strategic objectives are...more inclusive economic growth, decent work and sustainable livelihoods'.

With this focus upon livelihoods, there is much literature describing the livelihood situations of the rural poor in South Africa. A comprehensive 3 year study into rural livelihoods in the Eastern Cape carried out by the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) (2003) found that most households rely on multiple livelihood strategies, of which agricultural activity plays a small part of (May et al., 2004, Lahiff, 2003), this holds true in much of the developing world: Bryceson (2000,2002) and Ellis (1998), found that 'deagrarianization' and 'depeasantization' is an ongoing process in many African countries, and at least 40% of rural household income is derived from non-farm incomes, with some surveys indicating a figure as high as 60-80%. However, Shackleton (2001:593, cited in Lahiff, 2003) finds conversely that "land-based livelihood strategies are clearly more important than is usually recognised, especially in direct provisioning (sometimes called 'subsistence') and as part of the rural safety net'.

The 2003 IDS project also found that lack of capacity within local government and political tensions between new government institutions and traditional authorities caused major issues in livelihood options. Ntshona found that 'issues of 'institutional inexperience', as well as rivalry in the government clouded LED attempts, and that the '...link between management of natural resources and livelihoods of the rural poor are extremely complex and often unclear.' (2003:30)

These findings were mirrored in a 2000 Investigation carried out by Khanya-aiccd which found that

> '... there are no participatory planning systems which systematically link people with local Government... decentralisation is still very weak in many countries... Even in these countries that are decentralising, the link between the district and village is weak, with at the best local shopping lists being used to provide information for local government planning; At macro level: co-ordination at central level is always complex and difficult; there is often no clear strategy for addressing poverty (e.g. in South Africa), although PRSPs do provide this opportunity; often there is little mechanism for redistribution to provide real opportunities for poor people...' (2000:3)

Apart from the lack of institutional capacity within South Africa, there are also problems with the roll-out of the Land Reform Programme and its effect upon rural livelihoods. Attfield et al. (2004) provide us with relationship between land reform, livelihoods and sustainable development. The author argues that due to the inefficiency of the land reform programme in its current manifestation it is (in certain cases) acting as a barrier to livelihoods improvement. For example, the

changes to land tenure rights which result in many workers being forced off the land or illegally moved in favour of day workers, which obviously has a dramatic negative effect on livelihoods.

Figure 9: The relationship between livelihoods, sustainable development and land reform in South Africa (Attfield et al., 2004:409)

FIGURE 1.
The triangular relationship between sustainable development (SD), Sustainable Livelihoods (SL), and Land Reform (LR).
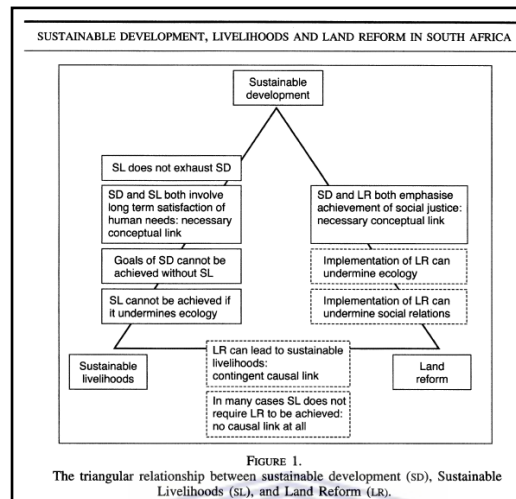
Bradstock (2005) too, found that due to the low human capital (capacity) in the Northern Cape, land reform efforts had not improved rural livelihoods whilst Landau (2005) argues that due to the exclusionary attitudes of South African's towards foreign migrants, efforts to promote sustainable livelihoods will be unsuccessful as there will always be discord within society which in turn feeds crime and insecurity within the nation.

3.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, the underpinning theoretical approach that informs this research does not provide us with a hypothesis to test nor a normative means by which we can measure the success of a project. In the scope of this thesis, the SLA is used as a framework of understanding the way in which people live their lives. There are key concepts the SLA offers us: the asset pentagon, the role of structures and processes and the understanding of livelihood strategies. The aforementioned will be explored within this research.

CHAPTER FOUR
RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1   Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the research, design & methodology and aims being employed in this study. It seeks to give an overview of the Intepretivist Paradigm and the reason for the use of qualitative research methods. It then moves on to the actual methodology - that of a Case-Study using interview methods, issues of reliability and validity which, as De Vos (1998) argues, are inherent to the qualitative research paradigm and finally onto the reasoning behind the categorisation and analysis of data.

4.2   Research Design

4.2.1   The Interpretative paradigm and Qualitative Design.

The study employed a Qualitative research design or approach. The Qualitative design falls within the 'Interpretative Paradigm' as it seeks to *understand* and *describe* a phenomenon, unlike the 'Positivist Paradigm' which seeks to prove or test a hypothesis against a set of 'universal laws' (DeVos, 1998). The Interpretative Paradigm takes the position that 'human phenomena are fundamentally distinct from natural phenomena. Some of the critical differences refer to inherent symbolic nature of human behaviour and the historicity of all human actions…' (Babbie & Mouton, 1998:643). It uses the researcher as an instrument, employs inductive strategy and has a descriptive outcome. It is ideally used when 'you seek to discover and understand a phenomenon, a process, the perspectives and world views of the people involved or a combination of these.' (Merriam et al, 2002:6). In this specific case, the research seeks to explore changes to livelihoods and capabilities (due to the BCDA) from the participant's perspective, in order to gain a 'rich, descriptive account' (Merriam et al, 2002:7) which can be gained through the interpretative tradition.

The Interpretative Paradigm is used in this case as the study is not of a natural phenomena but of a human one, and is not seeking to prove a set 'hypothesis' only to explore the effect of one institution upon a group of people from their own viewpoint: the people themselves are the primary sources of data (DeVos, 1996)

4.2.2   Qualitative Design

Broadly speaking, there are two approaches to research: Qualitative and Quantitative. The main distinction between these two approaches is that qualitative research uses words and descriptions, whereas quantitative research uses numbers and statistics (Babbie & Mouton, 1998, Mason, 1996), Patton, 1990 (in DeVos, 1998:253) states that 'Quantitative data concerns itself with the

representativeness while qualitative research requires that the data collected be rich in descriptions of people and places.' There are however, massive variations and amalgamations of the two in current research. This study will be employing qualitative research methods, which are defined by Mason (1996:3) as being:

1   Grounded in a broadly interpretivist approach, it is 'concerned with how the social world is interpreted, understood, experienced, produced or constituted…'

2   Uses methods that are 'both flexible and sensitive to the social context in which data are produced'

3   'Based on methods of analysis, explanation and argument building which involve understandings of complexity, detail and context, [It] aims to produce rounded and contextual understandings on the basis of rich, nuanced and detailed data. There is an emphasis on 'holistic' forms of analysis and explanation.'

In line with the qualitative nature of the study it seeks to be more 'deep' than 'broad'. Given the overall goal of the research, i.e. to establish whether the BCDA has improved livelihoods and in what manner, according to the beneficiary's perception and definitions specifically, it is argued that the qualitative research design is the most appropriate tool to do so for a variety of reasons.

 Firstly, qualitative research allows for deeper exploration of 'intangible' themes such as pride and happiness, which are not easily measured in quantitative terms, secondly, it also seeks to: '…study human action from the perspective of the social actors themselves…' (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:270), as Creswell (1994:4) states 'the only reality is that constructed by the individuals involved in the research situation' hence it is a fitting mode of enquiry. Thirdly, qualitative research being grounded in nature is appropriate in this instance as the researcher is not trying to test a hypothesis. Rather, the research aims to explore attitudes and subjective well-being, and from there create an answer/discourse to the research problem; qualitative exploration offers this such information, and although it may not offer as 'accurate' as information as quantitative data, it is more hermeneutic (Newman & Benz, 1998).

 Data that is gained through qualitative enquiry is also 'true to life', as an important feature of the qualitative approach is that it is naturalistic and context specific, meaning that the data is collected in the most natural setting (at the farmers houses or fields for example). Thus the researcher attempts to take into account the *context* of the research through taking note of as many influences as possible (Louw, 2010)

There are certain methodological limitations and challenges when using a purely qualitative approach, such as objectivity and reliability. Due to the nature of qualitative enquiry, the researcher is required to try and fully understand the participant and in doing so, can jeopardise his/her

objectivity. It is also hard to analyse data which has been collected because even the best researchers cannot be fully objective, each individual is influenced through the ubiquity of their own value system, cultural background and experiences, and so any data analysed will be done so through these lenses (Merriam et al, 2002, Altheide & Johnson, 2011). However, this can largely be overcome through an effort from the researcher to not make value-judgements, be reflexive in their approach (De Vos, 1998) and to carry out thorough prior research to gain as broad an understanding of the context of the research (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). In this case, prior reading concerning the BCDA, BCR and LED of the area was undertaken (which is reflected in Chapter 2 and Chapter 5) in order to gain a contextual understanding of the respondents situation.

Reliability is also an issue: is the work credible? Do we believe what it purports? Are the claims useful? Are they valid? These questions are present in all scientific inquiry, yet, are harder to combat in the social sciences due to the nature of social research. However, the issue of reliability can be combated. Marshall & Rossman (2011:40) cite a list developed by Creswell & Miller (2000) of how to make work more reliable (which shall be used during the research) process through the use of:

- o   Triangulation

- o   Searching for disconfirming evidence

- o   Engaging in reflexivity

- o   Collaboration

- o   Peer Debriefing

Triangulation (or the use of multiple methods) is useful because: '...by combining methods...in the same study observers can partially overcome the deficiencies that flow from one...method' (Denzine, 1989:236 cited in Babbie & Mouton, 1998:275). Through using the variety of tools proposed (being), interviews, observation and PRA tools both validity and reliability can be increased (Rengasamy, 2009) as one can look for replication and convergence (Cook & Campbell, 1979 in Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

Reflexivity is inherent to the approach adopted, and has been discussed above in the qualitative data section. The collaboration adopted is with the BCDA itself, and serves to strengthen the basis of the research itself, as well as the process of peer debriefing, which is ongoing during not only the

fieldwork component of the study, but during the whole research and writing process.

4.3　Research Methodology

4.3.1 Case Study

The BCDA has three major farming projects. The research focuses on the farm workers involved in all these projects. A Case-Study design was employed. A Case-Study is defined as an empirical enquiry that

- o '...investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within it's real life content, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident

- o Relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion, and as another result

- o Benefits from prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis.' (Yin, 2009:18)

This methodological design was chosen for a variety of reasons. Case Studies are ideal for questions which focus upon 'how' and 'why', where contemporary events are being explored and the researcher does not wish to exercise any control over these events (Yin, 2009) as is the case with this research. The case study technique is also fitting as '[i]t is a very useful design when exploring an area where little is known or where you want to have a holistic understanding of the situation, phenomenon, episode, site, group or community' (Kumar, 2011:127). In addition, Babbie & Mouton (2001:281) state that '...case studies take multiple perspectives into account and attempt to understand the influences of multilevel social systems...' in this case, looking at the impact of the BCDA's farming projects, a system of which the case-study group are all members of.

4.3.2　Beneficiary Assessment (BA)

The Case Study undertaken in this research can be seen as a form of 'Beneficiary Assessment' (BA) which is defined as 'an approach to information gathering which assesses the value of an activity as it is perceived by its principal users' (Salmen, 1999:1). Beneficiary Assessments have been deemed as a useful and advantageous form of inquiry, especially in a scenario such as the one faced by the BCDA in which many projects have been plagued by various challenges and are due to be restarted at a later date. The features that make a BA particularly relevant in this case relate to several factors as outlined by Salmen (1999:2) in relation to the *Training and Visit* (T&V) type of extension and paraphrased here as follows

- o 'BA results often provide independent confirmation of what management already believe the problems and successes of the projects are.

- o Management often have only anecdotal evidence before the BA of the major issues in their projects and many find it helpful to have their "suspicions" systematically confirmed

o   BA allows one to prioritize the difficulties in the T&V approach and to address each matter according to its immediacy

o   BA can be used to monitor progress within a project and to make mid-course corrections and

o   Changes brought about by BA are important in improving the sustainability of extension efforts and can play a role in improving the project outcome.'

4.4   Data Collecting Techniques and Tools

4.4.1   Information and Data Collecting Instruments

The main information and primary data collection instrument was the questionnaire schedule – an unstructured list of questions and issues to be asked and discussed with the participants. The content of the questionnaire schedule was informed by the literature review as well as prior consultation with members of the BCDA. The schedule focused upon key areas such as livelihood strategies employed prior to the beneficiary's involvement with the BCDA, such as formal and informal employment and community support networks, improvements to quality of life during and after the BCDA's projects were also explored, as well as key areas in which the BCDA could improve it's projects.(A copy of the questionnaire schedule can be seen in Appendix 2, as well as a copy of the questionnaire template used to interview BCDA staff in Appendix 3)

4.4.2   Interviews

The research was conducted in August 2011 over a period of 4 weeks. In-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with farmers[2] and managing members of the BCDA as well as relevant Municipality members. The interview method was chosen because it was deemed the most appropriate manner to attain the data needed as it 'allows the researcher to understand the meaning(s) that everyday activities hold for people' (Marshall & Rossman, 2011:145).

Interviews are, as Yin (2009:108) puts it '...an essential source of case study evidence because most case studies are about human affairs or behavioural events.' Interviews yield a lot of information quickly, and the qualitative data that is taken from interviews (if the interview is conducted properly and carefully) is rich in meaning (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). As Patton (1986:196) states '[w]e interview people to find out from them things we cannot directly observe.' Here he is referring to the participant's feelings, experiences and world view (the 'intangibles') and in this study it is this

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[2] Farmers in this case are defined as being those who work on a farm, as opposed to the traditional South African notion of farmers as being the farm owners. The farmers are also referred to as participants or beneficiaries when discussing their involvement with the BCDA and as respondents when analysing the research data.

form of information which holds meaning as we are only concerned with the *participant's* views and experiences.

In depth-semi structured interviews were utilised for several reasons: firstly, because the researcher wanted to elicit information concerning a certain subject (livelihoods), the interview has to have some form of a structure to act as a guideline (the questionnaire schedule). Secondly, because semi-structured interviews provide more in 'depth', nuanced and meaningful answers (King & Horrocks, 2010), and although having *some* structure, allow for the interviewee to talk freely about whatever they want in relation to the topic thus having a 'free-flow' (Babbie & Mouton, 2001) which is important considering the multidimensional and complex nature of human experience, and the difficulties which this complexity gives to exploring human experience in a specific and expedient manner (Kumar, 2011).

Applying the semi-structured interview technique was therefore fitting to explore the notion of livelihoods, and the BCDA's impact upon the livelihoods of the participants. Interviews lasted an average of an hour and were carried out in the BCDA office, at the farms on which beneficiaries (farmers) were employed or at their homes. In most cases the latter two options were utilised so as to ensure less apprehension on the interviewee's behalf (it has been shown that interviewee's feel less stress during interviews if they are interviewed in a familiar and comforting location, [DeVos, 1998]). Interviews were undertaken with a translator supplied by the BCDA in the language of choice of the interviewee and recorded via Dictaphone. Notes were taken and time dated including direct quotes as well as observational notes. The ethical statement was read to each interviewee and fully explained and signed before any interview commenced.

4.4.3 Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) tools

Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) tools were also utilised during the interviews such as seasonal calendars and daily activity clocks. PRA refers to '...a growing family of approaches and methods to enable local people to share, enhance and advance their knowledge of life and conditions, to plan and to act.' (Chambers, 1994:1). PRA tools are many and varied and are of use in research when trying to learn about and from those who are being researched. The tools enable those involved to clarify and explain their information through different, interactive mediums which can provide more valid, true-to life data than traditional interview techniques alone (Chamber, 1994, 2007).

Specifically, the research utilised seasonal calendars which are used '[t]o learn about changes in livelihoods over the year and to show the seasonality of agricultural and non agricultural workload, food availability, human diseases, gender-specific income and expenditure, water, forage, credit and holidays.' (FAO, 1999:http://www.fao.org/Participation/ft_more.jsp?ID=3281), and daily activity

clocks which '...illustrate all of the different kinds of activities carried out in one day. They are particularly useful for looking at what different people do during one day and how heavy their workloads are.' (FAO, 1999:http://www.fao.org/Participation/ft_more.jsp?ID=3281). These two tools were chosen in order to clarify information given during interviews and to gain a deeper understanding of the livelihoods strategies employed by the group.

4.5   Sampling

A sample of 19 participants were chosen by the BCDA, they were chosen in order to try and attain a fair representation of the demographics of the overall group that had been involved with the BCDA agricultural projects. The group consisted of eight females and 11 males, thirteen were IsiXhosa and the remaining six were coloured. The sample was chosen from the people who had remained in the Somerset East area, and who had worked in different BCDA agricultural projects and experienced varying levels of success within these projects. The sample reflected the various levels of overall success in the BCDA agricultural projects.

4.6   Method of Data Analysis

Babbie & Mouton (2001:490) state that qualitative analysis refers to all forms of 'analysis of data that was gathered using qualitative techniques regardless of the paradigm used to govern the research' including methods such as Content Analysis and Discourse Analysis. In this study Content Analysis was used in the systemization and analysis of the narratives collected from the interviews. Thematic analysis was used to categorise and analyse the data. This form of analysis is chosen because the research aims to use the theoretical framework proposed to understand an improvement in livelihoods.

There are 2 steps to the categorization process:

1. The data was transcribed, arranged and scanned for recurring themes.

2. The data was then further analysed through the lens of the SLA, with a particular focus upon successful livelihood outcomes and strategies employed.

Next the data was analyzed, organized and presented using the themes in which they were categorized. This categorisation - framework allows us a loose (yet changeable) template of analysis, a 'descriptive framework for organizing the study' (Yin, 2009:131). King & Horrocks (2010:124) explain that template analysis is useful when there is a 'sample of between 10 and 25 hour long interviews' and that it is useful 'because it allows the researcher to identify some themes in advance, it is well suited to studies which have particular theoretical or applied concerns that

need to be incorporated into the analysis.' Hence, it is clearly a suitable method of analysis in to be used within this research .Further information regarding data analysis is presented in the next chapter (Data Analysis and Discussion). The data is presented in tables, quotes and (where appropriate) diagrams

4.7 Ethical Statement

Ethics are a particular concern in social research, especially when dealing with minors, sexuality or topics of a confidential, controversial and/or sensitive nature. A strict code of ethics has been developed over the years and in order not to act unethically the researchers shall follow this code. Christians (2011) states four major guidelines for ethical enquiry:

1. Informed Consent: Where the participants are informed of and understand the study aims and process and give their consent freely.

2. Deception: Where no active deception is undertaken by the researcher.

3. Privacy and Confidentiality: Where all information gained is treated with respect and kept private and confidential. Only where consent has been given will information be used by the researcher

4. Accuracy: Ensuring that all data is accurately analysed and presented is a 'cardinal principal' in the social sciences.

Based upon these principles, the research was undertaken with a strict ethical statement that adhered to the following points:

o   Participation in the research study was to be voluntary, with no form of coercion used against participants.

o   Confidentiality was guaranteed, and the participants reserve the right to withdraw from the research at any stage and for whatever reason.

o   The researcher took responsibility in ensuring that all the information gathered was treated sensitively and confidentially as well as protecting the identities and interests of all participants.

o   The researcher pledged to meet all other ethical and legal requirements of the University of the Western Cape throughout the course of the study.

o The researcher also undertook to submit the research findings to all relevant bodies and will also make the research available to the information bank of the University of the Western Cape.

By adhering to these four guidelines, the research remained ethical and thus valid and usable

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the methods used and the reasons behind choosing those methods. The following chapter shall provide an overview of the case study area as well as the BCDA itself. The agricultural projects in which the respondents were involved shall be explained, as well as other salient features relevant to the study.

CHAPTER FIVE
THE BLUE CRANE ROUTE MUNICIPALITY AND THE BLUE CRANE DEVELOPMENT AGENCY

5.1   The Eastern Cape

The Eastern Cape is the poorest province in South Africa, partly due to the devastating effects of the Apartheid regime. It houses both the former Transkei and Ciskei, which were homelands created by the British colony between 1870 and 1900, which first became separately-administered territories in 1963 and then declared 'independent' in 1976 and 1981 respectively (Makgetla, 2010).

Between 1960 and 1990 hundreds of thousands of people were forcibly removed from the Eastern Cape and forced into the Transkei and Ciskei, the Group Areas Act of 1965 also shifted people from their homes to these massively overcrowded areas '[a]pproximately 13% of the national territory was legally reserved for occupation (but not outright ownership) by people of colour, accounting for 87% of the population in 1994, with the remaining 87% reserved for ownership by the white minority, accounting for just 13% of the population.' (May, 2007:783). Over 13 million people still live in the former homelands in situations where 'rights to land are unclear or contested', and 'the system of land administration is in disarray' (Lahiff, 2001:1).

The Eastern Cape has a population of roughly 6,800,000, of which 3,600,000 live in poverty, producing a poverty rate of 53.6% (ECSECC, 2011). This is considerably higher than the national poverty rate of roughly 42%. This raised poverty rate is indicative of the past of the area, and the present challenges facing it such as low levels of education, large levels of unemployment, overcrowding and the ensuing rural-urban migration. The Eastern Cape is mostly comprised of Xhosa speakers, followed by Afrikaans, English and Sotho. 65% of the population is classified as rural. Studies have shown that livelihoods in the Eastern Cape are composed of many sources of income, and that agriculture offers a relatively small portion of this income. Of the economically active population, most income is made up of wages (60% - 80%), and from government grants such as pensions (10% - 20% of household income). However, it has been recognised that land based livelihoods and subsistence farming provides an important and vital safety net for many households, providing food and nutrition to the family (Lahiff, 2002).

5.2   The Clue Crane Route Municipality (BCRM)

The Blue Crane Route (BCR) is a Municipality of the Cacadu District Located in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa (please see Map 1 for location), the seat of which is Somerset East. In

addition to Somerset East, the BCRM encompasses the towns of Cookhouse and Pearston, and a number of settlements such as Aeroville, New Brighton, Westview and Clevedon.

The BCRM has a population of over 39,000 of which 47.31% are black, 11.35% are white and 41.34% are coloured (StatsSA, 2007), with the largest proportion of the population (20%) falling in the 10-19 age cohort (BCR IDP, 2011). The following are pictoral representations of some of the demographics and details of the BCR including poverty and education levels, urbanisation and employment (taken from the BCR Annual Report 2011).

Figure 10: Location of the Blue Crane Route Municipality (BCRM, 2011)
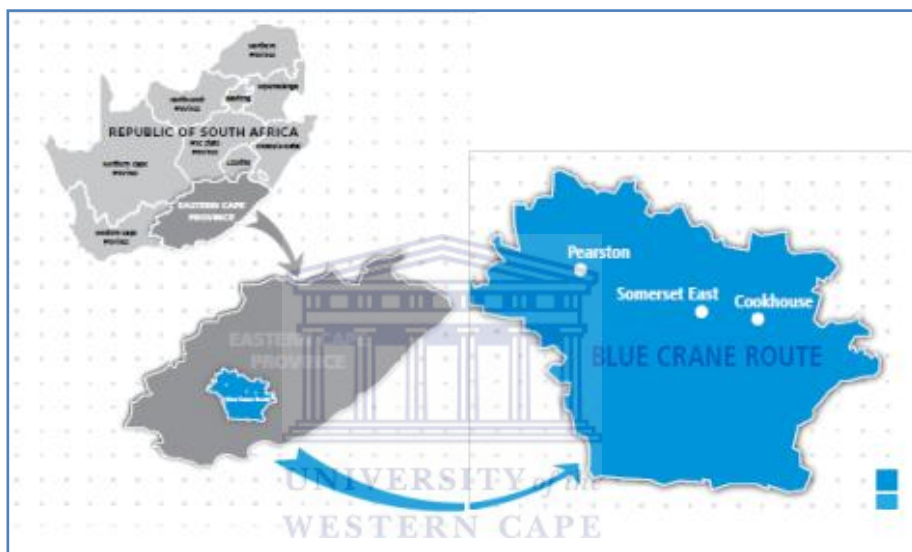
5.2.1 Poverty

Figure 11 : The Socio – Economic Context of the BCRM (BCRM, 2011)
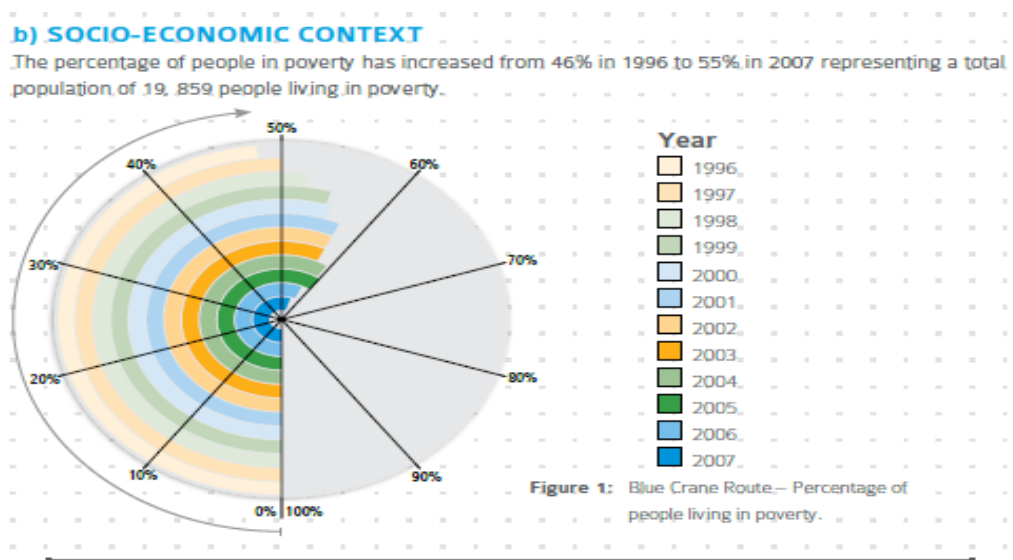
The poverty rate for the BCRM is 55%, which is higher than the national average for South Africa, and that of the Eastern Cape as a whole (53.6%), but is not the highest for the municipalities of the Eastern Cape.

5.2.2   Education

Figure 12: Levels of Education at the BCRM (BCRM, 2011)

Figure 2:   Highest level of Education, 1996.   Figure 3:   Highest level of Education, 2007.

- No schooling
- Grade 0 – 2.
- Grade 3 – 6.
- Grade 7 – 9.
- Grade 10 – 11
- Less than Matric & certificate / diploma
- Matric only
- Matric & certificate / diploma
- Matric & Bachelors degree
- Matric & Postgraduate degree.
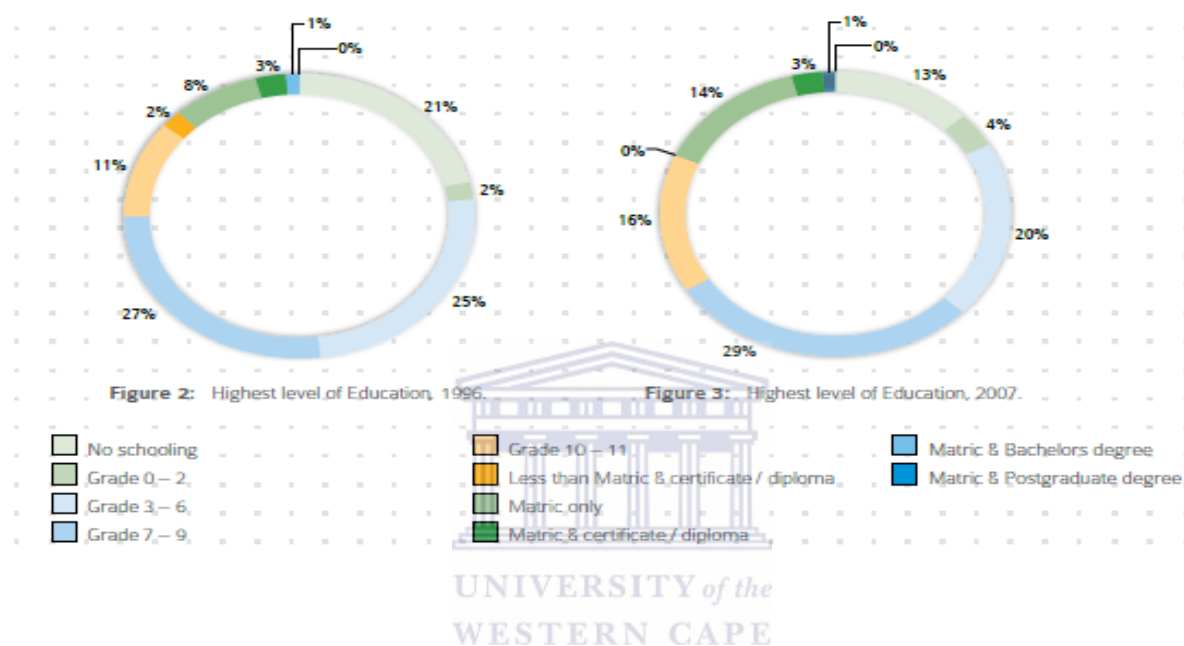
Figure 12 displays that levels of higher education (post matric) have risen since 1996, with 17% of residents having attained matric and attended university for an undergraduate degree. However, as of 2011, the education rates for formal school education have dropped, with 57% of the population having only primary school education or less: 20% have had no schooling (BCR IDP, 2011) prompting the Municipality to state '[c]onsidering the skills shortages that currently exist, greater emphasis must be placed on the delivery of educational services' (2011:14).

5.2.3   Urbanisation

In 2007, the Blue Crane Route Local Municipality was 68.8% urbanised, compared to 71.4% of the Cacadu District Municipality.

Figure 4:   Percentage of people living in urban areas.

Figure 13: Urbanisation within the BCRM (BCRM, 2011)

Apart from some significant urban development along the coastal region the Eastern Cape is primarily composed of rural and semi-rural areas. The BCR itself is slightly less urbanised than the Cacadu district being 68.8% urbanised (BCR IDP,

66

2011) although several urbanisation projects are being carried out by the BCDA and Municipality. The Municipality has three key objectives pertaining to urbanisation, those of land use: to create housing, to upgrade existing buildings and to create parks and sports fields (BCR, 2011, BCR, 2009)

5.2.4   Labour

Figure 14 & 15: Unempolyment rate and Formal Employment rate in BCRM (BCRM, 2011)
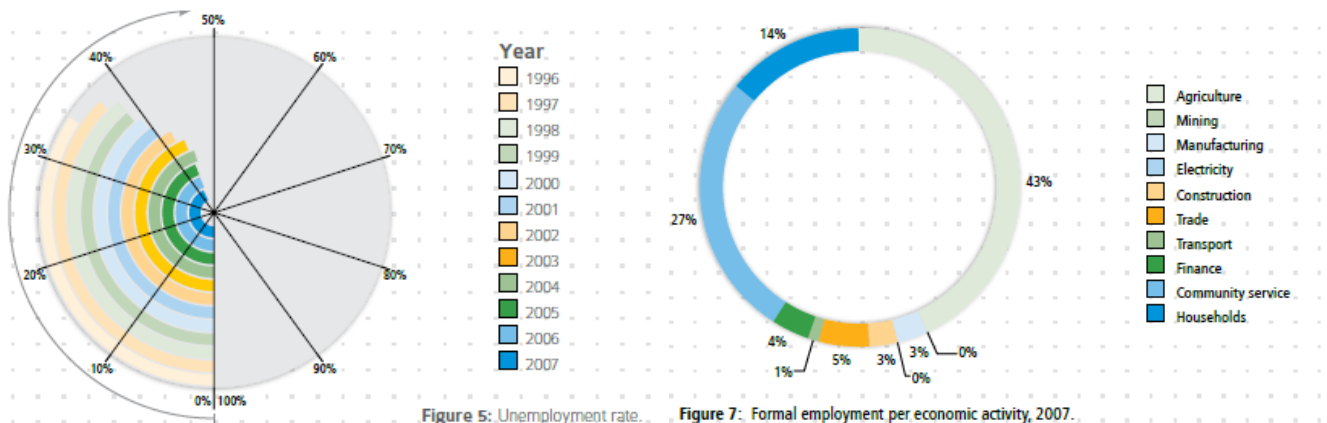
Figure 5: Unemployment rate.   **Figure 7:** Formal employment per economic activity, 2007.

Levels of unemployment have risen since 1996 from 34.4% to a disconcerting 42% in 2007 (14). This is substantially higher than the generally accepted percentage for South Africa (SAIRR, 2011). As in 1996, the highest employers in the formal sectors are the Agriculture Sector (43%) and the Community Services Sector (27%) which shows a variation to prior livelihoods research which found that agriculture was not the highest employment sector (Lahiff, 2002), however this prior research viewed the Eastern Cape as a whole, hence the difference in agricultural employment (Figure 15).

The acting LED officer of the Agency, A.L[3] highlighted some of the strengths and weaknesses of Blue Crane Route Municipality (BCRM) and municipal areas as a whole

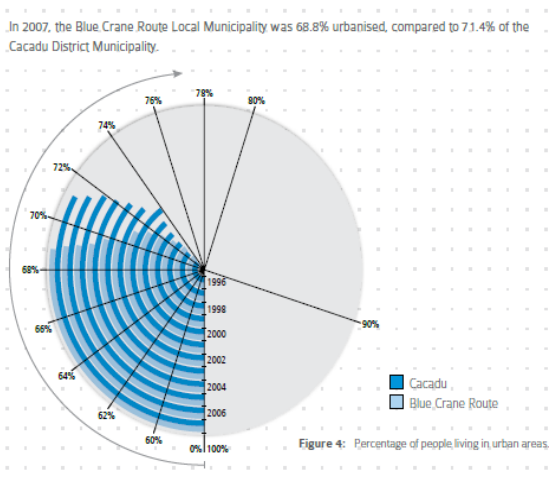'The biggest strength here ,in fact, is most of the people are not working, if you talk about if you want to establish projects there are people, the other issue is that there is no serious crime, and also if you look at in terms of political stability in the Municipality, and also there's a tolerance in term of political parties in the Municipality, because all of them, they are working towards of ensuring that there is actually support for community development and job creation. Also we have a stable administration in the Municipality, we have a very good CFO [Chief Financial Officer], we have good relationship between Municipality and the development agency and we are also, in that fashion, we have got a good relationship generally in the Municipality, there is no politics with in the Municipality itself.'

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[3] To protect the identity of the respondents, reference will only be made to their initials

5.3   The Blue Crane Development Agency (BCDA)

The BCR IDP (2011:15) states '[t]he BCRM was one of the first Municipalities in the Eastern Cape Province to establish an IDC funded Development Agency, the purpose of which is to drive economic development in the Blue Crane Route. The Blue Crane Development Agency (BCDA) focuses on the promotion of Agriculture, Tourism and Business within BCRM...'

The BCDA has a vision

'[t]o be an internationally recognised model Agency for the delivery of sustainable developmental projects in a rural context'

and a mission

'[t]o conceptualise opportunities and facilitate sustainable developmental projects related to Agriculture, Business and Tourism to the benefit of all citizens with special emphasis on job creation and BEE opportunities' (BCDA, 2011:1).

The BCDA has key projects in several strategic areas including: Tourism, Country Estates, Aviation, Industrial Parks, Agriculture, Fruit Farming, Renewable Energy, a Shopping Centre, Urban Design and Waste Collection/Disposal. Through these projects it hopes to create roughly 3000 employment opportunities over a total of 7 years (BCDA, 2010). In line with the Government's policy that municipalities deliver LED, certain agencies were adopted or created by the municipality to be funded by the IDC to carry out macro-level LED in certain areas.

The BCDA is one such agency, originally consisting of three staff members who were already undertaking community development initiatives in the area. It approached the IDC in 2003 to register as an LED agency. The BCDA was the first rural (LED) development agency in South Africa according to information supplied during interviews. It was first registered as a Section 21 company 'managed' by the Municipality but due to the Municipal Finance Management Act (which states that any LEDA used in municipality delivered LED must full under the same laws as the municipality and as such, cannot invest in private companies nor fund raise in the same manner as an independent agency would) the agency had to be converted into a Municipal entity, and this was achieved by 2006.

 The result of this development was the '[e]stablishment of a development agency that would fully concentrate on the development of socio economic projects in the area and their implementation...' (BCDA, 2006:1). The BCDA is a legal entity that is run independently to fulfil its objectives and was solely funded by the IDC (R15 million spread over a period of 7 years), although it has also gained strong support from the private sector. As of October 2011, the BCDA will not receive more IDC

funding as it has been designated as self sufficient, the Agency[4] shall then receive its funding from the DRDLA, foreign donors, private donors (both trusts and venture capitalists) and the DEA.

5.3.1 The differing functions of the BCDA and the Municipality

As previously stated both the Municipality and the Agency are responsible for the LED of the area. The Municipality has a 'father-son' relationship with the BCDA in which it is 'continually subjugated to the system' (R.B, 2011), which has proved restraining at some times as it limits the Agency from critiquing the strategies and programmes of the Municipality and also places legal limits on what the Agency can and cannot do

> '...and essentially because we are so strictly governed...for example, they tell us we have to be self-sustainable but then the legislation is so restrictive we can't have a share holding in a company, you can't do this, you can't do that. Then they tell you, you have to be project specific, so you can't go out and write fees...' (R.B, 2011).

The legal framework which places the BCDA within the Municipality limits its options especially in respect of investment opportunities and sustainability. A Municipal entity for example, cannot invest in, or be a stake holder of another company, which limits the opportunities available to the BCDA to become self-sustainable. The BCDA being a Municipal entity is also bound by such laws as the MFMA, however, receives no such funding from the government, which causes obvious issues

> '[i]t is impossible to become self sustainable...you can't have shares in a company, how can I become economically sustainable if I can't commercially develop myself? And that has become a big problem for us...' (C.W,2011)

Table 1: The roles of the BCRM and BCDA (Adapted from BCRM, 2010)

Role of BCRM	Role of BCDA
To provide mandate for BCDA	To focus on targeted 'high impact' interventions
To provide a conducive environment for investment	BCDA should not be fulfilling executive functions (making policy decisions)- Must be guided by BCRM
Micro LED management and social project management	Micro LED management – Must stay focused on small number of projects, not spread itself too thin.
To assist BCDA to work as effectively as possible	To assist BCRM to work as effectively as possible

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[4] Henceforth, the BCDA shall also be referred to as the Agency.

However, the BCDA has strong links with the DEA, DRLDLR and DAFF, and through these links can sustain itself. In terms of role delineation, the agency was created at the same time a Municipal LED officer was appointed. It initially focused on agriculture, tourism and business development. It has now expanded its remit to include facilitation, for example, linking people with finance and training, and enabling people to engage in the LED process. There has been tension between the BCRM and the BCDA due to 'a lack of ownership of current council, personal relationships, lack of clear guidance from BCRM and the establishment history' (BCRM, 2010).

The Municipality has held the view that the Agency is not transparent enough and at times the agency has felt the Municipality to be ineffective (BCRM, 2010). However, these relational and operational issues have been addressed by the Municipality and the Agency successfully. Culminating in the commission and production of a 2010 report entitled 'Blue Crane Route Municipality-Local Economic Development Strategy: Institutional Arrangements Report' which evidently addresses some of these issues and clearly delineates the roles and functions of the Municipality and Agency. The roles are depicted above in Table 4.

During interviews conducted with A.N, the Municipal LED officer, he clarified the difference in the roles and responsibilities of the Municipality and the Agency

'[w]e facilitate and assist in the development of a business plan; also we are contributing in terms of the tourism where, in fact, we ensure that Blue Crane becomes a destination: working with the BCDA, the development agency is a development arm of the BCRM which is focusing on major projects. You can't see the difference between us [the municipality and the agency] because...they brief me in terms of the progress they are doing, they are also reporting, in fact, to the council, also the municipality is linking them (the BCDA) with government departments and MEC's, so we are linking them and also ensuring that, in fact, we also market some of the projects to the MEC's. So that is what actually is the link between us. In fact we are actually working closely with them.' (A.N, 2011)

Hence, the LED office in the Municipality not only focuses upon micro LED projects, but facilitates links between the BCDA and other key players.

5.4 BCDA Projects

The BCDA runs projects over several areas, the key and larger projects being: Agriculture, Tourism and Aviation, with smaller projects focusing on Culture, Skills Development and Training and Facilitation for SMMEs. The Agency's main aim is creation of employment through macro-LED projects, with the Municipality focusing on micro projects.

5.4.1 Aviation

A SWOT[5] analysis undertaken by the Agency after its inception showed that the area would be highly suited to developing an aviation project due to an already existing Municipal runway, good weather and location as well as unlimited and uncontrolled airspace (R.B, 2011). The aviation project is a long term project which involves:

o The development of South Africa's first production built light sport aircraft (L.S.A), in collaboration with the University of Witwatersrand

o The completion and commercial use of the existing runway in the area

o The successful promotion of the area as a training centre for flying: both military and civil

o In the long term a production factory for the building of the L.S.A.

The purpose of the BCDA is one of employment creation, and the aviation project is planned to be a huge scale project, however, as with all macro-projects, it has a long-term schedule of over 15 years.

5.4.2 Tourism

The Agency is attempting to boost tourism in the area; the acting Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the BCDA C.W[6] is also the tourism officer of the BCDA and as such is in charge of the creation of the Boschberg Country Estate. He explained the plans for the surrounding area, and the necessity of these plans

'[w]e started tourism, and roughly speaking there are two types of tourism development: 'through-route' tourism which you get in towns like Graaff-Reinet And Craddock- you've got a road running through and a lot of feet coming through and you build garages and places to eat and that's how you develop it. Then a town like Somerset East hasn't got main roads running through it, so what we've got to develop is a 'destination', so when I started looking at projects, I wanted to build a destination. Destination development goes : they've [tourists] got to come especially to Somerset East to do something that's unique and they have to stay for a couple of days, so that's why I developed Boschberg.' (C.W, 2011)

The Municipality has 2,500 hectares of land of which 400 hectares shall be developed by the Agency as the tourist estate; the rest of the area will be zoned as a registered nature reserve and will be stocked with several antelope species. The Boschberg estate is an iconic Mountain in the area and home to over 250 varieties of flora and fauna. The estate shall have a key focus on family nature

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[5] A SWOT analysis is compromised of carrying out an investigation of the Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats of programme, organization or an area.

[6] The acting CEO and tourism officer of the BCDA was interviewed in August 2011.

activities, with several unique features as laid out in the tabulated development plan below (see Table 2)

Table 2: Development plan for Boschberg estate (BCDA, 2010:10)

Residential component	Three clusters of residential housing units with erven between 700m^2 to 1200m^2 Eco estate (3 portions) = 127 Plots Country estate (1 portion) = 273 Plots Retirement Village = 80 Plots TOTAL = 480 Plots	Developed by BCDA Developed by BCDA
Golf course	Upgrading of the existing 9-hole golf course and an extension to a 18-hole parklands golf course with a country club;	Developed by BCDA
Tourism Hub	Development of commercial node including a two phased approach: Commercial and BBBEE developments	Developed by BCDA To enable concessions
Wellness centre	Includes spa/health facilities etc.	Concession
Boutique lodge	Includes 60- 80 accommodation units with a conference/meeting venue and a restaurant;	Concession
Activities	The development of a mass of outdoor activities to ensure a unique project as well as to attract tourists to the area.	Developed by BCDA
Reserve	The entire property is to be developed as a nature reserve to ensure retention of biodiversity of this important mountain woodland biome.	Local authority Reserve

5.4.3   Education and Cultural Projects

Poor levels of education within the Eastern Cape have been an ongoing bone of contention for the ANC, leading to President Zuma appointing an official committee to strengthen the Eastern Cape Education Department in July 2011 (RSA, 2011). However, the results are still to be seen, with the Matric pass rate not only being the lowest in the country but actually falling in 2011 from 58.3% to 58.1% while all other provinces saw a rise in successful matriculants. Due to the lack of quality educational opportunities within the greater area, the Agency identified a need for an extra educational programme to be developed and offered. As such, in collaboration with the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU) the Agency created a curriculum based DVD programme focusing on science, mathematics and engineering which is taught every weekend at the centre to learners in Grades 11 and 12 in the greater area. Each learner is also given a R6000,00 kit including educational DVDs, a special calculator and other tools necessary to understanding and completing the course. At the completion of this programme, 20 children receive full bursaries to study related subjects at NMMU.

The BCDA recently employed a 'Cultural Events Manager' in order to create a cultural awareness and pride in the community through 2 major projects. This is deemed as vitally important because

'[t]he one goal we have in general for our project it to unify all the different communities in the town through art...as human beings we strive for better..... or we strive to achieve better when we have pride in who we are and pride in

where we've come from, and the reason for our project is to create a platform and develop skills and all these things but especially for the more disadvantaged and rural communities who have basically adopted the idea of that 'We are not going to get better than this, we might as well just do the bare minimum...' That's not consciously said, but unconsciously that is a culture that has been adopted by a lot of people, and by means of taking the stories and taking the history of our community and showing them look here...someone from this area became something important, and if we show the people from our region that we can actually have some sort of pride in where we come from we can actually get them to strive to be better and strive to do something for themselves, so then that ties in economically by people who strive to not just do the bare minimum or not strive...it is interlinked economically as well, but as a basic human idea, that one needs to feel good and feel pried within yourself and where u come from to attack socio-economic and social problems, it all stems from that.' (S.K, 2011)

5.5 Agricultural Projects.

The BCDA has had varied experiences and success with its agricultural projects. The Agency has acted as a facilitator, trainer and a direct employer of members of the BCRM community through three major agricultural efforts. In turn, these projects had three types of participants, all of whom were emerging farmers: Subsistence farmers farming co-operatively, Co-operative farmers who have grown and developed to become medium-scale farmers, and medium size farmers who grow large enough to become large scale commercial farmers.[7]

5.5.1 Misty Mountains Agri-Park

The first of the agricultural projects was the Misty Mountains Agri-Park project started in 2004 after the acquisition of agricultural land by the Municipality. The first phase consisted of the building of tunnels and growing of flowers, fruit, roses, vegetable seed and vegetables. Fruit and vegetable seed was grown to test the viability of production in the area. The trials showed that vegetable seeds were not viable to cultivate. However, fruit was, and has consequently been up taken by other farmers in the area.

The BCDA advertised the opportunity for employment through the ward councillors and through local radio in the area in and surrounding Somerset East; respondents subsequently registered at the Municipality. The Misty Mountains project was structured differently for each aspect: vegetables, flowers and a separate project for growing roses.

Initially all the projects together employed just over 10 individuals, which would increase to over 370 people during harvesting of vegetable seed. Workers were paid a salary of R500.00 every fortnight. There was also a small number of beneficiaries, (<10), pre-chosen by a LED officer who, it

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[7] Information supplied by the head of the BCDA agricultural projects (N.L), interviewed in August 2011.

was planned, would eventually take over management of the projects, including the payment of the other workers as well as the general upkeep of the farm and the farming activities.

The projects initially went well whilst under the supervision of the mentor; the vegetables, flowers and roses grew and sold well. In the case of the rose production, transport was arranged to send the roses to Port Elizabeth as they were of a good enough quality to be sold to buyers in the markets there. However, once the participants took over control and management, the project folded in under a year. The BCDA's agricultural manager explained that

'[b]eneficiaries were elected and a workers trust was formed and elected through a process: we advertised and asked people to come to the fore, and from there started to get involved on the basis of their experience and where they worked before and all that. The tunnels were built and set up, and the flowers and vegetables were planted and it produced well...it went very well, we had a training there on the property and taught them how to do marketing and grow the different stuff which they did very well, they had problems with the marketing and bookkeeping, but with the actual growing of the stuff, there was no problem. And then after some time it was expanded with a greenhouse and more vegetables and it went very well up to a stage where the beneficiaries said they want to do it on their own, they want to do their own thing and then they couldn't carry on with it...' (N.L, 2011)

The supervisor of the Misty Mountains Project, also referred to these issues

'...(the) same area, or square metre [of rose tunnels], they were supposed to look after/develop, if it was being run the right way, the income should have been around R300,000 and there wasn't a chance they could do it...because of fighting between them, they made groups between them.' (P.L, 2011)

This was a pattern that occurred throughout the agricultural projects of the BCDA; projects would be successful and then fail once the mentorship/management was removed at the request of the beneficiaries. This was due to several factors, as outlined by the CEO of the BCDA

'[the Misty Mountains project] failed because the people, they think it's not necessary to work, they just want to sit and collect the money, and the other thing is that they don't want to pay any input costs or production costs because they say the government must pay the costs, its the same with all the other projects. It's the same with the broiler projects, if you give them R10,000 to grow broiler, they use all the money all the profits all the proceeds for their own personal use and they don't want to plough any money back into it. That is the problem and its a problem all over in all projects, because of education and mindset: in the pre-apartheid era they were told they would be provided with everything they need....that's a problem. You've got to workshop all these (business principles with them), that's the way its going to work before hand...' (C.W, 2011)

The Misty Mountain project ended in 2009 because the water and electricity bills where not paid. This responsibility was initially managed by the mentor, but once the beneficiaries took over, the bills went unpaid. The BCDA states that the responsibilities of the beneficiaries were clearly spelt

out to them upon their succession of the projects; however, some of the respondents stated that they were not told this. N.L further stated that

'...the people on these project don't know, they don't want to work if you give them a spade to work with they're not prepared to do that, and in an 8 hour work day they probably do 3 hours of work, its a problem that needs to change'

Upon further interviews with the beneficiaries it became apparent that there were issues of mistrust of management surrounding the project which is typical to development efforts worldwide (Chambers, 1983, Salmen, 1999, Gugerty, 2008). Some of the respondents interviewed stated financial mismanagement by Agency members, and lack of consistent payment (or indeed, no payment) during their employment period. However, on further inspection, it was found that these respondents had indeed been paid.

5.5.2 Prinsloo Farm

The second of these projects was based on Prinsloo farm, started in 2002 and was composed of several different projects. Prinsloo farm was bought by the Department of Land Affairs and redistributed to 78 beneficiaries. The Prinsloo project involved the BCDA in the following areas:

o Assisting with the process of redistribution of land to the farmers,

o Developing and preparing the infrastructure of the farm to a standard that it could be functional (e.g. erecting of fences, building of roads and sheds)

o Building an abattoir, a broiler processing unit (a unit in which the broilers could be slaughtered and prepared to be sold to buyers/at the market), and a cheese making facility,

o Assisting beneficiaries with loan applications to the Land Bank in order to purchase cattle,

o Donating cattle to some beneficiaries,

o Training beneficiaries in several areas including: Husbandry farming (e.g. cattle and goat care-vaccination, dipping and feeding), broiler production and processing, as well as production of goat cheese.

Prinsloo Farm was originally managed by a manager (independent from the Agency) who oversaw the main running and upkeep of the farm. Over 100 beneficiaries of the Land Reform Programme were housed on the farm, the Agency assisted many of them with the aforementioned processes. However, as with the Misty Mountains Project, in 2003 the beneficiaries asked to control the entire farm and since then the farm has become run down. The abattoir, as well as the broiler processing unit and dairy are all no longer functional. The fences have been stolen, there is no electricity supply

and the tractor that used to work has been left in a field since 2003 and as such is now covered in rust. Of the 60 or so farmers who originally bought cattle, less than 10 are left with any cattle.

5.5.3   Facilitation and Development Roles

Lastly, in certain cases, the Agency is approached by individuals seeking facilitation and advice only. In this capacity the BCDA assists these individuals in:

- o   Accessing land and finance

- o   Animal rearing and keeping

- o   Animal welfare

- o   Any other query that relates to farming or agriculture

In this way the Agency is deviating from its 'macro-project' role by engaging on a one-to-one level with individuals from the area. However, the BCDA works with a fluid structure, (as is reflected in the multiple roles undertaken by each individual within the Agency) in order to achieve its aims. The delineation set out by the Municipality and the BCDA are hence more 'guidelines' and not strictly adhered too.

The failure of the BCDA agricultural projects closely mirrors the failures in LED in the Municipality as a whole, where many projects, e.g. in weaving, laundry projects and other small, medium and micro-enterprise SMME attempts have failed. One spokesperson of the Municipality explained the widespread failure and subsequent demise of the different development initiatives as follows:

'The failure of some of these community projects, what we are busy trying to correct is that, they (SIDA) said we want groups, we want you to come as a group...and if you go to a group, definitely a group constitutes of very different people, because those different people don't have the same view, they don't share the same thing, but because they've been grouped they never match in the interaction, such as the group is fine when they are making an application, once they receive the money the conflict starts, and that becomes in fact, one of the failures in most of the projects, it is a very serious issue, we are saying to the Department of Social Development and the Department of Agriculture, don't combine people for the sake of having a group...' (A.N, 2011)

5.6   Summary

This chapter discussed the case-study area and demographic make up as well as the role and activities of the BCDA. The BCDA takes on a variety of projects and roles, and has a complex relationship with the Municipality; however in terms of LED delivery they have made a concerted effort in order to clearly delineate their respective duties. The agriculture projects run by the BCDA may seem disorganised, however, the BCDA saw these projects as 'first-time' projects and as such

did not have a template from which to work when designing the projects, this goes someway in explaining the difficulties that the projects ran into. Chapter 6 presents the results of the research, and subsequently discusses some of the possible reasons behind these failures in more detail, chapter 7 then goes on to outline conclusions, recommendations, further points of interest and proposals for further research.

CHAPTER SIX
ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF THE DATA

6.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses and discusses the research findings. Firstly, the nature of the relationship between the respondents and the BCDA shall be explored, as well as some of the key aspects of the analysis of the livelihood. This will be followed by an overview of the results, after which the results shall be discussed and analysed according to the relevant research aims. Within each aim, the analysis will be based upon the reoccurring themes that have become explicit during the data analysis and further discussed within the context of the three livelihood strategies and five sustainable livelihoods outcomes (as discussed in chapter three).

6.2 Nature of the relationship between the respondents and the BCDA

The respondents had either been previously involved or were still involved with the BCDA in different manners, with some having been directly employed by the agency and some receiving training or other forms of assistance (details outlined in previous chapter) Table 3 presents a full delineation of how respondents had been involved with the Agency.[8]

Table 3: Delineation of involvement with the BCDA (Research, 2011)

Number of Respondents	Primary Involvement with the BCDA	Secondary Involvement with the BCDA
6	Prinsloo: Cattle	Received Training, facilitation, Prinsloo Access
3	Prinsloo: Employed in vegetable project	Training
5	Misty Mountains: Employed in vegetable and flower projects	Training
3	Misty Mountains: Employed in rose project	Training
1	Facilitated access to finance	Received Mentoring/Advice and training in pig keeping and goat rearing
1	Prinsloo: Employed as maintenance man.	

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[8] It should be noted that the table depicts all respondents involvement with the BCDA over the last 5 years, as such many of the respondents are no longer involved in the capacity shown in the table.

6.3 Livelihood Analysis Key Points

Scoones' seminal 1998 paper on Sustainable Livelihoods identified three key livelihood strategies, and five key outcomes of a sustainable livelihood (as explored in Chapter 2). The analysis of in this chapter shall concentrate on these key factors.

The three key strategies were explained to be:

- o Agricultural intensification/extensification

- o Livelihood diversification

- o Migration

The five key outcomes of a sustainable livelihood are:

- o Creation of Working Days (200/year)

- o Poverty Reduction

- o Well being & Capability Expansion

- o Livelihood Adaptation & Resilience

- o Natural Resource case Sustainability (Scoones, 1998)

Before this is presented however, a brief discussion of some salient demographic details pertaining to the participants is presented

6.4 Demographic details of participant group

Nineteen participants were interviewed of which eleven were male and eight female. Thirteen were IsiXhosa, and six were coloured, with the majority being between the age of 25-40 years (see Table 4). All of the respondents were born in the area (the BCRM) and lived in Somerset East. The respondents had varying levels of education: two had received no formal education, three had attained below grade six, eight had attained above grade six and three had attained matric.

Participants had varying numbers of dependants with an average of 4 dependants per individual. Dependents included children, unemployed members of the household and elderly/disabled members of the household who were not self sufficient.

Table 4: Age distribution of respondents

Age	
20-29 years old	2
30-39 years old	3
40-49 years old	3
50-59 years old	3
59-64 years old	3
64+ years old	5

The majority (14/74%) of the participants owned their home and, of those, the majority lived in RDP housing. All dependants resided in formal brick built structures with access to water either in the house or in the yard and electricity within the house as well as toilet facilities. In terms of socio-economic context, the majority of the group would be classed as living below the R354/month poverty line (SPII, 2008).

6.5   Livelihood Strategies currently employed by case study respondents

The following paragraphs discuss the different livelihood strategies employed by the respondents *after* their involvement with the BCDA projects (in other words, their *current* livelihood strategies).

As depicted in figures 16 and 17, social grants are the main source of income and food is the main expenditure. Other than the grants, nine of the participants have home gardens through which they can feed their family year round or supplement the bought food. These gardens are either on their premises, or on municipal land close to their respective houses. Two of the participants grow enough to sell their surplus, however, these sales are restricted by seasonal growth patterns, and many of the gardens are often vandalised or stolen from.

The respondents engage in multiple and varied livelihood strategies. In concurrence with prior research concerning livelihoods in the Eastern Cape (PLAAS, 2004, Lahiff, 2004, 2008) it was found that the main and most important source of income was that of social grants from the Government. This is because over half; 10/52% of the respondents are not economically active. All but two respondents received social grants, mostly for pensions (eleven respondents), children's grants (four respondents) and disability (two respondents). All of the participants indicated that at one stage they were the main breadwinner of the household, however, most participants are now unemployed.

Those who are employed are employed within the agriculture sector which reflects and confirms the dependence on the agricultural sector within the municipal area (as shown in the BCRM Mid-year Report, 2011.)
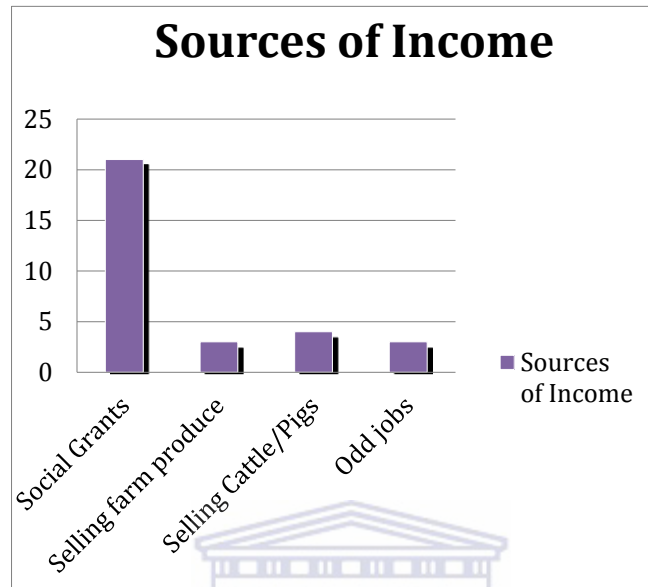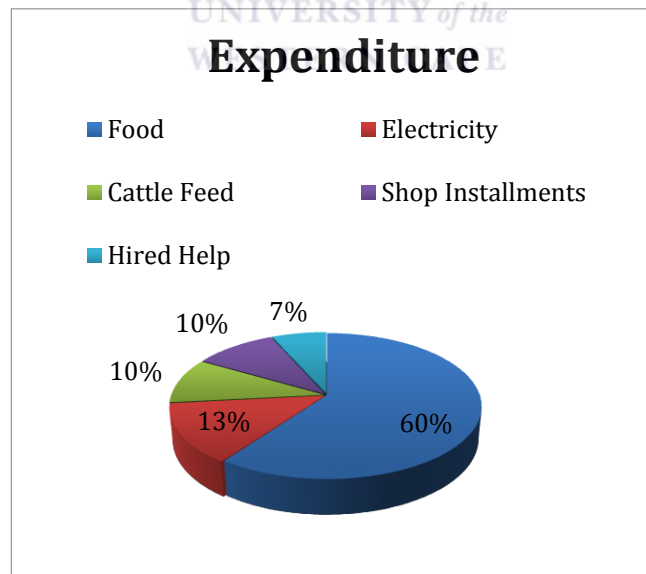
Figure 16: Source of Income of respondents

Figure 17: Expenditure of respondents

6.6   Livelihoods prior to involvement with BCDA

Research Aim 1:   **To determine the livelihood strategies and structural opportunities**

employed by the respondents before their introduction to the BCDA

project.

Prior to their engagement with the BCDA, roughly two-thirds of the respondents were unemployed and were surviving on social grants (13/68%).The majority of those interviewed were receiving either their pension or grants for their children or both. The overwhelming majority of respondents (17/89%) stated that they had received no external help financially from the community nor the family. For the remaining two, one was still at school living in her family home at the time, and the other stated that he occasionally received help from his family in the form of food or money. This is interesting as it suggests that there are low levels of social cohesion and social capital amongst those living in the community, in that families are not willing and/or not able to assist each other through times of need. It was also stated that money received from the social grants was 'not enough' in all cases '[the time prior to BCDA engagement] was not good, we were struggling a lot...because pension moneys are not enough, it was not enough' (E.O, 2011)

6.6.1   Economic activities engaged in prior to introduction of BCDA Projects

It was important to establish a comprehensive picture of the work history of participants in order to clearly see the differences in livelihood brought about through involvement the BCDA. Respondents were therefore questioned about employment patterns throughout their lifetime as well as the three months immediately before their engagement with the BCDA. In terms of the long term employment patterns; all of the respondents had been employed *at some point* prior to the BCDA projects, however, many (13/68%) had been unemployed for the 3 month period leading up to the projects.

The main means of income for these people *over their lifetimes* had been seasonal farm work and migratory work. The farm work was mainly based in farms within the municipality; however, sometimes respondents would travel out of the municipality to other areas within the Cacadu district to seek employment. Seasonal farm work was mostly centred upon fruit picking and vegetable planting and large farm owners employed and housed individuals for up to six months. The income generated from this employment was not enough, however, to last throughout the rest of the year. Twelve of the respondents (eleven of which were male) had prior farm experience as they had either grown up on farms or had been farm workers the majority of their lives (it should be noted that the majority of these respondents had been farm workers under the old Apartheid farming system and, as such, had been housed, schooled and employed on private commercial

farms; this meant that very little, if any, formal or on the job training and subsequent job mobility was evident).

For those who had not been employed on farms prior to BCDA projects, or who had reported other forms of employment during periods between seasonal/farm work, menial labour was the most common form of employment. Respondents had been employed as road workers, railway workers, miners and builders, with the exception of three who had owned a grocery business in Somerset East and one who had worked as a communications officer for Telkom for 21 years in Port Elizabeth. These differences correlated with levels of education, showing that those with education levels below Grade 11 engaged in labour intensive employment, whilst those who achieved higher levels of formal education were engaged in shop keeping or customer service positions. However, further than this correlation there was no impact of the level of education on whether a respondent was employed or not.

Although the majority of respondents stated they were unemployed for the three months leading up to their involvement with the BCDA projects, six of the participants were involved in some form of *informal* income generating activities, 'as and when' or 'piece-work' employment or a mix of both. Most engaged in 'piece-work' as and when these opportunities became available. These included employment as domestic and mine workers, builders, security guards, kitchen assistants, gardeners, cattle watchmen, rubbish clearers and other such tasks. The forms of casual employment undertaken seemed to follow traditional accepted norms amongst gender patterns with women working as domestic workers, cooks and cleaners, and men engaged in hard labour and in the security sector. Five of the above six respondents *explicitly stated* that they engaged in *certain forms* of informal income generating activities throughout the year (and in the last 3 months) in order to make money or to supplement an earned income. There were a variety of methods described such as

'I would buy big pack of potatoes, take those potatoes, make it into smaller packs, and sell those, I would take cigarettes, and buy the pack, and then sell the cigarettes one by one...' (L.M, 2011)

'If I get a ten Rand, I don't use the ten Rand before I make something out of it, I will go to the shop, buy something, maybe trotters, then sell them, make 200 rand from that 10 rand. Whatever you make you put it away, I was selling vegetables, there was not a day I did not have a cent in my pocket.' (D.H, 2011)

Interestingly, it was found that it was these same respondents who had undertaken self –initiated income generating activities who benefited the most from their involvement in the BCDA projects.

All respondents stated that before the BCDA there was no one that could 'help them' in the community in the form of NGOs, CBOs or church groups. Respondents stated that there had never been any self help or civic organisation in the area at the time before the projects began and that it was very hard to gain employment in Somerset East. Structural opportunities available in the area were minimal which is apparent through the self initiated activities undertaken by respondents and migration to other areas.

6.7   Livelihood changes during the BCDA projects.

A two-tier analysis, which looks at both the changes to livelihoods both *during* the time the projects were running and changes to livelihoods *after* the projects ended, is deemed necessary due to:

- o   The complex institutional arrangements employed by the BCDA (such as having one person inhabit a variety of roles and engaging in projects which also involved other institutions)

- o   Issues experienced with the projects such as: Problems with management experienced in the rose project and

- o   The lack of consistent employment in the Misty Mountains Project.

However the remit of this research demands a focus upon livelihoods *at the time* of research, not the time that the projects *were* running. Therefore it shall only focus briefly upon the changes to livelihoods and capabilities during the projects and move onto the current situation of the respondents.

As stated earlier, during their employment in the different projects of the BCDA most participants were employed under standard employment contracts and, as such, earned a fixed income of R500 every fortnight.

All bar three respondents stated that their general sense of well being and security was improved during their engagement with the BCDA projects. This was due to three major factors: being employed, earning money, and not having to migrate for work. Respondents declared that during the duration of the projects, they earned more money than previously and therefore could buy more consumables and, more importantly, feed their families in a more sustainable fashion, thus substantially improving the nutritional status and ultimately level of food security. This improved the domestic environment and generally enhanced levels of livelihood security and quality of life.

One respondent expressed their feelings on working for the BCDA as follows

'[n]o problems, was very nice to work there, very nice, I hope they can open again it [working at the Misty Mountains vegetable project] was very helpful that project we didn't suffer at that time, but now we are suffering now, we really suffer..We was selling the veggies and get money' (E.O, 2011)

Apart from improving the level of food security in the livelihoods of respondents while working on BCDA agricultural projects, respondents reported that the steady stream of income improved the access to financial capital and thus their capacity to meet additional strategically important expenses, especially those relating to school fees. As such, the benefits of an increased income go further than increasing financial of material capital. It leads to an increase in human and social capital by contributing towards ensuring access to education of family members. In reference to the SLF, an increase in human and social capital further expands an individuals capacity to pursue different livelihood strategies, and as such improves livelihood outcomes.

The respondents all expressed regret that the projects had ended and a wish to continue their involvement with the Agency; however, several also expressed mistrust of the Agency directors, and stated that the directors were stealing their profits and misappropriating money. Some stated that this was because the director was white and 'you know how white people are', and suggested that they would only return if there was a change in management.

6.8   Changes in Livelihoods as a result of BCDA projects

Research Aim 2:   **To explore any improvements in livelihood *strategies* as well as in structural opportunities as a result of involvement in the BCDA projects.**

Research Aim 3:   **To explore the tangible and non tangible impacts of the BCDA on livelihood *outcomes* of the respondents.**

Research Aims two and three are discussed together here as aim three is a deeper exploration of the points raised in aim two- any improvement in livelihood strategy would have both 'tangible' and 'intangible' effects upon livelihood outcomes. 'Tangible' can be taken to mean an effect that can be 'seen with ones eyes' or has a physical aspect to it, such as the building of a house, acquiring new cattle, saving money, whilst 'Intangible' is referring to the 'felt' aspects of life, such as happiness, self-esteem or sense of security.

The key themes that became apparent during the analysis of interviews were (in order of occurrence):

- Employment-Being employed in a regular and formal manner

- Money-Earning a regular income and a higher income than prior to the projects

- Migration-Not having to migrate for employment, being able to stay with the family

- Skills-Learning and Acquisition of new skills through the projects that the respondents were involved in, which provide the respondents with a greater skill set to utilise in future life.

- Security-Having job security and thus feeling more secure within the household.

- Freedom-Having the freedom to work for themselves, having ownership of property (cattle) and the greater freedom financial stability and security allows.

Only seven (37%) of the respondents were still (at the time of the study), involved in projects assisted by the BCDA. The remaining respondents were no longer involved with the BCDA, nor had they the any livestock that the BCDA had helped them acquire. The main reasons for this situation have been discussed in the chapter five – with poor role delineation and an unwillingness to reinvest back into livestock/flowers being two of the most ones. Specific suggestions/recommendations as to how this low rate of long-term success could be avoided are later discussed in Chapter seven.

6.9   Changes to Livelihood strategies and outcomes

6.9.1   Key Findings

Key Findings: Improvements in	No. Of respondents citing Improvement	Total no. of respondents	Total % of respondents
LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES	STRATEGIES	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Livelihood Diversification	10	19	52%
Livelihood Extensification	10	19	52%
Livelihood Intensification	9	19	47%
Migration*	11	19	58%
LIVELIHOOD OUTCOMES	OUTCOMES	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Poverty Reduction	10	19	52%
Well-being and Capability Enhancement	12	19	63%
Natural Resource Base Sustainability	7	19	39%
Livelihood Adaptation and Resilience	7	19	39%
Employment (Working Days)	9	19	47%
CAPITALS	CAPITALS	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Financial Capital	9	19	47%
Physical Capital	9	19	47%
Natural Capital	5	19	26%
Human Capital	16	19	84%
Social Capital**	N/A	N/A	N/A

*Where an improvement in Migration Strategies are taken to be: Not having to migrate 'far' or 'at all' for work

**Social Capital was not thoroughly explored within this study and shall therefore be omitted in this analysis.

Table 5: Tabulated from Research, 2011.

Table 5 highlights the key findings of the study. The table highlights the improvement brought about through involvement with the BCDA. It focuses upon both livelihood strategies and outcomes as well as asset improvement. The table depicts the number of respondents that cited an improvement in these specific areas.

6.9.2 'Tangible' Changes in Livelihood Strategies and Outcomes

As earlier discussed, objective measurements of livelihoods are complex, because livelihoods themselves are complex. Thus measuring changes to livelihoods is a complex task. However, earlier work on livelihoods in South Africa by May (2000) identified eight categories of livelihood strategies within rural South Africa as outlined below in Table 6 (adapted from May, 2000:6). If we are to conceptualise an improvement in livelihoods as congruent with moving up this table from 'Marginalised' households to 'Entrepreneurial' households, it is possible to have a scale by which to objectively (albeit broadly) measure improvements in livelihoods.

Before the BCDA projects, nine respondents would have been classified (using May's classifications) as *Welfare Dependent*, two as *Secondary Wage Dependent*, five as Primary *Wage Dependent* and three as *Entrepreneurial Households*. Using the categorisation provided by May, the respondents' improvements in livelihood rankings can be measured against the descriptor of that person's access to income, welfare dependency and employment status. Taking into account these three variables it is noted that at the time of the study, these categorisations have shifted only marginally with nine respondents remaining *Welfare Dependent*, two remaining *Secondary Wage dependent*, a further four respondents remaining *Primary Wage dependent*, and only one respondent now being classified as an *Entrepreneurial Household*. Using this classification system it is apparent that only one respondent improved in classification. However, it is argued here that this broad categorisation misses some of the aspects of livelihood improvement which are further explored in the Key Findings section.

6.9.3 Positive Outcomes of involvement with BCDA

At the time of research, only nine (47%) of the respondents work over 200 days a year and all nine are self employed: having received plots of land form the Land Bank on Prinsloo Farm five of them now work together growing and selling vegetables and alfalfa, a further two have joined forces and

own cattle together, while one respondent owns cattle alone, and a further one owns pigs and three large vegetable gardens.

The final respondent of the aforementioned nine had sought the assistance of the BCDA independently and received guidance from them on how to access finance as well as training on pig rearing and keeping and other related mentorship (upon access to agricultural grants, advice on building regulations for animal housing etc) and general advice.

For these nine respondents, the results of their involvement with the BCDA are evident. For the three who are involved in cattle rearing, they have grown their physical capital more than tenfold; S.F and L.F[9] started off with 8 cattle acquired with the assistance of the BCDA and were settled on Prinsloo Farm in 2000, and now have 95 heads of cattle; similarly, L.M, who received the same assistance from the BCDA, started with one goat in 2002, and now has 87 heads of cattle. These cases clearly depict success stories and are encouraging as they show that it is possible to grow with the correct assistance and mind set.

Prior to starting these projects, S.F and L.F (brothers) owned a failing grocery business, which was not generating enough income to cover their basic family expenses. L.M was not formally employed but bought and sold goods such as cigarettes to sell for profit. Lastly, D.W came from the Western Cape having just paid medical bills of over R200,000 and no other savings but one home garden on his property. He has since now expanded to three gardens, a piggery of 16 heads and has subsequently vastly improved his income. He states

'You know because you know when you was working, you never have enough, because you always have to pay your money out, when I'm with my animals I feel so much richer, because there's my animals in the field, I always have money in my pocket, I'm my own boss...' (D.W, 2011)

It was also noted that, for these nine who were successful, there was an increase in financial and physical capital but not necessarily natural capital, as only six of the nine had expanded or gained land during the process.

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[9] Footnotes used in this chapter refer to the respondents interviewed in the research.

Livelihood Strategy	Description
Marginalised households	No access to wages or remittances from formal sector opportunities, and have no access to welfare transfers (largely pensions). Income from petty commodity production (that is, small-scale farming and micro-enterprise activity) is R92 per month or less.
Welfare-dependent households	Have access to welfare transfers (pensions), and are receiving no wage or remittance payments. Income from petty commodity production is R92 per month or less.
Remittance-dependent households	Have access to a remitted income, although no direct wage income is received. Transfers payments may be present. Income from petty commodity production is R92 per month or less
Secondary wage-dependent households	Have wage income earned by people living at home employed in the secondary labour market. Income from petty commodity production is R92 per month or less.
Primary wage-dependent households	Have access to wages earned by people living at home employed in the primary labour market. Income from petty commodity production is R92 per month or less.
Mixed-income households with secondary wages	Combine wages earned in the secondary labour market with modest small business and other self-employment income
Mixed-income households with primary wages	Combine wages earned in the primary labour market with small business and other self-employment income.
Entrepreneurial households	Earn incomes in excess of R1 000 per month from agricultural activities, and/or business activities.

Table 6: Livelihood Classifications Adapted from May, (2000:6)

6.9.4 Other outcomes of engagement with the BCDA

The rest of the respondents, i.e. 10 (53%) considered themselves unemployed, and many stated that their livelihoods were now the same as they were before their involvement with the BCDA, apart from now having acquired some new skills as a result of the training offered by the BCDA. They stated that they were not happy with the way the BCDA's projects had ended and with the quality of their lives now in general. When further asked, they stated that their lives were '...*now the same before the project'* (E.O, 2011) or made negative statements such as:

'I did not get what I wanted from the agency, I wanted a farm or work...I want to go on the farm: On the farm is my working place, I like hard work and everything you learn from that...I like shearing sheep' (J.A, 2011)

The 10 unemployed participants indicated that their resources had not increased in terms of physical, financial and natural capital. This is either because they sold off what cattle they had once had, and were now left with nothing, or had been directly employed by the Agency and since the failure of the projects had not gained employment, so had lost financial earnings. Three respondents were no longer employed but did state an increase in physical capital as they had been able to buy furniture for their houses whilst they were employed.

As seen in Table 6.9.1 above, a majority of the respondents were able to diversify their livelihood strategies, through learning new skills which allowed them to attempt new techniques. For example, two respondents were able to set up home gardens after receiving training from the BCDA, which allowed them to feed their families, strengthen their food livelihood and save money

that would have been spent on food. Other respondents branched intro broiler or goat keeping for the first time.

In addition, ten of the respondents were also able to *extensify* their livelihood strategies through moving to larger plots to grow their vegetables or by combining plots. Lastly, nine of the respondents were able to *intensify* their activities by working longer days and afforded to employ some extra help to get more work done in the same period of time.

Eleven respondents stated that the BCDA had helped in terms of *migration,* in that they no longer needed to migrate for work, which was viewed as a positive outcome. Migration was formerly undertaken by respondents as a 'last resort' or desperate strategy. By providing employment or facilitating skills development the BCDA removed the necessity for 'employment seeking out-migration'.

Although only nine of the respondents considered themselves employed, two others stated that although they were not employed at the time of research, they were soon to be re-employed by the BCDA. This implies that although the projects have not been as successful as they could have been in terms of sustainability, they have certainly changed the structural opportunities in the area through providing employment (be it occasionally) and by providing an added social 'advice' network (in addition to the LED office of the BCRM). All respondents seemed sure that the BCDA would soon have work for them again and many expressed gratitude for the help that the agency gave them with access to finance and guidance, as is illustrated by one respondent:

'[the] Agency was like a father figure to me, to lead me, to advise me through that time, to help me...' (D.H, 2011)

In terms of Livelihood Adaptation and Resilience, it is apparent from the findings of this study that overall, the BCDA's involvement has not made a positive and more importantly, sustainable impact upon the livelihoods of the majority of its respondents. Only seven stated that they were more hardy in the face of seasonal changes and catastrophes since being involved with the BCDA, and ultimately; the failure of the projects proves that they were unsustainable and as such, not affording the participants resilience in the face of long term issues.

Lastly, and perhaps most fundamentally important, is the fact that only 10 respondents stated a reduction in poverty levels for them and their livelihoods. Although this presents slightly over half the respondents, it is still not enough to deem the overall the BDDA overall Project a success and certainly implies that the BCDA is not achieving its stated vision of sustainable job creation and poverty reduction.

6.10 'Intangible' Changes to Livelihood Strategies and Outcomes

When focusing upon livelihoods outcomes, there are different aspects to consider. For the purpose of this analysis the results have been separated into 'tangible' and 'intangible' outcomes. This is necessary as there are many features of livelihood outcomes that are not outwardly visible and thus easy to measure. For example, the ability to save money or stock up crops can be quantifiably measured; in addition, however, it can also lead to a heightened sense of security through providing a safety net and a sense of livelihood security with the knowledge of having funds available in case of an emergency.

Such intangibles such as a sense of security are central to the SLA as with the wider humanist approach to development. As Chambers (1989) highlights, the qualitative process of livelihoods research, especially research which focuses upon the respondents *own* perceptions and experiences

'... may result in a range of sustainable livelihood outcome criteria, including diverse factors such as self-esteem, security, happiness, stress, vulnerability, power, exclusion, as well as more conventionally measured material concerns' (Chambers 1989). Thus, livelihoods studies attempt to capture these 'intangibles', in order to gain a more nuanced, applicable and realistic notion of an individual's life (Norton & Foster, 2001).

The reoccurring themes apparent in the study included both tangible and non tangible aspects, such as income and employment (tangible) such security and freedom (intangible). Eight of the respondents specifically stated that they felt more secure since the project in terms of their respective households' resilience to shocks and stresses and a further two replied that they felt more secure since their involvement in the BCDA when asked. This is concurrent with Chambers' earlier observations (as acknowledged by Scoones, 1998:6)

'Chambers (1997) argues that such a well-being approach to poverty and livelihood analysis may allow people themselves to define the criteria which are important. This may result in a range of sustainable livelihood outcome criteria, including diverse factors such as self-esteem, security, happiness, stress, vulnerability, power, exclusion, as well as more conventionally measured material concerns (Chambers 1989).'

Having a sense of security is of importance for two reasons. Firstly the SLA 'is one that acknowledges that poverty is a condition of insecurity rather than only a lack of (material) wealth' (Meikle et al., 2001:3) and as such, any improvements to livelihoods must improve security of livelihoods, (which in turn improves household security) by improving the household's resilience to shocks and seasonal changes.

Secondly, it has been noted that an increase in security improves quality of life and a general sense of well being (Meikle, 2001, Chambers, 1989) in so far that it creates less unease and apprehension towards being able to overcome the challenges of everyday living. Therefore, the fact that over half

of the respondents reported an increase in security due to the BCDA, can be construed as a positive outcome, (but, as was the case above, still not a large enough number to warrant the projects overly successful.)

Another key 'intangible' theme was that of freedom. Eight of the respondents specifically mentioned feeling 'freer' now or enjoying the liberation of being self employed:

'My comparison of life at that time, you was working, you was just somebody, I was just feeling like somebody...you don't have really something you are working for, a goal, or something like that, because you know every month you get your money...You are not your own...from the time I came here that was a total life change for me, I became my own, I own my own life now, you can say, I feel free to do anything I want because at the end I know it will be for my own benefit and for my family, I feel more freely to go out.' (D.W, 2011)

'I [previously] had to come at night to milk the cows and work in the day too...I don't work like a slave now' (K.E.N, 2011)

Those who reported feeling more free stated that this was due to being self managed, working for themselves and satisfaction with working on the land and seeing their labours translated into money. All of those who stated that they felt freer also reported to be happier with their lives now (improved well being), while, of all the respondents, eight stated that they were happier after their involvement with the BCDA than before, which, by utilitarian standards, would be the ultimate measure of success of the projects. However, within the bounds of the SLA, happiness cannot be the only measure due to the effects of adaptive preference (in which a person becomes used to a certain lifestyle, and thus limits their expectations to only what they believe can be achieved). Nevertheless, this case study is concerned with the respondent' perception of their life, which nullifies the issues of adaptive preference. All of the respondents stated that they were happier whilst the projects were running and those who were not 'happy' were mostly disappointed or 'let down' because of the failure of the projects.

In terns of the specific 'intangible' outcomes related to the SLA, *Human Capital* was increased through the BCDA projects on all counts, as all respondents stated that they had learned new skills. *Human capital* and capability was therefore improved for all respondents. The importance of skills expansion is that with more skills, one has more options for securing employment, and more importantly, in this case, the agricultural skills acquired enabled respondents to set up new home gardens which enable food security year round. The issue, however, is that although the respondents capacities and capabilities have grown, they cannot utilise these new skills, as there are very limited structural opportunities to do so. For example, the capacity to gain employment has been increased through skills acquisition, but the actual use of these new skills cannot be realised as

there are no jobs to be employed in. All respondents stated that there was no employment (other than the employment/livelihood strategies they had created themselves).

In conclusion, the BCDA projects improved the livelihoods of roughly half the respondents, who are still benefiting from their engagement with the BCDA. The ways in which livelihoods were improved were varied, and due to the BCDA providing or facilitating access to:

- o Higher income/physical capital

- o Guidance and advice for respondents

- o Heightened livelihood security

- o More freedom and self –empowerment for respondents

However, for the rest of the respondents, any improvements in livelihoods that were evident (such as being employed and receiving a wage) were lost when the projects ended. The only 'improvement' or gain that was across the board was that of skills acquisition (human capital) through the BCDA training, which could not be translated into a usable function/outcome due to the structural constraints in the area, i.e. lack of employment.

Livelihood strategies are complex and ever changing and even the successful respondents still occasionally engaged in a variety of other informal trades and livelihood strategies (unlinked to strategies strengthened by the BCDA) to survive. For those who were unemployed, the main livelihood lifeline was the social grants being received and some respondents stated that without these they would starve. .

6.11 Future improvement opportunities

Research Aim 4 **To explore whether the livelihood outcomes of respondents could be improved through any changes to the project.**

Respondents stated several ways to improve projects. The following sections are broken down by specific projects.

Prinsloo Farm

- o Respondents were confused as to the roles and functions of those at Prinsloo Farm. Some participants stated that the Agency must carry out tasks such as paying bills and keeping abreast of the maintenance of the fences/farm perimeter, although this was actually the role of the selected beneficiaries. Therefore, the roles and responsibilities of each

participant must be made explicitly clear and documented in a fashion which cannot later be contested.

o Three respondents felt that the Agency had access to information which could have assisted them (such as how to access finances, land etc), therefore, the BCDA should make concerted efforts to divulge all useful and relevant information. For example S.F and L.F (2011) state that:

'If we can have an open door, someone who can show us the way, because there's no other way to go to the financial institutions where they will borrow (loan) us something to expand the business,...'

'Just to tell us, someone who can tell is that, if you need to be funded because you are in need of goats, go to this department, and then they will, they will help you, or if there is no funds, go to this door, they can loan you the money so that you can put in your business...As they are the development agency, they have to develop us, they have to help us, by showing us where to go, or if they can, as the development to finance us, then its finance, so surely Chris, he's got the information, he must pass it on.'

o Other respondents asked for specific equipment and tools necessary to assist them. This included bakkies and tractors as well as equipment such as ploughs and rakes. They felt that they could be much more successful with this extra input

'If we can get what we want, we can get enough to change and improve our lives.' (B.M, 2011)

'I am not yet getting what I want from the project, but I am optimistic, I am on the way...' (B.M, 2011)

'If we get equipment, we could go further...' (K.E.N, 2011)

Misty Mountains

o As outlined in the previous chapters, the Misty Mountains projects suffered from a variety of interlinked factors such as confusion about the roles of beneficiaries, in group fighting and an unwillingness by some beneficiaries to reinvest into the project. Therefore suggestions by respondents as to how to improve the project were confused at best.

o Three respondents involved in the Rose Growing Project, stated that the failure at Misty Mountains was due to financial mismanagement by the BCDA and theft of stock by BCDA staff. However, the same respondents stated that they did not receive wages at all during their two years involvement at the project, (the researcher established this to be untrue) so the validity of their other claims falls under question). These three respondents stated that they would only return if certain BCDA staff was not involved anymore. In sharp contrast, however, the other five respondents involved in Misty Mountains expressed a real

admiration and fondness of the same staff member; this shall further be discussed in the following section.

Those involved in the vegetable project at Misty Mountains, all stated

- The projects must re-open and that there salaries must be paid on the days agreed upon, as even minor delays can have profound debilitating and negative impacts on their families/livelihood security.

- The Agency should maintain the tunnels and fences more vigorously to discourage animals coming in and eating the stock (again, this was the beneficiaries responsibility, and thus refers us back to the need for clear and concise role delineation.)

One respondent suggested that the Agency should provide them with workers overalls, work boots and transportation to and from work.

General Facilitation

The BCDA has been involved in helping those in the community who request assistance in a variety of ways. The Agency has: provided training in certain areas of agricultural production/animal rearing and animal keeping, it has also helped individuals find and access services and finance and has facilitated the growing of an individuals own projects through networking and helping people locate useful tools and services. This is vital for some as sometimes what is needed is not employment but a point 'in the right direction' or some practical advice on animal care. In this capacity the BCDA does not advertise such services, they are offered to those who ask only.

The first theme that became evident from the interviews was that of the visibility and marketing of the Agency in the target community

- D.W (2011) stated that the BCDA needs to advertise itself more, as many of the coloured community in the area "think that it is only for white people, are not interested until they know what it is about, and why...'. He further stated that:

'You know at the moment, I think, there is still perception, that the people, especially in the community the exposure of the agency, man, towards the community, to market yourself to the community they ,must work a little bit more unto that because really, sometimes, the people will ask you what is the development agency?, You understand? because it's still that gap in our communities, because you know, what happened in this case, is like the people say is only those who can afford to that is benefiting that's the way the outside community is seeing it, when I worked in the community you pick it up when you talk about the agency sometimes.

...... They must have maybe like an open day or something, the agency must go straight into the heart of the community for a day, but it mustn't be in a building or something like that , it must be somewhere open like in a rugby field, calling the people from the community together.'

6.12   Conclusion

The BCDA projects did have some positive impacts upon the livelihoods of the respondents while they were active, however, these projects could not be sustained. Livelihood strategies *did* improve in the aftermath in terms of migration especially, with over 50% of respondents being able to stay in Somerset East as a result if the BCDA. In terms of livelihood outcomes, capability improvement saw the greatest positive change, with 63% or respondents citing an improvement (most of this improvement was due to the raise in human capital through the free training that respondents received) in skills and abilities which would allow them to seek further, more varied forms of employment before involvement with the BCDA.

Overall it is apparent that there are many factors which complicated the project process, some of which where out of the control of the BCDA such as the in-group fighting within certain beneficiary groups (such as the rose growers). However, some of the issues could have been avoided. In terms of the SLA, the projects were not entirely successful as they could not be sustained and sustainability is a key factor in the SLA. To summarise, for many respondents, current livelihoods were as they were before the BCDA projects. Most respondents wanted employment and stated that being employed made the largest, most positive difference to their livelihoods. Therefore it is easy to see how if the projects had been sustained, livelihoods would have been permanently improved.

The next chapter goes on to further discuss some aspects of the findings and also to explore some further considerations and findings.

CHAPTER 7
SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1   Introduction

This concluding chapter presents a brief summary of the most important findings. This is followed by a set of conclusions, which can be drawn from the research and finally provides a list of recommendations for the BCDA and BCRM in order to improve the success rate of future agricultural projects.

7.2   Summary of Key findings

The key findings can be split into two major categories:

- the effect of the BCDA upon the livelihoods of the agricultural workers, and

- other factors related to the process of LED through agricultural growth in the BCRM.

7.2.1   The effect of the BCDA upon livelihoods of farmers

This research suggests that the BCDA has had some impact on livelihoods, even if by proxy of creation of more structural opportunities in some instances. The research shows that the BCDA did in fact, improve livelihoods *during* the duration of the projects, however, the projects were not sustainable and as such, did not have a sustained/continued impact on livelihoods.

However, in the long term, the BCDA ultimately failed in several areas in its efforts to improve the quality of life of the farm workers of the region due to several reasons.

In terms of the SLF: *Human capital* was improved through the training offered to all farm workers, which increased the range of skills of these workers, thus broadening the scope of employment opportunities afforded to them. *Social Capital* was seen to be lacking, apparent in the lack of assistance from family members for most respondents; *Natural Capital* was also scarce, as was seen in the lack of grazing grounds for animals. *Financial Capital* had grown briefly across the board whilst the projects were running, however had returned to zero or low after the projects failed and only in isolated occasions was there a growth in *Physical Capital*.

The projects did have some success stories however, for roughly half (10) of the respondents, they had not improved livelihoods in terms of the positive outcomes of a sustainable livelihood. Working days had been created at one point but not sustained and due to this lack of sustainability, livelihood resilience had not been improved and subsequently poverty reduction had proved pervasive. In addition the research established that the natural resource base had not changed;

respondents had not gained land or created arable land with those who own home gardens maintaining the same size plots.

The nine who had benefitted from the BCDA projects were mostly rearing cattle and put their success down to hard work and reinvesting their money into cattle farming. For these nine, the biggest impacts on their respective livelihoods were in the areas of:

- o Gaining a greater level of livelihood security through acquiring financial and physical capital.

- o Improvements in levels of self esteem and self belief

- o Acquisition of skills

- o A greater sense of 'peace of mind'.

These findings highlight the complexity of using the SLA as a framework; intangible factors such as 'peace of mind' are hard to quantify, however, sentiments such as security, peace of mind and happiness were often used by respondents in their dialogue concerning the BCDA projects (in this vain, the research also found that livelihoods analysis is complex as the tangible aspects of livelihood security often inform the intangible aspects, and the differing phases of the BCDA's projects provided a complex framework from which to operate).

7.2.2   LED through Agricultural Growth in the BCRM

Chapter two highlighted some of the complexities of LED in South Africa. The findings of the research was concurrent with other research concerning LED in that it highlighted some of the challenges in creating LED in rural areas. For example, Chapter four discussed the difficulties the BCDA faced in defining its role in relation to the BCRM in its delivery of LED. This is typical of the confusion around the implementation of LED programmes in South Africa (Rogerson, 2011). The national framework relating to LED provided by the DPLG does not seem to provide the necessary micro-level guidance that is needed at the municipality level, and it is evident, as illustrated in this study, that the laws that bind the BCDA with the municipality also restrict it from becoming financially self reliant which acts as an inhibitor of growth.

The agricultural projects that were implemented by the Agency were poorly designed. Failures occurred in a number of areas such as:

- o Project management

- o Role delineation and project hand-over

- o In-fighting between beneficiaries

- o A lack of re investment by respondents into their own businesses.

It is important to note that these shortcomings are not isolated to these specific agricultural projects. Related literature clearly shows that problems experienced in this project are endemic across a wide range of agricultural projects in South Africa (CDE, 2003).

The BCDA do well in other areas of LED delivery through their aviation, tourism and educational projects, and it is significant and somewhat indicative of the challenging nature of promoting participation and empowerment in development initiatives, that the agricultural projects (which were the most empowerment focused) suffered the most setbacks.

7.3   Further Considerations.

The findings of the study correlated with previous studies concerning livelihoods in South Africa, and more specifically, the Eastern Cape in terms of: the use of multiple livelihood strategies, main source of income, importance of social grants, and the type of work undertaken (May, ND, May et al, 2004, Lahiff, 2003).

7.3.1 Paucity in Social Capital

This study established that, interestingly, achieving success in the BCDA projects had no correlation with levels of education of the respondents. Six of the nine 'successful' respondents had an education level of below Grade nine. This may be due to the fact that the projects are farming projects which do not necessarily require a 'formal' school education and the fact that appropriate and requisite training was provided in all cases.

Interestingly also, there seemed to be a lack of substantial levels of social capital in the community. This was evident insofar that 18 of the 19 respondents stated that they had not received any help from family nor anyone else in the wider community. This relates a lack of social capital if we are to view social capital as defined and expounded by Portes (1998:6) who describes it to be 'the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of memberships in social networks or other social structures' and further specified by Scoones (1998:8) as being 'the social resources (networks, social claims, social relations, affiliations, associations) upon which people draw when pursuing different livelihood strategies requiring coordinated actions'.

It is clear then, that within the community the respondents had not been able to 'secure benefits' such as financial assistance when needed, nor had they been able to utilise community links to pursue various livelihood strategies due to this lack of social capital.

This finding was somewhat unexpected as social capital is commonly perceived to be strong in poorer rural communities (Portes, 1998, Farr, 2004) and of utmost importance to livelihood survival strategies. However, all respondents bar two stated that no one would 'help them' when they needed assistance. This may be due to the fact that all respondent were the main 'breadwinner' of the family and so may be expected to help others, as well as their inability or incapacity to do so due to the poverty in the area.

7.3.2 The impact of social grants upon livelihood security

As to be expected in a study of this nature there was a significant number of respondents that relied on social grants for livelihood survival. This is reflected in the fact that 15 of the respondents are still, '*Welfare-Dependent*' after their involvement with six of those individuals explicitly stating that without the grants they receive they could not survive.

The issue of the high number of individuals dependent on social grants in SA (estimated to be around 13, 4 million (Williams, 2007) cuts to the heart of an ongoing debate in welfare economics within South Africa as well as to the controversy surrounding the introduction of the proposed Basic Income Grant. Welfarist critics state that social grants make people 'lazy and welfare dependent', whilst proponents state that it is necessary in order to uplift individuals out of dire poverty and to a point where they are more able to assist themselves and engage in formal employment and markets in a country with such high poverty levels and a 40% unemployment rate at best (Seekings, 2007, Meth, 2004) The findings of this study suggest that those receiving grants were in no way motivated to be docile. On the contrary, one of the main recurring themes of the research findings was that of unemployment. All unemployed respondents expressing a serious desire to work only to remain unemployed due to the lack of employment in the area, reflected in statements such as

'I want to go on the farm: On the farm is my working place, I like hard work and everything you learn from that...I like shearing sheep' (A.A, 2011)'

'There are no jobs in Somerset East, Nico, [the agricultural manager at the BCDA] must find us something to do, some employment...' (E.O, 2011)'

The findings of this research suggest that reliance on social grants does not seem to be a voluntary one. It is, at best, a basic level of survival and not one which resembles a comfortable quality of life. In certain cases the grants enabled respondents to seek and gain employment, mirroring earlier research by both Booysen & Van de Berg (2005, cited in Seekings, 2007) which found that the child support grant increased the chance of 'labour market participation'. In addition, Williams (2007:2) found that 'increased probability of receiving a Child Support Grant is associated with increased school attendance, decreased child hunger, and increased broad labour force participation, while it

has no identifiable effect on narrow labour force participation or employment'. In this way it is apparent that not only do social grants improve income, they also improve people's capabilities by allowing them the capability to engage in risky 'job-seeking' behaviour and increasing capability through increasing school attendance.

7.4 Core Reasons for project failure

The results emanating from this research suggest that the crux of the failures of the BCDA projects rests upon both the pressure exerted by beneficiaries upon the Agency to secede power, and decision of the Agency to 'hand-over' control of the projects to the beneficiaries. This action turned out to be premature and wrong and proved fatal for the sustainability of the agricultural projects. After power and control was handed over by the Agency, the projects failed due to mismanagement (such as in the case of the rose project). The individual owners of cattle who had been housed at Prinsloo, and formerly advised and assisted by the BCDA were also negatively affected after taking control with a drastic drop in average numbers of cattle per respondent.

The study identified several critical factors that are related to the premature handing over of responsibility to beneficiaries, which are summarised as follows:

- o Lack of understanding by the beneficiaries of roles and responsibilities (of both the BCDA and the beneficiaries) in the post 'hand-over' phase

- o Lack of capacity amongst beneficiaries in 'management' roles

- o Lack of understanding amongst beneficiaries of markets and trading

- o A continuation of 'hand-to-mouth' attitude and inclination amongst farmers. This meant that no cattle were kept 'long term' and bred, but sold in order to have food security in the 'short term'.

- o Mistrust between beneficiaries and the BCDA

- o Mismanagement of funds by the beneficiaries

- o A lack of a strong work ethic amongst farmers, i.e. a general laziness and an unwillingness to work the required amount to ensure the economic viability of the agricultural projects.

Many of these issues are apparent in research related to land reform, whereby groups of claimants are given land, but not equipped with the necessary skills (post-settlement support) to survive commercially (CDE, 2003, 2008, Jacobs, 2003, Jacobs et al., 2003, Hall, 2004,).

This, in turn, is demonstrative of a key ethical issue and creates a dilemma for government and key agents active in the wider development sphere: the actual capacity of the disempowered poor to successfully take ownership of projects, and make these projects a success. It is often stated that all developmental projects should empower participants, and through this empowerment they will be able to succeed.

However, the reality seems to suggest, in the case of South Africa, where the black and coloured rural poor were systematically disempowered by the apartheid regime, and further oppressed by the appalling levels of education maintained under ANC rule, this noble vision may not be possible to realize. To expect those with no knowledge of management, markets and saving schemes to suddenly manage a group of people and successfully navigate complex modern day markets (as was the case in the rose project at Misty Mountains) is naïve at best. This being said, it is not impossible, and there have been cases of the rural poor successfully taking ownership of a project/area and making it into a commercial success (such as Hertzog – See Nel, 2001, 2005, 2006)

7.5   Recommendations

A number of recommendations based on the findings from this research can be made to the BCDA:

- o Certain recommendations offered by respondents involved in BCDA projects have already been put forward in section 6.11, and should act at as a guide for self-reflection for the BCDA. These are that the BCDA should be clearer in defining roles and responsibilities and provide more assistance in terms of information sharing, provide more tools, uniforms and land, be more consistent with salary payments and promote themselves more.

- o The agricultural projects need to be more clearly defined from the outset, with the Agency plainly defining the roles and contracts of all the employed workers and beneficiaries, i.e. farmers.

- o Beneficiaries to be involved in BCDA projects should be more rigorously selected according to a set of objective and relevant - to - the - project criteria and clearly briefed upon their roles before take over.

- o The BCDA should provide more sustained and continual support for individual farmers who have received training or assistance at some point from the Agency. The agency should have follow up meetings on a monthly basis with such farmers, and monitor their success and needs so they can facilitate the necessary and appropriate linkages when needed by the farmers.

- o Alternatively, the BCRM has a remit of creating 'micro-LED' and as such, the aforementioned farmers could be passed on to the BCRM and monitored by them where appropriate. Therefore having the dual effect of reducing the pressure and cost of supporting micro scale farmers on the BCDA, and supplying the municipality with well-trained farmers.

- o There should be more transparency in future agricultural projects as to when, where, why and for how much produce is being sold for so there can never be any confusion as to where profit from sales has gone to.

- o The projects should be formalised as much as possible in term of formal contracts between the BCDA and beneficiaries.

- o Strong monitoring and evaluation systems must be put in place prior to hand over of projects.

- o Post hand over support should be offered, maybe in the form of mentoring via more established experienced farmers in the area.

7.6   Suggestions for further research.

From the research it is apparent that dynamics underpinning agriculturally based developmental initiatives are complex and their economic viability and sustainability challenging, especially when ownership and management of projects are to be 'handed-over' to beneficiaries/participants. As with the lack of post settlement support apparent in the current land reform program structure, the lack of clarity and haste in which the farm (Misty-Mountains) was handed over became the fatal flaw in the project design.

In order to successfully hand over a project which is active in a highly competitive and complex dual economy such as the agricultural sector of South Africa, the beneficiaries of that project must 'au fait' with the markets in which they operate, and at the very least, be able to direct the farm which they are managing, any less than this, and the project shall result in failure (as is the Misty Mountains Case).

The biggest positive impact of the BCDA was in two areas; providing guidance and providing training for the respondents. It is interesting to note that both these areas fall into the 'intangible' grouping of livelihood outcomes, and as such would not have been caught by traditional monetary or non humanist approaches. The humanist approaches allow us to view social development in a more nuanced manner, and relay the findings of such studies in a way that is easily understood and

appreciated by fellow humans. The research adds to existing literature regarding livelihoods in the Eastern Cape region, as well as further adding to LED studies in South Africa, however there are further areas which should be informed which were not covered in the remit of this study, such as:

- o Further investigation into the issues with the paternal nature of municipalities with the LEDA's

- o The role of self –motivation upon success for rural farm workers

- o The effects of mistrust of farm owners by farm workers upon agricultural production.

- o The role of social-grants in creating dependant behaviour in the rural poor in South Africa

- o Mirroring Goldman's 2006 categorisation of the major modes of LED research, more thematic and sector based research should also be undertaken, especially focusing upon pro-poor agriculturally based LED, as agricultural growth and land are key issues of importance to future policy makers and generations.

Further research should also be undertaken as to the efficacy and success of the BCDA's agricultural projects in the future, to truly see if it constitutes what Korten (1980:498) terms a 'learning organisation': '[t]he learning organization embraces error' Aware of the limitations of their knowledge members of this type of organization look on error as a vital source of data for making adjustments to achieve a better fit with beneficiary needs' Therefore, if in future research the agricultural projects are blooming then it is clear that they have seen this initial stage as an experimental stage and as such have corrected errors made in this stage.

7.7 Constraints faced during fieldwork

Several issues arose during the field work period:

- o Contacting and securing interviews with the farm workers proved tricky and at times frustrating. Although the farm workers were keen to meet, arrangements were constantly broken, and times not kept. The majority of the farm workers did not have mobile phones, and this too impeded plans, as when they did not appear for meetings they could not be contacted as to their whereabouts.

- o It was not possible to carry out any focus groups due to a lack of organisation and dedication from the agency and lack of commitment from the farm workers. This impacted the validity of the data as it reduced the possibilities for triangulation.

- o The principal researcher speaks neither Afrikaans nor Xhosa, and although a translator was used in all cases, some of the more nuanced details were literally 'lost in translation' due to this. The complex nature of the (power) relationship between the BCDA, the Municipality and the beneficiaries, as well as the lasting legacy of apartheid created mistrust amongst all parties. This was evident in the cases where on three occasions respondents lied (about receiving payment from the BCDA), and accusations of financial misappropriation and mismanagement were many, thus some of the information given conflicted with other sources.

7.8   Conclusion.

The agricultural projects of the BCDA *have* made a positive impact upon the livelihoods of nine of the nineteen participants in the case study, and it must be remembered that while the projects were operational, all the respondents reported that their life had been improved. The issue then, is not one of implementation of projects but rather one of their sustainability, a theme which is not only of central importance to the SLA but given the current global, social, political, geological and economic climate, sustainability is an impending global and cross disciplinary concern.

The hosting of COP17 by South Africa indicates a willingness by the South African government to address sustainability issues, not just those pertaining to climate change. However, this display of interest is nothing but a charade unless it is qualified and implemented through policy and practice. As such, the current arrangement of structuring and implementing LED initiatives does not seem to be the appropriate model for delivering sustainable poverty reduction solutions due to the financial restrictions and legal framework in which LEDA's exist. In order for LED to successfully occur using the current approach, it is vital that the law is brought alongside the police specifically pertaining to LEDAs. It seems a half measure indeed to expect LEDAs to become self sustainable and fulfil their function when they are still limited by their placement within the local government system. What is needed is a specific set of laws enabling LEDAs to engage in 'profit seeking' behaviour in order to become financially independent and sustainable.

 To compound these issues, are the pervasive difficulties encountered in the rural development sphere in South Africa. The legacy of Apartheid has disempowered a nation and as a result many of the rural poor lack the necessary skills to successfully and sustainably engage in competitive markets, a process which is not aided by the current structure of the Land Reform Programme which is sorely lacking in the most important areas of post settlement support.

Rural development is a challenging process that poses many challenges; many of which were faced by the BCDA. The BCDA, as a developmental initiative was from the outset, sensitive to this and has consequently conceptualized and treated its projects as 'pilot' projects, open to change and adaptation in terms of content and approach. For example, the Misty Mountains project is destined to be restarted in 2012, with improvements and changes based upon insight gain from previous mistakes, as well as debilitating and constraining issues. For example, improvements will include employing middle management for a longer period to oversee the running of the farm as well as having a more rigorous selection process and longer training period for those who wish to be beneficiaries as well as a more thorough hand over process, with a clear delineation of roles. Inter alia. This willingness of the BCDA to reflect on the road travelled so far, to accept mistakes and shortcomings and to act upon these is encouraging, suggesting it will become more efficient, resilient and sustainable.

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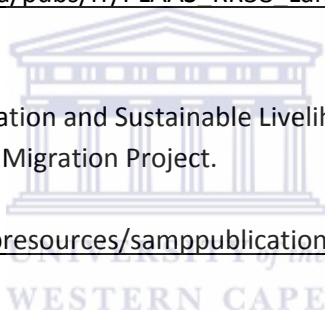
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