

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL (HOWARD COLLEGE)

**An investigation into the efficiency and effectiveness of the Child Support Grant
distribution: A Case study of Welbedacht East area in Chatsworth**



By

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Declaration

This study represents original work by the author and has not otherwise been submitted in any form for any degree or diploma to any University. Where use has been made of the work of others, it is duly acknowledged in the text.

Signed:..... Date.....

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Dedication

This study is dedicated to my parents Mr. J.Z. Mnguni and Mrs Z.W. Mnguni and my brother Lindokuhle Mnguni. You have been there for me every step of the way and for this I will be forever thankful.

Abstract

This study investigates the effectiveness of the Child Support Grant (CSG) distribution using the community of Welbedacht East (WE) in Chatsworth as a case study and explores the CSG's impact on grant recipients. A detailed literature review was undertaken in order to determine the intentions and efficiency of the South African government in implementing the CSG policy. The study further explores the extent to which the objectives of the CSG policy have been achieved and assesses the outcomes of this policy and its implementation. To achieve these objectives, information was solicited from informants who reside in the selected research area.

The study's findings on the evaluated outcomes are broadly discussed, and an in-depth discussion is presented on the implications of CSG distribution, with a primary focus on whether or not the CSG is reaching its intended beneficiaries, specifically children in need. Finally, recommendations based on these findings are presented.

Abbreviations

ABET – Adult Basic Education Training

ACCESS- Alliance for Children’s Entitlement to Social Security

ANC - African National Congress

BISA- Brazil, Indian and South Africa

CCTs - Conditional Cash Transfers

CDG- Care Dependency Grant

CPRC- Chronic Poverty Research Centre

CSG - Child Support Grant

DFID- Department for International Development

DG- Disability Grant

DoE – Department of Education

DoH - Department of Health

DoHA - Department of Home Affairs

DSD - Department of Social Development

ECD – Early Childhood Development

EPRI- Economic Policy Research Institute

GNI- Gross National Income

GNP- Gross National Product

NCOP- National Council of Provinces

NDA- National Development Agency

NGI- National Gross Income

NSC- National Senior Certificate

NSFAS - National Student Financial Aid Scheme

OAG – Old Age Grant

PRP- Poverty Relief Programme

SACSI- South African Civil Society Information

SAPS - South African Police Service

SASSA – South African Social Security Agency

SMG - State Maintenance Grant

RDP- Reconstruction and Development Programme

UCT - Unconditional Cash Transfers

UIF- Unemployment Insurance Fund

UKZN- University of KwaZulu-Natal

UNESCO- United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organisation

United Nations Children’s Fund - UNICEF

WVG- War Veteran Grant

WE - Welbedacht East

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Dedication	iii
Abstract	iv
Abbreviations	v
Table of contents	vii
CHAPTER ONE – Introduction and background	
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Historical background	1
1.2.1 South Africa	1
1.2.2 Brazil	3
1.3 Background of the study	4
1.4 Rationale for the study	5
1.5 Main aim of the study	6
1.6 Objectives of the study	7
1.7 Research questions	7
1.8 Anticipated value of the study	7
1.9 Theoretical framework	8

1.10 Outline of research methodology	9
1.10.1 Research Design	10
1.10.2 Sampling	10
1.10.3 Data Collection	10
1.10.4 Data Analysis	10
1.11 Structure of the dissertation	11
CHAPTER TWO – Literature review	13
2.1 Introduction	13
2.2 Definition of Literature Review	17
2.3 Definition of poverty	18
2.4 The Context before the Child Support Grant	19
2.5 The Introduction of the Child Support Grant	20
2.6 The cycle of poverty	25
2.7 The need for responsive policies	26
2.7.1 Unconditional Cash Transfers (UCT) versus Conditional Cash Transfers (CCT)	27
2.7.2 International Conditional Cash Transfers	29
2.7.3 Latin America’s Programmes to alleviate poverty	34
2.7.4 Poverty in India	36
2.8 Conclusion	37

CHAPTER THREE – Theoretical Framework	38
3.1 Introduction	38
3.2 Public Participation	38
CHAPTER FOUR – Research Methodology	42
4.1 Introduction	42
4.2 Study Setting	42
4.3 Research Design	43
4.4 Sampling Method	44
4.5 Data Collection Instrument	45
4.5.1 Questionnaire	46
4.5.2 The structure of the focus group questionnaire	46
4.5.3 Data Analysis methods	47
4.6 Ethical Clearance	47
4.6.1 Informed Consent	48
4.7 Potential limitations of the study	48
4.8 Conclusion	48
CHAPTER FIVE – Data Analysis and Findings	49
5.1 Introduction	49
5.2 Data Analysis	49
5.3 Research Findings	72
5.4 Conclusion	73

CHAPTER SIX – Conclusions and Recommendations	74
6.1 Introduction	74
6.2 Conclusions	74
6.2.1 Positive findings of the study	74
6.2.2 Negative findings of the study	75
6.2.3 Conclusion	75
6.3 Recommendations	76
6.3.1 Interventions at grass roots level	76
6.3.2 Provision of good quality education for the poor	76
6.3.3 Provide health services and nutritious food	77
6.3.4 Monitoring and Evaluation Mechanisms	77
APPENDICES:	
Appendix A: Participant Information Letter	78
Appendix B: Informed Consent Form	80
Appendix C: Interview Schedule	82
Appendix D: Pseudonyms	85
Appendix E: Ethical Clearance	88
REFERENCES	90

Chapter One: Background and Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Poverty is a pervasive global challenge. Governments in developing countries have adopted socio-economic policies and strategies to alleviate household poverty and uphold human dignity. However, studies have shown that while developing nations such as Brazil, India and China are experiencing economic growth, poverty remains a challenge. Heller (2010) notes, that, Brazil, India and South Africa (BISA) present the three most successful cases of democratisation in the developing world. However, questions of concern include whether democracy makes government more responsive to the demands of the people and whether or not ordinary citizens can move beyond the periodic exercise of their right to vote, to enforce their civic and political rights.

1.2 Historical background

1.2.1 South Africa

Du Bois' (1903) seminal work, *The Soul of Black Folk* provided insight into the social problems confronting South Africa. His writing enables an understanding of the economic, religious, political, social and cultural implications of a society where the success of one group is achieved at the expense of another. Billingsley (1992) confirmed that "race still matters in terms of opportunity, access, treatment, and quality of life".

The post-apartheid democratic government sought to introduce macroeconomic initiatives to alleviate poverty, promote income redistribution, create employment and provide sustainable essential social services. In terms of South Africa's Constitution, access to various social services is an inherent right. Chapter 2, Section 27 subsection 1(c) of the Bill of Rights in the Constitution states that everyone has the right to access to social security, including those that are unable to support themselves and their dependents.

May (2008) observes that South Africa suffers persistent patterns of child poverty, as unemployment indirectly affects children's lives. Child poverty is one of the most serious challenges facing many countries. A 2005 United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) report notes that 640 million children (equivalent to one in three) in developing countries live without

secure, adequate shelter. Approximately 400 million children (one in five) have no access to safe water, while 270 million children (one in seven) do not have access to health services and more than 121 million children of primary school age are not in school.

When the democratic government came to power in South Africa 1994, it was estimated that more than half the population was experiencing poverty, with almost 2.5 million individuals, including children, suffering from poverty and malnutrition (ANC, 1994, cited in Makiwane, 2001). The government adopted a number of policies to fight poverty, with special attention to child poverty. These included policies to reform existing financial assistance to poor households.

The South African government introduced a range of social grants on 1 March 1996 as a strategy to give vulnerable groups access to social services. These included the Old Age Pension (OAG), Grant-In-Aid (GIA), Disability Grant (DG), Care Dependency (CD), War Veteran Grant (WVG), Foster Care Grant (FCG) and Child Support Grant (CSG). Social grants have assisted millions of vulnerable poor people such as the elderly, people with disabilities, people affected and infected by HIV/AIDS and the unemployed.

In April 1998 the Department of Welfare implemented the Child Support Grant (CSG) after former Welfare Minister, Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi appointed the Lund Commission to investigate an alternative to the State Maintenance Grant (SMG). It was reported that the SMG was highly accessed by the coloured and white population and that extending it to every citizen was not fiscally viable (Van den Berg and Kruger, cited in Robinson and Sadan, 1999). Policies were therefore adopted to introduce social grants that directly target poor communities, children, the elderly, people with disabilities and others in need. The CSG specifically aimed to reduce child poverty. It is a monetary aid designed to benefit needy children that is granted to the child's primary care-giver. The CSG was also intended to assist particularly poor, rural children.

Child poverty is among the main challenges the government attempts to address through existing social grant policies. South Africa's social security system is under pressure to meet the needs of a large, marginalised population, including children, in order that their rights to food, shelter and clean water are met. According to Schwandti (1997:334), the social assistance system inherited from the apartheid regime was entirely inadequate to meet the basic needs of the majority of South Africans. It was estimated that it only reached 37% of individuals who were in need.

Various studies have shown that, in general terms, the poverty cycle is passed from generation to generation. Zastrow (2008) notes that, worldwide, people in poor neighbourhoods present distinct values, cultures and lifestyles. While this may not necessarily be true of all geographical spaces across time, it nonetheless provides an idea of how poverty evolves. To a large degree, the continuous challenge of poverty arises from on-going economic deprivation, especially in highly capitalist societies. Such deprivation is eventually normalised by high rates of unemployment among the marginalised and low wages for those employed as unskilled labour. Economic exploitation is one trait that triggers child poverty. Apartheid principles that were instrumental in shaping the Black population's economic deprivation and exclusion are addressed later in this study. However, the discussion of various facets of poverty in this study shows that South Africa is not an anomaly. On the contrary, poverty affects other countries and communities and national governments adopt different responses. Consequently, poverty does not have the same impact throughout the world. This study examines the CSG as one strategy adopted by the South African government to address poverty.

1.2.2 Brazil

Brazil was colonized by Portugal from the 16th century, mainly to exploit its forests and later for sugarcane production. The National Confederation of Agriculture Workers notes that Brazilian children who cut cane on the plantations perform work that is not suited to their age, as their bones and muscular system are not yet fully developed. They suffer irreversible limb and joint problems in adulthood and are at risk of cardiac and respiratory ailments. The sexual exploitation of young girl children is another problem in Brazil. A report by the Brazilian Institute of Gems and Precious Metals notes that Brazil has the third largest number of minors working in domestic service - a total of 559 000 - exceeded only by South Africa and Indonesia. Most are girl children who are kept by their employers as a sign of social status (www.ust.gov/sites/default/files).

Portuguese is the official language in Brazil and Brazilian politics have continued to be dominated by the former colonial power. During colonialism, most of the indigenous population was driven out of the country, while large numbers of people were transported to Brazil from Africa as slaves. On 7 September 1822, Brazil gained independence from Portugal and eventually became a constitutional monarchy, the Empire of Brazil. Brazil has suffered a difficult transition from authoritarianism to democracy. Several factors have slowed democratic

consolidation, leading to highly unequal distribution of social welfare services, a high unemployment rate and economic instability.

According to Soca (2008), in Brazil, the largest state in Latin America, 32 million children and adolescents out of a total population of 178 million live in households with an income of less than US\$40 per month. Poverty forces children of school-going age to work, while creating a breeding-ground for malnutrition and violence against children. It is estimated that three million children under the age of 14 work in Brazil, 40% in agriculture under extremely poor conditions. Such work is generally incompatible with school attendance.

When democracy was introduced in 1990, only 85.8% of Brazil's children were enrolled in primary education (World Bank, 2004). The federal government adopted a national conditional cash transfer (CCT) scheme that rewarded families with a grant for sending their children to school. A programme called *Bolsa Familia* (developmental programme) evolved throughout the decade and today Brazil seems to be on track to achieve universal primary education (UNESCO UIS: Education in Brazil, 2004; World Bank: Brazil Education Profile, Summary, 2004).

1.3 Background of the study

At a general level, the concept of 'poverty' is defined as "the inability to achieve a minimum standard of living, measured in terms of a household's inability to meet its basic consumption needs or the income required to satisfy such needs". Poverty is usually measured in terms of a 'poverty line' - an income level or monetary consumption value that separates the 'poor' from the 'non-poor' (Friedman, 1999, cited in Charles, 2001) "Child poverty thus becomes only one segment which touches a specific age group. Child poverty is a multi-dimensional recurring phenomenon in South Africa that has led to numerous national and international policy responses, including the CSG".

This section discusses the social problems that many poor people, including women and children, experience in their communities. Some analysts hold that a lack of public consultation and people's involvement in developing their own communities at grassroots level is one cause of poverty. Buccus, Hemson, Hicks and Piper's (2008) study revealed that the pervading attitude among officials was that they knew what people wanted and thus participation was unnecessary. As a result, there is little or no contact between policy makers and community members. Buccus

et al. (2008) quoted a top official: "We know what people's needs are and what they will be in the next 100 years, only the rank order will change."

This technocratic approach to development negates the notion that local knowledge and open democratic processes assist in shaping policies and delivering services. The above conceptualisation of the cause of poverty is debateable. For example, poverty already exists before policy makers exclude those who are poor. The following causes of poverty other than failure by policy makers (and government) to consult will be discussed extensively:

- South Africa's history
- Class, ethnicity and gender
- Cultural recognition or rejection intertwined with resource deprivation
- Politics – the denial of political rights
- Monetary, capability and participatory exclusion

In South Africa and other countries, the government predicts people's needs by means of quantitative research rather than qualitative approaches. The qualitative approach studies in-depth discourses of current problems and does not assume current or future needs. In contrast, the quantitative approach is presumptuous and prevents hidden social problems and their root causes from coming to light. This immediately leads to two problems. Firstly, the real causes of poverty are overlooked. Secondly, potential poverty alleviation mechanisms are neglected. It is against this backdrop that this study examines the government's interpretation of poverty and its thinking on how to alleviate poverty. Hence, the analysis of the nuances of the CSG is used as a test measure.

1.4 Rationale for the study

This study examines the social problems experienced by some poor communities and households where there are children present. As noted earlier, some analysts believe that poverty is triggered by a lack of consultation and community development and the failure to involve people in policy decision-making. This assumption is put to the test in this study in order to verify and establish

its credence. Child poverty is a multi-dimensional, recurring phenomenon in South Africa that has prompted numerous national and international policy responses, including the CSG. Alcock (2006) notes, that, the concept of poverty, which varies amongst individuals and across life cycles, has been a strong focus of research over the past century.

The technocratic approach prevents the government from establishing the basic causes of the challenges that people confront and from developing effective prevention strategies. Effective interaction between government officials and community members could achieve two objectives. Firstly, it could establish the real causes of poverty from an empirical perspective. Secondly and most importantly, it could assist the government to determine the most relevant prevention strategies that best serve the community's interests on the ground.

In light of this trajectory, the government should commit to meaningful engagement at grassroots level and communicate with poor individuals in order to ascertain what policies would satisfy their needs. General observation suggests that the CSG's target groups often have limited or incorrect information on how the grant should be used. This study recommends the provision of an accessible, informative programme in communities on the purpose of the CSG and its primary aims and objectives. As Goldblatt (cited in Brynard, 2006) notes, most CSG recipients use the grant money for their own personal use. Government officials fail to address, monitor and evaluate the outcomes of CSG distribution in order to ensure that needy, deserving children benefit directly as intended. Thus, the rationale for this study was to use empirical data to assess the impact of the CSG as a means to alleviate poverty in South Africa, using a case study of the Welbedacht East (WE) area in Chatsworth, Durban.

1.5 Main aim of the study

This study examines the extent to which the CSG has been sufficient to address poverty and deprivation among children in need. Through a literature review, the study investigates existing scientific and popular literature on issues such as South Africans' sources of income prior to and after the social grants were implemented in order to compare past and current realities. It then uses empirical data to test the level of success of the CSG.

1.6 Objectives of the study

The objectives of this study are:

- To investigate the impact the CSG has on recipients in WE in Chatsworth, Durban;
- To determine whether or not the CSG has improved recipients' standard of living;
- To determine the extent to which the recipients' lives have improved and to make recommendations on what should be done to change the current status quo.

1.7 Research questions

1. What is the economic, social and community impact of the CSG in a specific section of society?
2. What level of consultation took place with specific communities before the adoption of the CSG policy?
3. What effect do social grants have on individuals, families and the broader community?
4. How effective has this policy been in alleviating poverty in this specific area or case study?
5. What can be done to make CSG more effective and efficient?

1.8 Anticipated value of the study

The study investigates the CSG's effectiveness and impact in alleviating child poverty in WE, Chatsworth. It also assesses the extent to which the CSG has been sufficient to tackle child poverty in South Africa. Through a literature review, the study investigates various issues related to this topic, including South Africans' sources of income prior to and after the social grant was implemented in order to compare past and current realities. Subbaro et al. (1997) explain that in the South African context, social assistance or social grants refer to financial assistance from government revenue to deserving people. This system is means tested and granted to destitute individuals. Various commentators have noted that grants have been proven to contribute significantly to the survival of poor households and have thus been referred to as 'safety nets'.

According to Seekings (2003), persistent poverty exacerbates inequality. This requires that government provide a safety net. An analysis of income and expenditure data between 1995 and

2002 shows that the proportion of people living below the poverty rate of R354 per adult declined marginally from 51% to 48%. While the actual number increased by more than a million, the number living in extreme poverty increased from 9.4% (3.7 million) to 10.5 (4.7 million) (UNDP, 2003). This suggests that poverty is continuously increasing. It is therefore clear that the poorest of the poor have not benefitted from economic growth.

Mbokazi, Ndlovu, Mtshali and Bhengu (2010) suggest that numerous conditions are required to create a meaningful platform to empower people to participate in development aimed at improving their lives. These include people's interests, confidence, literacy levels and awareness of social welfare. According to Mehta (1997), the concepts of 'poverty' and 'development' have a pronounced relationship, especially in so-called developing societies. A society's economic development and the incidence of poverty within it, often coexist, calling for a rethink on policy initiatives. The evidence suggests that much remains to be done to address the challenges and causes of poverty as well as economic exclusion. Hirsh (2003) attributed this inequality to the "two economies" existing in South Africa, and noted that many people are trapped in a "third world economy" that exists side by side with the modern "first world economy" but is structurally disconnected from it.

This study aims to make a contribution to closing the gap that excludes poor individuals from their right to social welfare and economic participation. This could be achieved by reforming the social security system so that benefits are distributed equally to all citizens. Engagement between marginalised members of society and government officials could facilitate the design of a meaningful and beneficial anti-poverty strategy. It is therefore anticipated that this study will contribute to the existing body of knowledge by: (i) unpacking the reality on the ground in relation to the impact of the CSG on local communities, and (ii) making concrete proposals on how the mode of operation should be changed in order to maximise the benefits of government initiatives such as the CSG.

1.9 Theoretical framework

This study partly adopts public participation theory, which is commonly used to consult with and involve community members in agenda setting. Public participation includes the decision-making and policy-forming activities of the local organisations or institutions responsible for

policy development. The public plays a direct role in policy processes. However, in most democratic states, policy decisions are taken by representative institutions that empower specialised actors to determine the capacity and content of public policies. These institutions do not provide mechanisms through which the public can directly participate and make decisions in policy making. Greighton (2005) explains that public participation is the process by which people's concerns, needs and values are incorporated into governmental and corporate decision-making. It is two-way communication and interaction with the overall goal of reaching better decisions that are supported by the public. Dagnino (2007) cited in Heller (2010:8) argues that there is a "new way of doing politics that focused on community participation and a new politics of citizenship focused on not just legal rights, but citizens being active social subjects, defining their rights, and struggling for these rights to be recognized."

Although South Africa has adopted numerous policies to promote transformation and improve the poor's standard of living, the policy making processes have not included marginalised communities in development planning. Public participation would enhance the accountability of political structures. It is therefore imperative for civil society to be available to participate directly and freely in engaging in political matters in a meaningful manner.

Failure to promote meaningful community participation resulted in policies that are not responsive to the core needs of the poor. Public participation is acknowledged as an imperative component of effective human development. Buccus et al. (2007) believe that this would enable the "deepening of democracy" and empowerment at grassroots level. Empowerment occurs when citizens participate in planning and implementing policy. Through democratic participation in mutual support groups, self-help groups or action-orientated groups, participants gain new skills, social support and a sense of control over their lives and their environment (Minkler and Wellerstein, 1997).

1.10 Outline of research methodology

This study adopted a qualitative research approach entailing both primary and secondary data. The primary data consist of focus group discussions by CSG recipients, while secondary data was gathered via relevant existing data including books, published articles and reports, unpublished research like theses and scholarly internet sources.

1.10.1 Research design

A qualitative research approach was appropriate for this study as it allowed the researcher to gather and understand in-depth, rich data such as a participant's feelings, opinions and daily life experiences. An exploratory design was found to be suitable; Babbie and Mouton (2001) state that exploratory studies are suitable to social science research since they enable the researcher to explore situations and give meaning to social phenomena.

1.10.2 Sampling

Sampling refers to the selection of participants from the broader population the researcher is studying. It entails observing events, settings, behaviours and decision-making. Becker and Bryman (2004:49) define a sample as “a subset of population selected to participate in a research study”. The researcher purposively selected 50 CSG recipients from WE in Chatsworth using a non-probability sampling approach. Alston and Bowles (2003) explain that this method is mostly applied in exploratory research studies by qualitative researchers.

1.10.3 Data collection

The researcher collected data by conducting focus group interviews using IsiZulu as a local language. This allowed participants to interact freely, guided by key questions. This made it possible to access a larger sample within a short space of time than would have been the case if the informants were to be approached individually. Welmam, Kruger and Mitchell (2005) describe focus group research as group, in-depth **unstructured interviews** enabling the researcher to obtain in-depth information from participants. They further emphasise that unstructured interviews are useful in cases where the researcher wants to launch an extensive investigation. Empirical data collected in this manner supplemented information obtained from secondary sources.

1.10.4 Data analysis

According to Henning, van Rensburg and Smith (2004), the data analysis process involves the researcher's interpretations, explanations and description of the findings. The in-depth findings of this study are presented in chapter five. During the focus group interviews, substantial information was collected via tape recorder and field notes that was later analysed to gain an advanced understanding and meaning of the data collected. The recordings were later transcribed

into word processing documents and some transcripts were translated from IsiZulu into English. Thyer (2010) suggests that once the tapes have been transcribed, researchers should familiarise themselves with and analyse the transcripts, which like transcription, is a time-consuming undertaking. The next step codes the data for themes across different interviews. This process was followed in the present study, both for conformity to research practice and in order to be able to make sense of the different data sets.

1.11 Structure of the dissertation

This research study is made up of the following chapters:

- **Chapter 1 - Introduction and Background**

This chapter provides a brief discussion of the primary motivation for this research study as well as the objectives, research questions and methods applied.

- **Chapter 2 - Literature Review**

Chapter 2 presents a review of current local and international literature. It examines South Africa's current child poverty alleviation strategies, particularly CSG distribution, as well as alternative strategies and policies that have been applied internationally.

- **Chapter 3 - Theoretical Framework**

This chapter discusses the relevant theories used in the study, specifically the public participation and community development theories.

- **Chapter 4 – Methodology and Research Design**

Chapter 4 discusses the study's methodology and provides an overview of data collection methods and instruments as well as ethical procedures.

- **Chapter 5 – Data Analysis and Findings**

This chapter presents the results of the study and an interpretation and analysis of relevant data.

- **Chapter 6 – Conclusions and Recommendations**

This chapter provides the conclusions and recommendations emerging from the study.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

South Africa is confronted by numerous socio-economic challenges that are the legacy of the apartheid era. The post-apartheid government has a responsibility to ensure that all citizens, particularly those who are most vulnerable, have access to basic services. Midgley and Kaseka (1996:2) note, that, comprehensive interventions are required to protect vulnerable citizens from harmful situations, assist them during and after trauma, and grant them opportunities to empower and develop themselves. Social grant recipients, including those who access the CSG are often trapped by several challenges, including poverty, malnutrition and the insufficiency of the grant. Makiwane's (2006:5) study found "a position relation between social welfare benefits and unsatisfactory findings, namely single-parenthood, teenage pregnancy and the cycle of child poverty". Various commentators are of the view that many recipients lack the ability to use the grant effectively. Furthermore, they argue that the CSG does not address certain hidden challenges that affect and impact the well-being of the children who are meant to benefit from the grant simply because of the many challenges that the recipients experience as they access it. Many have criticised the CSG for failing to confront child poverty. Renuka (2004:12) notes that child poverty alleviation policies should primarily focus on quality education, health services and providing children with nutritious food. She adds that access to land for food production and self-consumption would foster independence among young South Africans. This suggests that many problems need to be addressed if the CSG is to have any positive impact.

According to research conducted by the Economic Policy Research Institute (2005), the provision of social grants is the government's biggest Poverty Relief Programme (PRP). The report on the Social and Economic Impact of South Africa's Social Security System indicated that a "10% increase in the take-up of the old age pension reduces the poverty gap by 3.2%, while full take-up reduces the poverty gap by 6.2%". The report noted that the greatest poverty reducing potential lay in the progressive extension of the CSG to children of 14 years of age, which yielded a 57% poverty gap reduction. Case, Hosehood and Lund (2005) stated that a Basic Income Grant (BIG) would be the single most effective way of alleviating poverty, with the potential to reduce it by 75%. They added that even if there was full uptake of grants, in the

current system, the poverty gap would only be reduced by 36%. In households that consist of only working-age adults, a BIG would close the poverty gap by 56% (compared with 8% in the current system). In households with children but no pensioners, the poverty gap would be closed by 66%. For skipped generation households (households where grandparents are looking after children in the absence of their parents), 95% of poverty gap would be closed. For three generation households, the gap would be closed by 85%, and rural households would be entitled to 53% of the benefits.

A 2005 South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) survey interrogated household income to determine whether it was sufficient to meet basic household needs (food and water). Seventy-four percent of the white respondents agreed that their household income was sufficient, compared with 71.5% of Indian, 39.3% of Coloured and 34.4% of the Black respondents. This means that 65.6% of the Black respondents felt that their household's income was inadequate for their needs. Van der Berg (2002) notes, that, South Africa already spends relatively large sums on direct assistance to the poor, but if a BIG were to be implemented, the following costs would be incurred: (i) a grant of R100 per month to 45 million individuals, i.e., R45 billion per annum, (ii) R20 per month to transfer the funds to 45 million individuals, i.e. R10, 8 billion per annum. This a BIG would add about R65 billion (7% of GDP) to the cost of social assistance. One-sixth of this, or about double the 2002 budgeted annual public spending on housing, would be a dead loss as it would not reach the intended beneficiaries, but would go to transferring the funds. The state would also require additional personnel to monitor and supervise the process.

Soguala et al. (2002) observed that extending the CSG to all children under the age of 18 and removing the means test would make a significant impact on poverty. The removal of the means test would reduce the administrative burden and enable existing resources to be accessed more effectively. While some have argued that the CSG encourages women to fall pregnant, Spicker (2005) argued that incentives cannot be understood if they are separated from social realities because they vary according to the context in which they are applied. A grant of R240 cannot be an incentive that motivates women to fall pregnant. Many factors need to be considered; for example, a teenager may receive R240 per month for a child, but may miss out on opportunities later in life. Each person is faced with an individual choice that can be presented, at least in part,

in terms of a balance sheet. This suggests that, some incentives should be understood in terms of weighing the costs and benefits of the decision.

This chapter reviews the existing literature, not only on the CSG but on related issues such as poverty and unemployment and how they impact different social groups (race, gender, class, urban/rural, etc.). It begins with a discussion on the literature which discusses the issue from a general perspective, citing studies on other parts of the world, and then examines the South African context to contextualise the discussion on the selected case study.

Social exclusion and poverty

The notion of social exclusion is said to have been “developed in industrial countries (most notably France in 1970s) to describe the process of marginalisation and deprivation” (Hickey and Du Toit, 2007:5). This process referred to individuals that were partially or wholly excluded from the societies they lived in. It is acknowledged that social exclusion and poverty are not coterminous, and that the combination of these two situations allows for a broader view of deprivation and the disadvantages associated with poverty, rather than conceiving each more narrowly (Hickey and Du Toit, 2007:5).

In the South African context, it is also important to understand that social exclusion was the result of the apartheid ideology. Understanding social exclusion will assist in contextualising poverty in today’s social systems.

‘The resettlement policy is the cornerstone of the whole edifice of apartheid’ (Desmond, 1985). Resettlement, a major component of the apartheid system, was a form of economic exclusion and cultural displacement. Understanding this statement allows one to view current issues of urbanisation, and land reform in a different light. Desmond (1985: 7) adds that “rural evictions constituted the single largest category of forced removals under apartheid”. This promotes an understanding of Black people’s constant struggle and need to be in close proximity to economic hubs - towns and cities (which they were excluded from for decades under apartheid rule) in an effort to escape unemployment and poverty. Stripped of their land and family ties, most are left with no option but to head to urban centres and find shelter in ‘urban slums’ in order to evade continued economic exclusion.

Understanding poverty requires one to view social exclusion as a “social phenomenon – rather than something one can attack without considering the social basis of economic activity” (Hickey and Du Toit, 2007:5). It is in this light that Ruggeri-Liberchi et al. (cited in Hickey and Du Toit, 2007) stress the need to understand poverty as a social phenomenon that sets it apart from other perspectives such as capability, monetary and participatory approaches.

Ruggeri-Liberchi et al. (cited in Hickey and Du Toit, 2007) acknowledge the multifaceted nature of poverty and add that, “cultural recognition or rejection becomes intertwined with resource deprivation to produce particularly intractable forms of poverty” (Hickey and Du Toit, 2007:2). Furthermore, social exclusion based on class, ethnicity, and gender leads to persistent forms of poverty.

Tilly (2006) notes, that, politics also play a central role in the production of chronic poverty as well as attempts to reduce it. This includes the denial of political rights such as freedom of expression, political expression and personal security.

Most importantly, the social exclusion perspective “highlights the importance of politics and history – which complement the durational focus of chronic poverty” (Hickey and Du Toit, 2007:3). The impact of social exclusion becomes evident when it is repeated through social relations and practices. This suggests the need to historicise poverty analysis in order to move from merely analysing the situation to implementing policy.

At an international level, South Africa finds itself in a similar predicament to that of Brazil and India. Brazil, India and South Africa (BISA) Heller (2010) share the common aspiration of moving beyond the obstacles of social exclusion and inequality in order to deepen democracy. Heller (2010) compares inequality in BISA through a term coined by Tilly (2006), ‘categorical inequality’, which refers to classification systems. She draws on the “race organising principle of apartheid” and acknowledges that in Brazil race was not institutionalised but “had a pervasive role in organising durable inequality” (Tilly 2006). Heller (2010) also notes India’s complex social exclusions which are organised along “class, religious, and ethnic lines”.

In common with South Africa, Brazil and India enjoy democracy, but are plagued by the unequal distribution of power and pervasive social exclusion (Heller2010). None of the three countries

has managed to bridge these gaps, suggesting that rigorous research and analysis is required on this subject.

The literature shows that the increase in expenditure on the CSG is closely related to the state of the South African labour market. Many unemployed people, especially women, regard the CSG as their only basic source of income. According to Steel 2006 (cited in Phoku, 2009:20), the number of CSG recipients has increased despite economic growth. Unskilled or semi-skilled individuals find it hard to secure employment. Those with informal sector experience may not be eligible for unemployment benefits, but could possibly claim incapacity benefits since they do not possess the required skills to be employable. Receipt of the CSG allows some individuals to abandon the search for work and the quest to generate an independent income. Dominelli (2002:11) observes that individuals who experience oppression sometimes internalise dominant norms and adopt an acceptance response. Social grants could trigger dependency and an 'unemployment trap', leading to reluctance to seek employment.

2.2 Definition of Literature Review

There are several important aspects and methods that researchers consider when embarking on a review of the literature on a specific subject matter. The existing literature constitutes a reservoir of knowledge that enables an understanding of our world and societies. The researcher consulted past and current literature on the subject in order to understand its history, origin and scope. This allowed her to identify themes relevant to this study as well as the insights offers by scholars in this field of inquiry, and to identify gaps in the existing literature.

Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter (2006) explain that a literature review places a study or project in perspective by demonstrating how it fits into a particular field. A literature review is a tool for conceptualisation. It broadens the development and design of a research project. Reviewing the previous literature enables a researcher to identify the measures previously developed to analyse a situation or to come up with new measures. Furthermore, limitations, challenges and contradictions in the literature are identified.

For this study, the researcher reviewed previous literature in order to understand and identify the methodologies that other researchers deemed effective or ineffective. The review enabled the

researcher to shape research questions, enhance operational definitions and identify alternative hypotheses. This improved the quality of the study.

2.3 Definition of Poverty

Poverty is defined as the inability to achieve a minimum standard of living, measured in terms of a household's inability to meet its basic consumption needs or in the income required to satisfy such needs. Poverty is usually measured in terms of a 'poverty line' - an income level or monetary consumption value that separates the 'poor' from the 'non-poor' (Friedman, 1999, cited in Charles, 2001). The economic analysis of poverty has focused on measuring the income and expenditure of poorer households, both in terms of the percentage of the population falling below a given poverty line and the extent of their aggregate shortfall. Poverty is conceptualised in two ways; absolute and relative poverty. Absolute poverty is the inability to achieve a minimum standard of living, while relative poverty refers to an individual or household's inability to maintain what society regards as a decent standard of living (Alcock, 2006). Nearly a decade after South Africa's historic transition to democracy, poverty and inequality continued to pose the greatest challenge to human dignity and social cohesion. Roughly half South Africa's population, including two-thirds of its children, continued to live in poverty, despite a significant expansion of social service delivery (Statistics South Africa, 2003).

According to du Toit (2005), the focus of attention is 'chronic poverty' which is defined as poverty that has been experienced by the poor for extended periods of time, or where the poor experience the cycle of poverty throughout their entire lives. Children from such a background are likely to remain poor, and they benefit least from economic growth and national or international development initiatives (Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC), 2004). A broad range of approaches and methodologies have been employed to study chronic poverty. According to Hulme and Sheperd (2003) and the CPRC (2004), chronic, long-lasting poverty is a dominant feature of South Africa's socio-economic environment. Hirsh (2003) notes that, Gross National Income (GNI) per capita declined between 1998 and 2002 despite positive economic growth. May (2004) adds that while between 1.4 and 2 million new jobs were created, causing average remuneration to rise, this mainly benefited those in well-paid and skilled jobs while unemployment rose among unskilled workers (Seekings et al., 2003).

Raghunundun (2004) states that one in three South African households live in poverty. Poverty is the outcome of the combined impact of deprivation, insecurity, racial oppression, limited access to education and the absence of basic services and facilities such as food, shelter and water. South Africa is characterised by extreme levels of both wealth and poverty and is regarded as one of the most unequal societies in the world. It is classified as a middle-income developing country with 'two nations' - a small minority of very wealthy people and the vast majority who are poor and poverty stricken. Poverty is triggered by the poor adopting a value set that highlights living for the moment rather than investing in the future. Alcock (2006) observes that opportunity structures incorporate employment, the changing labour market and the growing link between education and wages.

Social grants do not guarantee poverty alleviation. Rather, people should be equipped with the necessary skills and an independent mindset in order to sustain their livelihoods. Social grants should be an add-on to a family's income, rather than something on which society automatically depends. Social grants have slowly become the basis of policy strategy for dealing with societal issues. Lund (2008) expresses concern regarding the obvious failure of structural adjustment programmes and notes that poverty eradication may only be achieved via economic development and structural transformation. Such findings have revived interest in the transformative journey of many previously colonised countries. Under colonial and apartheid rule, South African families and settlements were torn apart by the migrant labour system, where men worked in the mines and cities and families were forced to stay behind. One of the by-products of this system was, and still is, many generations of single-parent Black South African homes.

2.4 The Context before the Child Support Grant

According to Denning (2010), under capitalism the only thing worse than being exploited is not being exploited. Since the establishment of the wage labour economy, a life without wages is a calamity for those deprived of land, tools and means of subsistence. The poor, unemployed and the starving who inhabit the slums are rendered invisible, while those such as doctors, lawyers and judges benefit immensely from the system. The apartheid government paid little attention to those living in poverty – especially Black people. Social security focused on the elderly white population. According to Vorster and Rossouw (1997, cited in Charles, 2001), the State Maintenance Grant (SMG) was the primary source of social assistance for children, but in the

early 1990s, less than 1% of recipients were Black, despite the fact that Black people constituted more than 80% of the population. In 1995, the new Government of National Unity established the Lund Committee to investigate the SMG, particularly in relation to its low value; the application of a means test and its effectiveness in providing support to children.

Vorster and Rossouw (cited in Charles, 2001) note that the Social Assistance Act of 1992, passed by the apartheid regime, provided for social security measures for all South Africans. However, due to inefficient and in some cases non-existent administrative and information structures, access to such grants was often limited, particularly in terms of the child and family care grant. The overwhelming majority of beneficiaries were white women, especially single mothers. Black women were largely excluded from accessing these grants before 1992. However, a significantly higher percentage of Coloured women and children benefitted from these grants (Vorster and Rossouw, cited in Charles, 2001). It was estimated that the extension of the SMG to include all eligible Blacks, Indians, Coloureds and whites could cost the state R5 billion or more per year, while a budget of approximately R1.2 billion was assigned to state maintenance grants in 1997 (Kruger, 1995)

The CSG that replaced the SMG in 1997 provided a larger amount, but fell short of benefiting the majority of children in need. The intention was to phase in the CSG through incremental age increases, with the first recipients being between the ages of 0 to six years in recognition of the fact that this age group is the most vulnerable to poverty, illness and underdevelopment. The age limit has steadily increased since 1998 and currently stands at 18 (Raghuunduhun, 2004).

2.5 The Introduction of the Child Support Grant (CSG)

The CSG is paid to low-income care-givers through the application of a means test. Steele (2006) observes that many South African care givers are unemployed and live in the poorest areas as members of households with low income or no income at all. The proportion of female CSG recipients who had jobs (18%) was lower than the mean employment rate of the total female population (33%). Those with jobs obviously receive a regular income. Therefore, without the CSG, many children and their households would be destitute. In contrast to apartheid's exclusionary systems, South Africa's first democratic government sought to provide inclusionary, democratic systems guided by basic human rights. However, it should be noted that

certain social security systems implemented by the former regime remained in operation and that it took the new government several years to implement new systems, one of which was the CSG.

Subbaro, Bonnerjee, Braithwaite, Carvalho, Ezemenari, Graham and Thompson (1997) argue that there are two common forms of social security, namely social insurance and social assistance. In South Africa the state funded social assistance system is referred to as social grants, which are non-contributory and entirely financed from government revenue. Social assistance takes the form of cash to enable the poor to satisfy their basic needs. These forms of social security are known as 'safety nets'. They protect a person or a household from two adverse occurrences: chronic incapacity to work and earn (chronic poverty) and a temporary decline in such capacity, from a marginal situation that proves minimal means for survival with few reserves (transient poverty) (Subbaro et al., 1997). On the other hand, social insurance is linked to employment. It protects employees and their dependents against contingencies which interrupt earned income. Both employees and employers contribute to these schemes. Contributions are wage-related and in some cases, employees and employers may agree upon a percentage. Social insurance covers medical benefits; maternity benefits; disability; unemployment; compensation for injuries or work-related illnesses; illness; family benefits; survivors' benefits; and a pension on retirement.

Kaseke (2000:5) observes that in many African countries, low wages make it extremely difficult for workers to contribute to a social insurance scheme because they need all their income to satisfy their immediate needs. Under such conditions, it is impossible to focus on future contingencies. In South Africa, retirement insurance is not available to those outside the formal wage economy, and those in non-permanent work, sometimes referred to as 'piece work'. Therefore, many unskilled workers are not covered by this particular safety net. South Africa's private pension and insurance sectors are estimated to be the largest in the world relative to Gross National Product (GNP).

In 1995, the Department of Social Development (DSD) and provincial MECs established the Lund Committee on Child and Family Support. Its main task was to critically appraise the SMG and explore alternative social security policies for children and families. The Committee's terms of reference were:

- To investigate the possibility of increasing parental financial support through the private maintenance system;
- To develop approaches to effectively target programmes for children and families;
- To explore alternative social security policy options for children and families; and
- To critically appraise the existing state support system across government departments.

The Welfare Laws Amendment Act 106 of 1997 introduced the CSG, which came into force on 1 March 1998 in terms of section 2(d) of the Social Assistance Act 59 of 1992. The CSG is a cash contribution from the government to the household income of a primary care-giver, enabling the family to adequately care for the child and provide for their basic needs. The CSG was the first step in modifying the social assistance transfer in order to reduce child poverty in South Africa. The CSG differs from the SMG in many respects, the most significant of which is that CSG is a child-based rather than household-based grant. A survey conducted by South African Civil Society Information (SACSI) revealed that households receiving the CSG show characteristics of poverty in relation to access to basic services, education levels, and expenditure patterns, which illustrates that the grant does reach the poor. Whilst enrolment at schools and access to health care was high in households receiving the grant, participation in public works programmes, adult basic education and other municipal support programmes was low. The survey also revealed that the CSG and the equalisation of old age pensions across race groups (1996) have made a significant contribution to poverty alleviation (www.sacsis.org.za/site/article/155).

Between 1998 and 2009, the monthly grant increased to R260 per child and from April 2011 it incorporated children up to the age of 18 years. The applicable income bracket was reviewed and in 2008 it was increased to broaden the net. This rendered more than 60% of South Africa's children eligible. These measures have resulted in a dramatic increase in uptake (National Treasury 2007).

However, Hall and Midgley (2004) argue that the limited coverage of social security programmes in developing countries is a major problem. Research is required to establish how coverage can be extended to a wider population. A related issue is how social security can

function more effectively to eradicate child poverty. While it was previously assumed that social security would reduce poverty, the limited coverage as well as the way in which social security programmes currently function, limits their effectiveness. It is clear the government is trying to address child poverty to redress apartheid inequalities.

Popular perception in South Africa would have it that the introduction of the CSG led to an increase in teenage pregnancies. Makiwane (2010) cautions, that, such concerns should be examined in light of the empirical evidence. Ethical and cultural norms regard pregnancy out of wedlock as unacceptable and this has resulted in negative perceptions of the CSG. Many people feel that welfare grants encourage female teenagers to bear children they are unable to support (*Cape Argus*, 2008); this perspective is regularly reinforced in South African media. For example, in 2008, *The Cape Argus* cited community workers as reporting that:

Lazy young mothers went on drinking sprees; bought clothing and gambled with the [CSG] money . . . There is a dramatic increase in young mothers misusing the child support grant, sometimes known as 'womb fee' in the township. (The Cape Argus 2008:6)

Brenda Nkuna (*Cape Times*, 29/09/08) wrote an article claiming that teenage mothers are using the state CSG for their personal use, often shifting the burden of caring for their children to grandparents when the money runs out. Nkuna further explains that Ilitha Labantu (people's litre), an NGO focusing on violence against women and children, reveals that there has been a "dramatic" increase in young mothers misusing the CSG, sometimes referred to as "backbone money" in township slang ("*Imali Yeqolo*"). According to the *Cape Times* (2008), "lazy" young mothers often went on drinking sprees, bought clothing and used the money to buy hair extensions. Their children suffered from malnutrition as they had taken the CSG and left the children with grandparents. However, the Children's Rights Centre in Durban is of the opinion that only a minority of immature mothers abuse the system. Many NGOs feel that the phenomenon is driven by poverty and the mother's longing for "a good life" (*Cape Times*, 29/09/08).

This popular outcry feeds on an unproven argument that the grant does not benefit children, because teenagers deliberately give birth to access the money for their own use. A logical

outcome of the claim, if true, would be a dramatic increase in teenage pregnancies. Matsie (2009) quotes a community member as stating that, "more babies will be born as long as the child grants do not stop". However, Matsie notes, that, the immediate and long-term social costs of motherhood far outweigh any advantage the CSG might offer.

Some researchers have suggested that unwed young teenage mothers should be excluded from accessing the CSG. Both the US and UK have introduced disincentives to prevent teenage girls from becoming pregnant in order to access social welfare (*Cape Argus*, 2008). In the US, a 1996 law requires that teenage mothers under the age of 18 years who wish to access a grant live with their parents and remain in school; furthermore, it denies welfare to any mother bearing a child while already receiving a welfare grant (Hao et al., 2007). The moral arguments highlighted are important, but they should be viewed in light of scientific data. Until detailed data becomes available, personal behaviour that has important societal costs may not be fully addressed in the South African context.

In April 2013, the CSG was increased to R290 per month. For the first time, the grant was increased twice in one year and it rose to R300 in October. However, recipients still believe that the CSG is insufficient to meet a child's basic needs as it translates to R9.70 per day, equivalent to one loaf of brown bread. Furthermore, in poor households, the grant is often used to feed the entire family, further undermining the child's benefits. The practical effect of such a small grant is that potential beneficiaries may resort to alternative means to acquire additional income from the system (Raghunundhun, 2004).

The above mentioned incidents ignore the reality of the context of poverty and social exclusion; for instance, the informal sector is excluded from social security and may be considered the "working poor". Another sector which is excluded is people who are structurally unemployed. The Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF) is limited to the cycle of employment. According to Taylor (2002:39), the Committee of Inquiry into a Comprehensive System of Social Security noted that, "there is high demand for a platform of general social protection that supports both the unemployed and the working poor". Thus the policy approach to social security advocated by the Committee adopts a vision of social security that integrates marginalised sectors that are excluded by the current social security system.

2.6 The Cycle of Poverty

It is important to understand the relationship between women and child poverty, as addressing women's poverty is fundamental to alleviating child poverty. Two primary factors are responsible for women living in poverty; the role of women as dependent beings and women's position in the labour market. This study regards the poverty cycle as a dependent condition that can be attributed to women's circumstances and upbringing and that has negative effects on children. Ledwith (2005) believes that the inter-generational effects of child poverty are interdependent and links the poverty cycle to a child's level of school attendance. The evidence suggests that children with educated, independent mothers have a higher level of wellbeing. There is also a relationship between young mothers and poverty, as these girls often give birth to underweight babies; this exposes a child to malnutrition.

Hall and Midgley (2004) argue that, poverty can be transmitted between generations; cultural traits that lead to a lack of ambition and foresight as well as planning persist across generations. A mother's circumstances and attitude impact a child's lifespan and living standards; the evidence shows that childhood poverty in developing countries often leads to nutritional deficiencies and higher child mortality rates. Appropriate, relevant policy responses to childhood poverty and vulnerability are thus important as children are disproportionately represented among the income-poor with many suffering severe deprivation. Childhood poverty and vulnerability have long-term consequences; therefore, policies must respond specifically to their basic needs. These include nutritious food and supplements, a conducive environment (safe shelter), health services (including immunisation), subsidised, quality education and a clean water supply.

This study recommends an in-kind transfer system such as school feeding programmes. Barrientos and Dejong (2006) argue that cash transfers as a means of tackling childhood poverty in developing countries should be constantly measured and transformed if necessary.

2.7 The need for Responsive Policies

According to Lund (2008), policy making in a democratic environment allows for public participation. In partnership with government, civil society organisations have been vocal

participants in the public forums regularly held on major laws and government policies. Several departments have used civil society organisations to implement their programmes, and the National Development Agency has provided special grant funding to civil society and community organisations to start projects in poor areas as means to eradicate poverty. The poor now have more of a voice at the community level, but stronger mechanisms need to be set up to enable the poor to have a voice in policy-making at the national level. Since an effective monitoring and evaluation system is not yet in place, little is known about the overall impact and success of government's poverty reduction programmes. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has worked closely with the DSD and civil society organisations to set up such a system, but the loose, interdependent structure has not functioned well (United Nations Development Programme Poverty Report, 2000).

Households use the CSG differently according to different priorities and preferences. These are strongly influenced by the household's prevailing social and cultural norms as well as the economic and social conditions in which they live. The CSG targets poor children regardless of their household's arrangements and identified priorities. Child-headed households (16-18 years) can apply for the CSG with the help of a supervising adult such as a local social worker. However, in practical terms, an adult must apply and collect the monthly grant.

In some cases, challenges arise relating to children under the age of 16 years. They do not know how to access the CSG and, in the absence of an adult, these needy children are not eligible to claim the grant. There are also concerns that the grant amount is insufficient to cover basic monthly childcare costs (DSD, 2003a).

Barrientos and Dejong (2006) highlight two models in terms of which households make decisions, namely, the unitary model and the collective model. The unitary model assumes that the household makes decisions as a single unit in pursuit of common objectives. Household resources are assumed to be allocated independently of the source or recipient. If household resources are equally distributed, cash transfers aimed at children (or any household member) benefit all members equally. If the objective is poverty reduction, it matters less whether the cash transfer is targeted at adults or children.

Decision-making in the collective model is the outcome of interaction between individual household members with different interests, preferences and motives, including gender and age differences. Decisions relating to intra-household resource allocation follow a bargaining process with the strength of negotiating positions arising in part from the income members contribute to the household. Consequently, the impact of cash transfers depends on who receives the benefit, as it strengthens their individual bargaining position.

Carvalho's (2000) study established a relationship between the old-age pension and the rate of school enrolment among children aged 8-15 years in rural Brazil. Enrolments increased among children residing with pensioners, with the increase being more striking for girls than for boys. In households with male pensioners, child labour and school enrolments among boys rose, whereas in households with female pensioners, child labour and school enrolments for girls increased. Hence, it is impossible to ignore the role that household values and practices play in determining the responsiveness of cash transfers aimed at children. Given the considerable heterogeneity of norms and household arrangements, it is a challenge to incorporate these concerns into welfare policies.

2.7.1 Unconditional Cash Transfers (UCT) versus Conditional Cash Transfers (CCT)

The new democratic government was confronted by vast racial disparities inherited from the apartheid regime. According to Lund (2008), the pre-apartheid and apartheid eras developed a state social assistance system of cash transfers that proved to be inefficient and irrelevant in the 'new' South Africa. This took the form of unconditional cash transfers directly aimed at young children in poor households and accessible through the child's care-giver until they reached the age of 18.

This section compares the CSG as South Africa's means of unconditional cash transfer (UCT) with the targeted conditional cash transfer (CCT) programme recently introduced in Brazil, Latin America. The CCT programme, a form of family allowance as a cash benefit, targeted poorer households with children in transition economies. South Africa is unique among developing countries for establishing a large-scale UCT programme, namely the CSG, for children of poor households. The CSG is not conditional on behavioural change, although it has certain requirements such as a means test. Recipients need to provide the child's birth certificate and

hospital card, the biological mother's identity document, the child's Road to Health card or infant health record and proof of the parent's income. The means test is currently set at less than R2 800 per month for single parents and R5 600 for married couples. Recent requirements are school enrolment and proof of attendance at school of children aged seven to 18 years. This amendment emphasises that these requirements are not necessarily a condition for continued CSG receipt, but exist to identify and assist children struggling to remain in the school system. The CSG was introduced 14 years ago in response to child poverty and was one of Africa's largest cash transfers, covering more than 10 million children. The age limit for eligibility has been repeatedly extended, most recently to 18 years. The DSD has set a target of reaching all qualifying South African children (Kola et al., 2000).

This study explores the legal requirement that all Social Assistance Act grants are means tested to ensure that they are paid to deserving, destitute families. A means test requires an outsider to evaluate an individual family's income and assets. With UCTs, the constitution or other legislation defines a right that becomes a material entitlement for people with specific characteristics who meet the qualifications. However, when conditions are introduced, applicants are bound to meet certain requirements in order to qualify for benefits and are furthermore bound to conduct themselves appropriately to continue receiving it. With unconditional benefits, there appears to be a thin line between conditionality and other requirements. There are typical "requirements in the regulations" that Lund, Noble, Barnes and Wright (2009) refer to as "conditions" like the child being accommodated, fed and clothed; conditions stipulating that the grant be spent on the child and conditions known as "normative injunctions".

The government is reportedly considering several alternatives to alleviate poverty including a direct cash provision. Cash transfers have been a primary part of the welfare system in advanced industrial countries, but are less prevalent in lower and middle-income countries. Cash pensions provided to the elderly in South Africa and Namibia have had marked positive and developmental effects (Case, Hosegood and Lund, 2005). CCTs formally require behavioural compliance by recipients in order to ensure that they abide by the regulations and avoid inappropriate actions like squandering the money. While some conditions are usually attached to every cash transfer programme, they are not always transparent. An efficient monitoring and

evaluation system is required to measure the effectiveness, sufficiency and relevance of CCTs in South Africa in order to review and, if necessary, amend policy.

2.7.2 International Conditional Cash Transfers (CCT)

The Brazilian CSG Model

Anti-poverty programmes are high on the agenda of national governments in Latin America. This was triggered by concerns raised by international monetary institutions, scholars and the general public. Poverty increased in this part of the world during the 1980s, partially driven by global economic crises and inadequate health and education services.

Mexico and Brazil were the first Latin American countries to embrace a new social assistance approach to reduce the negative consequences of structural adjustment programmes. The Mexican programme *progres*a, introduced in 1997, was a specific CCT that officially replaced *conasupo*, a food hand-out policy aimed at delivering food to half the Mexican population (Calvo, 2011).

*Progres*a supported poor households with school-aged children in marginalised rural communities (Morley and Coady, 2003, cited in Calvo, 2011). In March 2002, the programme was renamed *oportunidades* and extended to other rural and urban areas. It provided a cash transfer with three components - household nutrition; school subsidies for each school-aged child rising by grade that was higher at secondary school level for girls and an annual transfer to cover books and uniforms. The combined transfers were capped to avoid fertility incentives and reduce the likelihood of benefit dependence. Subsidies were conditional on children having a school attendance record of at least 85% and on mothers and infants attending regular primary health-care examinations and parenting sessions.

These policies and their implementation indicate a truly people-oriented approach to rectify a social problem.

Targeting occurred in two stages. In the first stage, poorer geographical areas and communities (less than 2 500 inhabitants) with existing health, education and transport infrastructure issues were selected and during the second stage, poorer households (based on a proxy index) were selected. The programme reached 2.6 million (40%) rural Mexican households in 2002 and the

programme designers devoted considerable attention to establishing solid evaluation procedures, responding in part to the need to insulate the programme from daily political influences. Early evaluations of *progresa* demonstrated that the programme had significant effects on a range of target indicators. It was well targeted to the poor through combined geographical and household selection.

Skoufias (2001: 43) argues that the *progresa* targeting procedures were effective, particularly in identifying extremely poor households, but less so when selecting moderately poor households. Two years after the launch of the programme and using a control household group with a similar poverty profile who were incorporated into the programme at a later date, beneficiary households showed an 11.7 percentage point reduction in the poverty headcount rate from a 67.4% baseline and a 12.9 percentage point drop in the poverty gap from the 35.7% baseline (Skoufias, 2001). Positive impacts on school enrolment and attendance and on the health status of beneficiary households compared with control households were also highly observed (ibid).

Brazil implemented *progresa* until the late 1990s and in 2002 the federal *bolsa familia* programme reached five million beneficiary families (Calvo, 2011). CCT programmes were introduced to alleviate poverty, specifically targeting extremely poor households, with every programme providing cash or in-kind benefits to these households to finance immediate consumption and foster human capital investment. Benefits were conditional on certain behaviours, usually related to investment in nutrition, health and education, although the educational component prevailed as the most significant.

Hall and Midgley (2004) state:

Basic education is a proven weapon against poverty, opening up access to knowledge and skills and helping break down barriers that exclude poor and marginalised people from political and economic life.

According to Hubbard (2009), the children of uneducated mothers are more than twice as likely to die or be malnourished than children whose mothers have secondary or higher education. Children born to educated mothers have a higher chance of enrolling at and completing school because their parents uphold the importance of education. In contrast, children of less-educated mothers are less likely to complete school, meaning they have fewer opportunities to better their

lives since they lack the educational level that would allow them to successfully compete for jobs. Hence, the concern to improve the educational rights of girls who become pregnant is based in part on the knowledge that this will affect the fate of their children and future generations (Hubbard, 2009).

The educational element in the CCT programme design was the primary focus, driven by a belief that these programmes are efficient, long-term poverty alleviation instruments. They also encouraged “families to support the education of their children in ways that will help them less likely to be poor in the future”. Moreover, the essential relationship between education and poverty reduction stems from the belief that education is a powerful equaliser and an advantage for most people (Gundlach, Navarode Pablo and Weiser, 2001, cited in Calvo, 2011). The World Bank has established that educational investments yield high returns. According to Schubert and Slater (2006), based on the Latin American experience, some agencies, including the World Bank are encouraging African countries to establish CCT schemes.

The main motives for linking social transfers to conditions are the following:

- Most financing agencies, including the World Bank, view poverty as particularly associated with inadequate access to nutrition, health, education or housing. Increased expenditure in these areas has the potential to reduce poverty; hence, in various ways and to varying degrees, conditional transfers force recipients to spend them as intended (Schubert and Slater, 2006).
- In addition to controlling how the transfer income is spent, programme designers try to influence the behaviour and attitudes of target group households in a way that will promote long-term poverty reduction. They establish a contract with beneficiaries that ‘bargains’ for desirable behaviour such as reducing child labour (Schubert and Slater, 2006).
- Many programme designers are convinced that conditional transfer programmes are more beneficial for both policy-makers and taxpayers than unconditional programmes. This perception is not only linked to poverty alleviation, but reflects a deeply rooted fear that poor people sometimes use the money for other more pressing issues than those for which it was designed (Schubert and Slater, 2006).

In some programmes, participating households received two sets of transfers - an education subsidy that is conditional on regular school attendance and another that is conditional on regular household attendance, specifically children, at health clinics. These conditions received political support since it was argued that they constituted investment in needy households and were a required component of a universal coverage programme (De Ferranti, Perry, Ferreira and Walton, 2004, cited in Calvo, 2011).

These successes encouraged other countries to adopt this strategy to deliver social services. According to Valencia (2008), by 2007 there were 16 CCT programmes across Latin America and the Caribbean and it was conservatively estimated that 70 million people were accessing CCT support. The programmes were viewed as demand-side interventions that subsidised the poor's investment in education and brought them into the education system in contrast with long-established supply-side intervention programmes that promoted extensive expansion of the school system to take education to the poor (Coady and Parker, 2002).

Supply-side economic policies regard supply as an integral input in economic prosperity that has a secondary effect. However, according to Rawlings and Rubio, (2005, cited in Calvo, 2011), the poor have underused supply-side actions because of impossible out-of-pocket expenditure, barriers to access and the lack of incentives to invest in future human capital. In other words, since economies of scale imply that it is more cost-effective to locate schools in relatively densely populated areas, poorer households typically located in isolated areas face substantially higher private costs and tend to achieve lower educational levels (Coady and Parker, 2002). Consequently, many viewed the access to services and facilities provided by CCTs as an appealing policy response to this challenge. The programmes explicitly addressed several criticisms of traditional social assistance schemes, including weak poverty targeting, high administrative costs and the multiplicity of overlapping goals.

CCTs in Latin America are child-orientated programmes that are more familiar in industrialised countries. The largest CCTs like Mexico's *oportunidades* (formerly *progresas*) and Brazil's *bolsa familia* (family stipend) are low-cost, administratively effective programmes with clear inter-related goals to reduce both short and long-term poverty. Rawlings and Rubio (2005, cited in Calvo, 2011) argue that such programmes address future poverty by fostering human capital accumulation among the young as a means to break the intergenerational transmission of poverty

and current poverty. This is achieved by providing income support for consumption in the short-term.

Generally, central governments and participating communities design and implement CCTs in order to enable households to be selected by programme officials and for transfers to directly reach eligible households without passing through state budgets (De Ferranti et al., 2004, cited in Calvo, 2011). This limits and/or prevents possible fraud where state officials illegally misuse such funds for personal use or the public invent ghost children - false documentation is produced to receive cash for non-existent children. The CCT programmes use a range of targeting methods to ensure that the benefits reach the poorest households for whom they are designed.

Most CCT programmes divide the targeting process into two parts. The first is geographic poverty mapping focusing on communities with high poverty rates. The selection of poverty-stricken communities includes consideration of supply-side capacity to respond to the high demand for health and education services.

The second part frequently uses proxy means testing to collect characteristic household data, thus basing the cut-off on a poverty point; households below a designated cut-off point are included in the programme. Some CCT programmes use community-based targeting and self-selection methods (De Ferranti et al., 2004; Rawlings and Rubio, 2005, cited in Calvo, 2011). In terms of conditions, CCT programmes have received mixed reviews. Advocates for conditions base their arguments on research findings that demonstrate improved programme effects when transfers are conditional on certain behaviours such as school enrolment (Schady and Araujo, 2006). Economists have sustained such findings, suggesting that households behave differently if they receive an equivalent amount of cash without conditions and strings attached (Das, Do and Ozler, 2005, cited in Calvo, 2011).

According to Calvo (2011), the poor criticised CCTs, regarding them as patronising as they presumed that they would not act rationally unless obliged to do so. Others feel that CCT programmes limit individual choice and increase governmental control. Pronk (2003) stressed the need for conditionality, targeting, selectivity and various other strategies to promote sustainable development or "fostering a policy environment conducive to development". Critics

called for aid to be made more "effective and sufficient", resulting in more elaborate and conflicting criteria.

2.7.3 Latin America's programmes to alleviate poverty

The *progres*a educational component was designed to increase school enrolment among youth in Mexico's poor rural communities by providing educational grants to mothers, who were then required to ensure that their children attend school regularly. In the areas where it operates, poor households with children enrolled from grades three to nine receive educational grants every two months. The grant size takes into account the amount the child would earn in the labour force or would contribute to family production if they left school and thus varies by grade as well as the child's age and gender.

In terms of health and nutrition, *progres*a provides free preventive interventions such as nutritional supplements and education on hygiene and nutrition. It also offers families monetary transfers to purchase food. These transfers and nutritional supplements are tied to mandatory attendance at public health clinics, where beneficiaries' nutritional status is monitored. During each visit, younger children and lactating women are measured for wasting (weight-for-height), stunting (height-for-age) and developmental delays. A scheduled monitoring system is established and the nurse or doctor verifies adherence to the regime. Healthcare professionals submit certification of visits to *progres*a every two months, triggering the bimonthly transfer for food support.

Brazil's *bolsa familia* reportedly reached 11 million households (Soares, 2007, cited in Calvo, 2011) and was an amalgamation of several formerly separate transfer programmes. Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Honduras and Jamaica have also used CCTs, while a pilot programme in Nicaragua is being phased out. While diverse, all these programmes focus to a greater or lesser degree on poverty alleviation and the creation and maintenance of human capital and encourage civic responsibility. CCTs are designed to encourage beneficiaries to change their behaviour in certain ways and assume that the money will and must meet the recipients' needs. The programmes assume that a lack of cash constrains recipients from accessing health services or attending school; providing cash is therefore an appropriate incentive to encourage attendance

at facilities and improve health status. Underlying this is the assumption that school attendance will impact on school achievement and thus improve life chances.

In terms of health, some countries provide nutritional supplements in addition to cash transfers. The transfer amount is based on criteria connected to the programme's purpose and can be set according to poverty level assessments. This is sometimes determined via the direct costs of programme participation, such as transport to health services or via the opportunity costs of fulfilling the conditions for receiving the transfer (Calvo, 2011).

Well-known CCT programmes for families with children in Latin America are *oportunidades* (formerly *progresas*) in Mexico and *bolsa escola* (school bag) in Brazil. Both allocate monthly transfers to poor families with children conditional on household health-related behaviours. The programmes focus on the health, education and nutrition of children from the poorest households; the Mexican programme has shown promising results measured against the frequency with which the child gets ill (Carvalho 2000). Determining whether this success is due to nutritional supplements, pre-natal or ante-natal clinic visits, children's wellness visits to clinics or the cash itself is an important next step.

The Brazilian government places strong emphasis on education, especially in tackling demand-side problems related to the labour market's demand for skills. The strategy draws on evidence that improving education attendance promotes development. A Brazilian government report shows that 9 555 adolescents were forced to work between September and November 2002, of whom 90% were male, 60% were Black, and 51% did not attend school. The Academy for Educational Development has observed that not only does one year's worth of additional education increase individual output by 4-7%, but improving literacy by 20-30% boosts Gross Domestic Product (GDP) by 8-16% (The Basic Education Coalition - Teach a Child, Transform a Nation, 2004:9). The Brazilian strategy involves more than merely boosting income; it aims to ensure food security and provide family planning and thus significantly improve the quality of life. This strategy is informed by the fact that education does more than just increase income; it also has the ability to transform a life, exposing an individual to knowledge on challenges such as health, unemployment, sanitation, food security and family planning which can significantly improve the quality of life (www.coha.org/2007/12/brazils-bolsa).

The *bolsa escola* programme provides a monthly cash transfer of US\$5-15 per child to households with children aged 6-15 years conditional on the children enrolling in school and having an attendance record of at least 85%. The programme was originally introduced by the Campinas municipality, but later spread to other municipalities and evolved into a federal programme in 2001 (Cardoso and Portela Souza, 2003, cited in Carvalho, 2000). The CCT targets households with per capita incomes below 50% of the minimum wage and reached 8.2 million children in five million households (*Bolsa Escola* 2003). In 2004 the government consolidated existing cash transfers, including the *bolsa escola*, into the *bolsa familia*.

In the late 1990s, only 85.8% of Brazilian children were enrolled in primary education (World Bank, 2004, cited in Lifa Phoku, 2009). The federal government's solution was a national CCT scheme that rewarded families with a grant for sending their children to school. The *bolsa familia* (developmental programme) evolved throughout the decade and today Brazil appears to be on track in achieving universal primary education. According to the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), in 2004 only 6% of primary school-aged children were out of school (UNESCO UIS: Education in Brazil, World Bank: Brazil Education Profile, Summary, 2004, cited in Phoku, 2009).

2.7.4 Poverty in Indian

India has a population of about 1 billion which is the second largest population in the world, of whom an estimated 350-400 million live below the poverty line, 75% in rural areas. More than 40% of the population is illiterate, with women and tribal people the worst affected. More than half of India's children are malnourished; only 15 to 20% grow to their full potential. India is responsible for 30% of the world's child deaths and 20% of the world's maternal deaths and 40% of the elderly lives below the poverty line, while 90% have no state pension or family to support them. There are more than 126 million child labourers in India, where a child is born every two seconds (medicine.creighton.edu/pjofecture/Poverty).

India has received support from the Department for International Development (DFID) to ensure that all children aged 6 to 14 years are enrolled and attending school regardless of their home circumstances. There is also a focus on enrolling more girl children from marginalised social groups in school and improving the quality of education. Gordon Brown, the Prime Minister of

Britain announced that the DFID was to spend £825 million in India in the coming years which would be utilised to improve access to quality education, provide health care to mothers and children, and fight infectious diseases (www.dfid.gov.uk/news/file/pressrelease/India).

In conclusion, poverty is a universal challenge that is experienced more by certain groups. It is also clear that poverty has a significant impact on human development.

2.8 Conclusion

One of the key challenges confronting research on poverty is the need to move beyond accounts that focus on the characteristics of individuals or ‘households’ and then seek to provide ‘explanatory’ accounts based on the correlation of variables. Such accounts generally fail to go far beyond stating the obvious, such as that poverty is highly connected with multiple deprivations. The effects of poverty are commonly linked with a lack of human capital or the depth of poverty; or are associated with a change in life circumstances such as divorce or widowhood. This approach ignores the underlying contextual factors that explain why some experience these conditions and vulnerabilities while others do not.

Chapter Three: Theoretical framework

3.1 Introduction

The use of theory and descriptive commentary and evaluation enables social science scholars to achieve a rich understanding of phenomena. A theory is defined as a system that orders concepts in order to produce understanding or insight; it includes more than one concept and links the concepts together (Welman et al., 2005). It is also based on gathered statements that specify the relations between variables to explain observable facts such as human behaviour.

This chapter elaborates on the primary meaning of public participation and the reason it is considered an improvement on customary ways of making decisions and devising policy that is traditionally left in the hands of the authorities.

3.2 Public Participation

While the public might sometimes participate by being the passive recipients of information from regulators or governing bodies, Arnstein (1969) emphasises that true participation takes place at a micro-level while operating at a high level of public empowerment and direct input into the decision-making process. It decries approaches that appear participative yet yield no real power.

Effective participation entails an elevated level of public empowerment and direct input into the decision-making process, in contrast with motive-driven approaches that merely appear participative. Bessette (2004) notes, that, governments and non-governmental organisations habitually and independently decide on community needs and how they should be met. Community members are then confronted with a ready-made policy that they must accept and implement.

Public participation entails consulting and engaging the public in decision-making, policy profiling and agendas involving a specific community or society. It plays a major role in activating the institutions and organisations responsible for policy development and represents a shift from the bureaucratic, elitist model. The concept of developing a community through participation stresses the significance of an activist intervention style that replaces dependence on government service provision with the active involvement of the poor in local development.

Many development researchers have concluded that bureaucratic 'top-down' approaches have been largely ineffective in addressing the needs of the poor. Willis (2005) highlights that development has both a social and spatial dimension form; one form of development policy aims to trickle-down progress to the poorest people in the community. Community development is about placing society at the centre of the development process and helping it to realise its potential through a mutual process. It acknowledges that the best solutions come from communities experiencing particular challenges. Community development emphasises people's participation and fosters self-reliance and 'bottom-up' problem solving. This approach is based on the principle that, through raising awareness, individuals become motivated to take control and solve their own problems. Once motivated, they develop skills that enable them to build a collective community response to an issue. For community members to engage and participate effectively in decision-making, communities must be empowered and provided with opportunities such as the facilitation of active involvement at grassroots level. This allows community members to exercise their capacity to maintain good relations with other relevant stakeholders who will not take advantage of their expert knowledge and over-ride less-informed community members. According to De Vos et al. (2000), community participation involves a sense of belonging; a commitment to common goals and a willingness to assume responsibility for oneself and others in the community. Local community involvement assists the community to take ownership of an initiative rather than seeing themselves as beneficiaries of a government development intervention.

Social grants can be introduced in a manner that upholds and contributes more directly to economic development in order to maintain income and provide support to those in need. Community participation theory is useful in assessing a particular community's needs; in finding solutions, strategies and policies and in creating opportunities to enhance community development. Typically, individuals label themselves as 'poor', suffering the consequences of poverty. Due to the surrounding ecosystems to which such communities are exposed, they have no motive beyond survival. They accommodate their poverty and misery by accepting it as 'normality'. They shun innovation, believing that it carries tremendous risk, and become dependent on government social grants. Bessette (2004) observes that people have become so used to government dependency that receiving handouts has become the norm. People are loath to do anything for themselves, often expecting to be paid for any effort on their part to enhance

communal well-being. The researcher has encountered many young people who demand free food vouchers and social grants from the DSD despite not qualifying for such services. They are not physically impaired and can use alternative opportunities as they are young and fit. The researcher also observed young individuals who claimed to have severe illnesses in order to qualify for a disability grant; however, they were not able to produce medical documents in support of such claims. Such behaviour and state of mind deters South Africa's younger generation from developing their capabilities. The researcher endorses the activist style of intervention that relies less on government handouts and more on the active involvement of the poor in projects to develop and empower their community.

Lund (2008) observes that social policies in the South are typically influenced by policy ideas from the North. However social policies cannot be 'one size fits all'; diverse community norms and values should be taken into account. Providing social assistance with no input from recipients means that there is no learning process and the community gains little in terms of self-reliance and self-sufficiency. Ledwith (2005) advocates SWOT analysis (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats) when working with community development. A SWOT analysis is:

- an analytic tool to assess social problems and develop strategic action plans to address these problems;
- a useful tool to initiate and develop processes where stakeholders participate at all levels in community work including at grassroots level; and
- an information tool necessary when formulating corporate social strategy.

When analysing community needs, the specific strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats must be investigated and listed at different levels such as the macro (structure) and micro (actor) level. Action plans should be based on priority needs, and specific timeframes should be set for execution (immediate, intermittent and long-term). Communities should identify their own needs and challenges and use available resources to adopt action plans to overcome these challenges and obstacles.

The researcher strongly believes that the challenge of child poverty can be confronted by involving local people in various development projects that raise their standard of living. The poverty cycle has become normalised in extremely poverty-stricken societies and communities.

This study aims to offer alternatives to current initiatives to combat child poverty. Ledwith (2005) clarifies that community development is not the action of an individual or a few well-known individuals, but a collective activity where a group of people sharing mutual concerns, interests and sentiments act together to bring about change.

This study further views a community as a vital resource for development efforts. Genuine efforts are required to engage local people in decision-making and to foster local enthusiasm for community development. The community development approach is part of a national, centrally-directed effort to promote local economic and social development. Hall and Midglet (2004) define empowerment as the ability of a community or group to actively exercise decisive influence on the outcomes of development processes in their favour. A critical analysis explores the manner in which underdevelopment and disempowerment affect specific groups due to poverty, making them more at risk and creating a system of domination, subordination and dependency. Ledwith (2005) argues that empowerment is a transformative concept but it is not analysed sufficiently; it is often applied naively to build confidence and self-esteem at a personal level within a paradigm of social pathology and is associated with personal responsibility for consciously lifting oneself out of poverty.

Chapter Four: Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the rationale for the choice of research methods, such as sampling methods and data analysis, used in this study. It also provides an in-depth description of the study setting. Other significant aspects include an in-depth description of data collection methods and the rationale for conducting focus groups.

Reaves (1992, cited in Lifa Phoku, 2009) states that research is one of the most important tools for answering questions. People who work in the behavioural sciences typically use research to find answers to questions that affect themselves and the people they help. Research is a systematic method to answer questions that may lead to further questions. For instance, in this study, the researcher wants to establish the impact of the CSG on its recipients in Welbedacht East (WE) in Chatsworth.

4.2 Study Setting

This study was conducted in WE located north east of Umlazi township, 15km from Chatsworth and expanding into the eNgonyameni Traditional Authority. The WE area is a development project undertaken to transform the former informal settlement. The eThekweni Municipality considers WE one of the largest projects that has succeeded in overcoming the slums clearance challenge. The community is located in a peripheral area that has a shortage of facilities including schools, health clinics, a police station and transport services. Most community members come from unstable neighbouring locations, Umlazi and Ngonyameni. Welbedacht East area in Chatsworth is a large community with a majority of individuals who are CSG recipients. A sample of CSG recipients were selected to participate in this study. The study aimed to gain in-depth information on their life experiences through a methodical inquiry that included observation, questioning, collecting information and data analysis.

The researcher is employed as a social worker with the DSD in the Phoenix service office and has encountered numerous clients who have different challenges regarding the CSG. The most common is where the person collecting the CSG does not reside with the child concerned. This

requires a thorough investigation, because typically such a person does not transfer the CSG payment to the child's direct care-giver as stipulated in policy in order to ensure that the child's basic needs are met. Lifa Phoku (2009) argues that the problems surrounding the CSG are a crucial social policy research phenomenon that calls for an in-depth analysis of the social problem. The researcher's objectives were to investigate the efficiency and effectiveness of CSG distribution in the WE area in Chatsworth. It is hoped that the findings of the study will be useful in designing more effective and realistic policies that meet government's goals and intentions.

4.3 Research Design

According to Neuman (2011), data collection techniques can be grouped into quantitative and qualitative research designs with the former relating to numbers and the latter including words, pictures, open-ended interviews and observations. Based on this study's main objectives and key questions, a qualitative research design was used.

Rubin and Babbie (2005) highlight that qualitative research provides answers to simple questions: "if you want to know about something, why not just go where it's happening and watch it happening, experience it, perhaps even participate in it". Hence, qualitative research allows a researcher to gain in-depth insight into participants' perceptions and views. Holliday (2007:6) explains that qualitative research helps researchers explore and understand the lifestyles of the people they intend studying in their own social setting. During her interactions with WE residents, the researcher was able to mingle and interact in order to better uncover the reasons why recipients' livelihoods were structured in the way that they are. This enabled the researcher to connect the data with the social and environmental factors the WE participants presented. Scheyvens and Storey (2003) state that first-hand experience implies the investigation context - the immediate, on-site setting in which qualitative methods are employed - while involvement refers to the researcher's actual participation in the social world under study.

The researcher conducted numerous visits to WE, yielding comprehensive reflection field notes and observations and a significant level of community engagement. This proved effective as the purpose was to gain in-depth understanding of the setting and behaviour of this community with regard to CSG distribution. Nachimias (1992) recommended that qualitative researchers attempt to understand behaviour and institutions by getting to know the individuals involved; including

their values, rituals, beliefs and emotions. Qualitative researchers study poverty by immersing themselves in the lives of the poor rather than collecting data with a structured interview schedule.

4.4 Sampling methods

The main purpose was to select a sample of participants that represent the entire WE population. Sarantokos (cited in Lifa Phoku, 2009) defines a population as a larger group from which the sample is taken and to which the researcher wants to generalise the research findings. This requires that decisions be made in relation to what constitutes suitable individuals. This study targeted CSG recipients. The sampling method used enabled the researcher to observe and gather relevant information to understand the impact CSG had on WE recipients and to determine whether or not the CSG had improved their standard of living and their lives.

The selection of the sample was also based on the participants' willingness and availability to take part in this study. Gilbert (2008) defines a sample as a subset of a population where the population is usually very large, making a census enumeration of all members impractical and expensive. Nueman (2011) notes that the large set of persons, objects or phenomena in which the researcher is interested is called "the population" and the individual persons, objects or phenomena are the population element. The group selected and observed is referred to as the sample. Since WE is said to be densely populated, 50 participants were selected using the following method:

- Every third house was chosen systematically using a probability sampling strategy or systematic random sampling technique. Neuman (2011) defines systematic sampling as simple random sampling or an N name selection technique. The researcher used random sampling as a probability sampling tool and, in the simplest case; each member of the population has the same chance of inclusion and each sample of a particular size the same probability of being selected. Thyer (2010) explains a simple random sample of size n is a sample of size defined as a sample obtained such that every possible n sample size has the same probability of selection. This sample is unbiased in that no population element or sample of size n has a greater or lesser probability of selection. A simple random sample of size n is obtained in the following manner:

- A list identifies every element. This could be a list of names in the population.
- Each population receives a numeric identifier before a random number table generates a list of n random numbers. These numbers then select the population elements in the sample.
- Through applying this method, the study was able to focus on significant sub-populations and ignore irrelevant ones, effectively enhancing the accuracy of estimations and conclusions. This simplified the process for the researcher as it would have been time consuming to include every member of the WE population in the study. The costs of doing so would also have been prohibitive, as the researcher received no financial sponsorship for this study.

4.5 Data Collection Instrument

Focus groups were conducted using in-depth interviews with the sample study. Neuman (2011) notes, that, this involves gathering six to 12 people plus a moderator in a room to discuss issues, generally for around 90 minutes. This placed the sample in a group discussion setting where they were informally interviewed as the researcher asked probing questions during these interviews. The researcher observed that, during this process, participants expressed their opinions on the research questions that related to their experience.

Five focus groups, each consisting of 10 participants were conducted. Participants were not related to one another and included Black people and Indians. As the researcher both facilitated and moderated the focus groups, the participants were able to freely express their perceptions and opinions based on their daily life experiences. While this was an open discussion, a schedule of questions guided the discussions. The researcher ensured that the participants were clear on the terms and conditions of the research study as the significance of a consent form was explained to all participants thoroughly before the interviews were conducted.

The study's primary focus was CSG recipients. Welam, Kruger and Mitchell (2005) state, that, unstructured interviews are useful when a researcher wants to launch an extensive investigation. The unstructured interviews clarified concepts and problems, while establishing a list of possible

answers and solutions. This, in turn, facilitated the construction of multiple choice questions and the reformulation of those that were unclear. Through the in-depth interaction with the participants, the researcher explored and acquired information from community members on the different scams that occur within the CSG collection process which are discussed in depth in chapter five. However, the topics were carefully predetermined and logically sequenced. The participants participated fully in the study. Each focus group lasted an hour.

4.5.1 The Questionnaire

The focus group interviews had nine guiding questions that assisted the researcher to fulfil the study's aims and objectives (See Appendix C). Questions were clearly structured to address the key objectives while interacting intensively with participants. Previous field work had revealed the importance of having fewer rather than more, ineffective questions. Lifa Phoku (2009) clarifies that empirical evidence suggests that, while many people may gain pleasure from being interviewed, others consider it a waste of time, particularly if they do not understand the purpose of the interview or the language spoken. During the focus groups, several questions were translated into IsiZulu as some participants were elderly Black people who did not understand English and it was important to ensure that every participant fully understood the questions in order to harvest the relevant information.

4.5.2 The structure of the focus group questions/questionnaire

The first part of the questionnaire (see Appendix C) included the participant's biographical profile namely, age, gender, education, employment and income status. Part two concerned the relationship between the child beneficiary and the person collecting the grant. This section focused on the specific use of the CSG and an evaluation of its efficiency and effectiveness in the lives of the beneficiary children. Sessions were conducted in one of the participants' spacious yard and the researcher provided refreshments. Using a participant's home was a great advantage as questions could be thoroughly discussed without the time pressures inherent in booking a venue. The participants were also comfortable conversing in a familiar environment. The researcher ensured that the environment was appropriate and favourable.

4.5.3 Data analysis methods

The researcher analysed the raw field notes obtained through intensive and effective field work aimed at understanding the community's values, rituals, beliefs and emotions and used thematic analysis to analyse the study results. This consists of transcribing, familiarisation, identifying themes, coding and data interpretation (Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter, 2006). A tape recorder was used during the data collection process and the tapes were transcribed to text to ensure that these recordings were subjected to the same process as handwritten notes, including field notes. After transcription, the researcher continuously listened to the recordings and thoroughly read the transcripts in order to familiarise herself with the data. Thyer (2010) states that once tapes have been transcribed, researchers must familiarise themselves with and analyse the transcripts. While scrutinising the data, the researcher identified themes and sub-themes. It is the researcher's task to identify common and contradictory perspectives when and if they arise within the same data. Terre Blanche et al. (2006) suggest that, through this process, the researcher applies thematic analysis. The researcher collated the data into themes following the procedure of coding, highlighting emerging themes and grouping common data. The data was eventually interpreted, guided by the literature review and the theoretical framework as discussed in chapter five. The researcher incorporated these new perceptions into data analysis; the purpose was an interactive unfolding of insights as the researcher engaged with the participants' experiences and ultimately linked these to relate their collective story.

4.6 Ethical Clearance

The University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) Higher Degrees Committee and the Ethics Committee within the Department of Social Sciences Research Office granted approval to conduct this study (see Appendix E). The researcher strictly followed the specific procedures and protocols binding every UKZN researcher, taking into consideration plagiarism and honesty when reporting study findings. The researcher adhered to common primary ethical principles, respecting every individual involved in the study regardless of age, gender and race and thoroughly explaining their rights. Welman et al. (2005) state, that, the principles underlying 'research ethics' are universal and concern issues like honesty and respect for individuals' rights.

4.6.1 Informed Consent

Study participants were assured that confidentiality and anonymity would be maintained and all were asked to sign an informed consent form (see Appendix B). Participants received an English-language consent form with verbal translations into isiZulu conducted for those did not understand English. Welman, Kruger and Mitchell (2005) stress the importance of researchers obtaining informed consent from study participants after they have been thoroughly and truthfully informed of the aim and purpose of a research study and the nature of the investigation. The researcher emphasised there were no rewards beyond refreshments for participating in the study.

Participants were assured that their rights would be upheld, including protection from any harm; voluntary participation and their choice to withdraw at any time during the study. These assurances were given verbally in the appropriate language and in writing.

4.7 Potential limitations of the study

- The qualitative research was limited to 50 participants, making the study's findings impossible to generalise across the entire population.
- The minimal data collected limits the study's findings.
- Most CSG recipients participating in this study were female, effectively preventing the study from obtaining other, specifically male, views and perspectives.
- No funding was obtained for this study, putting pressure on the researcher to conduct focus groups in one full day to minimise costs. This was an exhausting process.

4.8 Conclusion

The research methods used in this study helped the researcher to achieve the study's objectives and to gain clarity on whether initiatives to reduce poverty served the purpose for which they were intended. The data collected broadened the researcher's understanding and knowledge of poverty and the measures required to alleviate poverty. This was achieved through interaction with CSG recipients who articulated their daily challenges in relation to the CSG.

Chapter Five: Data Analysis and findings

5.1 Introduction

Data analysis is a process where the researcher systematically applies logical tools to describe, summarise and analyse the data that has been collected during fieldwork. This process helps to highlight the important data and supports decision making. In this study pseudonyms are used (see Appendix D) for ethical reasons.

5.2 Data Analysis

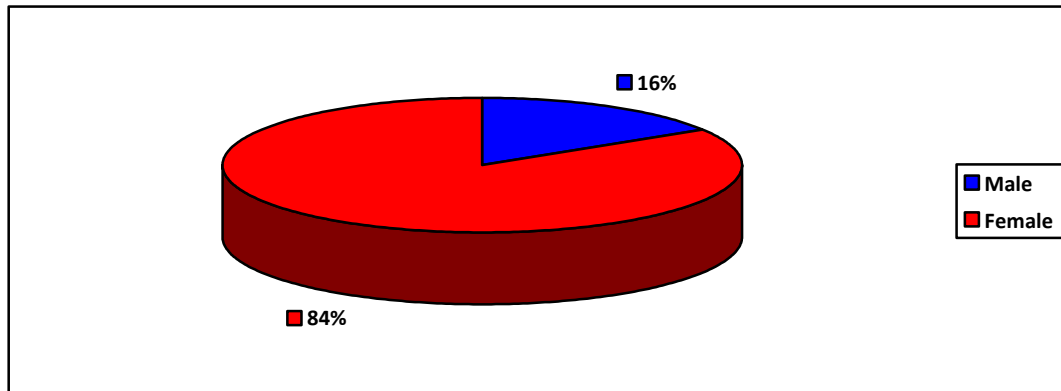
5.2.1 Are you the Recipient of a Child Support Grant?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
<u>Child Support Recipients</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>100%</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>100%</u>

Table 1: Recipient of a Child Support Grant

All the respondents receive the CSG. This illustrates that the CSG is effective in reaching recipients. Lund (2008) found that the CSG is one of the fixed financial intermediaries that can be accessed by all people, for a variety of financial needs.

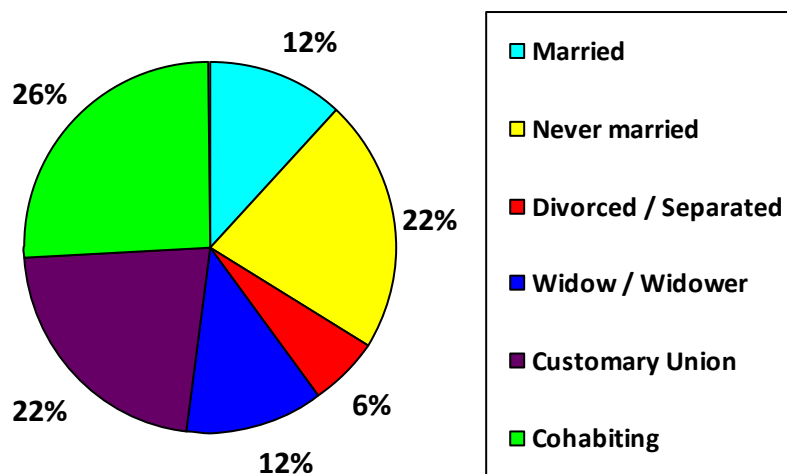
5.2.2 Gender of CSG recipients



Pie Chart 1: Gender of CSG recipients

The pie chart above shows that 16% of the respondents who reported receiving the CSG are male, while the remaining 84% are female. This could be due to a variety of reasons – including the stereotype that exists with regards to whom the CSG is supposed to benefit. The general way of life in South Africa is also a contributory factor. The apartheid migrant labour system encouraged men to work while women stayed at home and looked after the children. This result also indicates that there is a need to educate men about the CSG and its intentions.

5.2.3 Marital Status of CSG Recipients

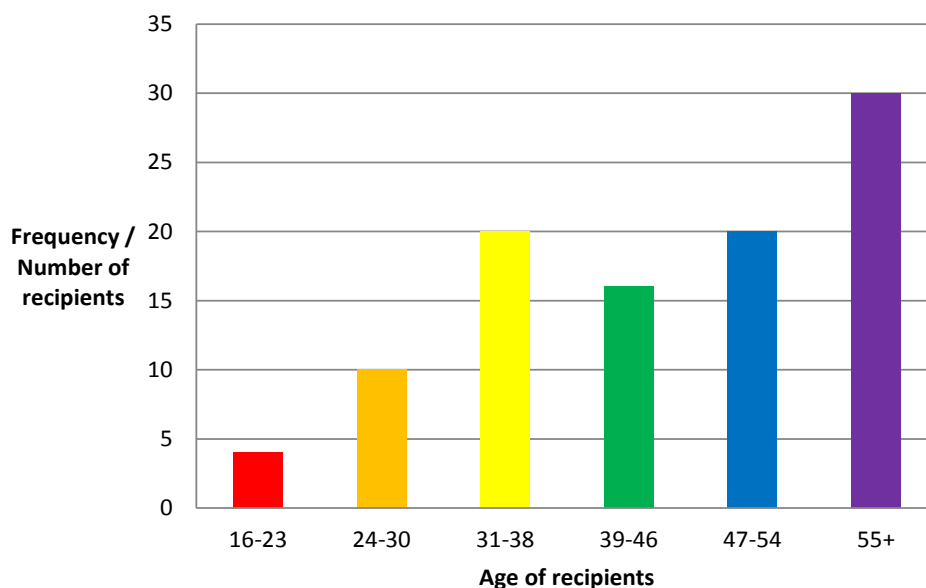


Pie Chart 2: Marital Status

Table 3 shows that a high percentage of recipients are cohabiting (26%) in customary unions (22%) or have never been married (22%). This information is crucial in identifying the factors that may contribute to child poverty.

Twelve percent of the respondents are married and widowed, respectively, while only 6% are separated from their partners. These lower percentages indicate that, married couples are more likely to be able to provide for their children. There is growing concern over the number of children exposed to cohabitation. In the decade between 1990 and 1999, there was a 100% increase; cohabiting families grew from 2.2 million in 1990 to 4.3 million in 1999 (Manning and Brown, 2006).

5.2.4 Age of CSG recipient



Graph 1: Age of CSG recipients

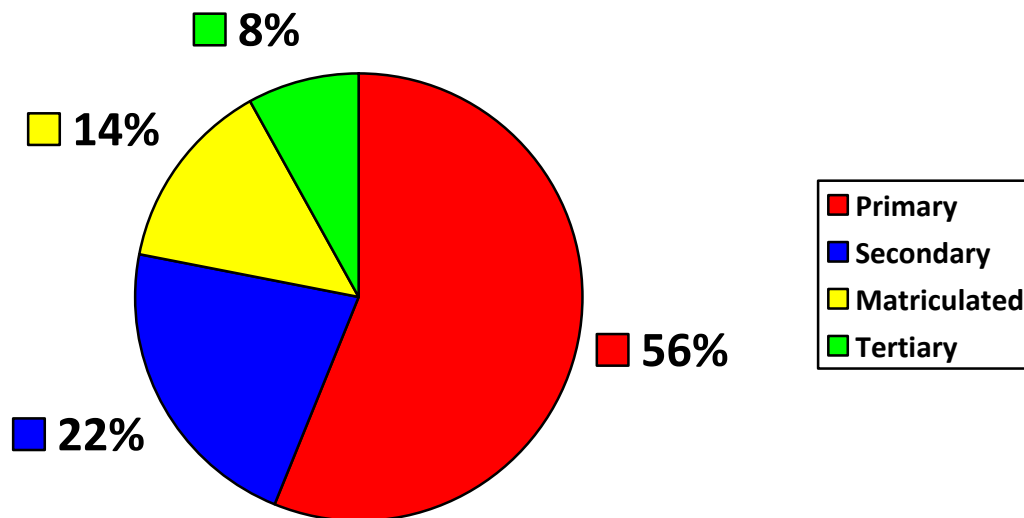
The graph above indicates a fluctuating yet general increase in the number of CSG recipients in older age groups. This indicates that more mature people are responsible for looking after

children. Furthermore, this data suggest that collecting the CSG is not popular amongst those in younger age groups.

A primary caregiver is anyone, other than the biological or foster parents, over the age of 16 who is mainly responsible for looking after the child. Children who head households, and who are between the ages of 16 and 18, can apply for the CSG with the help of a supervising adult, such a local social worker. They can be a family member, including a brother or sister.

The results show that the recipients of CSG span a range of age groups. Four percent of the respondents were aged 16-23 years, 10% were 24-30 years old, 20% were between 31 and 38 years, 16% were 39-46 years old, 20% were between the ages of 47-54 and 30% were 55 years and older.

5.2.5 Level of education of CSG recipients



Pie Chart 3: Education Level of Child Support Grant Recipients

The pie chart above shows that 92% of the respondents do not have any form of post school or tertiary education. Fifty six percent of the respondents had left school at primary level and 22% left at secondary level. This could be due a variety of reasons which include falling pregnant and not being able to go back to school due to the responsibility of looking after the child. The majority of the CSG recipients in this study reported that they had dropped out of school to secure domestic jobs in order to support their families. Only 14% of the respondents had

matriculated and 8% were able to obtain tertiary education. This data indicates the direct effect education has on being self-sustaining. These respondents will find it difficult to obtain a job that will allow them to sustain themselves. Therefore the cycle of poverty and particularly child poverty will continue to challenge this community. Alcock (2006) observes that there is a close connection between poverty and a lack of education since educational attainment is strongly correlated with standard of living. Furthermore, according to Williams (2007), education, training, skills and productive knowledge transform human beings into more valuable human capital. The knowledge acquired through education has the ability to increase people's level of productivity as well as their earnings.

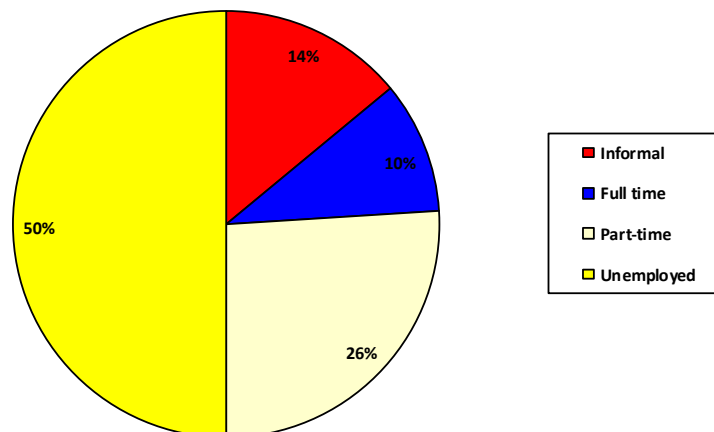
The World Economic Forum (2013) ranks the quality of the education system in South Africa in comparison with other countries very low (146th), with low primary and tertiary enrolment rates. Labour market efficiency is poor (116th), hiring and firing practices are extremely rigid (147th), companies do not have the flexibility to set wages (144th), and there are significant tensions in labour-employer relations (148th). Raising educational standards and making the labour market more efficient will thus be critical to address the country's high unemployment rate.

The participants explained why they were not attending school:

- *I'm currently furthering my studies with ABET since I dropped out at school at primary level. ABET requires much studying and dedication. I cannot do piece jobs to supplement the child support grant. My mother is also sick but does not qualify for the disability grant.*
- *Being an eldest member at home is difficult. I stay at home and look after my late sister's children. They do not qualify for foster care grant as their father is alive. I do not know his whereabouts and as a result he does not contribute towards the maintenance of his children. I fear to leave the children alone as you there is a very high rate of sexual assaults on news and television.*

Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET) is available to adults who were not able to complete their basic education. It is clear that different factors prevent the participants from seeking employment; hence their reliance on the CSG.

5.2.6 Employment status of the CSG recipients



Pie chart 4: Employment Status of CSG recipients

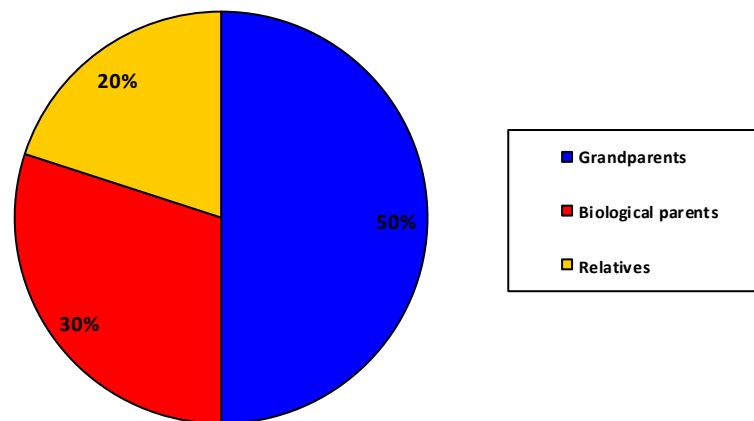
The pie chart above illustrates a close relationship with pie chart 3. It shows that in the WE area, 90% of the participants who are CSG recipients do not have a full-time, stable job. Furthermore, 50% of these participants are unemployed. Education plays a major role in being able to obtain and maintain employment.

Lund (2008) noted that poverty is closely correlated to "high unemployment rates regardless of how it is measured"; she further elaborated that the debate on whether or not social security assistance creates dependency and discourages people from seeking work could be based on assumptions on the lack of unemployment, economic deprivation and the history of poverty in the county and worldwide that was discussed in the literature review.

The high level of unemployment amongst the participants suggests that there are insufficient skills development programmes to sustain local community members. Twenty six percent of the participants have part-time jobs and 10% are in full-time employment. The latter stated that they work as petrol attendants, at Checkers Supermarket as cashiers and as cleaners in local

restaurants located in Chatsworth. Finally, 14% of the respondents are employed in the informal sector.

5.2.7 How are you related to the child you are receiving CSG for?

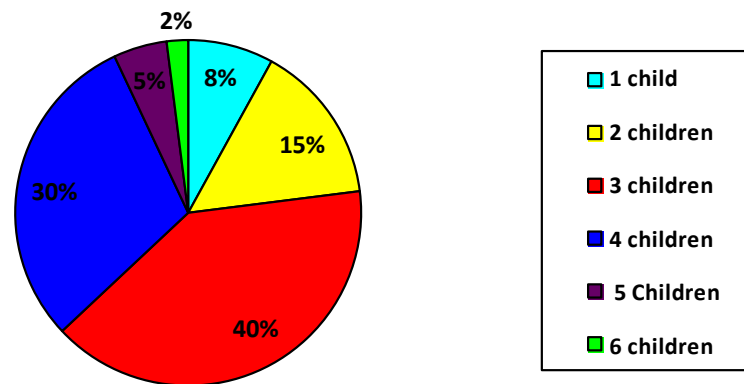


Pie chart 5: Relationship of the child concerned and the CSG recipient

This pie chart indicates that grandparents constitute the majority of the respondents (50%) who receive the CSG; this correlates with Graph 1 that shows that a large number of the participants are aged 55 years and older. One could also draw a relationship between biological parents (30% of the respondents) and the 31-38 age group depicted in Graph 1. Only 20% of the participants are relatives (aunts and uncles, etc) of the children concerned.

It is also important to note that the high percentage of participants who fall into the older age group might be due to the fact that they stay at home due to illness/old age, unemployment etc. Other reasons include the fact that a large number of children are orphans due to HIV/AIDs. According to Lund (2008), the responsibility for sustaining the African population was borne entirely by rural family members as men in their economically active years left their homes to work in the cities; Lund describes this as a denial of the right to live a family life.

5.2.8 How many children do you receive the CSG for?



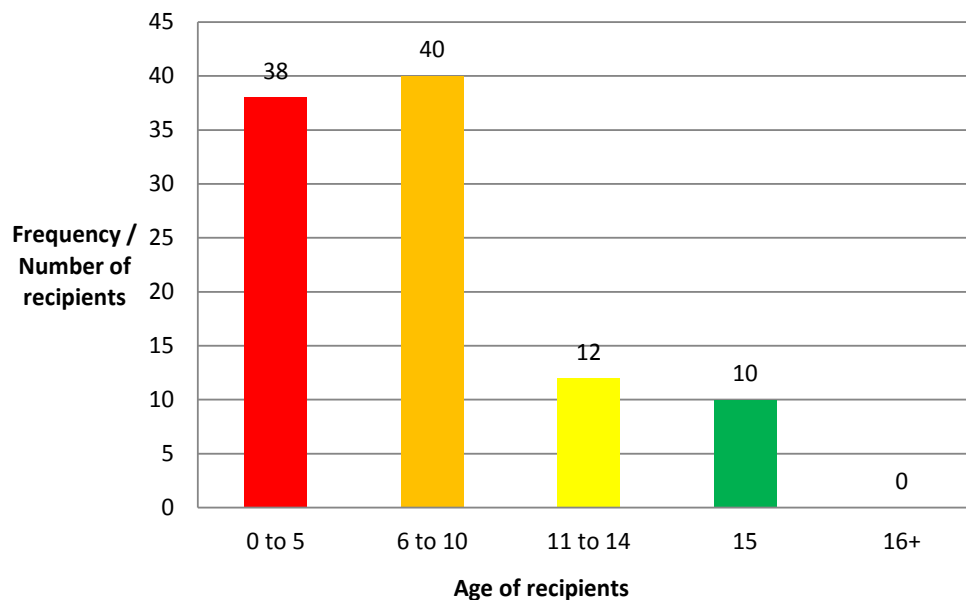
Pie Chart 6: Number of CSGs each recipients collects.

The pie chart above indicates a high percentage of CSG recipients collecting grants for three and four children. It illustrates that 8% of participants receive the CSG for one child, 15% for two children and 40% for three children, while 30% receive the CSG for four children, 5% for five children and 2% for six children.

Although only 2% of the participants indicated that they collected the CSG for six children, this is a clear indication of the living conditions and circumstances of many South Africans. This may also represent abuse of the CSG due to the dependence factor.

These results indicate the dire nature of the current situation. This way of life is not sustainable and should not be encouraged; supportive systems are required to address poverty gaps and child poverty specifically.

5.2.9 How long have you been receiving the Child Support Grant?



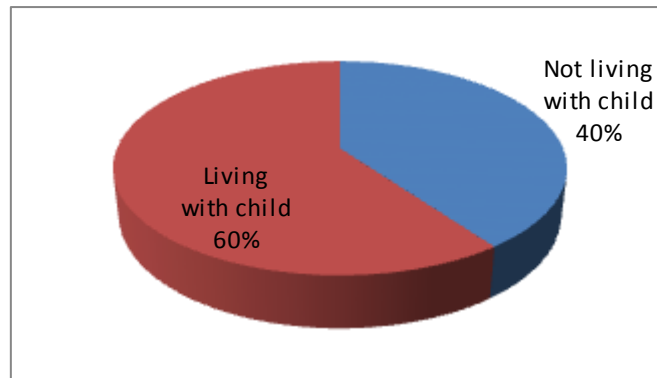
Graph 2: Period CSG received

- 38% participants have been collecting CSG for one month to five years for children under the age of five.
- 40% participants reported that they have been receiving the CSG for six to 10 years and they have children aged six to 10 years.
- 12% of the participants have received the CSG for 11-14 years for children aged 11 to 14 years.
- 10% of the participants reported that they have been collecting the CSG for 15 years (since 1998) and that the age of the children they are collecting for is 15 years.

None of the participants reported receiving the CSG for less than a year for children aged 16 and over. These statistics illustrate the demand for the CSG during the early years of children's lives as it increases from 0 at birth up to 40% at 10 years and decreases back to zero at the age of 16 and older. However, this may not be a true reflection as the CSG has only been available for 15 years; therefore data beyond this age is not available as yet.

On a positive note, this graph indicates the number of years that the CSG has been available to those in need. As noted earlier, while this system may not be fully effective, it is the only source of income for millions of families.

5.2.10 where does the child/children that you receive CSG for reside?



Pie Chart 7: Child residential status

The pie chart illustrates that 60% of the participants reported that the children they receive the CSG for live with them, while 40% indicated that this was not the case. The latter reported that when they collect the CSG, the money is transferred to the person that the child is staying with, in the rural areas.

The CSG is designed to be paid via a primary caregiver who has primary responsibility for the daily care of the child. The primary aim of the CSG is to 'Follow the child'; Lund (2008) notes that this represented a radical move from a family-based benefit to a child-focused one.

The participants gave various reasons why, when they are not living with the child, but do collect the CSG, they fail to give the grant to the child's primary care-giver:

- *The issue of whether I am able to transfer the money or not depend on my financial difficulties in that specific month. Sometimes I run out of money to go to seek for a job, so I am left with no option but to use the CSG money to travel.*

- *As a parent of the child, I also have a right to use the money for my own needs if I am struggling for that particular month.*
- *It is hard to give money to someone else once you have collected it, especially if you are also in need of money. At least my children are in the care of my parents (grandparents to the children) and they both collect the OAG and they are able to foresee and assist where they can if I am unable to send the CSG to them for that month.*

In the case of a child whose parents are both deceased and no further information is available:

- The process is facilitated by a qualified social worker who attempts to trace the origins of the child concerned. The process begins by contacting relatives or the current caregiver who provide insight into the background of the child.
- The family will usually provide the social worker with information on the parents' particulars, place of birth, and particulars of the school where the child was first enrolled if the child is in school.
- The social worker then conducts an investigation and compiles a 'social worker's report' that the care giver submits to the DoHA to apply for a birth certificate.
- Where there is no information on the parents (e.g. an abandoned child) the social worker has a responsibility to ensure that the child concerned is registered with the Department of Home Affairs.
- The child is taken to the local district surgeon for an age estimate and the doctor completes a 'Form 7'. The social worker compiles a background report on the circumstances of the child. The background report together with 'form 7' is submitted to the court to request a court order of birth registration.
- The social worker and the child concerned appear before the magistrate and a court order is granted permitting the registration of the birth of the child. The order is then attached to the social worker's report and the social worker approaches the DoHA to apply for a birth certificate. Note that in these unique circumstances the social worker assumes the role of a guardian as he/she is required to produce his/her I.D. document.

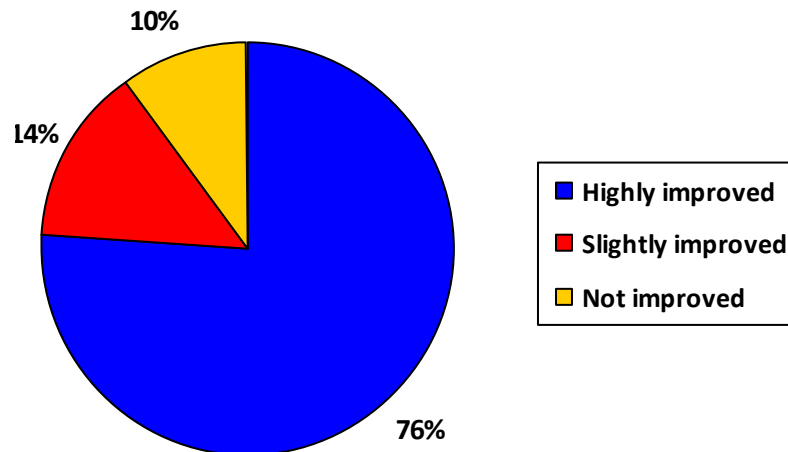
In the case of a child whose parents' whereabouts are unknown to the care-giver:

- The care-giver completes an affidavit with South African Police Service (SAPS) stating how he/she came to care for the child concerned and providing any background information available.
- The care-giver approaches the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) to apply for a CSG and SASSA refers the care-giver back to the social worker as they require an investigation of the suitability of the person applying for the CSG. This applies to persons who are not the biological parents of the child concerned.
- After conducting an investigation into the background circumstances, the social worker provides SASSA with a suitability report for the care-giver to apply for the CSG.

In a case of a child who is an orphan, both biological parents are deceased and there is supporting evidence of death certificates:

- In the above mentioned scenario, the child qualifies for the foster care grant; however the care-giver may apply for the CSG as a temporary measure while the social worker facilitates the process of screening a prospective foster parent.
- Once the application for the foster care grant is completed and the matter has been finalized at court, the child is placed in the care of the foster parent and a court order is obtained in this regard.
- The foster parent submits the given court order to SASSA and the foster care grant replaces the CSG.

5.2.11 How has the CSG improved the standard of living of the child, and to what extent is the CSG sufficient for the basic needs of the child?



Pie Chart 8: CSG recipients' standard of living

Hall and Wight (2010) identify economic, cultural and reproductive health perspectives in the debate on teenagers bearing children out-of-wedlock in South Africa. The economic perspective considers the economic costs to society of personal reproductive behavior. It notes that cash transfers to unmarried teenage mothers could be an unproductive investment, and could serve as an incentive for them to produce children that they are unable to support. Since there was no comprehensive welfare assistance programme that targeted the majority of the disenfranchised population in the past, this perspective was carefully subsumed under general arguments about the negative consequences of high fertility rates on society and was seen as part of the rationale for an interventionist population policy that was implemented in South Africa until recently.

5.2.11.1 Standard of living has highly improved

Food prices worldwide have increased by 100% since 2004. The Alliance for Children's Entitlement to Social Security (ACCESS) notes that this had a huge impact on South Africa's poor, who spend a large proportion of their income on food. According to the 2005-2006 Income

and Expenditure of Households statistics, South Africa's poorest inhabitants spend 51% of their annual income on food, while the rich only spend 9.6%. This illustrates that, when there is a large increase in food prices, such as occurred during 2007-2008, the poor are unable to increase their expenditure on food. Five kilogrammes of maize meal now costs 22% more than in 2007, while a 750ml bottle of cooking oil has gone up by 66%. The executive director of ACCESS noted that the poor struggle to buy food (*The Star*, April 26 2008).

Participants who have been receiving the CSG since 1998 for more than one child acknowledged great improvements in their lives especially in relation to their children's future. The focus group interviews provided evidence that the CSG has a positive impact as a government strategy to reduce poverty as it has been restructured a number of times in terms of eligibility.

- *To be quite honest, the CSG has improved the lives of my family because it has been able to fill in gaps that were widely opened before we were able to access it. My family does not go to bed without food to eat and no one else would randomly give us an amount of R300 which is the amount of CSG every month without expecting us to pay it back or something in return. The government can only try to assist us although the difference between the rich and the poor will forever exist, regardless of the government's attempts to equalize the economic benefit.*
- *The fact that I am the only bread winner within my family clearly means that this extra R300 from the government does offload a certain amount of burden from my shoulders. The grant money is better than nothing.*
- *With the R300 that I collect every month for my three grand children, together with my pension grant, I am now even able to buy 5kg of rice, a sack of mealie meal and be able to change food as compared not affording buy both in one month. The government is also at least providing feed schemes for lunch in schools for our children. When my grandchildren come back from school, I am able to make phuthu and maas with the mealie meal, on other days I make uphuthu with curry or curry with rice. The mealie meal assists in terms of porridge for breakfast while it can also be used for supper purposes.*

- *The new card system has saved us the hustle to stand long queues for hours in hot and rainy weathers because some of the pay point stations do not have shelters or “machines” to control heat. I believe that this new system has also minimized the level of robbery because the money is now safely transferred into the card. Whereas previously , one would be granted cash on the day to receive the grant and everyone would know that you have cash on you as u have been standing in a long queue at the grant office or pay point station.*
- *It is even much better now since the government introduced the new card system and it shall depend on an individual if they want to stand long queues as SASSA offices, or could withdraw straight from the bank or one’s nearest supermarket. Most people would rather stand in long queues at SASSA simply because there is not even a cent deducted from the grant money. “Umntu uyithola imali yakhe iphelele, injengoba injalo” (one receives their money in full as it is).*
- *The card system gives us the option to either withdraw from an ATM or swipe in supermarkets. The government is doing a lot to make us feel as part of “izifundiswa” (well educated) as we rub shoulders with them and use same processes of swiping as them.*
- *However the disadvantage of accessing the money from the supermarkets is the fact that some stores force you to buy groceries first before you are able to withdraw the money. And also the disadvantage of withdrawing from the bank is the bank charges which are deducted from this very little cent that we get!*
- *Another disadvantage of avoiding long queues at SASSA is the fact that in some super markets there are officials who request bribery in order for them to do you a favor of not standing long queues for hours regardless if you arrived in the afternoon to collect your grant money.*

These participants clearly explain how the CSG has improved their standard of living. According to the National Treasury (2007:105) approximately one in five South Africans are receiving social grants from the government, of which 60% are CSG recipients. The participants explained that the new card system has enabled them to choose to swipe with the CSG card to

collect the grant from pay point stations. This has enabled the poor to regain their self-esteem as swiping a card is associated with being in an advanced position. However, the participants highlighted the fraud that occurs at some local supermarkets, where officials demand bribes in order for the recipients to avoid the queues. The participants also pointed to safety and climatic challenges at some pay point stations.

5.2.11.2 Standard of living has slightly improved

In an address to the National Council of Provinces (NCOP) in March 2008, former Deputy President of the Republic of South Africa, Phumzile Mlambo Ngcuka stated that poverty can be reduced by increasing economic opportunities for poor women. She further suggested that besides social grants, the private sector should provide opportunities for first-time job seekers, many of whom reach the age of 40 without ever holding down a job.

Katherine Hall of the University of Cape Town agrees that the CSG has proved effective in poverty alleviation. She notes that the CSG has reached a large number of children and that, “In reality it has reached even a greater proportion because benefits are shared within households, in the absence of employment opportunities. CSG has been one of the most successful strategies to address the lack of income for children living in poverty” (www.sagoodnews.co.za/social).

The following participants felt that the CSG has slightly improved their standard of living:

- *The CSG is not enough to sustain the basic needs of a child for the whole month. Different children have different needs and especially for babies who are still using nappies and milk formula. One has to be very clever on how to try and sustain a child's needs until the next month.*
- *CSG is slightly helpful only if there is another form of financial assistance or income on the side, for instance, the father of my child does provide a monthly payment of R500 a month towards the needs of the child.*

5.2.11.3 Standard of living has not improved

This section outlines the sentiments of the participants who feel that the CSG distribution has not improved their situation. The participants laid the blame for the challenges they confront at the door of the CSG and noted the increase in unplanned pregnancies as a result of the grant. They also believe that the CSG has allowed children's biological fathers to avoid providing financial support.

- *“Imali yeqolo”(back bone money) has caused nothing but havoc within our community, for instance, I am a primary care- giver of my grandchildren and the grant is still paid out to my child, who is the biological mother of my grandchildren. I have been going over and over to the grant offices to request for transfer of CSG however, the service providers tell me to get hold of my child so she can witness that she agrees for CSG to be transferred to me as a primary care- giver. I do not know the whereabouts of my child, who is the biological mother of my grandchild. She left when her child was still very young and I had to see to the child until today.*
- *My child is collecting the Child Support Grant, however she does not foresee to the child with that grant money. She is staying with her boyfriend and I have to care for her child from her previous relationship. The CSG of the respected child that I am caring for is benefitting her children who are from her current relationship.*
- *I only qualified to receive CSG recently because I could not obtain the required documents. My grandchild did not have a birth certificate and the process of registering his birth delayed while his age was progressing.*
- *Personally I feel that CSG has had an influence in our children because they continuously fall pregnant because they know at the back of their minds that, the government shall foresee with this CSG money. It's like this grant money has become a trend and a tradition in this country, that once a person has a baby, the following step is the application of the CSG.*
- *This little money has made the biological fathers of these children to know that CSG will “feed” their children. This has resulted in the biological fathers of the children to shift*

their responsibilities as fathers, towards working hard and seek for jobs so they can provide for their children.

5.2.12 Is there any other source of income in the family other than the CSG and where does it come from?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
<u>Yes</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>88%</u>
<u>No</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>12%</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>100%</u>

Table 2: Other source of income in the family either than CSG

Table: 2 shows that 12% of the participants have no source of income other than the CSG, while 88% indicated that they do have other sources of income.

Amongst the latter group, the participants said that they earn money by doing washing, baby-sitting, ironing and gardening in the nearby suburban area. Some sell chips and sweets at the gates of local schools, while others explained that family members within their households receive other social grants such as the pension and disability grant and their spouses contribute financially to the upbringing of their children, some of whom are from previous relationships. Davis (2006) explains that the income generated from these informal jobs, the majority of which are held by women, usually fall short of ensuring even a minimum standard of living. Informal labour therefore implies the reproduction of absolute poverty.

- *I am an unemployed single parent and I receive CSG in respect of my children who are both toddlers. This certainly means that I can't even leave my children to look for a job there will be no one to look after them while I'm away. In this manner we are only dependent on CSG with my children.*

- *Within my family, three of my family members receive a pension grant which highly contributes towards sustaining the whole family. As much as the CSG is limiting in terms of its amount, my relative's pension grant eventually benefit the entire family because it is quite more, compared to "imali yeqo" (backbone money) .*

According to Denning (2010) a wageless or low-wage life results in deprivation and exclusion. He adds that unemployment precedes employment, and the informal economy precedes the formal economy, both historically and conceptually. However, his arguments seem to be based on semantics rather than addressing the real problem of poverty alleviation.

5.213.2 To what extent is money being saved for tertiary education in respect of the child concerned?

As noted previously, children from poor families struggle to access higher levels of education in South Africa. This requires that care-givers, parents and the Department of Education (DOE) explore ways to expand such access (Morley and Coady, 2003). While some participants manage to save a portion of the CSG, others are not in a position to do so; the participants also noted that tertiary education is extremely expensive.

5.2.13.1 Participants who are unable to save for the child's tertiary education

- *I cannot afford to save any money because this is the only source of income in the family. With R300 CSG, R200.00 is spent on groceries, R50.00 is contributed towards stokvel club and R50.00 goes to the funeral policies. What I normally do is encourage my children to study hard and obtain good marks so they may qualify for bursaries.*
- *This CSG is too little to save for tertiary, what the children will eat now if I stack away all the money for future tertiary which I am not even sure my child will be able to qualify to study. Tertiary is only afforded by children who come from rich families. Once the CSG is terminated, all children from our community have no option but to go look from jobs in order to support and sustain our families.*

- *If my child turns 18 years he is no longer my responsibility as he will be a full grown man. He will have to see for himself what he does to uplift his life as I would have done my part in sending him to school. I also figured it out myself when I was his age. As well as I will not waste money on my daughter as she will get married and be forced to support another family with the education I worked hard to provide for her.*

These statements suggest that the CSG is too low to allow the participants to save for a child's tertiary education. Some also believe that, as care-givers, they are only responsible for raising the child until they finish matric. Once the child turns 18 or reaches matric, he/she should find a job. The participants also emphasised that once the eldest child has completed high school he or she should ensure that his/her younger siblings are provided for.

5.2.13.2 Participants who save for the child's tertiary education

During the focus groups, some participants explained that, as much CSG is a small amount, they appreciate the need to save for a child's tertiary education. They also demonstrated knowledge of the financial assistance that is available to qualifying students to study at tertiary level. This includes mechanisms such as the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS). According to Jandhyala (2002), the aim of NSFAS is to ensure that citizens have access to higher education and training. The NSFAS receives funding from the state as well as local and international donors to assist students from disadvantaged backgrounds with bursaries and or loans. Children from poor households are given priority. The NSFAS allocates funding to institutions and students based on an annual allocation assessment and formula which strictly targets students from poor households. The formula is informed by the number of disadvantaged students and their demographic profile (Jandhyala, 2002).

- *I heard that if you are unemployed, tertiary requests proof of pension receipt or an affidavit stating that you are unemployed in order to grant your children with a loan (NSFAS). My children will have to use that opportunity because "imali yeqolo" (back bone money) is too little to afford varsity fees.*
- *My family strongly believes that education is the key to success, and one of the clean ways to break the cycle of poverty. I know of a neighbor's child who is now a teacher*

through this loan from the university. We have decided to contribute R120.00 from CSG, towards the education plan of the child because a few of my family relatives are working and able to assist with the needs of my late sister's child. This may help the child to continue with schooling even after we have died.

- *I am employed full time as a nurse and earn an average salary. I see no point in spending my late cousin's child grant when I can afford to look after him from my pocket. I do save his grant for his tertiary education in case something happens to me. I save the whole R300.00; I'm hoping that the government will intervene with the bursaries because I know that varsities are very much expensive.*

5.2.13.3 Views on tertiary education

The participants also expressed concern that due to the low quality of education offered at local schools, children from WE might not qualify for admission to tertiary education institutions. This discourages them from saving for tertiary education. According to Jandhyala (2002), South Africa has no benchmarking of the National Senior Certificate (NSC) examination; therefore, first-year students from underdeveloped schools often find it more difficult to adapt to the university environment than children who attend private schools.

- *I feel it's a waste of money and very disappointing to put money away with the hope that your child will go to varsity. University only accepts children from very expensive schools and families, our poor children never qualify to make it through because the level of education from expensive schools is not the same as schools that we send our children to.*
- *I know of one child from the neighbourhood who went to varsity and stayed there only for six months. The poor child did not cope with the setting of the university and he could not understand the way the university operated. There were hearsays in the neighbourhood that he did not write any tests and assignments because he did not know how to use a computer.*

- *The level of education that is provided at universities is too hard and our children find it very difficult to pass there, the level of English is too “deep” and complex, our children just fail, including children who are well known to be clever and intelligent.*

5.2.14 According to your experience, is the CSG an appropriate strategy to alleviate child poverty and provide support to children who are in need?

The purpose of this research study was to investigate how effective the CSG is as a poverty alleviation measure. There has been a transition from welfare policy to a social development paradigm in the context of the CSG, and there are different opinions regarding its efficacy as a poverty alleviation measure. The initial intention of the CSG was to target impoverished young children; i.e., it was a mechanism for poverty alleviation rather than poverty prevention. The focus was on welfare to move people out of poverty, rather than social security for prevention, compensation and income distribution as well as poverty alleviation (Alcock, 2006).

The participants expressed different opinions on how effective the CSG is in alleviating poverty, based on their life experiences.

- *To a certain extent CSG contributes to the little needs of the child but sometimes it is very difficult to decide what to buy and not to buy for this month simply because this money does not allow you to purchase all the monthly necessities of the child. One has to really strategize in terms of benefiting the child.*
- *The grant money [may] not be an exact appropriate strategy to alleviate poverty simply because at times CSG it is not spent on the children’s basic needs. As a recipient you end up using the money for other things either than the things that will benefit the child directly. There are people whom I know who do not stay with the child and they are recipients of CSG and they do not send the money to the care-giver of the child.*
- *Since CSG is aiming to alleviate poverty and provide support to children who are in need, maybe the government could subsidize stores that specialize with basic needs of a child. There could be a specific food voucher for milk formulas, healthy dairy products including nutritious food for children. The government could also subsidize crèches and*

primary schools in order to ensure that there will be no child who will not attend school just because that child's grant money is not being utilized effectively. Instead of granting out R300 cash with the aim to alleviate poverty, such attempts maybe highly effective in such a way that they prevent the person from collecting CSG and spending the grant money for their own personal needs.

- *CSG is a long process to apply for if you are not the biological parent of the child. In most cases we are left with children and we do not know where to go look for their biological parents. Upon application, sometimes SASSA requests for an affidavit from the biological mother to authorize CSG receipt as a care-giver of the child. The government does not foresee to issues whereby the biological mother refuses to give authority yet not taking care of the child and the child is in my care as a grandparent.*

5.2.15 What would you recommend as a better alternative to improve CSG efficiency and why?

The responses to this question revealed opposing points of view. It was highlighted that the CSG could be more effective if the grant money was increased or substituted with a form of voucher which enables the parent to provide for the monthly needs of the child. However, some participants were also of the view that if the CSG were to be increased, it could lead to an increase in unplanned pregnancies.

- *The grant could be of more assistance if it could be increased to R500.00. The money would be more than enough to cater for a child's needs for a month.*
- *R500.00 is too much for one child because this could exhaust the government's money. For example, if I have three children I will receive R1500.00 which is unrealistic. It will be very unfair to the tax payers because the amount is deducted from their salaries which they earn through hard work. I recommend that the grant remain as it is. The government could in fact provide us with more job opportunities so that we will not be a burden to the country's economy.*

- *If the government could really hear we would like as a community, he would be able to implement the relevant strategies which will be effective to us as a community of WE. I feel that the government should open more doors for the poor, help us develop our skills in terms of supporting and acknowledging our physical talents towards introducing us to entrepreneurship. I believe that not everyone is meant to be highly educated in order for them to be rich, even our very own president “Jacob Zuma” did not complete primary education, but today he is a president.*
- *The grant money is enough; it all lies in planning and good usage of the money. Let us bear in mind that R300.00 is only meant for the child and not other members of the family. The basic needs are attainable provided that one lives within their means. If you are poor, accept your current situation and don't try to live above your means and buy expensive things which you do not afford as a care-giver or a parent.*
- *As much as the grant is helpful I still strongly believe that it promotes unplanned pregnancies for the sake of receiving the grant. If the government increase “imali yeqolo” this will only make the rate of teenage pregnancy and unplanned pregnancies even higher resulting to many bigger social problems than we already have.*
- *Food vouchers which are well structured would be one of the appropriate strategies to tackle this issue of the CSG not being efficient. The government should provide additional vouchers based on the primary needs of children, indicating the different buyable products of children based on the child's age and gender for an example: “if a person is collecting CSG for a seven months baby, that care- giver is bound to buy nappies and baby milk, which are things that can never be found in usage of an adult.”*

5.3 Research Findings

This study revealed that many CSG recipients depend on this grant as a source of income. Some of the study participants are employed and others have part-time or informal jobs. Recipients with a fixed income are able to save part or all of the CSG for tertiary education. The respondents who are unemployed felt that the CSG should be increased to R500 per child. Furthermore the study highlighted the need to provide more employment opportunities.

Where recipients have other sources of income, a positive relationship was found between the CSG and recipients' livelihoods. The study found that the majority of the recipients enrolled their children in school and that the grant was used to buy food for the household, and school uniforms and stationary for the child. However, some recipients noted that the CSG was not sufficient to save for the child's future. Others noted that they could not save or contribute to life insurance; the whole grant was used to buy food. An increase in the grant may make it easier for recipients to achieve sustainable livelihoods. The findings also highlight the need to integrate the unemployed in the informal labour market. In conclusion, the study reflects that the CSG has a positive impact on recipients' livelihoods but that this is undermined by the high rates of unemployment and consequent poverty in South Africa.

5.4 Conclusion

The usage of the CSG cannot be viewed in isolation from the income of a household. The extent to which the CSG impacts on recipients' livelihoods depends on household income. Unemployment prevents the poor from saving or investing in a child's future, as many families use the CSG to meet their immediate needs.

Chapter Six: Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1 Introduction

This study investigated the sufficiency and effectiveness of the CSG in improving the livelihoods of recipients and the extent to which their lives have improved.

In order to achieve the above objectives, the study used a systematic sampling method to select 50 CSG recipients from the WE area in Chatsworth. Focus groups and semi-structured interviews were conducted guided by an interview schedule which consisted of demographic and open-ended questions (see Appendix B). The interviews addressed the following questions:

- *What is the economic, social and community impact of the grant in a specific section of society?*
- *To what extent did government consult with specific communities before the initiation of the policy?*
- *What are the effects of social grants on individuals, families and the community at large?*
- *How efficient and effective has this policy been in alleviating poverty in this specific area/case study?*
- *What can be done to make CSG more effective and efficient?*

6.2 Conclusions

This section presents the conclusions based on the objectives of the study.

6.2.1 Positive findings of the study

Despite the setbacks and challenges confronting the transformation of the country, the South African government has introduced progressive policies that seek to address poverty. This study found that the CSG does have an impact in alleviating poverty, especially among families who are destitute and have no other source of income. Primary caregivers who are unemployed and depend on the CSG stated that this grant enables them to provide food for children and take them to health care facilities. While proof of school enrollment and attendance is not a conditional requirement to access the CSG, the study found that there has been an increase in the number of children attending school among households that benefit from this grant. Although the CSG is an unconditional cash transfer, it was found that it does have a positive impact on marginalised

communities. In contrast, Mexico's PROGRESA programme is a conditional cash transfer that excludes children who are not enrolled in school (Skoufias, 2001:53). Some of the study participants from WE, particularly in households with sources of income other than the CSG, stated that they were able to save some of the grant towards the child's tertiary education. This was less likely in households that relied solely on the CSG.

6.2.2 Negative findings of the Study

This study found that there is a high rate of unemployment among CSG recipients in WE. This creates welfare dependency. The participants expressed the need for skills development to enable them to secure jobs. However, a lack of funds to enroll children in Early Childhood Development (ECD) programmes such as crèches prevented some participants from seeking employment because there would be no one to care for the child while the care-giver is at work. This impacts the wellbeing of children; as Jandhyala (2002) observes that ECD improves the long-term prospects of future generations. ECD ensures that children are well cared for from an early age and receive appropriate emotional, cognitive and physical stimulation.

The WE participants also raised the recurring problem of biological parents who are not the child's primary care-givers collecting the CSG and using it for their personal needs. They cited the difficulties primary care-givers encounter in getting the DSD and SASSA to transfer the grant to them. The participants suggested that the government introduce mechanisms to monitor whether or not the CSG is benefiting the children for whom it is intended. Finally, it was suggested that the value of the grant needs to increase. The participants noted that R300 per month is not sufficient for a child's basic needs, especially in light of the fact that government does not provide food vouchers, and quality education and health care facilities.

6. 2.3. Conclusion

While it is clear that the CSG has impacted positively on poverty stricken families in WE, this study has highlighted that, while the grant may improve the wellbeing of a single child, it cannot sustain a whole household. Furthermore, it was noted that the CSG has given rise to social

problems such as the misuse of the grant money by recipients and the CSG not being accessed directly by primary care-giver of the child.

6.3. Recommendations

Targeted cash transfers are a feature of the global policy agenda; however the success of such processes depends on the government policies in place and how well they are implemented. If cash transfers are part of a broader effort to improve and strengthen the social sector while attending to the urgent needs of the deprived, they could provide much-needed relief.

6.3.1 Intervention at grass roots level

This study recommends that government adopt a people-centred approach when initiating programmes intended to benefit communities. This places the targeted community at the centre of development, promoting self-reliance, social justice, and participatory decision-making. This requires changes in social, economic, and political values and practices in order for the government to gain an in-depth understanding of people's essential needs. Grassroots intervention entails going to the community, understanding their daily life experiences and involving them in planning the changes they feel will benefit them as a community. This enables the community to take ownership from the formulation stage to the end of project implementation.

6.3.2 Provision of good quality education to the poor

The findings of the study highlight the need for government to ensure that good quality education is available and accessible to poor children, from ECD level to high school, regardless of whether or not families can afford to pay school fees. Quality education is an essential requirement for the development of a national economy. Providing today's children with educational opportunities and nutritional support will produce adults with a job and an independent income, reduce poverty, improve the health of the country's citizens, reduce crime rates and decrease welfare dependence. The literature notes that ongoing intergenerational poverty is due to the lack of education and employment. If the current generation leaves the next generation with degraded economic, social and environmental assets, the future generation will obviously be unsustainable.

6.3.3 Provide health services and nutritious food to children who are poor

It is further recommended that government ensure that poor children receive good quality health services and that nutritious food is provided at schools for children who cannot afford to bring lunch to school. There should also be more support for after care centres for poor children; these centres could provide assistance with homework, computer studies and different kinds of reading material as well as keeping them safe from negative conditions in their communities. They should also provide nutritious food for children from poverty stricken households. This would be much more effective than unconditional cash grants, as children do not always benefit from such grants.

6.3.4 Monitoring and evaluation mechanisms

The government should have more effective monitoring and evaluation tools in place to assess progress and achievements in projects. Monitoring and evaluation are an integral part of sound community development. The process focuses on measuring progress and changes relating to both input and outcomes. This would also address the numerous cases of fraud and corruption that have plagued the administration of social grants in South Africa. Monitoring and evaluating the distribution of grants should be an on-going process.

Appendix A:

Participant Information Letter

Appendix B:

Informed Consent Form

An investigation into the efficiency and effectiveness of the Child Support Grant distribution:

A case study of Welbedacht East (WE) area in Chatsworth

Student/Researcher. NonkululekoMnguni

Supervisor. Imraan Buccus

2013

Dear Participant

My name is Nonkululeko Mnguni (student number 207505653). I am doing research on a study entitled 'investigating the effectiveness of Child Support distribution: a case study of Welbedacht East (WE) in Chatsworth'. This study is supervised by Mr Imraan Buccus at the School of Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal. I am managing the project and should you have any questions my contact details are:

School of Social Sciences Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban

Supervisor: Imraan Buccus

Cell: 082 6446088

Email: buccus@ukzn.ac.za

Student: Nonkululeko Mnguni

Cell: 0793826022

Email: 207505653@ukzn.ac.za or nkulemnguni@yahoo.com

Thank you for agreeing to take part in the project. Before we start I would like to emphasize that:

- your participation is entirely voluntary;
- you are free to refuse to answer any question;
- you are free to withdraw at any time.

The interview will be kept strictly confidential and will be available only to members of the research team. Excerpts from the interview may be made part of the final research report. Do you give your consent for: *(please tick one of the options below)*

Please sign this form to show that I have read the contents to you.

----- Signed) ----- (date)

----- (print name)

Appendix C:

Interview schedule

UKZN: School of Political Science

An investigation into the efficiency and effectiveness of the Child Support Grant distribution:

A case study of WelbedachtEast (WE) area in Chatsworth

Student/ Researcher. NonkululekoMnguni

Supervisor. Imraan Buccus

2013

Demographic Information

1) What is your age?

	Please tick
18-27	
28- 37	
47-48	
58 +	

2) What is your gender?

Male	
Female	

3) What is your marital status?

Marital status	Please tick
Married	
Never Married	
Divorced /Separated	
Widow/Widower	
Customary Union	
Cohabiting	

4) What is your Education Level?

Education Level	Please tick
Primary	
Secondary	
Matriculated	
Tertiary	

4) What is your employment status?

	Please tick
Informal	7
Full Time	5
Part-time	13
Unemployed	25

Research Questions

1) Do you receive CSG?

	Please tick
Yes	
No	

1. How are you related to the child you are receiving CSG for?
2. How many children do you receive CSG for?
3. How long have you been receiving the CSG?
4. Where does the child/children you are receiving the CSG for reside?
5. How has CSG improved the standard of living of the person for whom it is intended?
6. Does the grant cater sufficiently for the basic needs of the child?
7. Is any money being saved for the child's future e.g. tertiary education saving?
8. Do you think CSG is an appropriate way to help alleviate poverty?
9. Are there ways you think CSG can be improved, if so, what are these ways?

Appendix D

Pseudonyms

NB: Pseudonyms are used for ethical reasons.

Mr Hloniphani Ngidi	Interviewed on 26 June 2013
Ms Sasha Reddy	Interviewed on 26 June 2013
Ms Ntokozo Langa	Interviewed on 26 June 2013
Ms Melissa Govender	Interviewed on 26 June 2013
Mrs Bongiwe Nkosi	Interviewed on 26 June 2013
Mrs Nomathemba Nene	Interviewed on 26 June 2013
Ms Sinenhlanhla Mbhele	Interviewed on 26 June 2013
Ms Nompilo Shazi	Interviewed on 26 June 2013
Mr Wiseman Khubeka	Interviewed on 26 June 2013
Mr Thabo Mnisi	Interviewed on 26 June 2013
Mr Khulekhani Mthembu	Interviewed on 26 June 2013
Ms Londiwe Shabalala	Interviewed on 26 June 2013
Ms Samekelisiwe Dube	Interviewed on 26 June 2013
Mrs Sanelisiwe Khuma	Interviewed on 26 June 2013
Mrs Sithabile Ngcobo	Interviewed on 26 June 2013
Ms Thandeka Lushaba	Interviewed on 26 June 2013
Ms Devanita Pillay	Interviewed on 26 June 2013

Mrs Nishma Jeawon	Interviewed on 26 June 2013
Ms Siyathokoza Mbambo	Interviewed on 26 June 2013
Mr Siyanda Malinga	Interviewed on 26 ^t June 2013
Mrs Nokwanda Bolofo	Interviewed on 26 June 2013
Ms Snethemba Mbatha	Interviewed on 26 June 2013
Mrs Thando Jwili	Interviewed on 27 June 2013
Mrs Wendy Mntungwa	Interviewed on 27 June 2013
Ms Sfumene Mkhize	Interviewed on 27 June 2013
Ms Maswamahle Gumede	Interviewed on 27 June 2013
Mrs Mbalenhle Msomi	Interviewed on 27 June 2013
Mrs Nothando Tshabala	Interviewed on 27 June 2013
Mr Sfiso Mbeki	Interviewed on 27 June 2013
Ms Happy Ndaba	Interviewed on 27 June 2013
Ms Luyanda Jones	Interviewed on 27 June 2013
Mr Sizwe Makhanya	Interviewed on 27 June 2013
Ms Malefa Bhengu	Interviewed on 27 June 2013
Ms Lwandle Ngco	Interviewed on 27 June 2013
Mrs Unathi Nkande	Interviewed on 27 June 2013
Mrs Thabile Donsela	Interviewed on 27 June 2013
Mr Sanele Sithole	Interviewed on 27 June 2013
Ms Nomi Ngema	Interviewed on 27 June 2013

Ms Jenna Pillay	Interviewed on 27 June 2013
Mrs Slindile Khanyile	Interviewed on 27 June 2013
Ms Sbongile Dondo	Interviewed on 27 June 2013
Ms Sandisiwe Mthethwa	Interviewed on 27 June 2013
Ms Cherly Subramonney	Interviewed on 27 June 2013
Mrs Sibahle Dlamini	Interviewed on 27 June 2013
Mrs Zizile Sibisi	Interviewed on 27 June 2013
Ms Lindokuhle Buthelezi	Interviewed on 27 June 2013
Ms Faith Ryn	Interviewed on 27 June 2013
Mrs Thembi Dladla	Interviewed on 27 June 2013
Ms Thobeka Luthuli	Interviewed on 27 June 2013
Ms Nomusa Zulu	Interviewed on 27 June 2013

Appendix E

Ethical Clearance

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