

The Zibambele Rural Road Maintenance Poverty Alleviation Programme: a case study employing the livelihood approach as a tool to understand poverty alleviation in the Vulindlela area

by

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Declaration:

I, Devashree Naidoo, hereby declare that this dissertation is my own original work. All sources used have been accurately reported and acknowledged. This document has not previously, either in its entirety or in part, been submitted to any university in order to obtain an academic qualification.

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Date: _____

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Abstract

This is an exploratory study, employing the livelihood approach as a tool to understand how the Zibambele programme approached rural poverty alleviation. The livelihood framework is used to understand the relationships between Zibambele workers' and officials from the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Transport.

The Vulindlela Area, one of the Zibambele sites, was chosen for assessment. The livelihood practices of Zibambele workers' and attitudes of Zibambele officials towards the implementation the programme were sought out and captured.

Qualitative methodology shaped the research design. Zibambele workers' made up the main sample of this study, while officials from the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Transport were key informants of this study. Focus group interviews were conducted to capture data from the main sample and key informants. The grounded theory technique was used to analyse data. Data was analysed through identifying themes and building on the relationships between themes, to develop an explanation of how the Zibambele poverty alleviation programme is implemented.

This study finds that the Zibambele programme is based on an economic approach to poverty alleviation due to the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Transport's 'top-down' approach in implementing the Zibambele programme and Zibambele workers rising expectations of the programme. The study concluded that the livelihood approach was a valuable tool in understanding and explaining the Zibambele poverty alleviation programme.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

ARRUP	-	African Renaissance Upgrading Programme
ABET	-	Adult Basic Educational Training
CAPRISA	-	Centre for the AIDS Programme of Research in South Africa
DFID	-	The United Kingdom Department of International Development
DoT	-	Department of Transport
EPWP	-	Expanded Public Works Programme
GPRP	-	The Greater Pietermaritzburg Research Project
KZN	-	KwaZulu-Natal
KZN DoT	-	KwaZulu-Natal Department of Transport
IMF	-	International Monetary Fund
PRA	-	Participatory Rural Appraisal

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1 Introduction

1.1 Outline of research topic

The aim of this study was to explore the Zibambele rural road maintenance poverty alleviation programme undertaken by the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Transport (KZN DoT). The livelihood approach was used as a diagnostic tool to understand how Zibambele workers' and the KZN DoT approach poverty alleviation in the Zibambele programme. This study seeks to interrogate how Zibambele negotiates structure (institutional arrangements) and agency (workers' needs and lifeworlds).

An examination of the Zibambele programme, a flagship poverty alleviation initiative, carried out by the KZN DoT, was undertaken. This being an explorative study, the Vulindlela area, one of the eight Zibambele sites, was chosen as the parameter of this case study. Rural households contracted into the Zibambele programme by the KZN DoT are referred to as Zibambele workers'. Zibambele workers' are responsible for the upkeep of rural road surfaces selected by the KZN DoT. The main objectives of the Zibambele programme are to maintain the province's road network, provide destitute households with an income, put the long-term unemployed to work and provide female-headed households with support and services to improve their financial opportunities. According to the KZN DoT (2004), Zibambele support and services include access by Zibambele households to training, better nutritional choices, identity documents, banking facilities and further economic activities. The main objectives of the Zibambele programme are achieved through securing employment of workers'. The main criterion for employment is destitute female-headed households, who are selected by the community's traditional authority structures. The Zibambele programme claims that the focus on selecting women for participation in the programme is to address the inequality women face in economic and social spheres. This study does not employ a gender focus, but rather attempted to understand the implementation of the Zibambele programme in empowering Zibambele workers' to address the current conditions of poverty they face. Narayan (1999: 32), May (2000: 24) & Krantz (2001:1) claim that any attempt to address poverty alleviation must

extend beyond income provision and should address the general well-being of the poor. The livelihood approach as a tool helped to understand more than the economic benefits of the programme. It focused on how other benefits of the programme afford workers' the opportunity to break their poverty cycles, for example, workers' use of the programme's flexible work-time (sixty hours per month) to engage in other productive activities to alleviate their poverty.

This study takes note of Turner (1998), who states that rural households are not single-purpose economies, but depend on various ways of making a living, employing multiple economic strategies. This study utilized the livelihood approach to understand how Zimbabwe workers' used their capabilities, to draw on the projects resources to engage in diverse livelihood activities.

1.2 Objective

The KZN DoT is a state provincial institution that focuses primarily on issues of mobility and infrastructure. The National Land Transport Strategy and National Land Transport Transition Act 22 of 2000 had directed state transport institutions to support national government's social and economic development goals. As a response to the directive from the policy and legislative frameworks, the KZN DoT has undertaken the Zimbabwe programme. This programme provides employment opportunities to rural people to maintain the upkeep of rural road surfaces and extends to support workers' through skills and resources provisioning to alleviate rural poverty. The objectives of this study were conceptualized due to the relatively new engagement of the KZN DoT in rural poverty alleviation. The objectives of this study are as follows:

- Identify how the KZN DoT govern Zimbabwe workers' use of Zimbabwe resources in their livelihood strategies and
- Review the livelihood outcomes of Zimbabwe workers' in response to the structural conditions that the KZN DoT faces.

The objectives of this study aimed at supporting the KZN DoT in their poverty alleviation initiative. Owen (1987: 11) pointed out that many costly transport undertakings have been extremely wasteful of resources, because they do not possess the capacity and skill to engage in areas beyond conventional mobility and infrastructure development.

The livelihood approach was chosen to understand the objectives of this study, as discussed above. The livelihood approach is appropriate as it is people-centred and holistic. This study by no means represents an evaluation of the Zibambele programme. Rather, this study aimed to provide a context to explore the implementation of the programme.

1.3 Problem statement

- How does the Zibambele programme address poverty alleviation of Zibambele workers’?

1.4 Key questions

1. What skills and resources are provided to Zibambele workers’ by the KZN DoT to alleviate their poverty?
2. How does the Zibambele programme support Zibambele workers’ in taking up the skills and resources provided by the programme?
3. What type of livelihood practices do Zibambele workers’ engage in?
4. How do Zibambele workers’ reconcile Zibambele activities with daily/other survival activities?
5. How does the Zibambele programme support the livelihood activities of workers’ or the livelihood activities workers’ would like to engage in?
6. How do the KZN DoT officials perceive livelihood activities of workers’ in contributing to poverty alleviation?
7. Are Zibambele workers’ needs, voices and capabilities taken into account in the Zibambele programme?

The key questions were developed through drawing on the different concepts that structure the livelihood approach. For example, questions were developed through taking into account the vulnerabilities workers faced outside the Zibambele programme, the strategies workers employed in meeting their livelihood needs, the livelihood outcomes of workers and the support provided by the KZN DoT to workers in alleviating their poverty. The development of the key questions were guided by the holistic, people-centred and flexible nature of the livelihood approach to construct an understanding of the Zibambele poverty alleviation programme.

2 Background and context

2.1 Introduction

This study was informed by the principles of the Zibambebe programme, which are marketed and promoted by the KZN DoT. The rural Vulindlela area provided a context to interpret the significance of the Zibambebe programme in reducing poverty of Zibambebe workers’.

2.2 Zibambebe Programme

‘Zibambebe’ means doing it for ourselves. It is a Zulu name given to the adaptation of the Kenyan Lengthman Contract System that contracts a household living alongside the road to maintain a section of road between five hundred and eight hundred metres in length. Zibambebe is a form of routine road maintenance, using labour-intensive methods. The KZN DoT (2002) outlines the responsibilities of a Zibambebe household as follows:

- Maintain the road drainage system
- Ensure good roadside visibility
- Maintain the road surface in good condition
- Clear the road verges of litter and noxious weeds

The Zibambebe programme was first tabled at the October 1998 Job Summit, as part of the Road to Wealth and Job Creation Initiative. Zibambebe emerged as a plan to create extensive job and other income-generating opportunities, while simultaneously addressing the apartheid legacy of inadequate mobility for rural communities. The initiative was adopted by the Job Summit, as one that could place rural economies on a labour-absorptive growth path (KZN-DoT, 2004).

The Zibambebe programme was conceptualized and implemented by the KZN DoT in 2000. The aim of the programme, as stated by the KZN DoT (2002), is the “Creation of

sustainable job opportunities for rural poor families through the maintenance of rural roads”.

The Zibambele programme has been acknowledged and accredited nationally. The Zibambele programme won the Impumelelo Award in 2002. Impumelelo is an award that rewards innovations in government and public-private partnerships that reduce poverty and address key developmental issues of national concern. Zibambele was cited by President Thabo Mbeki (2003) and the Minister of Finance, Mr. Trevor Manuel (2003), as best practices. The Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) has also adopted Zibambele as best practice.

The main objectives of the Zibambele programme, as outlined by the KZN DoT (2002), are to:

- Maintain the province’s rural road network,
- Provide destitute households with regular income,
- Put the long-term unemployed to work,
- Promote gender affirmative opportunities and
- Improve the life chances of Zibambele households through access and training, better nutrition, identity documents, banking facilities, human dignity and further economic activities.

The KZN DoT, in a publicity brochure (2002), explained how the Zibambele System Works:

- Instead of appointing an individual, Zibambele appoints a household. This ensures that the household does not rely on a person for continuity of the contract. The job specifications of workers’ are outlined in Zibambele contracts. For example, Zibambele workers’ are required to work sixty hours per month. The contract is awarded for twelve months and renewed annually to last as long as the road is of value to the community. Contacts are targeted at the poorest of the poor in the community. Women-headed households are targeted because they make up the majority of the poorest families in rural areas.

- Work opportunities are created at the lowest level of the market- place. Zibambele workers' are given a wheelbarrow, pick, shovel, machete and slasher by the KZN DoT. The programme encourages workers' to utilize equipment issued to pursue agricultural and building activities, to increase their household incomes.
- Zibambele workers' are provided with technical skills training to maintain roads, as well as life-skills training to support their other income and livelihood activities.
- Zibambele households are provided with support services such as assisting workers' to obtain identity documents, open bank accounts, organize themselves collectively into savings clubs and help workers' to invest their collective savings in other income-generating activities.

The KZN DoT (2004) described the savings club and life-skills initiative as the social component of the Zibambele programme. The KZN DoT (2004) identifies the main objective of the savings club initiative as an attempt to encourage workers' to save a portion of their earnings. The KZN DoT promotes a culture of saving among the poor through the savings club initiative. Workers' are asked to organize themselves into savings club groups consisting of twenty to forty workers'. Workers' are encouraged to save a minimum amount of twenty rand per month in their savings club. Outside consultants are contracted by the KZN DoT to visit savings groups once a month and advise workers' on how to administer and manage their savings.

The KZN DoT (2004) cites the Masibumbane Zibambele savings club, situated in the Mbumbulu area outside Durban, as an example of a savings club initiative. In 2002 the Masibumbane savings club purchased a marquee and chairs, which they rented out to the community. The club employed youth from the community to assist the savings club initiative, promoting employment opportunities in the area.

The Zibambele programme envisages that savings clubs could be linked to other government departments in providing institutional support to workers'. "The Department of Transport is working closely with the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Agriculture and

Environmental Affairs to centralize Zibambe households and savings clubs within a new dispensation for agriculture and development” (Mlawu, 2006: 33-41). The partnership with the department focuses on improving Zibambe household food security and expose workers’ to new agricultural opportunities, such as the Juncao mushroom project.

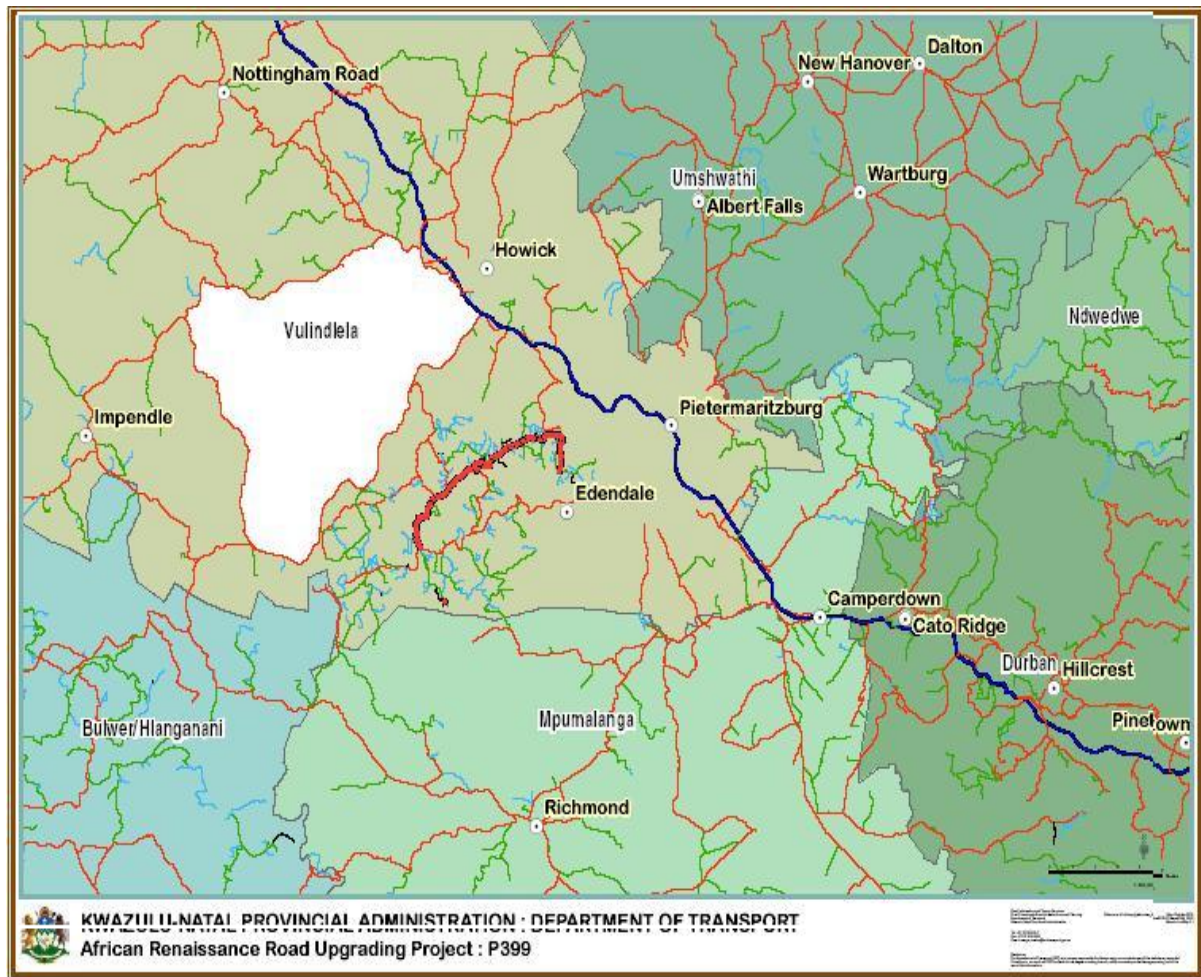
The Juncao mushroom project has been identified for its ability to create viable new livelihood opportunities for Zibambe households and to provide an exit strategy for Zibambe workers’ from their road maintenance contracts. Juncao technology involves the production of edible and medicinal mushrooms on agricultural waste and grass. Mlawu (2006: 33-41) provides support for the mushroom project citing the use of Juncao technology in mushroom farming as a major pillar in China’s anti-poverty programme. The Juncao mushroom project aims to create wealth by increasing rural incomes and creating more job opportunities. The mushroom project has been piloted at KwaDindi (near Pietermaritzburg), with twenty Zibambe workers’. In the pilot project Mlawu (2006: 33-41) found that Zibambe mushroom farmers benefited through participation. Mlawu (2006: 33-41) reported that in the first six months of the project Zibambe workers’ collectively earned R20 668, 55. Zibambe workers’ in the Vulindlela area have also adopted the mushroom project.

The KZN DoT (2004) highlights the objective of the life-skills programme as a training initiative to help Zibambe workers’ plan routes out of poverty. The life-skills training programme is meant to provide Zibambe workers’ with the opportunity to develop skills to manage personal and social issues, such as HIV/AIDS, literacy and poverty (KZN-DoT, 2004). The KZN DoT (2004) envisions that the skills gained from life-skills training will allow Zibambe workers’ to organize themselves collectively and build on other productive income-generating activities. The KZN DoT employs outside consultants to provide life-skills training to Zibambe workers’ (KZN DoT, 2004).

2.3 The Vulindlela area

According to the Msunduzi municipality (2005), Vulindlela is the largest rural settlement in the Pietermaritzburg region. The Vulindlela area was previously known as Zwartkop Native Location and was one of the first locations in Natal to be set aside for black residents by British Colonialists (The Msunduzi Municipality, 2005). Vulindlela is situated to the immediate south-west of the city of Pietermaritzburg (Fig. 1). Vulindlela is a large geographic area of approximately two hundred and sixty square kilometers. The Vulindlela area is divided into nineteen wards, which are administered by three chiefs and several izinduna (headmen).

Figure1: Map of the Vulindlela area



The present population of the Vulindlela area is estimated at 223 706 people, consisting of predominantly African isiZulu-speaking people (Statistics SA, 1996). The majority of residential dwelling types in Vulindlela are rondawel structures. The number of residents living in each household varies from two to ten or more people. However, there are a scattered number of square dwellings in the Vulindlela area (Picture 2), as well as a combination of the two (Picture 1).

In general, working residents in Vulindlela are over twenty years of age, with most possessing a secondary level of education (Statistics SA, 1996 & 2001). Levels of unemployment among residents of Vulindlela are high (Statistics SA, 2001) as there are limited employment opportunities in the agriculture and forestry sector (Burgess, 1998: 313). Other related service sector fields in which residents of Vulindlela work are the recent infrastructure development programmes such as the African Renaissance Roads Upgrading Programme (ARRUP) and the Zibambele programme. There are a limited number of residents that work outside the Vulindlela area. Although there is little information available about the types of employment residents of Vulindlela hold outside the Vulindlela area, the Msunduzi Municipality (2005) stated that Vulindlela residents are seriously affected by low incomes, which affects their ability to pay for basic services such as electricity and refuse disposal. Residents in Vulindlela rely largely on non-motorized modes of transport such as walking, bicycles and animal-driven carts to move within the Vulindlela area. Among Vulindlela residents, vehicle ownership is low and access to motorized transport often difficult and unaffordable. Residents of Vulindlela use outside sources of transport, such as buses and mini-bus taxies to travel to Pietermaritzburg and surrounding areas.

The Vulindlela landscape is a natural resource base, which residents rely on, such as wood for firewood and construction, mud for bricks, thatching grass for roofs, water from springs, wild plants for food and medicinal use and pastures for grazing. Residents in the Vulindlela area are currently faced with the problem of limited access to the natural resource supply because land is being converted to residential areas (The Msunduzi Municipality, 2005).

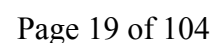


Picture 1: Photograph of a Vulindlela household



Picture 2: Photograph of a Vulindlela landscape

Figure 2: ARRUP - Road P399



According to The Msunduzi Municipality (2005), social problems that residents of Vulindlela face include crime, rape and child abuse. HIV/AIDS is a threat to the residents of Vulindlela. The Greater Pietermaritzburg Research Project (GPRP) has identified Vulindlela as an area where the impact of AIDS is most severely felt within the Greater Pietermaritzburg Region (GPRP, 1995:157). Cullinan (2007) states that before the 2007 establishment of the CAPRISA treatment centre in Vulindlela, residents had to travel approximately forty kilometres to hospitals in Pietermaritzburg for HIV treatment and general healthcare. Cullinan (2007) reported that most people could not afford the taxi fares for HIV/AIDS treatment in Pietermaritzburg. According to the National Household Survey (2005), the HIV prevalence rate in the Vulindlela area was close to 40%.

The Vulindlela area reflects many of the difficulties that people face in rural areas. Residents in the Vulindlela area have to travel approximately forty kilometres to Pietermaritzburg to access services. Trips to Pietermaritzburg are usually made using public transport services, which are costly to residents of Vulindlela. Households in Vulindlela consist of large numbers of dwellers per household. Households in the Vulindlela area struggle to meet their basic needs due to limited financial and natural resources.

3 Literature review

3.1 Introduction

This review argues for the use of the livelihood approach to understand rural transport poverty alleviation initiatives. Past development narratives are used to locate the emergence and significance of the livelihoods approach. The contemporary livelihoods approach reveals a shift in development thinking by integrating ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ approaches to address poverty alleviation. A discussion of the livelihood approach with associated livelihood framework highlights a holistic and people-centred and flexible approach to address rural poverty. Livelihood concepts, such as structural conditions, institutional structures and processes, livelihood strategies and capabilities of the poor are drawn on to understand the rural poverty alleviation. This review specifically draws on the relationship between institutional structures (the KZN DoT) and the poor (Zibambebe workers’) to address poverty alleviation. The livelihood approach is used to navigate between the strengths and weaknesses of institutional structures and processes and capabilities of the rural poor to address poverty alleviation. The focus takes into consideration the multi-dimensional nature of poverty, which is used to reflect on an approach that should be considered in implementing rural transport poverty alleviation programmes.

3.2 Zibambebe programme

Mlawu (1994), an architect of the Zibambebe programme, described the Zibambebe programme as a social development programme through which the rural road network in KZN is maintained. According to the KZN DoT (2004), the social development component of the programme aims to reduce rural poverty through the provision of employment, skills and resources to Zibambebe workers’. Mlawu (1994) outlined the basic goals of the Zibambebe programme:

- Provide an environment for skills transfer: technical skills, life-skills and organizational skills.
- Provide collective organization through credit unions to assist the poor to invest savings and in other productive activities.
- Stabilize poverty in the short-term, but also break poverty cycles in the medium and long-term.

The Zibambele programme's poverty alleviation goals identified by (Mlawu, 1994) indicate a strategy to provide Zibambele workers' with skills and resources to map their own routes out of poverty. The goals of the programme suggested to the researcher that KZN DoT adopted a social approach to poverty alleviation. The World Bank (2005) reported a working definition of social development as the process of increasing:

- The assets and capabilities of individuals to improve their well-being;
- The capacity of social groups to act in their own interests by transforming their relationships with other groups, participating in the development process and
- The ability of society to reconcile the interests of its constituent elements, govern itself peacefully and manage change.

Social development reflects an engagement at multiple levels with individuals, institutions and social groups. The Zibambele programme is a forum that allows for the interaction between the KZN DoT and Zibambele workers' to address poverty alleviation together. This supports the social development approach promoted by the programme.

A number of external evaluations have been conducted to investigate the effectiveness of the Zibambele programme. In 2002, the Southern African Labour and Development Research Unit at Cape Town University was contracted by the KZN DoT to conduct an impact analysis and cost-effectiveness study of the Zibambele programme. The above relationship supported the finding of the study from the perspective of the KZN DoT. The study found that the programme offered a highly cost-effective public works model, creating employment and transfer of resources to participants. In 2001/2, 95% of a R76 million budget was spent on workers' wages (McCord, 2002: 63-64). The study found

that the Zibambebe programme's performance compared favourably with other poverty alleviation programmes, locally and internationally; "the Zibambebe model appears to be cost comparable with conventional capital-intensive methods for road maintenance" (McCord, 2002: 73-74). Despite the above McCord (2002: 77-78) suggest that the effectiveness of poverty alleviation in the Zibambebe programme still needed to be determined.

Strebel (2004) conducted a case study of the Zibambebe programme with the goal of reviewing the partnerships between government departments and communities in contributing to a sustained impact on the lives of rural citizens. Strebel (2004:1) questioned the appropriateness of the Zibambebe programme being implemented solely by the KZN DoT. Strebel (2004: 5) suggested that the KZN DoT is a department that possesses technical skills and expertise based on mobility and infrastructure but possesses limited skill and expertise to address a social issue such as poverty alleviation. The same author found that the Zibambebe programme placed a demand on the KZN DoT's resources for effective and efficient management on the poverty alleviation programme. Strebel (2004: 6) suggested that in order to increase the general well-being of Zibambebe workers', private sector and civil society agencies needed to collaborate with the KZN DoT to address poverty alleviation. Another problem identified by Strebel (2004: 6) was the need for a targeted approach to the implementation of the Zibambebe programme. Strebel's (2004: 6) study found that Zibambebe managers were overly concerned with developing programme goals without a clear plan of how to achieve these goals. Lastly, Strebel (2004: 7) revealed that no benchmark community surveys were carried out prior to the onset of the Zibambebe programme. This meant that the impact of the programme could not be accurately measured.

The studies conducted by McCord (2002) and Strebel (2004) suggest that the Zibambebe programme lacks a clear strategy to address rural poverty and does not possess a reliable way of evaluating its poverty alleviation. In order to identify and understand the approach adopted by the Zibambebe poverty alleviation programme, approaches to rural poverty alleviation are examined next.

3.3 Locating the livelihood approach among changing development narratives

The alleviation of rural poverty has been a major concern of states and donor agencies for decades. This section explores the livelihood approach in changing development narratives over the last fifty years. Although all development narratives cannot comprehensively be summed here, time lines provide a background to the development of the livelihood approach.

In the 1950s and 1960s the modernisation paradigm gained prominence as the capitalist bloc emphasized benefits of economic policies driven by the state. Development was something done by the state for the people (Satge, 2004: 2). Development planning and applications driven by the state was based on external knowledge and technologies (Ellis and Biggs, 2001: 437-440). Development led by the state resulted in ‘top-down’ or blueprint approaches to development (Ellis and Biggs, 2001: 437-440). The modernisation paradigm was criticized for attempting to modernise the developing world based on development plans used in the developed world. Satge (2004:2) describes modernisation development rationale as ‘one size fits all technical assistance’. Modernisation thinking saw development planners paying little attention to how people lived and what their priorities were, which further contributed to the marginalisation of the poor (Lewis, 1954, cited in Ellis and Biggs, 2001: 440).

The 1970s were characterized by national liberation struggles that aimed to promote local social conditions. Marxist theoretical frameworks emphasized social differentiation and class struggle in development (Satge, 2004: 2). This challenged modernisation as mainstream development thinking. Marxist development approaches represented alternative approaches to development by bringing a focus on the ideas of basic needs and redistribution with growth (Ellis and Biggs, 2001: 440). Marxist frameworks on development shaped a focus on trying to improve both management of development projects and integration between initiatives in different sectors, such as health, education, infrastructure and job creation (Thomas, 2000: 190-198) This gave rise to integrated rural development projects, which favoured multi-sectoral planning and local area co-

ordination (Satge, 2004:2). However, the integrated approach proved to be difficult and expensive to implement, and impossible to sustain (Satge, 2004: 2). According to Ellis and Biggs (2001: 440), the integrated rural development approach failed because it was over-ambitiously applied to large-scale, long-term projects and still reflected institutional dominance.

According to Satge (2004: 2) the 1980s represented a lost decade for development as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) introduced structural adjustment policies to promote market liberalization and globalization of the world economy. Structural adjustment policies aimed to reduce public spending by removing state subsidies, for example, on food and education (Satge, 2004: 2). However, structural adjustment policies focused primarily on economic development at the global level and ignored local development issues, such as rural poverty and gender development (Satge, 2004: 2).

In the 1990's increased attention was focused on people's capabilities and voices to be integrated into the development process. The World Bank promoted 'bottom-up' approaches to development to allow for broader, multi-sectoral and diversified livelihood strategies of the poor to be acknowledged (Satge, 2002: 3). Participatory approaches for rural development emerged. Participatory approaches aimed to include rural people in developmental planning and implementation by drawing on the agency of rural people, that is, the capabilities of people to change their lives through individual and collective action (Ellis and Biggs, 2001: 440). Participatory approaches were criticized for over-emphasizing the local people's voices and capabilities without recognizing the impact of structural conditions on the poor, for example, the impact of floods and political tensions (Ellis and Biggs, 2001: 440).

The contemporary period of development acknowledges that the development environment is no longer characterised by simple dichotomies between 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' approaches to development. The 1995 Social Summit in Copenhagen saw governments, donors and agencies coming together to address the crippling effect of poverty. The current emphasis on poverty has led to a greater focus on understanding

poverty. The multi-dimensional nature of poverty and multi-dimensional approaches to address poverty was recognized. Dreze and Sen (1989: 268-270) had contrasted growth-mediated, 'top-down' and support-led, 'bottom-up' security in poverty reduction strategies. From the view of ten developing countries they concluded that the key to poverty reduction was combining economic and social provisioning. Dreze and Sen (1989: 268-270) felt that either approach on its own was insufficient. According to Dreze and Sen (1989: 268-270) human development had to be strengthened first, so that economic growth could result in equitable and sustainable development of the poor. This implied a balance between 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' approaches for effective poverty alleviation.

The current emphasis on poverty alleviation led to a renewed focus on the poor in rural areas, as 70% of the world's poor live in rural areas (Carney, 1999: 1). Rural development to alleviate poverty focused on recourses, such as forests and agricultural land or on institutional resource provision (Carney, 1999:1). The above approach merely focused on the activities of the rural poor, while inadequate attention was given to the complexity of rural livelihoods and the multiple dimensions of rural poverty (Carney, 1999: 2). For example, rural poverty reduction focused on just one aspect of household activity, such as agricultural activity, ignoring multiple livelihood activities the poor rely on.

The livelihoods approach emerged as an attempt to work with people, supporting them to build upon their own strengths and realize their potential, while at the same time acknowledging the effects of policies, institutions, external shocks and stresses (Carney, 1999, 1). The livelihood approach widened the scope of rural development activity by providing a holistic and people-centred approach to poverty alleviation that represented a middle ground between 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' approaches to rural development.

3.4 Livelihoods approach

Krantz (2001:10) criticizes conventional approaches to poverty alleviation, as they narrowly focus on low income while neglecting other aspects of poverty, such as vulnerability and social exclusion. Krantz (2001: 10) argues that the sustainable livelihood concept offers a holistic approach to poverty, as it takes into consideration poor people's ability to make a living in an economically, ecologically and a socially sustainable manner.

There are two broad approaches to defining livelihoods. Shackelton, Shackleton and Cousins (2000: 3) identify one view as an economic focus on production, employment and household income. The second, as uniting concepts of economic development, reducing vulnerability and incorporating principles of environmental sustainability, while building on the strengths of the poor. The latter extends to the assessment of poverty alleviation programmes.

The livelihood concept has its origins in earlier development theory and research, such as integrated rural development planning, food security initiatives, rapid rural appraisal, participatory rural appraisal and new understandings of poverty and well-being (Satge, 2002: 3). One significant limitation of past development approaches was that they assumed there was no diversification between rural households, that is, rural households had a singular way of making a living (Satge, 2002: 3). This assumption was based on development agencies only focusing on narrow, sectoral, production-orientated strategies, neglecting multiple economic strategies of poor households (Turner, 1998). The livelihood approach emerged to provide an understanding of peoples livelihoods and the different elements they combine.

The livelihood approach represents a conceptual framework for understanding the different elements that contribute to people's livelihood strategies. Livelihood frameworks have emerged to understand how forces outside the household or community affect people, such as poverty, governance, local economic development, gender relations and natural resource management (Satge, 2002; 59). Livelihood frameworks have

developed though the different conceptualizations of what constitutes a livelihood. Different practitioners present these conceptualizations as definitions of livelihoods. In the early 1990s Chambers and Conway built on participatory research practices and ideas in developing the livelihood approach. Chambers and Conway (1992: 7-8) proposed the following definition of a sustainable livelihood that underpins all livelihood frameworks currently being used:

“A livelihood comprises 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 and enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long-term”.

The above definition focused on material resources, capabilities and economic sustainability but excluded the impact of an ecological dimension of livelihoods. The UK Department of International Development (DFID) modified the Chamber and Conway (1992) definition in 1999 to include an ecological dimension. The DFID definition is more widely used:

“A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from shocks and stresses and maintain and enhance its capabilities and assets, both now and in the future, whilst not undermining the natural resource base” (Carney, 1999: 4).

The DFID definition highlighted capital assets (the common property and individually owned resources that the poor can draw on for their livelihoods) and structural conditions (conditions that are fixed in the medium to long-term, such as physical, economic and political environment in which people work and live). Other definitions of livelihoods have emerged to focus on how structural conditions and institutional conditions that

govern people's use assets in their livelihood strategies, such as the definition that follows:

“People's capacity to generate and maintain their means of living, enhance their well-being and that of future generations. These capacities are contingent upon the availability and accessibility of options which are ecological, economic and political and which are predicated on equity, ownership of resources and participatory decision-making” (Titi & Singh, 1994: 31).

The above definition is people-centred. It advocates that development policy and practice should flow from the understanding of the poor and their livelihood strategies. The above definition links people's livelihood activities and the options presented to them by institutions and structural conditions, for example, the poor acquiring skills and resources that institutions offer to pursue other livelihood activities. The institutional conditions are dependant on structural conditions such as political policies that allow people to participate in development activities.

The above conceptualizations of livelihoods have contributed to different livelihood frameworks used by practitioners. Although different livelihood frameworks have emerged, Satge (2002: 4) concludes that all livelihood frameworks help to:

- identify (and value) what people are already doing to cope with risk and uncertainty;
- make the connection between factors that constrain or enhance people's livelihoods and policies and institutions in the wider environment and
- identify measures that can strengthen assets, enhance capabilities and reduce vulnerability.

This study adopts the sustainable livelihood framework developed by Neefjes (2000: 83) illustrated in figure 3.

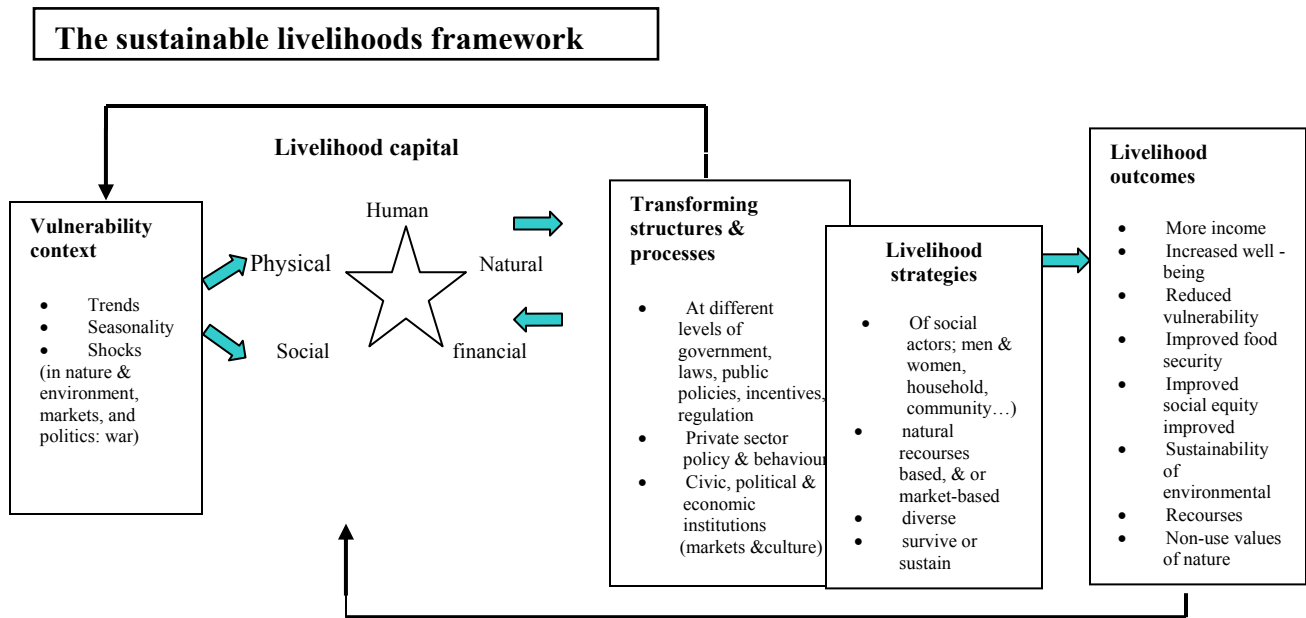


Figure 3: The sustainable livelihood framework (Neefjes, 2000: 83)

This framework is relevant to the current study, as it attempts to show how different elements interrelate and influence each other, for example the relationship between institutions and peoples livelihood strategies. This study aimed to show the relationship between Zibambele workers' and KZN DoT in alleviating rural poverty. Other frameworks such as the Oxfam's right based framework or the United Nations Development Programme's entitlement and asset-based framework were less applicable to this study.

Neefjes (2000:83) begins the illustration with how people operate within a vulnerability context. Trends, seasonality and shocks in nature, environment, markets and politics contribute to the vulnerability of people. According to de Hann (2000: 14), the vulnerability context is composed of shocks and stresses people have to cope with in their livelihood struggles. Shocks are violent and come unexpectedly. Stresses are less violent but can last longer. Shocks and stresses have an impact on one or more of the livelihood capitals'. Environmental shocks include floods or earthquakes, while drought is an example of an environmental stress. Economic shocks and stresses have to do with a rise

or drop in producer or consumer goods. Other economic variables, such as exchange rates, inflation and interest rates may create economic stresses. The impact of HIV/AIDS may act as a shock, in terms of loss of family members, and a stress, in terms of taking care of sick family members. A further source of shocks and stresses are politics, violence and discrimination. Those households with the smallest ability to adapt are most at risk (Turner *et al.*, 2003: 8074-8079). Shocks and stresses can be managed if people understand the source of threats they face (Turner *et al.*, 2003: 8074-8079). The vulnerability concept allows developmental structures and organizations to acknowledge factors that impact on the livelihood activities of people and allow rural agents the opportunity to manage their stresses and shocks in their livelihood struggles.

Next, Neefjes (2000: 103) illustrates the different types of livelihood capital:

- **Human Capital** – ability to labour, as well as skills, experience, knowledge, creativity and inventiveness.
- **Social Capital** – refers to inclusion in social groups or networks within which relationships of mutual trust, reciprocity and exchange exist and where common understandings, rules and norms on how to act collectively develop.
- **Physical Capital** – consists of basic infrastructure and producer goods such as transport, shelter, water, energy and communications.
- **Financial Capital** – includes cash, pensions, remittances and access to credit or access to liquid assets such as livestock.
- **Natural Capital** – refers to resources such as land, water, wildlife, bio-diversity and to environmental resources.

Livelihood capital identified above illustrates the assets and capabilities households engage in to meet their livelihood objectives. Household livelihood security is often influenced by the ability of the household to diversify its livelihood sources, for example, Zibambele workers' using their social groups, within which relationships of mutual trust, reciprocity and exchange exist and where common understandings, rules and norms on how to act collectively, to establish Zibambele savings clubs. Neefjes

(2000: 103) argues that livelihood forms of capital hold less significance if looked at individually. Rather livelihood capital needs to be viewed in terms of reinforcing one another to support diversification of livelihood strategies. For example, Zibambele workers' use Zibambele incomes, their financial capital, to collectively save using their social capital (savings club network).

Livelihood capital above, are influenced by the following concepts, illustrated in the Neefjes (2000:83) framework, namely the vulnerability context, transforming structures and processes, livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes (refer to Figure 3).

The transforming structures and processes include organizations, policies, legislation, customary laws and social norms. These factors can mediate the impacts of people's vulnerability context and influence people's access to assets. Institutional factors thus determine which livelihood strategies are open and attractive (Carney, 1999: 2).

Transforming structures and processes operate at various levels of society, from village and family levels up to the level of national and international political and market institutions.

Livelihood strategies refer to the combination of livelihood capital people use to make a living. Ellis (1998: 4-5) states that livelihood strategies tend to be very diverse. Apart from subsistence farming activities, people rely on wage work, commerce, and trade and remittances. Satge (2002: 11) defines livelihood diversification as "A household's attempt to reduce its vulnerability by having more than one livelihood activity. In a diversified household, if one productive activity does not provide enough, or fails completely, there are other sources of livelihood that the household can fall back on". Ellis (1998: 17-19) values diversification, as it makes livelihoods more secure, reduces the adverse impacts of seasonality and helps free poor rural households from the poverty trap.

Livelihood outcomes result from livelihood strategies. These outcomes refer to changes for the better or worse concerning things such as income, food security and sustainable resource use. "Positive outcomes include increased well-being, more income, greater

equity, improved food and water security and more sustainable use of the natural resource base. Negative livelihood outcomes include diminished well-being, less income, greater inequality, diminished food and water security and unsustainable use of the natural resource base” (Satge, 2002: 60). Engagement in sustainable strategies is likely to generate desirable livelihood outcomes, which will have a positive impact on individuals, households or social groups.

Krantz (2001: 1) argues that there is no unified method of applying the livelihood approach, rather the application of the livelihood approach depends on the use of the concept to identify the livelihoods of people or an analytical framework (tool) for programme planning and assessment or as a development programme in itself. Krantz (2001: 10-11) identifies three basic features in applying the livelihood approach. The first is the application of the livelihood approach should be people- centred, that is, an understanding of the poor and their livelihood strategies. The second application requirement is a holistic approach that rejects sector specific entry points, for example, only considering economic factors. Finally, the poor need to be involved in both the identification and implementation of strategies, where appropriate.

Satge (2000: 15-16) outlines the main principles of the livelihood approach as an analytical tool:

- The livelihood approach is holistic, as it allows for broader view of the developmental process. The livelihood approach allows for the identification of factors inside and outside households that have beneficial or negative impacts on livelihoods. Based on an analysis of livelihood activities, one can select specific, focused interventions, while understanding how these relate to other issues that are not being addressed.
- The livelihood framework is useful as it takes into consideration the limitations of sector specific institutions, such as transport or health. These limitations are used to identify opportunities for other organizations, possibly with different sectoral

focuses, to work together in co-operation or partnership to increase the impact of developmental interventions.

- The livelihood approach is flexible, allowing for relationships to be assessed across the different concepts in the livelihood framework, for example livelihood outcomes compared to institutional processes and livelihood strategies. This allows for the recognition of gaps between developmental policies and planning and real life practices.

The livelihood approach is not without criticism. Budlender & Dube (1998 cited in Satge, 2002: 20) caution that the danger with emphasis on assets and capabilities in livelihood frameworks is that constraints are underplayed. In the worst case, it can result in an argument that the poor are 'richer' than they seem and participation on the part of the state is less urgent.

Budlender & Dube (1998 cited in Satge, 2002: 20) state "an emphasis on assets and capabilities goes hand in hand with a romanticism that idealizes the poor by listening uncritically". In some cases, the strategies of the poor are appropriate. In others they are based on beliefs, values and traditions, which result in unsustainable practices. Blunder and Dube thus show culture as a structural constraint to development that needs to be critically assessed.

There are concerns about the politics of livelihood enquiry and the use of the livelihood framework. Turner (1998) states that, in theory, livelihood enquiries are supposed to be healthy because they are participatory in nature. However, in practice they can create expectations for the people in a project. This can lead to project failure and can be related to the idea of 'rising expectations'. Newman (2008: 459) explains the idea of rising expectations in the following way: "small improvements in living conditions show those who are deprived that their society is capable of being different, rising their expectations and sparking a desire for large-scale change". This suggests that although deprived as people concerned may actually be somewhat better off than in the past, their situation relative to their expectations now appears much worse. According to Newman (2008:

459) rising expectations of the deprived can result in frustrations and anger for more improvement.

Scoones (1998: 10-11) points out that “to understand the complex and differentiated processes through which livelihoods are constructed, it is insufficient to merely analyze people’s different livelihood strategies. Emphasises on institutional processes and structures must be analyzed in conjunction with how people construct their livelihoods”. Scoones (1998:12 -13) supports the use of livelihoods analysis, to take cognisance of institutional commitment to local people and their knowledge, perceptions and interests.

3.5 Institutional interests

The KZN DoT is responsible for the implementation of the Zibambele programme. The Zibambele programme emerged as a response to the legislative and policy framework (The National Land Transport Strategy and National Land Transport Transition Act 22 of 2000) that addresses rural transport development. The legislative and policy framework directed the Zibambele poverty alleviation programme to focus on

- Facilitating trade;
- Improving access to jobs, education, healthcare and other services;
- Enhancing incomes and economic well-being;
- Increasing personal mobility and facilitating economic growth; and
- Reducing poverty and contributing towards social development.

The legislative and policy framework does not set out a specific approach for transport to alleviate poverty. The KZN DoT (2002) states that the Zibambele programme provides incomes and technical skills to achieve economic well-being of workers’, while supporting the Zibambele savings club initiative of workers’ and providing life-skills training to workers’ to promote social development of workers’. This study aims to explore how different components of the Zibambele programme come together to alleviate the poverty of workers’. This study attempts to use the livelihood approach to

identify the approach or approaches pursued on the ground by KZN DoT to alleviate workers' poverty.

The livelihoods approach allows for a focus on institutional structures and processes, such as the commitment and capacity of institutions to implement poverty alleviation programmes. Transport institutions possess skills and capacity that focus primarily on infrastructure and mobility and may require additional support to implement poverty alleviation programmes. Long (1977: 182) states that “a major difficulty in identifying the precise socio-economic objectives of policies is that governments do not indicate the exact priorities for the goals they set and seldom spell out clearly, without ambiguities, the challenges they intend to face”. The statement above by Long (1977: 182) highlights the need to take account of institutional limitations in developmental intervention. This study attempts to explore the commitment and capacity of the KZN DoT, as a transport institution to implement a rural poverty alleviation programme.

Commitment implies dedication or involvement to achieving an action/goal. Institutional commitment is required to strategically manage challenges presented by any programme. Institutional commitment to a programme can be identified through capacity building and constant monitoring. This implies that commitment is a continuous process of assessment through agreement or disagreement about what is being done, or should be done, to improve a programme. Institutional commitment to addressing poverty alleviation needs to reflect the process of implementation through resources, technical expertise and human capacity to intervene effectively (Long, 1977: 182-183).

Mearns (2003: 3) describes institutional capacity as the ability to achieve aims and objectives set out in an effective and efficient manner. This suggests that institutional capacity requires constant appraisal of the objective being met, to identify further actions to achieve the objectives that are not being met. Further, (Mearns, 2003: 3) advocates that institutional capacity needs to recognize that institutional power is not a simple one-way relationship, individuals and groups influence institutional goals. This suggests that institutions need to build capacity beyond technical expertise in social development

programmes so that the daily interactions of people can be defined, interpreted and modified or rejected in a programme.

3.6 The capabilities of the poor in alleviating poverty

Krantz (2001, 10-11) identifies three insights into poverty, which underpin the livelihood approach. The first is the realization that, while economic growth may be essential for poverty reduction, an automatic relationship cannot be assumed, since economic growth depends on the capabilities of the poor to take advantage of expanding economic opportunities. Secondly, poverty, as perceived by the poor themselves, is not just a question of low income, but includes other dimensions such as bad health, literacy and lack of social services, as well as a state of vulnerability and lack of powerlessness in general. Finally, the livelihood approach emphasizes participation, as the poor themselves often know their situation and needs best, and must be involved in the design of policies and projects intended to better their lot.

Understanding the needs of the poor indicates how the poor react to their deprivations. People respond to their deprivations in a material and symbolic realm. Narayan (1999) conducted a study for the World Bank, which revealed five distinctive characteristics of poverty, as defined by the rural poor:

- 1) Many factors converge to make poverty a complex, multidimensional phenomenon. Definitions of poverty and its causes vary according to gender, age, culture and other social and economic contexts.
- 2) Poverty is routinely defined as the lack of what is necessary for material well-being, especially food, but also housing, land and other assets. Poverty is the lack of multiple resources, leading to physical deprivation.
- 3) Poor people's definition of poverty reveals the importance of psychological aspects of poverty. Poor people are acutely aware of their lack of voice, power and

independence, which subjects them to exploitation. Poverty leaves the poor vulnerable to rudeness, humiliation and inhuman treatment, by both public and private agents. Poor people also speak about the pain brought about by their unavoidable violation of social norms and their inability to maintain cultural identity through participating in traditions, festivals and rituals. The inability of the poor to fully participate in community life leads to a breakdown in social relations.

- 4) The absence of basic infrastructure such as roads, transport, water and health facilities, emerged as critical. While literacy was seen as important, schooling receives mixed reviews, occasionally highly valued, but often irrelevant in the lives of poor people.
- 5) Finally, poor people focus on assets rather than income and link their lack of physical, human and social environmental assets to vulnerability and exposure to risk.

Narayan (1999: 39-42) showed that poverty is strongly associated with powerlessness, as the voices of the poor reflect little control over their social and economic processes. The livelihood approach is applicable to the way the poor perceive their poverty, as it takes into consideration of factors that affect the poor inside and outside of a developmental intervention. Johnson (1992: 274) stressed that the lives of the rural poor consist of innumerable daily activities that are adapted to alleviate hardship, from trying to secure food and earning income, to negotiating the distribution of resources within households. The livelihood approach recognizes the assets and capabilities of the poor and the combined use of these assets and capabilities generate livelihoods. Johnson (1992: 274) states that:

- The rural poor are conscious actors who are constantly adapting to circumstances and actively bringing about change and not just objects or targets of policy;
- The rural poor have their own kinds of knowledge and skills, which have been adapted to local conditions (typically ignored or underestimated by actors of development from above); and

- The social relations and cultural norms of rural societies or groups have their own validity. The job of ‘development agents’ is to understand the rural poor and to promote the importance of livelihoods in ways that respect local values and draw on local capacities.

3.7 Towards developing strategies to address rural poverty alleviation

The idea that the rural poor can act to improve their own livelihoods cannot be ignored, since the rural poor know what their problems are and possess the ability to seek rational solutions to them (Johnson, 1992: 274). This suggests that the poor are resourceful in meeting survival needs. However, what cannot be ignored is the inability of the poor to improve their lives to a significant extent. The power of the poor to increase well-being, capabilities, quality of life and social quality is limited by external constraints (Narayan, 1999: 42-44). Institutions, through resources and networks, are in a better position to equip and assist people in improving their lives. This requires careful negotiation of power between people and structures. It is important for institutions to understand people’s needs and capabilities and act to address these needs and enhance these capabilities.

Chambers (1997: 206) advocates that “people facilitating poverty alleviation programmes should be aware of the values, methods and behaviours of the poor. Participation and empowerment of the poor should be driven by a strategy that promotes the belief that “they can do it” and should take priority in any developmental programme”. This implies that empowerment allows people and institutions to reflect on their actions and improve on those actions. The Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) approach employed by Chambers (1997: 206) proved that rural people benefitted from empowerment techniques by being able to:

- Map, model, observe, list, estimate, rank, score, compare, diagram, interview, appraise and analyze their conditions;
- Plan and act;
- Monitor, evaluate and conduct their own research;

- Facilitate other PRA in other groups and communities; and
- Host and train others.

The skills above are meaningless unless they are utilised to yield empowerment-based outcomes. Empowerment-based outcomes allow for appraisal and analysis to acknowledge and strengthen the ability, talents and voices of the rural poor. It represents development from the bottom-up instead of top-down. The livelihood approach to poverty alleviation, a bottom-up approach, acknowledges the constraints faced by the poor and builds on the relationship between institutions and people to work together to alleviate these constraints.

In the livelihoods approach, vulnerability is viewed as a constraint faced by the poor. De Hann (2000: 15) identifies how people cope with, and adapt to, vulnerability. Coping mechanisms are short-term responses to secure livelihoods in periods of shocks and stresses and form part of the livelihood strategy undertaken. In response to stresses which are short-term, people find alternatives, but are often forced to return to old livelihoods due to structural constraints. Therefore people respond to stresses in terms of their individual behaviour and structural constraints. Shocks, on the other hand, become a permanent feature and coping mechanisms become permanent, too. Diversification is identified as a strategy for coping with both shocks and stresses.

Diversification is viewed as a survival strategy in the face of limited resources and access to resources. Livelihood diversification may be an important angle of poverty reduction (Ellis, 2000: 248-252), a strategy for risk mitigation (Turner *et al.*, 2003: 8074-8079), or a coping or survival strategy (Reardon, Berdegue and Escobar, 2001: 395-409).

Diversification of household livelihood activities is a strategy that allows rural actors to react to opportunities that emerge. Main livelihood activities can be maintained and used as a basis to pursue other income and supportive activities. The positive impacts of livelihood activities and income diversification can include reduced vulnerability and risk, seasonality, higher income, livelihood asset improvements, environmental and

gender benefits (Ellis, 1998: 29-30). The livelihood strategy becomes a product of interaction between choices and constraints (Start and Johnson, 2004).

3.8 Developing an approach to address poverty alleviation

Chambers (1997: 9) defines development in the context of poverty alleviation as “good change”. But what is good change and who decides what good change is? If development is defined by structures, the definition will support ‘top-down’ approaches to poverty alleviation. However, if rural agents define development then it will support ‘bottom-up’ approaches to development. Chambers (1997: 9-14) argues that neither approach on its own is sufficient to address rural poverty alleviation and recommends that the negotiated approach to poverty alleviation can be achieved through opening up dialogue between structures and agents. This suggests that approaches to poverty alleviation need to develop through definitions of poverty from structures and agents to allow for a targeted approach to poverty alleviation. The needs of the poor, as defined by the poor and the capabilities and capacity of structures to meeting those needs have to be considered.

However, Stzompka (1993: 217) argues that the following needs to be considered when developing a joint approach to poverty alleviation: agency is conditioned from above by structural constraints, such as resources and facilities provided by existing structures and from below by the abilities, talents, skills, knowledge and attitudes of people and the organizational form to which they belong. This implies that the constraints of structures and agents need to be taken into account, so that appropriate strategies can be developed to address these constraints. The importance of communication in the developing an approach to poverty alleviation is highlighted.

The arguments by Chambers (1997: 9-14) and Sztompka (1993: 217) imply that an approach to poverty alleviation requires continuous interaction between structures and agents’, as they have a mutually dependent relationship in any attempt to alleviate rural poverty.

The above relationship highlights the importance of a participatory approach to poverty alleviation. This is illustrated through the example of integrating life-skills into a poverty alleviation programme. Van Dyk (2008: 162) presents life-skills as a broader strategy to empower people with the necessary skills to make choices and improve the overall quality of their lives and argues that life-skills allow rural people to engage more fully with developmental resources and aid. According to van Dyk (2008: 162) developmental professionals should facilitate the following life-skills:

- Assertiveness;
- Self-efficiency (a strong belief in your ability to do something);
- A strong self-concept and self-awareness;
- A belief in the right to make your own choices;
- Ability to handle peer pressure;
- Taking responsibility of yourself and others in your community;
- Problem-solving skills;
- Conflict resolution;
- Effective communication skills (often programmes fail because people are advised how to do things but are not given guidance on how to communicate with peers on this issue); and
- Negotiation skills, which are vital in pursuing difficult persons to participate in ideas or strategies.

A life-skills programme based on the above criteria empowers agents' to engage with structures in the process of development. This strategy allows people to be committed to what they help develop and does not raise expectations that cannot be met from both people and institutions. Facilitation and provision of life-skills developed through this strategy can bridge the gap between 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' approaches to poverty alleviation.

3.9 Conclusion

Locating the livelihood approach in changing development narratives over the past fifty years is used to show ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ development approaches. Dreze and Sen (1989: 268-270) provide support for combining ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ approaches, as they proved to be insufficient on their own in addressing poverty.

The livelihoods approach is presented as an integrated development approach.

Krantz (2001: 10-11) supports the livelihood approach as a tool to understand development intervention due to the approach being people-centred and holistic. A people-centred approach allows for understanding the needs and capabilities of the poor through promoting participatory development and is holistic as the livelihood approach rejects sectoral entry points. For example, institutions basing development intervention on economic, political and technical assistance while not taking into consideration peoples needs and broader social and cultural environments.

Satge (2000: 16) and Neejees (2000: 83) support the flexibility of the livelihood approach through not focusing on a specific livelihood relationship but rather to integrate livelihood concepts to build relationships between concepts. This review has shown that through focusing on the relationship between institutional structures and process and capabilities of the poor other livelihood concepts can be integrated into a central relationship to provide a holistic understanding. For example, the vulnerabilities faced by the poor outside programme are integral to understanding the constraints of the poor and the livelihood outcomes present the diversification of strategies the poor rely on in meeting their livelihood needs. Although Scoones (1998: 10-13) identifies a limitation of the livelihood approach as focusing on a central relationship between livelihood concepts, this review has shown that the flexibility to integrate livelihood concepts the can overcome this limitation.

Turner (1998) considers the romanticism of the livelihood approach in contributing to rising expectations of the poor. Here the idea of ‘rising expectations’ contributes to unstable developmental intervention due to relative deprivation, that is what people expect to achieve and what they actually achieve (Newman, 2008: 459). Krantz (2001:10)

provides support to overcoming the rising expectations of people by promoting the people-centred and participatory principles of the livelihood approach. Johnson (1992: 274) and Chambers (1997: 9-14) promote participation of the poor through allowing people to take account of their needs and understand the limitations of achieving their needs strengthens developmental intervention by allowing people to map realistic pathways out of poverty.

Stzompka (1993: 217) and Chambers (1997: 9-14) suggest a collaboration and close working relationship between structures and agents to offset each other's weaknesses with each other's strengths through the choice to work together. The livelihood approach allowed for an exploration into the relationships between livelihood concepts to understand that a multi-dimensional approach is required to address the multi-dimensional nature of poverty.

4 Research methodology

4.1 Methodology

Hennings (2004: 3-4) stipulates that the decision to use a research method is dependent on the type of enquiry that the researcher intends to conduct. The livelihood approach was used in the current study to understand how the Zibambele programme addressed poverty alleviation. The livelihood approach was used to build on the relationships between Zibambele workers' (agents) and KZN DoT officials (institutional actors), who are responsible for implementing the Zibambele programme.

Satge (2002: 16) supports the use of the livelihood approach to build relationships between different actors in a developmental intervention. Krants (2001: 11) supports the use of the livelihood approach as a tool that allows for peoples experiences and voices to be taken into consideration and analyzed within the context of a programme.

Shackleton *et al* (2000: 37) argue for the use of qualitative approaches in conducting livelihood research. They state that qualitative research allows studies to be conducted through the views and experiences of people. The World Bank supports the use of qualitative research in understanding poverty from the perspective of the poor (Narayan, 1999: 13-16). The researcher chose the qualitative approach to conduct livelihood research due to the support presented above.

Qualitative research allows the researcher to explore relationships using textual, rather than quantitative data (Patton, 2002: 39). Research designs associated with qualitative research method are the case study, observation, and ethnography. Qualitative designs were developed to seek and understand phenomena in context-specific settings, such as "real world settings" (Patton, 2002: 39). According to Stenbacka (2001: 551), the use of the qualitative approach to 'generate understanding' contributes to the quality of the research through the researcher's close involvement in the data collection process. The hands-on ability of the researcher to use complimentary methods and use of scholarship contributes to validity of the research (Hennings, 2004: 37). The researcher was guided

by the methods of qualitative research and the livelihood approach to allow for understanding of how the Zibambele programme addressed poverty alleviation.

4.2 Research design

Flick (2000: 146) defines research design as “a plan for collecting and analyzing evidence that allows the investigator to answer whatever questions he or she has posed”. The current studies research questions were operationalised to explore how the Zibambele programme supported the experiences and voices of Zibambele workers’ in the Vulindlela area to alleviate rural poverty.

The researcher chose case study design based on the definition of a case study provided by Stake (1988: 255), who defines a case study as a ‘bounded system’. Hennings (2004: 32) describes a ‘bounded system’ as any entity:

- bounded by parameters showing a specific relevance and revealing information that can be captured within boundaries and
- a system that reflects the dynamics of interaction in an area, for example, experiences of Zibambele workers’ specifically in the Vulindlela area.

According to Stake’s (1988:255) definition, a case study as a ‘bounded system’ implies the object of the study and its boundaries are both material and conceptual. Material in the sense that the unit of analysis directs the boundaries, for example the Vulindlela area in which the Zibambele programme operates. Conceptual in the sense that a case study is not limited simply to describe the case but attempts to explore patterns, relationships and the object of the studies enquiry, for example, the relationship between Zibambele workers’ and the KZN DoT in the Vulindlela area to alleviate rural poverty.

Hennings (2004: 40) suggests that if a research study is specified as a qualitative study then qualitative methods should structure the case study design. For example, focus group interviews, in-depth interviews, observation, content analysis and grounded theory methods gain a detailed understanding of the situation and meaning involved in the case.

The above is supported by Merriam (1999: 18-19) who states that the use of case study methodology lies in the process rather than outcomes, in context rather than specific variables, in discovery rather than confirmation. This implies that case study designs allow for an exploration through description of how, where, when and why things happen. This extends the value of case studies beyond the boundedness of a unit of analysis. Merriam (1999: 19) states that choosing complimentary methods in case study research integrates the interaction between context and actions in which the study is carried out, contributing to rigor of the research.

The researcher guided by the above, chose focus group interviews to collect data from Zibambele workers' and officials and grounded theory was chosen to analyse data.

4.2.1 Sample

The researcher chose the Vulindlela area as a single case for this study. The Vulindlela area was chosen based on the premise that all eight Zibambele sites functioned under standard Zibambele programme goals and objectives. The Vulindlela area is a rural area in Kwa-Zulu Natal, South Africa. In South Africa, rural areas are hard to access due to being far removed from metropolitan areas. The researcher chose the Vulindlela area through convenience sampling, a non-probability sampling technique. Berg (2004: 34) states that non-probability sampling techniques offer the benefit of accessing sensitive or difficult-to-reach study populations. The Vulindlela area was the closest rural area to the researcher in which the Zibambele programme operated. The Vulindlela area allowed the researcher to make contact with Zibambele workers', for data collection, in a cost-effective and time-efficient manner. Furthermore, Zibambele workers' are a sensitive population, as they comprise of poor, single, female headed households in the Vulindlela community (KZN DoT, 2002).

The main sample population consisted of all forty-one Zibambele workers' who worked and resided in the Vulindlela area. This allowed all Zibambele workers' in Vulindlela the opportunity to participate in the study. The sample population can be described as African women between the ages of twenty and fifty years. The sample population was

stratified into two distinct groups; one group that was linked to a mushroom project by the KZN DoT and another group that was not linked to an income generating project by the KZN DoT.

Data was also collected from the KZN DoT officials who were responsible for the implementation of the Zibambele programme. These officials are referred to as key informants. Key informants consisted of Zibambele managers and regional co-ordinators. The key informants consisted of five people, four men and one woman. Two regional co-ordinators, a field manager and two managers from the Development Directorate participated in this study. One of the managers from the Development Directorate was a woman.

4.2.2 Data collection techniques

According to Powell and Single, (1996: 450) focus groups excel at providing detailed insights gleaned from a relatively small number of people. The sample population (Zibambele workers') consisted of only forty-one workers'. Unlike surveys that provide quantitative data that can be generalized to larger populations, focus groups aim to discuss specific and broader community responses from participants (Rubin and Rubin, 1995: 27). This was the most useful consideration for choosing the focus group method of data collection in this study.

Powell and Single (1996: 499) define a focus group as a group of individuals, selected and assembled by a researcher to discuss and comment on, from personal experiences, the topic that is the subject of the research. The above definition supported the researchers gathering of information from Zibambele workers' and officials so that a story of how poverty alleviation was addressed within the Zibambele programme could be narrated. Powell and Single (1996: 503) state that an advantage of using focus groups is that it allows participants of the group to clarify or expand upon their contributions to the discussion in light of the points raised by other participants, thus expanding on the contributions that may be left underdeveloped in an in-depth interview.

Planning for focus group sessions with Zibambele workers' was based on the information supplied by the KZN-DoT Development Directorate office. The researcher was informed that Zibambele workers' met once a month to hold savings club meetings. Workers' met in two groups on the same day. Workers' who were not linked to an income-generating project by DoT, meet in the morning. Workers', who were linked to the mushroom project by DoT, meet in the afternoon. The saving club meeting lasted for approximately two hours for each group. Workers' met in the Vulindlela hall, which was the property of the KZN DoT.

The above information allowed the researcher to plan for focus group sessions, with Zibambele workers', to be held on the same day that Zibambele workers' met for their monthly savings club meetings. The researcher planned five focus group sessions. Two focus group sessions with workers' after their morning savings club meeting and two focus group sessions with workers' from the afternoon savings group. A fifth focus group session was planned as a contingency focus group session to include workers' who could not attend the scheduled focus groups sessions but still wanted to participate. The fifth focus group session was planned for after the four scheduled focus groups were run.

The researcher requested the use of the training room in the Vulindlela hall. The researcher was informed that workers' did not use the training room for their savings club meetings and the training room was adequately fitted with utilities, such as furniture and electricity required for the focus group sessions. The venue was also chosen taking into consideration the researchers accessibility to workers', as workers' met at that venue on a monthly basis to hold their savings club meetings. An official from the DoT gave her permission to use the venue. The researcher was informed by a DoT official that the venue would be available and the janitor on site would open the venue for workers' who were meeting for their monthly savings clubs that morning.

The researcher planned for each focus group session to accommodate eight to ten participants per group and last for ninety minutes. Krueger (1998: 54-55) was of the opinion that six to ten participants per focus group allow for depth of responses from participants to the topic of the focus group interview. Powell and Single (1996: 499)

recommend focus group sessions last approximately ninety to hundred and twenty minutes, to allow for the maximum attention span of participants in a single sitting.

The inexperience of the researcher in planning for focus group sessions did not take into consideration that workers' who indicated their willingness to participate in the second and fourth focus group session had to wait to participate after focus group sessions one and three. Inadequate focus group planning by the researcher could have proved to be disrespectful of workers' other commitments for the day had workers' had to wait to participate. Further, planning five focus group sessions for a single day proved to be an ambitious task for a new researcher.

The researcher made available invitations to the KZN DoT Development Directorate office, to present to Zibambele workers'. Zibambele site officials delivered the invitations to Zibambele workers'. The invitation outlined the date, time and venue for focus group sessions. Zibambele site officials presented the invitation to workers' two weeks prior to the scheduled focus group date. Powell and Single (1996: 499) support informing participants ten to fourteen days in advance so that participants can avail themselves to participate.

On arrival to the site, the researcher discovered that the hall in which focus group sessions were to be carried out was locked. The researcher could not locate the janitor to unlock the venue. The morning savings club group of workers' decided to gather outside the venue and hold their savings club meeting. The researcher, faced with the problem of the not being able to access the venue, asked workers' after their morning savings club meeting for a solution to the problem.

The morning savings club group of workers' requested that the researcher conduct a single focus group session with them collectively, as they were seated outside the meeting hall. The moderator tried to explain to the morning savings group of workers' that they needed to be interviewed in smaller groups. The morning saving club group of workers' were persistent in their view to be interviewed collectively. Due to this request, and the inexperience of the researcher to responding to new circumstances on the ground,

the researcher allowed the morning savings club group of workers' to participate in a large group discussion.

By noon, the janitor could still not be located and the afternoon savings club group of workers' followed the morning savings club group seated themselves outside the meeting hall. After their savings club meeting, the group of workers' also requested that the researcher hold a single focus group session with them. Again, the moderator tried to explain to workers' belonging to the afternoon savings club group that that they needed to be interviewed in smaller groups. Workers' belonging to the afternoon saving club were persistent in their view to be interviewed collectively. The researcher allowed the afternoon savings club group of workers' to participate in a large group discussion.

As a result of the situations on the ground, two large group sessions were held, one session in the morning with workers' not linked to an income-generating project by the KZN DoT and another session in the afternoon with workers' who were linked to the mushroom project by the KZN DoT.

Not being able to implement planned focus group sessions due the chosen venue being inaccessible and the persistence of workers' to be interviewed collectively, limited the function of a focus group as an in-depth interview. According to Kreuger (1988: 50) the problem with large focus groups is that it can bias the results of the research due to dominant talkers in the group who over power the voices of other participants, not providing representatively of the whole group. In an attempt to overcome the problem of a few participants dominating the group discussion the researcher asked participants in large group sessions to discuss the questions posed by the moderator and researcher in smaller groups between two to three participants. The researcher requested that one member of the sub groups of participants presents their responses to the moderator. These responses were then open to the larger group discussion where any participant could respond. This method made the best of the situation, as it allowed shy workers' to contribute to the discussion through more confident participants, giving all participants the opportunity to contribute to the discussions.

The method was disadvantageous, as the researcher and moderator could not explore discussions between the sub groups of two to three participants, as well as posing time and probing constraints. As a result of the larger group size the data collection process was limited to the discussion responses presented by sub groups. This did not allow the researcher to capture the discussion in the subgroups through note taking and video recording, which could have enriched the data analysis.

Twenty workers' from the morning savings club group participated in the morning focus group session and fifteen workers' from the afternoon savings club group participated in the afternoon focus group session. Thirty-five Zibambele workers' in total participated in the study. Other workers' did not arrive for the savings club meeting and did not participate in the focus group sessions.

The researcher and moderator introduced themselves and the study to the workers'. The moderator took the opportunity to outline ethical issues of participation in the focus group sessions. Workers' were given copies of a document prepared by the researcher, which the moderator discussed in Zulu with workers'. The moderator explained the need for workers' to give their permission to participate in the research and to have the focus group session's video recorded. The moderator assured focus group participants that the information gathered through focus group discussions, video recording and resulting data were subject to formal guarantees of confidentiality and anonymity. The moderator explained to participants that the researcher could not guarantee confidentiality among participants. Participants were requested to sign the document to acknowledge the conditions of their participation. All workers' from both savings club groups indicated their willingness to participate in the focus group sessions. Powell and Single (1996: 499) recommend that to allow for open, uninhibited dialogue in focus group discussions, the moderator needs to share participants' characteristics, such as age, sex and language. The moderator was an African woman who facilitated the focus group sessions in Zulu, the dominant language of workers' in the Vulindlela area.

The researcher video recorded the sessions, to document the important aspects of the group's interactions, such as expressive body language or gestures of the participants.

Video recording helped the researcher to observe what was seen and heard, which allowed for the researcher's interpretation of these observations at a later time. Hennings (2004: 82) recommends the use of video recording to observe behaviour or gestures, allows the researcher the opportunity to interpret data twice, firstly through texts created from interviews or other methods and, secondly through interpretation and presentation of the actors in their natural settings. Due to the large focus group sizes discussions between sub groups of participants could not be captured by video recording. The use of video recording, as an observational tool, limited this study research rigour, as it limited the amount of data that was captured due to the large focus group size.

Powell and Single (1996: 502) feel that a limitation of using video recordings in focus group sessions is that the equipment and procedure could inhibit the interpretations of participants. The researcher tried to address this limitation and placed the video camera at a fixed location. This allowed the researcher to capture the focus group participants through a single frame, rather than focusing the camera lens on an individual participant. This lessened the participants' awareness of the camera and allowed participants the freedom to express themselves.

The moderator worked to a non-prescriptive, semi-structured interview schedule to explore related, but not unanticipated topics, as they arose in the discussion. The semi-structured interview guide enabled the moderator to clarify a topic or explore a participant's answer in greater detail when it was required. However, the non-prescriptive, semi-structured interview schedule was not useful in picking up on unanticipated topics in the sub group discussions between participants. The schedule guide consisted of five broad areas that were selected for discussion. Every effort was made to present open-ended, simply phrased questions to participants, drawing on concrete examples to illustrate a topic, when needed.

A further focus group session was held with key informants from the KZN DoT. The key informants were accessed through the KZN DoT's Development Directorate. Ms Glen Xaba, the Director of the department, provided the researcher with names of people that

were involved in implementing the Zibambele programme. Ms Xaba kindly made available her administrator, who contacted the relevant persons and informed them of the voluntary focus group session and details of the date, time and venue.

Ms Xaba also arranged for the KZN DoT's conference room in Pietermaritzburg to be used as the venue for the focus group interviews. Although the KZN DoT conference room was not a neutral venue to hold the focus group session, it did allow the researcher the opportunity to meet with all willing participants in a location that catered to participants busy work schedules and commitments without consuming time required to travel to another location.

Five participants came forward to participate in the focus group. Other managers and co-ordinators offered their apologies, stating that they had other obligations but could be contacted if further information was required at a later stage.

The focus group sessions with Zibambele officials were planned to last for 90 minutes, in accordance with the suggestion made by Powell and Single (1996: 499). The researcher introduced herself and the study to the officials. The researcher explained ethical issues of participation in the focus group sessions. Officials were given copies of an informed consent document, which they were requested to sign, to acknowledge their agreement to voluntarily participate in the focus group and give consent to have the focus group session video recorded. The document stated that the information gathered, video recording and resulting data of the focus groups session were subject to rigorous safeguards of confidentiality and anonymity.

All five officials indicated their willingness to participate in the focus group session by signing the consent form. The focus group session was carried out in English and the researcher video recorded the focus group session. Video recording the focus group session aided the researcher to document important aspects of the group's interactions, such as expressive body language or gestures. The researcher worked to a non-prescriptive, semi-structured interview schedule, which allowed the researcher to

supplement the prepared focus group questions with sub-questions when it was required. This enabled the researcher to clarify a topic or explore participants' answers in greater detail. The scheduled guide consisted of five broad areas that were selected for the focus group discussion. The researcher attempted to present open-ended, simply phrased questions to participants, drawing on concrete examples to illustrate a topic. The planned interview schedule helped the researcher keep focus on the issues of inquiry and prevented officials taking the opportunity to promote the Zibambele programme from an institutional perspective.

4.3 Data analysis

This study aimed to highlight the voices and experiences of workers' and officials in implementing the Zibambele poverty alleviation programme. The data collection process aimed to collect data to understand how the Zibambele programme addressed poverty alleviation. The researcher selected grounded theory as the data analysis method for this purpose in this study. Charmaz (2002: 675) explains that grounded theory methods provide a set of inductive steps that beneficially lead the researcher from concrete realities to rendering a conceptual understanding of them. This suggests that grounded theory is an attempt to theorise reality according to a set of conceptually organised categories.

The grounded theory method employed by the researcher for this study was a thematic analysis. A thematic analysis serves as a basis for arguments in the research discussion around the experiences of participants (Hennings, 2004: 107). However, Hennings (2004: 107) explains that processed data does not have the status of 'findings' until themes have been discussed and argued in a systematic manner. Rubin and Rubin (1995: 226-227) stipulates basic steps when conducting thematic analysis:

- All material gathered from interviews that concern one theme or concept must be put into a single category.
- Raw data must be compared to the emergent categories to sift out variations and nuances in meaning.

- Following this, cross-comparison of categories is to be carried out to discover connections between themes.
- Finally, the end categories and themes should be integrated to derive a theory or explanation depicting an accurate interpretation of the inquiry.

The researcher began the analysis of the Zibambele programme's poverty alleviation programme by presenting data gathered from focus group interviews. Responses from participants were compared in terms of similarities and differences and presented as themes. Themes across all sections were compared and grouped in terms of similarities and differences, to reflect categories of themes. The relationship between the categories of themes allowed for the identification of concepts. The analysis of this study was constructed through describing the relationships between the concepts that emerged. The conclusion produced an explanation of the implementation of the Zibambele poverty alleviation programme.

5 Analysis

5.1 Presentation of data

Data is presented separately for workers' and officials. Two focus group sessions were held with workers'. One focus group was held with workers' who belonged to one savings club and another focus group session was held with workers' who belonged to another savings club. Workers' who belonged to one savings club was linked to a mushroom project by the KZN DoT, while the other group was not. The two focus groups allowed for the experiences of workers' who were linked to the mushroom projects and workers' who were not linked to a project to be taken into account. Data that reflected similar responses from both savings clubs groups were merged, while differences in responses from the two groups are identified through referring to the group that was linked or not linked to the mushroom project. One focus group session was held with KZN DoT officials and data from officials was presented in accordance with the sections that structured the focus group discussion.

5.1.1 Zibambele workers'

A. Poverty

Zibambele workers' defined their poverty in terms of insufficient income to meet their basic needs despite Zibambele income. A worker stated that "we are getting paid, money is finished on the same day, money is not enough to buy food". Another worker added that "we are getting paid, it means little to us because we don't have houses". The facilitator inquired where workers' were living. A worker answered that "We rent houses, we do not own our own houses". Another worker revealed: "Money is too little to buy clothes and school uniforms and we cannot afford to build houses with the money we receive from Zibambele". Workers' expressed their need for education in opening up employment opportunities to increase household income and assets: "Some of us working

have matric education. We want loans and bursaries so that our matriculated colleagues and children can go to technikons and universities. They can register part-time, if that is what they need to do". A participant stated "education will provide us with a better life". All workers' in that group expressed consensus through different gestures, some workers' clapped their hands, while others nodded their heads. Finally a worker stated that "in addition to Zibambele incomes we would like funeral insurance". Participants ululated, expressing the general sentiment of that group. Another worker stated that "the DoT helps us make burial arrangements for our families we will be happy. It is the insurance that takes care of all our needs. If we join Zibambele today, but if we die tomorrow, how will we be taken care of?" Again, ululation from that whole group followed the response, reflecting the general sentiment of that group.

B. The Zibambele programme

Zibambele workers' outlined the Zibambele programme's operational functions, based on their contractual requirements. A worker stated that "we work for two days a week maintaining road surfaces, for three hundred and ninety rand a month". Another worker stated: "Besides the work we do on the road, we are also required to participate in monthly meetings where we manage our savings clubs and are given training".

The researcher requested that Zibambele workers' reflect on how the Zibambele programme had impacted on their lives. A participant said that "prior to the programme we had no money to purchase food". All workers' in the respondents group expressed consensus through different gestures, some workers' clapped their hands, while others nodded their heads. The researcher inquired how workers' survived without any money for food. A worker replied that "some of us plastered houses with mud plaster and received five rand a day for our work. The money was not enough to buy food". The moderator probed to inquire if participants still plastered houses with mud plaster to earn income. All participants in that group shook their heads indicating that this was not an activity they participated in any longer. Another participant added that "we could not send our children to school". Another worker stated: "We could not pay for funeral insurances". One worker was more optimistic: "Zibambele helped me and other workers'

to buy basic food items, for example, maize meal and household items such as soap that I and others could not afford before”. Participants expressed consensus through different gestures, some of the workers’ nodded their heads, while others sighed.

Workers’ were asked what they considered to be problems working in the Zibambebe programme. There was a general outcry from both groups of workers’ for more money. A worker complained: “We pay ten rand for banking charges, so, in fact, we earn only three hundred and eighty rand per month and this is not enough for a month”. Another participant stated that “food we buy does not last for a month. At least if Zibambebe increases our salaries, we can buy food to last a month”.

C. Livelihood activities

Zibambebe workers’ were asked to describe how they combined Zibambebe activities with other daily/survival activities. A worker said that “when we not working on the road, we take care of our homes, for example, we do the cooking, cleaning, plaster the walls of our homes and work in the garden”, and another, “we plant vegetables and sell some of them, the rest we cook and eat”. Another participant replied that “we work as community volunteers, taking care of the sick in our community”. A worker belonging to the group linked to the mushroom project said that “we spend all our extra time on our mushroom project”. All participants from the group linked to the mushroom project expressed agreement by nodding their heads.

Zibambebe workers’ mentioned the flexible work times the Zibambebe programme offered them, “We only work two days a week and we have a lot of time”. A worker added: “We would like to get involved in agricultural activities, part time jobs and fencing projects, to raise extra income”. The facilitator asked workers’ to state activities that they engage in, besides Zibambebe work, to increase their household income. The majority of participants in the savings club who were not linked to a project by DoT answered that they were not involved in other activities to increase their household incomes. However, three respondents from group not linked to a project stated that “we buy cabbages and sell them to buy bread for our families”. Workers’ belonging to the

group that was linked to the mushroom project said that “the mushroom project is our only other income activity and when we are not working on the roads we are working on our mushroom project”.

Workers’, who were not linked to the mushroom project, expressed a desire for the DoT to link them with a project: “We have been saving for so long but the DoT has not given us a project.” The manager of the savings club responsible for administering the savings of workers’ pointed out that “another group has been given a project, the group with the project of planting mushrooms but nothing for us so far. The group with the mushroom project gets money but not us”. A worker that belonged to the group linked to the mushroom project answered: “We are grateful for the mushroom project given to us by DoT”. One worker referred to the mushroom project as a “thing of help”.

D. Life-skills

An enquiry into life-skills training with Zibambebe workers’ was a difficult endeavour for the researcher and facilitator, as workers’ did not understand the term “life-skills”. Only one worker stated that she “received life-skills training from the Department of Health before joining the Zibambebe programme”. Since workers’ from the two focus groups were unfamiliar with the concept of life-skills, the researcher moved on to ask what training workers’ received in the Zibambebe programme. A participant replied: “We receive business skills training”, and another participant, “we learn how to make business proposals and learn about the constitution”. The researcher asked workers’ what kind of skills they would like to be taught through the Zibambebe programme. A worker replied: “We want to learn how to sew, so that we can sew school uniforms for our children. School uniforms are very expensive”. All participants in that group expressed consensus through different gestures, some clapping their hands and others nodding their heads. Another worker stated that “we want to learn marketing skills, so we can sell the vegetables we plant to earn extra income”, and another participant, “we want to learn how to drive, so we can access other opportunities to increase our household income”. All participants in that group agreed, some workers’ clapped their hands, others nodded their heads and some workers’ ululated. This indicated agreement to the suggestions

made by workers' in that group. Finally, a worker stated that "we want Adult Basic Education Training (ABET) so we can learn to access other work opportunities".

The researcher asked workers' if they experienced any problems with the training they received in the Zibambele programme. A participant replied: "We would like to receive handouts, so that we could refer to them in the future, you don't grasp everything in the training sessions. With the help of our children at home we can learn further".

E. Savings club

Zibambele workers' described how the savings club initiative operated. A worker explained: "Savings are carried out by ourselves, we pay twenty rand each month. We put the money in the bank". A worker added that "we save the money but we don't know why we save the money because we are not sure what we are going to do with the money". Yet another participant contributed by adding that "we saving the money because when DoT comes to give some help to us, we do not want to be empty-handed. We want to say, this is how much we have to invest in a project". And another participant added that the "savings is what we have to assist us to grow. We don't want the DoT to do everything for us, we want them to support us". The researcher asked how the DoT linked projects to workers'. A participant replied: "Projects are linked on how much saving we have". A worker belonging to the group linked to the mushroom project stated that "since our group had the most savings, we qualified for the mushroom project". The facilitator asked workers' who were involved in the mushroom project how they invested their club savings. A worker replied: "We have not touched our savings yet".

The facilitator asked workers' who were not linked to the mushroom project how they would like to invest their savings. A worker replied: "We hope to use our savings to access businesses activities such as planting and growing vegetables to sell". All workers' in that group agreed, by clapping their hands or nodding their heads. A worker added that "we would like to invest savings in a mushroom project". A participant added that "with the profit we make from our business activities, we would like to provide food for our families, to be able to buy vegetables and meat for our homes. As we have said

before, food does not last through the month. If food gets finished, we will be able to buy more food”. All workers’ in that group clapped their hands, nodded their heads and ululated.

5.1.2 DoT Officials

A. Poverty

DoT officials reflected strong support for the aims of the Zibambebe programme. An official explained that the “ creation of the Zibambebe programme aimed to provide sustainable job opportunities for rural poor families through the maintenance of rural roads”. Another added that “the DoT aims to alleviate poverty through addressing issues of black economic and gender empowerment. This is a directive from national government to structure development plans on issues of national concern”. Another participant said that “the Zibambebe programme provides Zibambebe workers’ with income, technical skills, social skills and resources such as helping workers’ to open bank accounts. Workers’ salaries are deposited into these accounts. Group bank accounts are also opened to facilitate group savings. These resources and skills are aimed to help workers’ alleviate their poverty.” Another participant explained further that as “workers’ are also exposed to the DoT’s network, for example, the collaboration between the KZN DoT and the Department of Agriculture helps workers’ to set up agricultural projects such as the Juncao mushroom project. However, workers’ need operational finances to pursue these projects. The savings club initiative aims to do exactly that”. An official stated that it is not the “ responsibility of DoT to tackle social issues but, due to the DoT’s network, the department is in a position to assist workers’”. Another participant explained that as “the DoT our core function is road maintenance and building, as much as we tackle poverty alleviation, we have limited capacity as a department to tackling social issues”.

C. Zibambele programme

Participants were asked to describe the operational objectives of the Zibambele programme. A participant replied that the “ basic operational objective of the programme is road maintenance”, while another official identified the broader objective of the programme as: “Poverty alleviation. The Zibambele programme aims to alleviate poverty of workers’ through supporting the development of co-operatives”. Another participant added that “poverty alleviation is also addressed through exposing Zibambele workers’ to the DoT’s network. The DoT’s network allows workers’ to gain access to financial and social services, as well as educational opportunities”. All participants expressed consensus by nodding their heads. Another official provided examples to support the previous participants’ responses: “We take workers’ to Adult Basic Educational Training (ABET), assist workers’ to acquire identity documents (IDs) and open bank accounts. These services contribute to workers’ financial independence”.

A participant highlighted the exit strategy of the programme as an: “operational aim, contributing to poverty alleviation”. The researcher asked officials to explain how the exit strategy of the Zibambele programme operated. Officials became quiet. This indicated contemplation of an answer by officials. Close to a minute later an official replied as follows: “ a strategy that aims to get workers’ to stand on their own two feet. When workers’ become self- sufficient they can run their own businesses”. The researcher urged officials to clarify what they meant by workers’ being self-sufficient. An official responded: “When workers’ are financially independent. Workers’ gain independence through the skills the Zibambele programme offers them, as well as the savings clubs, which allows workers’ to invest in a business venture”. Another participant stressed: “There is no clear strategy for workers’ to exit the programme, there are no cut-off deadlines for the programme”.

Officials were asked by the researcher to reflect on problems experienced with the implementation of the Zibambele programme. One participant answered: “External political groups want to hijack the programme from the department”. Another official identified migration and marriages as “workers’ relocate and confusing the system”. The

final problem that an official revealed was Zibambebe workers' complaints of inadequate income: "Unless the DoT increases workers' salaries they are unhappy". Officials stated that a greater emphasis on the selection process, termination of problematic workers' contracts and communication strategies, would help alleviate the problems identified.

C. Livelihood activities

Officials were asked how they would like Zibambebe workers' to utilize the skills and resources provided by the programme. One participant replied that "we would like to see Zibambebe workers' engage in small business activities". All officials in the group showed consensus by nodding their heads. The researcher asked officials what kind of business activities they referred to. An official said that "I would like to see Zibambebe workers' start up vendor businesses at schools", while another official stated that "I would like to see workers' use the tools they are provided with by the Zibambebe programme to pursue farming and building activities, to generate further income". One participant suggested: "Workers' could start up hiring services".

An official cautioned: "Often Zibambebe workers' call on the department for help, for example, if someone dies. However, the DoT cannot extend its resources to all Zibambebe workers' circumstances". Another participant added that "when it is feasible and applicable we help workers', for example, one savings club bought a marquee and hired it out. Workers' in that particular savings club called on the DoT to help transport the marquee to where it was hired. We helped them". However, a participant stated the following: "As the DoT our core function is to construct and maintain roads; there are other departments that take care of livelihood needs". All officials in the group expressed consensus by nodding their heads. One participant clarified: "As the DoT, we can only help workers' to access social benefits and expose them to other departments".

D. Life-skills

Officials were asked to list the aims and objectives of the life-skills initiative. One answered that the "aims and objectives of the life-skills programme is to build co-

operative bodies”, while an official added that “we provide workers’ with skills to facilitate building of co-operative ventures”. Another official stated that “we love to see workers’ running their own businesses, as they have been taught in the programme”. The researcher asked officials who were responsible for teaching workers’ business skills. The previous respondent stated that “outside consultants are employed to teach workers’ business skills, but the brief comes from the department”. An official described how the life-skills programme operates: “Meetings are held on site and run in conjunction with savings club meetings, which are scheduled monthly”. An official explained that “workers’ are given textbooks and notes to facilitate learning”.

All officials agreed that the participation of workers’ in the life-skills programme was good. However, officials could not elaborate on the exact curriculum of the life-skills programme. An official commented: “I have seen the latest manual with a portion of HIV/AIDS education in it. But the content of the manual focuses on business skills. That is what we hope to equip workers’ with”. Officials were unable to identify any problems with the implementation of the life-skills programme.

E. Savings club

Officials were asked to outline the aims and objectives of the savings club initiative. One stated that the “aims and objectives of the savings clubs are to support Zimbabwe workers’ to form co-operatives”. Another participant volunteered: “To teach Zimbabwe workers’ business ethics”. Another opinion was that “the aims of the savings clubs are to get Zimbabwe workers’ financially independent. This would allow workers’ the opportunity to collectively exit the programme”. An official added that when “workers’, through the savings clubs, form co-operatives the department would like to see workers’ leave for something better”.

An official described the operational strategy of the savings club as follows: “Workers’ are grouped together to form savings clubs. Zimbabwe workers’ are expected to save at least twenty rand a month from their salaries”. Another participant said that “the DoT assists workers’ to open a collective bank account in which monthly savings are

deposited”. Another participant explained that “savings clubs possess a management structure. A worker is assigned to collect and bank money every month”. Another participant stated that “the DoT encourages workers’ not to make frequent withdrawals. Social consultants assist workers’ to draw up business plans before investing their savings”. The researcher asked officials to suggest ways in which workers’ could invest their savings. All officials contributed suggestions concerning investing workers’ savings in income-generating activities, such as: “construction businesses”, “hire services”, “agricultural activities”, “tourism” and “community upliftment projects”. The researcher asked officials if they were aware of how workers’ are currently investing their savings. An official replied: “Workers’ are investing their savings in co-operative businesses, such as the mushroom project, hire services, operational equipment like safety vests, vendor businesses and fruit and vegetable sale businesses”. All participants expressed consensus by nodding their heads. The researcher asked officials to identify challenges experienced with the savings clubs. An official responded: “The challenges experienced by the savings clubs are that Zimbabwe workers’ are not actively saving, some of the workers’ save, while others do not”. All officials in the group nodded their heads. An official cautioned: “Zimbabwe workers’ are afraid to invest their savings due to unprotected markets”. Another official stated that “the DoT makes a lot of promises to Zimbabwe workers’ using the savings club initiative. Workers’ have been told to save and have been promised a lot about business opportunities; in turn they have been saving so much but nothing is happening”.

5.2 Discussion

All material gathered from focus group interviews with officials, workers' linked to the mushroom project and workers' who were not linked to a project by the KZN DoT are compared in terms of similarities and differences. The similarities and differences in responses are then presented as themes. Themes across all sections are categorized to reflect concepts.

A. Poverty

Officials described the Zibambele programme's approach to poverty alleviation as the provision of employment, skills and resources to Zibambele workers'. Officials identified the life-skills training, savings clubs, opening of bank accounts and exposing workers' to the DoT's network as the skills and resources provided by the programme to alleviate the poverty of Zibambele workers'.

Officials do not take into consideration the bank charges workers' pay to access their salaries, which decreases workers' financial potential to alleviate conditions of their poverty. The DoT fails to recognize that an unintended consequence of their financial assistance to workers' contributes to another burden, which workers' highlight.

Officials' response to the Zibambele programme's approach to poverty alleviation was not the same as workers'. Workers' linked to the mushroom project by the DoT and workers' who were not linked to a project by the DoT shared similar responses to questions on poverty, posed by the researcher and focus group facilitator. Zibambele workers' defined their poverty in terms of their cultural and lived experiences, for example, workers' need for funeral insurances to lighten the burden of death on them. Requests from workers' for increased incomes, funeral insurance and educational opportunities reflected the reliance of workers' on the DoT. Officials identified requests by workers' for increased incomes and ignored workers' cultural or social needs.

Themes

- DoT officials describe Zibambele poverty alleviation based on the economic well-being of Zibambele workers’.
- DoT officials only identified economic resources provided by the Zibambele programme to alleviate Zibambele workers’ poverty.
- The KZN DoT officials failed to take into consideration the unintended consequences of financial assistance to workers’, as one official recognised the raised expectations of workers due to the DoT’s financial assistance in providing salaries, skills and programme resources.
- Workers’ defined their poverty in terms of their cultural and lived experiences.

B. Zibambele programme

Workers’ linked to the mushroom project by the DoT and workers’ who were not linked to a project by the DoT shared similar responses to questions on the Zibambele programme posed by the researcher and focus group facilitator.

Before joining the Zibambele programme, workers’ said that they engaged in casual work earning five rand per day plastering mud huts, which was insufficient to purchase food for their households. Workers’ expressed general appreciation for the Zibambele programme, especially since it allowed them to purchase some basic food items, which they were not able to purchase prior to the programme. However, workers’ identified the insufficiency of the Zibambele income to purchase basic food items to last a month. Officials viewed the main contribution of the programme as affording workers’ the opportunity to form co-operative ventures.

Both workers’ and officials identified the inadequacy of Zibambele incomes. These suggested solutions to the problem of inadequate incomes differ between workers’ and officials. Workers’ solution to the problem was limited to the DoT increasing their incomes, while officials suggested a clear line of communication to explain the

limitations of the programme and workers' utilizing the skills and resources, offered to workers' by the programme, to pursue other income-generating activities to supplement Zibambele incomes.

Themes

- The resourcefulness of workers' was identified. Workers' generated casual income, although insufficient, before joining the Zibambele programme.
- Workers' viewed access to income to purchase basic food items as the main benefit of the Zibambele programme.
- Officials viewed the opportunity to develop co-operative ventures by workers' as the main benefit of the Zibambele programme.
- The inadequacy of Zibambele incomes is a problem identified by officials and workers'.
- Officials identified a lack of communication between the KZN DoT and Zibambele workers' to explain to workers' that they need to use the skills and resources provided by the programme to increase their incomes.
- Both workers and one official were aware of how the programme raised expectations, contributing to the frustrations of workers.

C. Livelihoods

There is a disjuncture between the DoT officials stating that an integral part of the Zibambele programme's implementation is provision of ABET training to workers', while workers' were discussing life-skills training suggested that they would like to receive ABET education to access other work opportunities to help alleviate their poverty.

Workers' linked to the mushroom project and workers' who are not linked to a project by the DoT provided different responses to how they combined their daily survival activities with Zibambele work. Workers' linked to the mushroom project by the DoT stated they

combined Zibambe work with work they carried out in their mushroom project, consuming most of their time. Zibambe workers' who were not linked to a project by the DoT identified a number of daily survival activities they combined with their Zibambe work, such as household maintenance, gardening, cooking and volunteering in the community.

Workers' daily survival activities indicated how workers' deployed their resources. It reflected use of workers' livelihood capital. Workers' employed human capital, which are the skills they employ to perform Zibambe work and to produce food and maintain their households. Workers' employ social capital through employing community values by volunteering to help the sick in the community and natural capital by using resources such as land to produce food or enhance their environment. However, officials place little or no value on workers' daily survival activities, as officials only were concerned with workers' pursuing income-generating activities.

Workers' differed in their response to how they utilized Zibambe flexible work time to pursue other income generating activities. Workers' linked to the mushroom project by the DoT stated that they used Zibambe flexible work time to work on their mushroom project. With the exception of three workers', workers' who were not linked to a project by the DoT stated that they did not engage in any income generating activities using Zibambe flexible work time. This is in contradiction to officials who stressed the need for workers' to utilize the skills and resources provided by the Zibambe programme to pursue and engage in other income-generating activities, such as vendor businesses, farming, building services and hire services. Further, the DoT linking one group of workers' to the mushroom project and not the other group indicates support only to the group linked to the mushroom project. The above contributed to workers' expectations to be linked to an income-generating project by the DoT to address the conditions of their poverty.

Officials stated that considering livelihood needs of workers' is not an appropriate activity of the DoT, as the DoT is a department whose main concern is infrastructure and

mobility. This represents a disjuncture between what the Zibambele programme offers to workers' and the goals of the Zibambele programme.

Themes

- Disjuncture about what the DoT officials state the Zibambele programme offers workers' and what workers' need, for example the ABET training.
- Zibambele workers' engaged in a number of daily/survival activities that are not acknowledged by officials.
- Officials promoted Zibambele workers' use of the programme's flexible work time to pursue income-generating activities and did not acknowledge workers' other livelihood activities, such as cooking and household maintenance.
- Zibambele workers' do not use Zibambele flexible work time productively, as workers' wait for the DoT to link them with an income-generating project.
- The Zibambele programme results in perceptions of unequal benefits to the worker, as some workers' benefited from the mushroom project, while others do not.

D. Life-skills

An enquiry into the life-skills training with Zibambele workers' reflects a lack of understanding the conditions of implementation of the programme by the KZN-DoT, as workers' did not understand the life-skills concept.

Both officials and workers' described life-skills training as learning business skills. Workers' suggested that they would like to receive practical training from the life-skills initiative to meet short-term household needs, such as sewing skills to sew school uniforms for their children. Officials viewed life-skills training in the limited capacity of supporting workers' to establish large-scale co-operative ventures.

Officials stated that workers' received learning material from the life-skills training programme to facilitate learning. However, workers' identified not being given learning

material in the life-skills training programme and suggested learning materials to be made available to them.

Themes

- Life-skills training supported DoT's economic approach to poverty alleviation by exclusively providing business skills to Zibambele workers'.
- Workers' requested practical skills training, such as sewing and driving skills, to generate more income.

E. Savings

Zibambele workers' originally believed that the purpose of their savings was to invest savings in projects that the DoT helped them to identify. However, this view changed when the DoT linked a savings group with larger savings to a mushroom project.

Workers' then began believing that the amount of their collective savings was used by the DoT as the criterion to link them with income-generating projects. Officials described the aims of the savings clubs as teaching workers' financial management and providing workers' with a resource to invest in co-operative ventures. Officials viewed this as the exit strategy from the programme for workers'.

Workers' stated that they had not used their collective savings. This also applied to workers' linked to the mushroom project by the DoT. However, officials are under the impression that workers' are using their savings to invest in other income-generating projects, such as the mushroom project, hire services, operational equipment like safety vests, vendor businesses and fruit and vegetable sale businesses.

Workers' said that they would like to use their savings to pursue small-scale income-generating activities such as planting vegetables for sale, while officials preferred workers' to utilize savings on large-scale activities, such as establishing co-operative businesses to provide hire and tourism services.

Officials identified the problem with the savings clubs initiative as workers' not saving regularly. Workers' stated that their incomes are insufficient to purchase food for their households and this inhibits their monthly savings potential. The immediate basic needs of workers' take preference over long-term goals that officials set out in the Zibambele poverty alleviation programme.

Themes

- Workers' did not understand the allocation of resources, as workers' linked to the mushroom project by the DoT believed that they were allocated the project due to the amount of their collective savings. Workers' understanding of how the mushroom project was allocated facilitated expectations of the worker.
- Workers' saved to be linked to an income-generating project by the DoT based on their savings potential.
- Workers' who not linked to an income-generating project perceive workers' linked to the mushroom project by the DoT, as being more able to afford life.
- The DoT linking projects to workers' does not facilitate the use of the workers' agency to alleviate their poverty. This suggested the DoT is contributing to the dependency of workers' on the programme.
- Workers' inadequate investment in collective savings was due to Zibambele workers' spending Zibambele incomes on short-term needs.
- Zibambele workers' original perception of the savings club was the DoT aiding workers' to identify income-generating projects and not reliance on the Zibambele programme.

Categories of themes

This section details the grouping of themes into the following categories:

Economic approach

- DoT officials describe Zibambebe poverty alleviation based on the economic well-being of Zibambebe workers’.
- DoT officials only identified economic resources provided by the Zibambebe programme to alleviate Zibambebe workers’ poverty, while workers’ defined their poverty in terms of their cultural and lived experiences.
- Officials promoted the workers’ use of Zibambebe flexible work time to pursue income-generating activities and did not acknowledge workers’ other daily survival activities, such as cooking and household maintenance.
- Life-skills training supported the DoT’s economic approach to poverty alleviation by exclusively providing business skills to Zibambebe workers’.
- The DoT officials did not take into consideration the unintended consequences of financial assistance to workers’, for example, the cost of bank charges that decreased workers’ incomes.

Expectations and dependency

- Zibambebe workers’ do not use Zibambebe flexible work time pursue other income generating activities, as workers’ wait for the DoT to link them with an income-generating project.
- Workers’ expectations of the DoT are promoted by the DoT linking on group of workers’ to an income-generating project.

Communication

- Workers’ viewed access to income to purchase basic food items as the main benefit of the Zibambebe programme.

- Officials viewed the opportunity to develop co-operative ventures as the main benefit of the Zibambebe programme.
- The inadequacy of Zibambebe incomes is a problem identified by officials and workers’.
- Officials identified a lack of communication between the KZN DoT and Zibambebe workers’ in explaining to workers’ the need to use skills and resources provided by the programme to increase their incomes.
- Workers’ inadequate investment in collective savings was due to Zibambebe workers’ spending Zibambebe incomes on short-term needs.
- Disjuncture between the DoT officials stating that they provide workers’ with ABET training and workers’ stating that they would like to receive ABET training.

Unequal benefits

- The Zibambebe programme results in perceptions of unequal benefits to workers’, as some workers’ benefit from the mushroom projects, while others do not, perpetuating inequality in the programme.

Agency

- The resourcefulness of workers’ was identified. Workers’ generated income, although insufficient, through casual jobs before joining the Zibambebe programme. Since joining the Zibambebe programme workers’ wait for the DoT to link them with an income-generating project and do not employ their resourcefulness.
- Zibambebe workers’ engaged in a number of daily survival activities that are not acknowledged by officials.
- Workers’ requested practical skills such as sewing and driving skills to generate more income, reflecting workers’ agency to acquire skills to meet their needs.

- Zibambebe workers' original perception of the savings club expressed the need for support from the DoT in identifying income-generating projects and not reliance on the Zibambebe programme.

The categories of themes identified reflect concepts

1. The Zibambebe programme represents an economic approach to poverty alleviation;
2. The Zibambebe programme facilitated workers' expectations and dependency on the Zibambebe programme;
3. Effective communication strategies are not employed by the Zibambebe programme;
4. The Zibambebe programme results in perceptions of unequal benefits to Zibambebe workers'; and
5. Zibambebe workers' expressed their agency through the desire of not wanting to be dependent on the Zibambebe programme.

6 Conclusion

The conclusion of this study is presented by describing five distinct concepts that emerged from the categories of themes. The concepts are used to inform an understanding of how the Zibambele programme approaches poverty alleviation.

1. The Zibambele programme represents an economic approach to poverty alleviation

The DoT's economic approach to poverty alleviation is, to an extent, appropriately employed, as Zibambele workers' expressed appreciation for Zibambele incomes to meet their basic needs, which they were previously unable to meet.

The Zibambele programme exclusively provided economic skills and resources to workers'. Workers' exposure to the DoT's network, to access and participate in income-generating projects, as well as savings clubs and life-skills training, supported the DoT's sole objective of economic development. This suggested the DoT's 'top-down' approach to poverty alleviation, which stands in contrast to the social development approach, which the DoT promotes. Mlawu (1994), a senior manager of the Zibambele programme described the Zibambele programme as an "emancipation programme, where workers' are not merely involved in the maintenance of a road but are assisted collectively to organise themselves around their poverty and to seek solutions to their poverty". Mlawu's description of the Zibambele programme promotes participation of workers' in the Zibambele poverty alleviation programme but DoT's 'top-down' economic approach to poverty alleviation limited the agency of workers' to seek and capture solutions to their poverty. Workers' were not able to understand the purpose of the savings club, skills and resources provided by the Zibambele programme provided. This resulted in workers' failure to use the skills and resources provided to them to alleviate their poverty.

Furthermore, workers' failure to use Zibambele savings, skills and resources provided suggested workers' lack of confidence in using their savings, skills and resource or could be interpreted as workers' using their agency to manipulate the programme by waiting for the DOT to issue them with an income-generating project. Either way, workers' were guided by DoT's actions. The DoT's failure to engage with workers' in a participatory or 'bottom-up' approach limits the poverty alleviation initiative of the programme.

Dreze and Sen (1989: 268-270) provide support for combining economic and social provisioning in poverty alleviation, as either approach on its own proved to be insufficient in poverty alleviation. They argue that human development has to be strengthened first, so that economic growth could result in equitable and sustainable development of the poor. This implies integration between 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' approaches for effective poverty alleviation.

The livelihood approach, as a holistic and people-centred approach, allowed for a focus not only on the KZN DoT's initiatives in alleviating poverty of workers' but also on workers' livelihood needs, strategies and outcomes. This allowed for a move beyond the KZN DoT's sectoral entry point, as a transport institution. Owen (1987: 11) identifies transport institutions sectoral entry point as wasteful of resources due to the sector not possessing adequate skills and capacity to engage in areas beyond conventional mobility and infrastructure development. However, the contribution of the KZN DoT in addressing rural poverty alleviation in the Zibambele programme cannot be ignored. The challenges faced by the KZN DoT in implementing the Zibambele poverty alleviation programme highlights the need to build the departments capacity to tackle rural poverty alleviation. The livelihood approach to understanding implementation of poverty alleviation programmes highlighted the importance of the KZN DoT developing partnerships and collaborations with workers' and other organizations to address poverty alleviation beyond an economic approach. Strebel (2006:6) supports the KZN DoT initiative to build partnerships with private sector and civil society agencies to address poverty alleviation.

2. The Zibambebe programme facilitates expectations and dependency of workers' on the programme

The linking of government income-generating projects to some workers' and not to others, the life-skills initiative promoting business skills and the DoT encouraging workers' to invest savings in co-operative ventures contributed to the expectations and dependency of workers'. Either miscommunication in the programme between the KZN DoT and workers' or the vague objectives of the programme promoted workers' belief that the KZN DoT would link them to an income-generating project, which would help them alleviate their poverty. This resulted in workers' not using their savings, skills and resources provided by the DoT to pursue their own routes out of poverty. The expectations of workers' suggest a reliance on the DoT to manage their poverty alleviation. Dependency of workers' on DoT was revealed by the requests of workers' for increased Zibambebe incomes, educational bursaries and services, such as funeral insurance, which go beyond the capacity of the DoT to meet those needs.

The expectations of workers', listed above, support the idea of 'rising expectations'. 'Rising expectations, as defined by Newman (2008: 459) suggest unstable Zibambebe programme conditions due to the relative deprivation noted by workers and officials. Zibambebe programme reveals a perceived discrepancy in what workers think they should achieve from the programme and what they do achieve. Workers expect to be linked to an income-generating project by the DoT, while the DoT promotes workers active use of skills and resources provided by the programme to pursue their own pathways out of poverty. The DoT promotes the expectations of workers thus limiting workers use of their innovation and creativity to construct pathways out of poverty and fostering the frustration of workers.

Johnson (1992, 274) emphasizes that the idea the rural poor can act to improve their own livelihoods cannot be ignored; since the rural poor know what their problems are and are aware of their ability to seek rational solutions to them. In the context of this study, Zibambebe workers' could also be viewed as reflecting their creative and innovative

agency by not using their Zibambele savings, skills and resources as they manipulate the KZN DoT to link them with an income-generating project.

The livelihood approach, supported as a people-centred approach by Krantz (2001: 10-13) allowed for an exploration of workers' needs and constraints in poverty alleviation. Titi & Singh (1994) define livelihoods as people's capacity to generate and maintain their means of living but argue that capacities of the poor are contingent on participatory decision-making. Zibambele workers' identified agricultural activities, part-time jobs and fencing projects to earn extra income using their Zibambele flexible work time.

However, Zibambele workers' did not participate in developing pathways out of poverty because they were not given a chance by the KZN DoT to do so. The KZN DoT not considering the voices of workers' resulted in rising workers' expectations and dependency on the programme.

The Zibambele programme further encouraged the expectations of Zibambele workers' by promoting a 'better' life for workers', without spelling out an explicit and achievable joint strategy with workers' to accomplish this Zibambele goal. This resulted in Zibambele workers' awareness of the limitations of the Zibambele programme, for example, the KZN DoT not being able to link all of them to income-generating projects. Zibambele workers' willingness to participate in this study reflected workers' efforts to use the opportunity presented by the researcher to highlight their circumstances and concerns. This is an example of workers' capacity to act in their best interests.

3. Effective communication strategies not employed by the Zibambele programme

Officials stated that, although the DoT aims to address rural poverty alleviation, the main focus and capacity of the DoT is mobility and infrastructure. This was not communicated sufficiently to workers' in the Zibambele programme. Workers' requested services such as educational bursaries, funeral insurances, driving skills and increased incomes. The needs identified by workers' go beyond the capacity of the DoT, a department whose

primary focus is mobility and infrastructure development to cater to those needs. This implied that workers' were not informed of the constraints the DoT faced in addressing poverty alleviation.

Officials stated that the purpose of the savings club initiative was for workers' to accrue and invest their collective savings in other income-generating activities. However, Zibambele workers' viewed the savings club as criterion that the DoT used to link them to income-generating projects. This suggested that workers' were confused about the purpose of the savings club initiative. The lack of communication between the KZN DoT and workers' caused workers' to construct their own interpretations, which were often misguided.

Workers' reflected that they did not understand the concept of life-skills. When probed by the researcher, workers' referred to life-skills as business skills. The KZN DoT (2004) described the Zibambele programme as a platform to deal with wider social issues through the life-skills initiative, such as HIV/AIDS, literacy and empowerment of women. Officials could not elaborate on the curriculum of the life-skills training, which social consultants use to train workers'. These issues indicate a lack of communication among workers', officials and social consultants in the Zibambele programme.

Officials are under the impression that workers' use flexible Zibambele work time to pursue other income-generating activities. Workers' stated that they do not use the Zibambele flexible work time to pursue other income-generating activities. Officials said that workers' receive learning material in the life-skills programme. Workers' countered that they do not receive learning material in the life-skills programme. This indicated that officials' notions of workers' experiences do not match workers' needs. This demonstrates a lack of communication among workers', officials and even social consultants.

The lack of communication within the Zibambele programme supports the conclusion of Stzompka (1993: 217), who feels that agency is conditioned from above by structural

constraints such as resources and facilities provided by existing structures. The agency of Zibambele workers' are constrained, as workers' are not informed of the aims and objectives of the Zibambele programme and the resources and skills made available to them. For example, workers' are not using their collective savings and Zibambele flexible work time to invest in other income-generating activities. Chambers (1997: 10) is of the opinion that structural constraints can be overcome by employing communication strategies such as sitting and listening and learning from those who are weak and by adapting strategies accordingly to meet the problems of a developmental intervention. Chambers (1997) and Strebel (2004) advocate a participatory process, which caters for communication pathways in intervention programmes.

The livelihood approach allowed for an understanding of the blockages in communication in the Zibambele programme. These blockages were identified through taking account of the different concepts in the livelihood framework presented by Neefjies (2000:83), namely; the structural context, transforming structures and processes, livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes. Ineffective communication by the KZN DoT did not allow workers' vulnerabilities and livelihood outcomes to be taken into account by the KZN DoT. Furthermore, workers' were not made aware of the limitations the KZN DoT faced in alleviating rural poverty.

4. The Zibambele programme promotes unequal opportunities and benefits to workers'

The linking of the mushroom project to workers' who belonged to one savings club and not to workers' who belonged to the other savings club indicated workers' perceptions of unequal programme benefits. Workers' linked to the mushroom project gain more benefits from the Zibambele programme. Workers' linked to the mushroom project are able to use the business skills they have been taught in the life-skills training programme. Workers' who are linked to the mushroom project are able to use Zibambele flexible work time to increase their productive skills. These issues indicated that workers' linked to the mushroom project are in a better position to alleviate their poverty than workers'

who had not been linked to an income-generating project. Workers' who are not linked to a project wait in anticipation for the DoT to link them to an income-generating project in the hope to secure benefits that workers' linked to a project obtain.

The livelihood approach allowed for a focus on the relationship between institutional processes and the livelihood strategies of workers'. The relationship revealed that the DoT linking some workers' to an income-generating project and not others ignored the combination of livelihood strategies workers' employed beyond being linked to an income-generating project. The KZN DoT failed to acknowledge that the poor engage in diverse livelihood strategies (Ellis, 1998: 4-5), such as subsistence farming activities, wage work, commerce, and trade and remittances. According to Satge (2002: 11) diversification of activities limits the vulnerability of workers' because if one strategy fails then the poor can rely on other strategies to meet their livelihood needs. Ellis (1998: 17-19) values diversification, as it makes livelihoods more secure, reduces the adverse impacts of seasonality and helps free poor rural households from the poverty trap.

Long (1997: 182) states that a major difficulty in identifying socio-economic objectives in institutional programmes is that the goals of the programme seldom spell out, clearly and without ambiguities, how the goals are going to be achieved. The unequal distribution of benefits and opportunities to workers' showed unclear planning strategies employed in the implementation of the Zibambele programme. Mearns (2003) stressed that institutions possess a profound influence over people's access to assets, but it is not a simple one-way relationship, as individuals or groups interpret access and distribution of assets, redefine the access and may reject the structures and processes that guide their behaviour. Zibambele workers' defined access to income-generation projects based on the amount of their collective savings. Workers' did not utilize their savings to invest in other income-generating activities. Officials acknowledged the frustration of workers' and identified workers' not investing their savings due to the promises made by the DoT, "Workers' have been told to save and have been promised a lot about business opportunities; in turn they have been saving so much but nothing is happening". This

implied that workers' are building up a level of frustration in the Zibambebe programme, which poses the risk of workers' rejecting the programme.

The livelihood approach allowed for an understanding of the strategies of the KZN DoT to alleviate poverty to be compared with the livelihood outcomes of workers'. This was important as it allowed for a shift from policy and marketing to a focus on issues of implementation. Unequal opportunities and benefits to workers' revealed a gap between Zibambebe policy and planning strategies and how workers' interpreted the actions of the KZN DoT.

5. Zibambebe workers' expression of their agency reflects workers' desire not to be dependent on the Zibambebe programme

Zibambebe workers' have indicated their resourcefulness in providing for themselves and their households prior to the Zibambebe programme. Workers' generated income, although insufficient, by plastering mud huts for five rand a day prior to joining the Zibambebe programme. This indicated the ability of workers' to engage in other survival strategies when needed. Requests from Zibambebe workers' for more money implied workers' requests for independence and support from the KZN DoT. Requests from Zibambebe workers' for practical skills, such as driving, sewing and education, reflected the desires of workers' to pursue other productive opportunities. Workers' suggestions highlighted their ability to identify solutions to their needs. Johnson (1992: 274) and Chambers (1997:206) state that, given the opportunity, the poor can identify solutions to their problems innovatively and creatively and, most importantly, generate commitment to the goals they set. The desire of the workers' not to be dependent on the Zibambebe programme was highlighted by the statement of a worker, "We don't want government to do everything for us, we want them to support us".

Workers' emphasized that they would like to engage in other income-generating activities, such as planting and selling vegetables and sewing school uniforms for sale.

The examples given by workers' showed their desire to be involved in small-scale income -generating activities to meet their short-term needs. The DoT's focus on savings clubs and life-skills training promoted workers' involvement in large-scale, long-term co-operative ventures. The KZN DoT did not acknowledge workers' strategies to address their poverty and supported long-term dependency of workers' on the Zibambele programme. Workers' identified diversification of strategies through identifying Zibambele work and the Zibambele flexible work time to engage in other income-generating activities. This demonstrated the value workers' place on diversification of strategies to meeting their needs and supported workers' desire not to be dependent on the Zibambele programme. Ellis (2000) and Turner *et al.* (2003) support the diversification of activities, as the more activities engaged in the less likelihood of all of them failing.

6.1 Explanation of how the Zibambele programme is implemented

The Zibambele programme represents a 'top-down' economic approach to poverty alleviation, through the promotion of the DoT's vision of providing economic skills and resource to workers'. This can be explained by the idea of 'economic determinism' not in the marxist sense but in the context of the failure of the modernising state in Africa.

Animashaun (2008: 6) explain 'economic determinism' as the inherent assumption by institutions that peoples' experiences are improved by material conditions and down plays the importance of other factors, such as cultural and social conditions. The idea of 'economic determinism' does not take into consideration peoples' life's exist beyond economic hardship. For example, the inequalities imposed by structures on people. 'Economic determinism' economically legitimises peoples' believe that economic approaches are fair and just (Animashaun, 2008: 6).

'Economic determinism' applied to the Zibambele programme supports the idea that workers' association with the Zibambele programme will alleviate their poverty.

Workers' are led to believe that if they participate in the savings club and life-skills initiative they will be able to engage in other income-generating activities, such as building co-operative ventures. This supports the 'top-down' development planning and implementation driven by the KZN DoT. Similar to the limitations of 'top-down' planning cited by Lewis (1954, cited in Ellis and Biggs, 2001: 440). Zibambele workers' were disassociated from the external and technical assistance they received from the KZN DoT. Workers' did not understand that their involvement in the Zibambele programmes savings clubs and life-skills training do not guarantee them poverty alleviation. Workers' were not made aware of the structural constraints of the DoT, which limited DoT's capacity to alleviate workers' poverty. The KZN DoT does not communicate this limitation to Zibambele workers', leading workers' to believe that the onus lies on them to use the skills and resources provided by the programme to map their own routes out of poverty. Workers' were led by the DoT's promotion of the idea that if workers' engage in co-operative ventures they can alleviate their poverty.

The DoT practice of linking some workers' to income-generating projects and not others highlights the 'rising expectations' of workers'. Workers began to perceive the DoT's linking some workers to an income-generating project as a standard practice of the DoT to changing their conditions of poverty. Workers not linked to an income-generating project by the DoT expect the same change in their lives as their colleagues who were linked to an income-generating project by the DoT. This suggests that even though Zibambele workers may actually be somewhat better off than in their past due to earning an income to buy basic food items and collectively saving so that they can invest in business ventures, which they could not do in the before joining the Zibambele programme, workers situation relative to their expectations of the DoT managing their poverty, through linking them with income-generating projects, allowed workers to perceive that nothing much has changed for them. The rising expectations of workers reveal the potential instability of the Zibambele programme as Newman (2008: 459) highlights that rising expectations result in frustrations and anger for more improvement.

The idea of 'economic determinism' suggests that the Zibambele programme take for granted an automatic relationship between the provision of skills and economic resources and the use of the skills and economic resources to alleviate poverty. The above belief disguises the reality of workers' to employ their agency to pursue other income-generating activities to alleviate their poverty. Chambers (1997: 206) and Johnson (1992: 274) suggest that by not acknowledging the agency of the poor, poverty alleviation initiatives are limited. An exploration of the Zibambele poverty alleviation programme revealed that workers' were not able to interpret the aims and objectives of the life-skills and savings club initiatives to utilize Zibambele resources and skills to pursue other income-generating activities.

The idea of 'economic determinism' was conceptualised through using livelihood concepts captured by the livelihood framework developed by Neefjies (2000:83). Workers' social, economic and natural capital, the structural conditions (vulnerabilities of workers' and the KZN-DoT), the KZN DoT structure and processes, workers' livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes were explored. This study focused on the central relationship between workers' livelihood outcomes and the KZN DoT's structure and processes in the Zibambele programme.

Scoones (1998: 10-13) identified a limitation of employing the livelihood approach, as an analytical tool focuses on one relationship between livelihood concepts ignoring other relationships between livelihood concepts. This study, overcame the limitation identified by Scoones by adhering to the advice of Neefjies (2000: 83) who promotes integrating different livelihood concepts to show how they influence each other. The relationship between Zibambele workers' livelihood strategies and the KZN DoT's institutional processes and structure was the central relationship of the study but integrated the vulnerability context and livelihood outcomes of workers and workers livelihood capitals. The flexibility of the livelihood approach to integration different livelihood concepts proved useful to reflect the idea of 'economic determinism'.

The livelihood approach as a tool for understanding the Zibambele poverty alleviation programme allowed for a holistic and people-centred analysis as suggested by Krantz (2001: 10-11) through identification of factors that affected Zibambele workers' and the KZN DoT inside and outside the Zibambele programme. Factors that affected Zibambele workers' inside the Zibambele programme were workers' not being able to pursue other income-generating livelihood activities using the skills and resources provided by the Zibambele programme. Factors affecting workers' outside the Zibambele programme were cultural and social constraints. A cultural constraint identified was the heavy burden of death of family members workers' faced. A social constraint identified was that workers' struggle to send their children to school, due to workers' inability to afford school fees and school uniforms. Factors that affected the KZN DoT inside the programme was that the DoT did not possess the capacity to engage in a participatory poverty alleviation approach, as well the inefficient communication strategies employed to explain the goals and objectives of the programme to workers'. The prominent factor that affected the KZN DoT outside the Zibambele programme was not acknowledging the limitations of the KZN DoT, as a transport institution focused on mobility and infrastructure, limiting the capacity of the KZN DoT to alleviate poverty. The livelihood approach to understanding the Zibambele poverty alleviation programme allowed for the identification of external and internal constraints, namely; economic, cultural, political and social.

The livelihood approach to understanding the Zibambele poverty alleviation programme allowed for a people-centered focus as promoted by Krantz (2001: 10-13). Workers' experiences of the Zibambele programme proved to highlight the beneficial and negative impacts of the Zibambele programme. For example, workers' were able to purchase basic food and grocery items, which they were unable to purchase prior to joining the Zibambele programme. However, workers' livelihood activities were constrained by the Zibambele programme, as workers' did not pursue other income-generating activities to map routes out of their poverty. Workers' did not utilize the skills and resources provided by the Zibambele programme to address their poverty. The livelihood approach to understanding the Zibambele poverty alleviation programme revealed that workers'

agency was constrained due to workers' not understanding the goals and objective of the programme.

Finally, the livelihood approach as a tool for understanding the Zibambele poverty alleviation programme highlighted the economic-targeted intervention by KZN DoT in addressing poverty alleviation does not always result in the desired outcomes. An approach to address the multi-dimensional definition of poverty depends on understanding the needs and capabilities of the poor (Narayan, 1999: 39-42 and Mearns , 2003: 3), so as to allow the poor to take advantage of the opportunities offered to them. This requires building relationships between workers' and the KZN DoT and other poverty specialist to strengthen poverty alleviation in the Zibambele programme as suggested by Strebel (2004: 6).

In conclusion, the livelihood approach as holistic and people-centred approach promoted by Krantz (2001: 10-11) and as a flexible approach promoted by Satge (2000: 16) proved to be valuable in exploring and understanding the Zibambele poverty alleviation programme.

6.2 Recommendations

The following recommendations are presented to inform the Zibambele programme of interventions to further contribute to the poverty alleviation initiative.

- The Zibambele programme's life-skills initiative should be reassessed in terms of providing an array of skills that aim to promote the agency of Zibambele workers' to pursue with confidence other activities to alleviate their poverty.
- The use of savings clubs as criteria to link workers' with an income-generating project should be reconsidered, as it facilitates expectations and dependency of workers' on the Zibambele programme. Perhaps Zibambele workers' could present proposals to acquire the income-generating projects.

- Zibambebe briefs should be clearly communicated through a distinct chain of command, but more especially to Zibambebe workers'. This would be aimed at making workers expectations of the programme more realisable.
- Social consultants and the life-skills programme need to be evaluated and assessed in terms of what social consultants say they intend to offer and what they are actually offering to workers'.
- DoT should consider incorporating a participatory approach in the Zibambebe poverty alleviation programme, to build a relationship with workers' to secure a joint partnership to address poverty alleviation.
- It would be advantageous for DoT to take account of the agency of workers' to contribute and commit to their poverty alleviation.

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Appendix I: Focus Group Guide: Zibambele Workers'

A. Needs of Zibambele Workers'

- What are some of the things you consider as important to meeting your daily needs? What specifically do you think should be looked at example; household needs or income needs?
- What are some of the challenges you face in meeting your daily needs?
- What do you think are some of the solutions to meeting your daily needs?

B. Zibambele Programme

Lets talk about the Zibambele Programme!

- Can you describe how the Zibambele programme works?
- Before you joined the Zibambele Programme can you describe the poverty (hardships) you faced?
- Do think being apart of the Zibambele Programme has helped you deal with your poverty (hardships)? Can you give examples?
- Which of your needs are being met by the project? How are these needs being met?

C. Activities Workers' engage in

- When you not working on the roads, what do you do?
- Are there any other activities you involved in that add to your household income? Can you list some of these activities?

D. Reconciling Zibambele work time with daily /other survival activities

- Would you like to engage in other activities when not working on the roads? What kind of activities would you like to engage in?
- Do you think that Zibambele work allows you time to engage in other activities? If so, in what ways? If not, why not?

- What are the challenges you face in balancing Zibambeke work with other activities? Can you give examples?

E. Department's support of Workers' livelihood activities

- Do you receive any help from the department? What kind of help?
- What kind of help would you like to receive from the department?
- How do you think this kind of help will help improve your lives?

F. Social development initiatives

Life-skills

- Have you ever had any life-skills training? When? Who provided it? Was it through this programme or another?
- How often is the life-skills programme offered to you in the Zibambeke programme?
- What are some of the Vulindlela areas covered in the life-skills training?
- Which areas/ topics interested you the most? Why?
- What did you expect to receive from the life-skills training?
- Was the training you received different from what you expected? In what way?
- What else would you like to receive from the life-skills training and why?
- How helpful has the life-skills training been to you? Can you give examples how you have used the life-skills training?
- How do you plan to use the life-skills training in the future?
- What would you think are some of the problems with the life-skills training programme? Can you give examples?
- How do you suggest these problems can be addressed?

Savings Club

- Can you describe how the savings club works?
- Have you drawn from the savings club so far? What did you use the savings for?

- Is the saving club helpful to you? How so?
- Do you think your savings can be invested in other business activities example;; starting up vendors? What kind of business would like to start up?
- How do you plan using your future savings?
- Can these activities help improve your household income? In what way?
- What are some of the problems you face in using your savings to add to your household income?
- What do you think are the possible solutions to over come these problems?

(G) Conclusion

Our purpose in this discussion was to find out how the Zibambele Programme can contribute to your daily or other survival activities. This could occur in a variety of ways. It might mean providing people in your community with skills, expertise, money or other forms of support. Is there anything you want to add? Have we missed anything?

Thank you!

Appendix II: Interview Guide: Regional Co-ordinators & managers of the Zibambele Programme (KZN-DoT).

A. Rural poverty alleviation

- Why do you think the Department of Transport is tackling rural poverty?
- What are some of the reasons for tackling rural poverty?
- How does the department hope to achieve these goals? Is there a particular approach or strategy that is been adopted?
- Before Zibambele workers' enter the Programme can you **define** some of the conditions of their poverty? What are the hardships they faced?
- Can you comment on how the Zibambele programme has addressed the poverty circumstances of Zibambele workers'? To what extent and with how much success?

B. Zibambele Programme

- What does the department want to achieve through the Zibambele programme?
(Probe Aims and objectives)
- What do you hope the Zibambele programme will do for contractor's lives?
- How do you think workers' benefit from the Zibambele programme? Can you give examples?
- What are some of the needs of workers' being met by the project? How are these needs being met?
- In what way does the Zibambele programme ensure participation of workers' in their social development indicatives (savings club and life-skills programme)?
- From your experience do you think Zibambele workers' are becoming dependant on Zibambele incomes? If yes, give reasons why you think so?
- What do you suggest be done to overcome dependency on Zibambele income?
- What are some of the challenges faced by the department in implementing the Zibambele programme?
- What do you consider as some of the possible solutions?

Lets look briefly at the exit strategy of the programme,

- What are the department's goals in terms of its exit strategy?
- As workers' leave the programme, how would the Zibambele programme have contributed to their lives?
- Does the programme aim to bring immediate or long-term relief to contactors lives? Can you elaborate on this? (Look for details).

C. Workers' Activities

- When workers' are not working on the roads, what activities do you think occupies their time?
- Do you think there are other activities pursued by contactors that add to their household income? Can you give examples?
- The Zibambele programme provides flexible working hours to workers', what activities did the programme hope that workers' would build on using Zibambele incomes and resources to address their poverty circumstances?
- What kind of challenges do you think workers' face in balancing Zibambele work with other income-generating activities? Give examples of their constraints?

Workers' call for help on the Department

- Do workers' reach out to the department for help? What kind of help? Has the department been able to provide the help requested? If so, in what way? If not, why not?

D. Institutionalizing the Livelihood approach

- Do you think it is useful to take account of contractor's daily/other survival activities? Why do you think so? If you had to incorporate these aspects into the Zibambele programme, how would you do this?

E. Social Development Initiatives

Let's talk a bit about the savings club and life skill orientation initiatives.

Life-skills orientation

- Can you describe the aims and objectives of providing life-skills training to workers’?
- Let’s talk about how the programme works. Who provides the training? Where is the training held? How often is the training provided? Is the life skill training compulsory?
- What are some of the topics covered by the training?
- Do you think the life skill training has been helpful to workers’? In what way? Can you give examples?
- Can you comment on attendance/participation in the training programme?
- How would the department like to see the workers’ utilize the skills training being provided?
- What are some of the challenges experienced by the training programme? Can you give some examples? What do you consider as possible solutions?

Savings club

- Can you describe the aims and objectives of the savings club?
- Can you describe how the savings club works?
- What would the department like workers’ to invest their savings on? Why?
- What are some of the activities workers’ are investing their savings on? Give examples? How do you know this? Who tells you this?
- What do you think are some of the problems contactors face in investing their savings in other income-generating activities? Has the department addressed any of these problems? If so, how? If not, why not?
- What are some of the challenges the department faces with the savings club programme?
- What are the possible solutions?

F. Conclusion

The purpose of this interview was to learn if the rural Livelihood approach is a valued response to poverty alleviation within the Zibambele programme?

Have we missed anything?

Do you have any advice for us in terms of the research?

Thank you!