

The Role of Social Capital in the Creation of Sustainable Livelihoods:

A Case Study of the Siyazama Community Allotment Gardening Association (SCAGA)

by

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DECLARATION

By submitting this thesis electronically, I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own, original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for obtaining a degree.

Signature: 

Date: 03 November 2008

ABSTRACT

Cape Town's growing economy has benefited greatly from its natural resources. The city boasts the unique Table Mountain; Blue Flag beaches; and the distinctive fynbos of the Cape Floral Kingdom, all of which have contributed considerably to the revenue generated by the tourism industry. Even though the city's economy appears robust, many people living in townships on the Cape Flats continue to face a reality of being trapped in a state of deprivation; unable to access those natural resources as a means to make a living; and unable to cope with shocks, trends and seasonality in a dynamic, vulnerable society plagued by inequitable distribution of wealth and environmental degradation.

Yet, while access to financial, natural (and other) assets is limited, poor people can rely upon their social assets – or Social Capital (SC) in order to make a living.

This case study explores the three types of Social Capital – (i) Bonding SC (between project beneficiaries), (ii) Bridging SC (between project beneficiaries and implementing agents) and (iii) Linking SC (between implementing agents and local government organs) – in an attempt to understand their impact on the livelihoods of project beneficiaries involved in the Khayelitsha-based *Siyazama Community Allotment Gardening Association* (SCAGA). This was done with the purpose of enabling development practitioners, government officials and local people to work together to plan sustainable initiatives that enhance peoples' quality of life.

Although case studies have been criticised by some authors as lacking scientific rigor and do not address generalisability, this study employed a case study approach due to its appropriateness when dealing with a small number of participants and the specific context of their complex real-life activities in great depth. By taking a post-positivistic stance, the researcher was able to appreciate the different constructions and meanings that people place upon their life experiences.

By adhering to Participatory Action Research principles, this case study facilitated two-way learning by emphasising peoples' opinions and indigenous knowledge. Participant "ownership" of findings was also promoted in this way.

The research revealed that, by their *membership* in this particular *network*, SC enabled the SCAGA members to improve their livelihoods by granting them access to resources which would have otherwise remained inaccessible to them as individuals.

The study also showed that, while high levels of *solidarity* promotes collective benefits, *cross-cutting ties* between heterogeneous groups and groups of differing levels of power are also essential in order to create sustainable livelihoods for project beneficiaries.

OPSOMMING

Kaapstad se groeiende ekonomie het grootliks baatgevind by sy natuurlike hulpbronne. Die stad, met sy unieke Tafelberg, Blou Vlag strande en die kenmerkende fynbos van die Kaapse blommeprag dra beduidend by tot die inkomste wat gegenereer word deur die toerisme bedryf. Alhoewel die stad se ekonomie gesond vertoon, is daar steeds mense wat in agterbuurtes op die Kaapsevlakte woon, vasgevang in 'n toestand van ontneming. Hulle het geen toegang tot hierdie natuurlike hulpbronne as 'n middel om 'n bestaan te voer nie. Hulle is ook nie in staat om skokke, die verloop van gebeurtenisse en seisoenale veranderinge te hanteer in 'n dinamiese, kwesbare samelewing wat met die oneweredige verspreiding van rykdom en omgewingsdegenerasie getreiter word nie.

Tog, terwyl toegang tot finansiële, natuurlike (en ander) bates beperk is, kan arm mense op hul sosiale bates – of Sosiale Kapitaal (SK) staat maak ten einde 'n bestaan te maak.

Hierdie gevallestudie ondersoek die drie tipes SK – (i) Sosiale bindingskapitaal tussen projekbegunstigdes; (ii) Sosiale oorbruggingskapitaal tussen projekbegunstigdes en implementeringsagente en (iii) Sosiale koppelingskapitaal tussen implementeringsagente en plaaslike regeringsinstansies – in 'n poging om hulle impak op die lewensbestaan van projekbegunstigdes wat by die Khayelitsa gebaseerde *Siyazama Community Allotment Gardening Association* (SCAGA) betrokke is, te verstaan. Dit is gedoen met die doel om samewerking tussen ontwikkelingspraktisyne, regeringsamptenare en plaaslike inwoners te bewerkstellig en sodoende volhoubare inisiatiewe wat die lewenskwaliteit van mense sal verhef, te beplan.

Alhoewel gevallestudies deur sommige skrywers gekritiseer is dat dit tekortsiet aan streng wetenskaplikheid en dat dit nie veralgemening moontlik maak nie, gebruik hierdie studie 'n in-diepte gevallestudie benadering wat toepaslik handel met 'n klein aantal deelnemers en die spesifieke konteks van hul komplekse werklike lewensaktiwiteite. Deur vanuit 'n post-positivistiese vertrekpunt te werk, was die navorser in staat om die verskillende konstruksies en menings wat die mense op hul lewenservaringe plaas, te waardeer.

Deur die toepassing van die beginsels van deelnemende aksie navorsing het hierdie gevallestudie tweerigting leer gefasiliteer deur die klem te plaas op mense se opinies en inheemse kennis. Eienaarskap van die bevindings deur die deelnemers is ook op dié manier bevorder.

Die navorsing het aan die lig gebring dat, deur hul *lidmaatskap* aan hierdie besondere *netwerk*, SK die SCAGA lede in staat gestel het om hul lewensbestaan te bevorder deur aan

hulle toegang tot hulpbronne wat andersyds vir hulle as individue ontoereikbaar sou wees, te verleen.

Die studie het verder aangetoon dat, terwyl hoë vlakke van *solidariteit* kollektiewe voordele bevorder, *kruissnydende bande* tussen heterogene groepe en groepe met verskillende vlakke van mag ook belangrik is om volhoubare lewensbestaan vir projekbegunstigdes te skep.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Abalimi Bezekhaya
CARE	Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere, Inc.
CoCT: SL&G Unit	City of Cape Town: Sustainable Livelihoods and Greening Unit
DFID	Department for International Development, (UK Government)
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
SC	Social Capital
SL	Sustainable Livelihoods
SLA	Sustainable Livelihoods Assessment
SLF	Sustainable Livelihoods Framework
The City	Local Administration of City of Cape Town

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Chapter One

Introduction to the research

1.1 Introduction

Cape Town is renowned world-wide for its natural assets, including Table Mountain; its pristine beaches; rich biodiversity and the unique fynbos of the Cape Floral Kingdom. These natural assets, amongst others, can be credited with making a significant contribution to Cape Town's GDP, especially when one considers revenue generated by the tourism industry.

Even so, poverty continues to be a prevalent feature in the development landscape of the city. In 2006 an estimated 38.8% of households (out of ±904 000 households) lived below or marginally above the poverty line of \geq R1600.00 per month (City Statistics, 2008). Trapped in a state of deprivation, poor people find themselves vulnerable to changes in their environment. Trying to cope with different types of changes such as *trends* (e.g. rising fuel and food prices), *shocks* (e.g. damage caused by floods or fires) and *seasonality* (e.g. availability of casual work) becomes a daunting task for poor people with limited resources. Restricted access to natural assets for use in livelihoods strategies often leads to unsustainable utilization of natural resources and environmental degradation by the poor, who are left with no other option but to exploit the environment in order to make a living.

This dilemma, the juxtaposition of nature conservation and poverty alleviation, has serious implications for achieving the ultimate goals of Sustainable Livelihoods development, i.e.: to alleviate poverty and improve quality of life of present and future generations. In order to promote awareness of the intrinsic value of natural assets and to ensure the preservation of these assets for utilisation by future generations, it is imperative that Sustainable Livelihoods are created in a way that addresses the multi-dimensional nature of poverty. This means that Sustainable Livelihoods approaches should aim to improve poor people's quality of life in a holistic manner that does not jeopardise the city's natural resource stocks in either the short or long term.

Widely popularised by Robert Chambers (Glavovic & Boonzaier, 2007: 2), Sustainable Livelihoods Approaches encompass a set of core principles and an analytical framework that addresses multi-dimensional poverty by placing people and their livelihoods at the centre of any livelihoods strategy. Chambers defines the term 'livelihood' as "the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contribute net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels in the long and short term" (Chambers & Conway, 1992).

Limited natural assets are not the only assets required by the poor for creating sustainable livelihoods and a better quality of life. Other assets (or other forms of capital, viz. Physical, Financial, Human and Social Capital) are of equal importance in this endeavour.

Poverty does not simply imply a lack of money or Financial Capital. In their International Poverty Centre working paper, Ribas and Machado (2007: 3) explain that a lack of Human Capital and ownership of Physical Capital are prominent features amongst people who live in a persistent state of poverty for a long period of time, as well as amongst those who move in and out of poverty.

Thus very often poor people's livelihoods are reliant on Social Capital. For example: although poor people may not have access to medicinal plants growing wild on Table Mountain; they may have access to the institution of *ubuntu* (or Social Capital), enabling them to rely on their community in times of need. Putnam attributes early writings relating to the concept of Social Capital to Lyda J. Hanifan, who wrote on the importance of community involvement for successful schools. Putnam cites Hanifan's 1916 discourse on the "The Rural School Community Centre" which refer to Social Capital as " those tangible substances [that] count for most in the daily lives of people: namely good will, fellowship, sympathy, and social intercourse among the individuals and families who make up a social unit...The individual is helpless socially, if left to himself...If he comes into contact with his neighbor, and they with other neighbors, there will be an accumulation of social capital, which may immediately satisfy his social needs and which may bear a social potentiality sufficient to the substantial improvement of living conditions in the whole community. The community as a whole will benefit by the cooperation of all its parts, while the individual will find in his associations the advantages of the help, the sympathy, and the fellowship of his neighbors." (Hanifan, 1916 in Putnam, 2000: 19)

Subsequently, the concept has been explored by writers such as Jane Jacobs, George Homans and John R Seeley (Cohen & Prusak, 2000: 4). Since then a myriad of definitions have been given for the concept of Social Capital, but simply put, it refers to “the norms and networks that enable people to act collectively” (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000).

Given its many interpretations, some analysts have questioned the merit of the concept. Some analysts suggest that Social Capital may actually be detrimental to the goals of sustainable development. For example: Alejandro Portes has identified four negative consequences of Social Capital, viz.: exclusion of outsiders; excess claims on group members; restrictions on individual freedom; and downward leveling norms (Portes, 1998: 15-17). Nevertheless, its importance in analyzing Sustainable Livelihoods strategies cannot be ignored. Emma Grant (2001: 975-997) illustrates the particular importance of Social Capital when analysing Sustainable Livelihoods strategies stating that Social Capital will significantly impact the ability of a community/group to work together as a cohesive unit (i.e. Bonding Social Capital). It also influences the ability of a community/group to collaborate with other groups (i.e. Bridging Social Capital). Furthermore, it determines whether a community/group can operate within a hierarchical system with links to other organisations with higher levels of power and resources (i.e. Linking Social Capital).

This study explores and describes the role that Social Capital plays in creating Sustainable Livelihoods by examining a case study consisting of a network of 3 groups:

- Sustainable Livelihoods Projects, viz. the *Siyazama¹ Community Allotment Gardening Association (SCAGA 1 & SCAGA 2)* located in Khayelitsha;
- Implementing NGO, viz. *Abalimi Bezekhaya* based in Philippi; and
- Partnering local government entity, viz. the *Sustainable Livelihoods and Greening Unit* of the City of Cape Town based in Cape Town CBD.

Below is a schematic representation of where Bonding, Bridging and Linking Social Capital prevail within the selected case study:

¹ Siyazama is a Xhosa word which means “we are trying”.

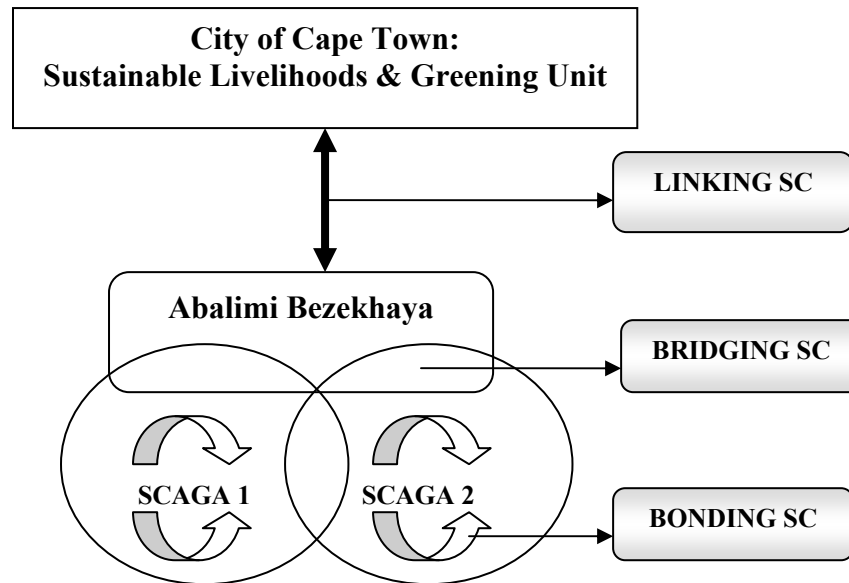


Fig. 1 Prevalence of Bonding, Bridging and Linking Capital
Source: Author's illustration

Although all 3 types of Social Capital are present in varying degrees throughout the selected network, the study is focused on the specific roles played by:

- Bonding Social Capital within SCAGA 1 & SCAGA 2
- Bridging Social Capital between SCAGA and Abalimi Bezekhaya
- Linking Social Capital between Abalimi Bezekhaya and CoCT: Sustainable Livelihoods and Greening Unit

1.2 Background

In contrast to the counter-productive development practices and segregation associated with the old Apartheid-governed South Africa, the new South African constitution encourages public participation in government policy to ensure that the implementation of poverty reduction strategies meet the ends of truly sustainable development. Not overlooking government's varying levels of achievement in this regard post-1994, many people still struggle to escape the relentless grip of poverty. According to the 2007 General Household Survey findings, approximately 50% of Black Africans depend on remittances, pensions and grants, non-farm and farm products as their main sources of income, while others have no income at all. (StatsSA, General Household Survey, 2007:126)

At the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development held in Johannesburg, the state reaffirmed its commitment to the full implementation of Agenda 21 and the UNCED principles. In compliance with the directives set out in Agenda 21, the City of Cape Town's Environmental Resource Management Department has been compiling annual State of the Environment Reports since 1999. To further demonstrate the City's commitment to these Earth Summit principles which promote cooperation and partnership in the field of sustainable development, the City of Cape Town has entered into a multi-lateral agreement involving local government, civil society and businesses within Aachen, Germany and Cape Town. It is known as the *Cape Town-Aachen Local Agenda 21 (LA 21) Partnership*. Although North-South knowledge exchange is encouraged, this partnership in no way undermines the importance and value of participation by local communities. As stated in Principle 22 of the Rio Declaration: "Indigenous people and their communities and other local communities have a vital role in environmental management and development because of their knowledge and traditional practices. States should recognize and duly support their identity, culture and interests and enable their effective participation in the achievement of sustainable development" (Report of UNCED, 1992: Annex 1)

The 4 main objectives of the Cape Town-Aachen LA 21 Partnership are:

- To implement Sustainable Development partnership projects;
- To create a platform promoting networking and partnership opportunities;
- To raise awareness by promoting a joint understanding of Agenda 21 implications in the North-South context ; and
- To promote opportunities for exchanges between Aachen and Cape Town to support projects and organisations within the partnership (City of Cape Town, 2008).

The CoCT: Sustainable Livelihoods and Greening Unit (SL&G Unit) is responsible for coordinating this partnership; networking with local government officials in Aachen and facilitating North-South links between NGOs and other partners. Other functional outputs of the CoCT: SL&G can be categorised into the following themes: Policy, Programmes, Projects, Partnerships and Research. Working as an intern in the CoCT: SL&G Unit, the researcher was motivated to contribute to the research output of the CoCT: SL&G Unit that would inform and help to improve the implementation of the City's poverty alleviation strategies in townships on the Cape Flats. Given the important role of partnerships in Sustainable Livelihoods approaches, and the researcher's familiarity with the Cape Town-

Aachen LA 21 Partnership, the researcher was encouraged to look at local partners and their contribution to creating Sustainable Livelihoods.

Abalimi Bezekhaya (meaning the ‘Planters of the Home’) is one of the local NGOs within the Cape Town-Aachen LA 21 Partnership. In its attempt to alleviate poverty, this NGO promotes self-employment through food gardening and micro urban agriculture in the Cape Flats townships. Abalimi Bezekhaya (AB) assists their target groups by providing support services including: project implementation, agricultural and horticultural resource support, training, organisation building, facilitation of partnerships, monitoring and evaluation and research. AB management also welcomed the research proposal and assisted in selecting suitable projects to be investigated in the study, viz. the Siyazama Community Allotment Gardening Association, also known as SCAGA.

SCAGA, formally known as the “Powerline Project”, is one of many Sustainable Livelihoods projects currently being implemented by AB in Khayelitsha. “This project is Abalimi’s main ‘laboratory’ for determining methodology and appropriate technology required to establish sustainable organic micro-urban agriculture projects on marginal land”(Abalimi Bezekhaya, 2008).

The focus of the study is to explore and describe the role of Social Capital (SC) at work within the selected case study consisting of the City of Cape Town: Sustainable Livelihoods Unit; Abalimi Bezekhaya and Siyazama Community Allotment Gardening Association (SCAGA 1 & 2). The scope of this study includes an investigation of both dimensions of Social Capital (Structural and Cognitive SC) and the role that different types of Social Capital (Bonding, Bridging and Linking SC) play in creating Sustainable Livelihoods.

Grootaert & van Bastelaer (2002: 2) define Social Capital broadly as the “institutions, relationships, attitudes, and values that govern interaction among people and contribute to economic and social development.” They believe the strength of this broad definition lies in its ability to include micro, meso and macro levels of Social Capital. They also differentiate between *Structural Social Capital*, which refers to networks, linkages and practices within and between communities/groups; and *Cognitive Social Capital*, which refers to values, beliefs, attitudes, social norms and behaviour that exist within communities/groups, such as social trust and norms of solidarity and reciprocity.” Abdullah Bayat (2005: 4) adds that the structural dimension (which facilitates social interaction) and the cognitive/attitudinal

dimension (which predisposes people to act in a socially beneficial manner) work interactively, and are mutually reinforcing.

This is explained further in Grootaert & van Bastelaer’s work for the World Bank which illustrates the two dimensions of Social Capital at different levels and is illustrated in the figure below:

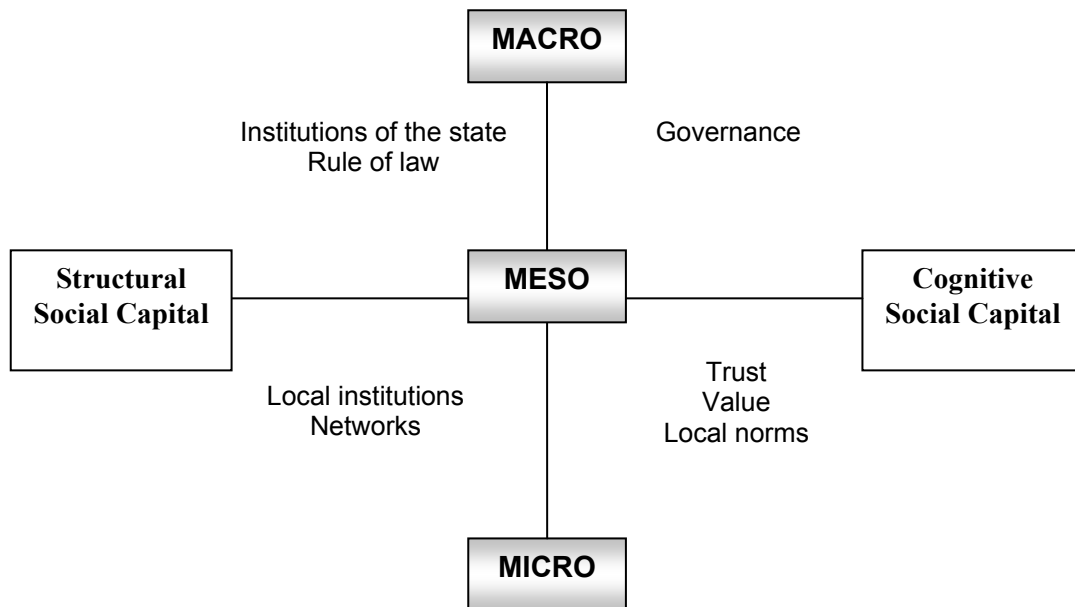


Fig. 2 Forms and Scope of Social Capital

Source: Grootaert & van Bastelaer, 2002:4

Preliminary readings on Social Capital also motivated the researcher to consider the ways in which norms and networks contribute to the successful implementation of Sustainable Livelihoods projects, i.e. projects that actually improve the quality of life of project beneficiaries, their households and their surrounding communities. The focus and scope of the study is therefore concentrated on the micro level.

1.3 Problem Statement and Objectives

Poverty is a complex development challenge to understand and to address effectively. Elaborating on the vicious cycle of poverty, Robert Chambers’ illustration of the ‘Deprivation Trap’ provides some clarity regarding the interrelated causes and symptoms of poverty. Poor people are vulnerable; physically weak, isolated, and powerless, making it difficult to get out of poverty. (Chambers, 1983: 111)

Differentiation can also be made between different types of poverty, such as *absolute poverty* which refers to people living below the poverty line who are unable to meet even basic human needs such as food. Another variation is *relative poverty*, where people are said to be poor based on their inability to acquire things that their particular society deems necessary for reasonable life. Further distinction is also made between *chronic poverty*, which refers to the persistent nature of poverty with people trapped in poverty for a long period of time; and *transient poverty*, which refers to the fluid, temporary nature of poverty with people slipping in and out of poverty (Ribas & Machado, 2007:3).

In order to effectively address multi-faceted poverty so prevalent in Cape Town's development context, interventionists in local government, civil society and the corporate sector need to find new ways of thinking and working together that lead to a decrease in poor people's vulnerability to changes in their environment and an increase in their quality of life. Although not a "cure-all", research shows that Sustainable Livelihoods (SL) approaches encompasses a set of core principles and an analytical framework that addresses multi-faceted poverty by placing people and their livelihoods at the centre of any poverty reduction strategy (Glavovic, Boonzaier, 2007: 3).

AB employs a SL approach when implementing poverty alleviation projects, as in the case of SCAGA 1 & SCAGA 2. SL approaches provide development practitioners with a new way of thinking and working together that is holistic, people-centred and which promotes bottom-up and top-down participation. In order to effectively execute its work functions, AB has links with various organisations, one of which is the City of Cape Town: SL&G Unit. An in-depth understanding of SL approaches could assist AB and the CoCT: SL&G Unit in adopting these new ways of thinking and working together in a mutually beneficial way that successfully alleviates poverty in the city.

Furthermore, SL approaches acknowledge that access to Human, Natural, Financial, Physical and Social Capital is influenced by transforming structures and processes. "Access to these different forms of capital, as well as the terms of exchange between different types of capital and the associated returns, are determined by a variety of transforming institutions, organisations, policies and laws. These transforming structures and processes influence how people combine and use their assets – their livelihood strategies – in pursuit of beneficial livelihoods outcomes (e.g. more income, improved health and well-being, healthy environment and natural resources, and improved food security)" (Glavovic & Boonzaier, 2007: 2 & 3).

A better understanding of how these transforming structures and processes impact project beneficiaries' access to all forms of capital can be an empowering experience for those uninformed about how to engage local government or mobilise certain resources.

The objective of this study is to explore and describe the function of norms and networks in the implementation of SL strategies. It also identifies livelihoods challenges and opportunities for poverty alleviation.

The overall questions that guide the research are as follows:

- What kind of norms and networks are at work in the SCAGA case study?
- How do these norms and networks affect cooperation within and between groups of the SCAGA network?
- What conditions might encourage or hinder cooperation between SL&G Unit, AB and SCAGA?

The overarching research question is: *In what ways does Bonding, Bridging and Linking Social Capital contribute to the Sustainable Livelihoods of poverty alleviation project beneficiaries, their households; and their surrounding community?*

1.4 Purpose and Aim of research

This study describes the lessons for best practice in terms of creating Sustainable Livelihoods by examining the SCAGA case study. The purpose of the research is to provide development practitioners in local government (CoCT: SL&G Unit) and NGOs (AB) and CBOs (SCAGA) with suggestions and guidelines that contribute to the empowerment of the poor through Sustainable Livelihoods creation. In order to fulfil this purpose, this research aims to:

- Explore how Bonding, Bridging and Linking SC can improve the outcomes of SL strategies/projects
- Identify which norms and networks benefit SCAGA members, their households and their surrounding community; and to describe the ways in which they benefit
- Identify which policies, institutions, organisations and processes benefit SCAGA members, their households and their surrounding community; and to describe the ways in which they benefit
- Identify challenges and opportunities for SL strategies/projects

The research is significant for practice, offering development practitioners with lessons learnt that would inform future best practice for Sustainable Livelihoods development.

The research is also significant for its detailed description of SL project beneficiaries' experiences in addressing poverty. Research findings will be of value to all research participants (as well as to those committed to the fight against poverty) for reflection and for taking action.

1.5 Research Methodology

The Participatory Action Research (PAR) Paradigm was used for the purposes of this qualitative case study. With roots grounded in the neo-Marxist critical paradigm, in general; and in education, with the work of Paola Freire, the PAR paradigm sees the researcher and the participants or respondents as collaborators in the research process. Mouton defines PAR as a research process that involves the research participants as an integral part of the research design. He states: "Most types of PAR have an explicit (political) commitment to the empowerment of participants and to changing the social conditions of the participants" (Mouton, 2001: 150 & 151). According to Schurink, reality can only be understood by discovering the meaning giving context of the people. Participatory research therefore recognises the respondents' involvement with regard to what role he/she should play in the gathering of data and how data will be interpreted (Schurink, 1998: 240).

Stevens (1997: 36) mentions these collaborative and participative relationships with communities and identifies the following themes of PAR:

- Co-learning between the participants and the researcher
- Experimental learning; participants are encouraged to reflect on their experiences
- Empowerment; participants are encouraged to do critical self-reflection
- Promotion of participants' ownership of the process
- Participants are met on a personal level

The research design is classified as empirical research which uses primary data of a textual nature, gathered in natural field settings. This data is analysed qualitatively. Research questions are exploratory and descriptive. Since emphasis is on the participants and their world-views (or their meaning-giving context), the researcher exercises caution so as not to impose any pre-determined explanations onto respondents (Mouton, 2001:151).

The following qualitative data gathering techniques were used:

— *Document review:*

Available document sources, e.g. newsletters; minutes of meetings; evaluation reports; articles; and recent research reports were examined to provide an overview of events over a period of time and to provide an indication of the state of development uninfluenced by the evaluator's presence.

— *Participant Observation:*

This entails the "...sustained immersion of the researcher among those whom he or she seeks to study with a view to generating a rounded, in-depth account of the group, organisation..." (Bryman, 1988: 45). The researcher observed research participants during a period of immersion at AB and at SCAGA 1 & 2 to gain "first-hand" information useful for recording contextual factors. Since the researcher also works as an intern at the CoCT: SL&G Unit, the period of immersion there was much longer in comparison to time spent at AB and SCAGA 1 & 2. Although the researcher moved the focus of unstructured observations with unanticipated events; the participants, the setting, and social behaviour remained the main elements of observation. The researcher also made use of triangulation and respondent validation techniques to assure accuracy of the observations.

— *Focus Groups:*

A total of four focus group sessions were facilitated by the researcher – one with AB management staff, one with the CoCT: SL&G Unit; and in the case of the focus group discussions at SCAGA 1 & SCAGA 2, a feedback session was also held after the discussions with the fieldworkers and the project beneficiaries. At SCAGA focus group discussions the researcher was present as an observer and co-facilitator, while a male Xhosa-speaking facilitator conducted the focus group and subsequent feedback sessions. In this way participants could listen and respond to questions in their mother-tongue.

The selected case study consisted of 3 populations: SCAGA 1 & 2 members consisting of 7 women and 4 men respectively; AB management staff consisting of 2 men and 1 woman; and the CoCT: SL&G Unit consisting of 3 men. For the purpose of this study, non-probability sampling principles were used. The research sample includes all 17 research participants indicated above.

Mouton provides some insight into PAR analysis, its strengths and limitations as well as common errors of researchers in the table below:

<i>Participatory Action Research</i>	
<i>Analysis</i>	Qualitative forms of data analysis. In certain forms of PAR, the data analysis is viewed as a collaborative effort between the researcher and the participants
<i>Strengths</i>	Where successful, the PAR involves participation and involvement on the part of subjects, which enhances chances of high construct validity, low refusal and “ownership” of findings.
<i>Limitations</i>	The small number of cases and low degree of control affect overall generalisability and possibility of strong causal and structural explanations.

Table 2: Participatory Action Research (PAR)

Source: Mouton, 2001:151

Writing on qualitative data analysis, Miles & Huberman (1994:11 & 12) describe “reduction; display and conclusion drawing or verification – as interwoven before, during and after data collection in parallel form, to make up the general domain called ‘analysis’.” Data has been analysed by grouping the qualitative information into themes for evaluation.

The textual data gathered from each of the 3 populations in the focus group sessions has been presented separately. During the analysis of each focus group session, contours of commonality were identified by looking at word usage, context, internal consistency, specificity and general ideas. Given that a PAR method has been used, research participants were viewed as collaborators in the data analysis process. After SCAGA 1 & 2 focus group sessions were translated into English; and transcribed and after the researcher engaged in a preliminary analysis of the data, a feedback session was facilitated by the researcher with the fieldworkers working closely with project beneficiaries at SCAGA 1 & 2. After summarising the SCAGA 1 & 2 focus group participants’ responses, fieldworkers were given an opportunity to state their views. By cross-checking data with fieldworkers in this way the researcher was able to test the reliability of the data and incorporate it into the final data analysis. The researcher facilitated another feedback session with SCAGA 1 & 2 focus group participants where they were able to state their views on the researcher’s conclusions and

recommendations. This exercise enabled them to reflect on the group discussion and think about how the information impacts them and the future of the project.

Ethical aspects concerning the study include:

- *Respondents' right to full disclosure:* Respondents will be informed about the purpose and aims of the study and their consent will be obtained prior to their participation.
- *Respondents' right to privacy, anonymity and confidentiality:* The interaction between the researcher, SCAGA members, AB staff and the CoCT: SL&G Unit is vitally important in PAR. To safeguard the integrity of these interactions, the researcher undertakes to treat respondents with respect and dignity and to handle information with confidentiality. The researcher will also respect respondents' right to privacy, i.e. their right to choose when, where, to whom and to what extent they wish to share.

There were some limitations in the process of executing this study. These limitations include:

First, language and cultural differences which may have been an obstacle in the data gathering process. Translating and transcribing data from Xhosa to English was a challenge. It was difficult to accurately translate the respondents' expressions in their vernacular.

Second, the size of the case study may be too specific for certain generalisations to be made about the findings. The researcher did not include other projects currently being implemented by AB, not only because of them being newly established, but because of time and resource constraints. Also due to resource and time constraints, the researcher was unable to include the other government departments and development agencies and donors with which AB have links.

Despite these limitations, the researcher is convinced that the lessons gleaned from the research serves as a point of departure for other research on the topic. The research findings also offer rich, in-depth insights to SCAGA, AB and the CoCT: SL&G Unit and their work towards alleviating poverty through Sustainable Livelihoods strategies.

1.6 Structure of the thesis

The chapter progression for the research is presented below:

Chapter One: Introduction to the research

Firstly, this chapter introduces the study and provides a background to the selected case study and the motivation to undertake this study. Secondly, it presents the research problem,

research objectives and it provides an overview of the research methodology adopted in the study.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework

The aim of this chapter is to provide the theoretical framework of the research and to present a conceptual foundation for the study.

Chapter Three: Research Design and Methodology

This chapter provides a detailed account of the research design and methodology. Limitations of the methodology are also highlighted here.

Chapter Four: Research Findings

An overview of the case study is presented in the introduction of this chapter. Research findings are presented and analysed, drawing on the information elicited from document reviews, participant observation, focus groups and feedback sessions.

Chapter Five: Conclusions and Recommendations

Here a detailed account of the empirical fieldwork undertaken at the different case study sites is provided and research findings relating to SCAGA, AB and CoCT: SL&G Unit are presented. Specific conclusions on each type of Social Capital will be presented as well as specific recommendations for each group constituting the selected case study.

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter provided an introduction to the research. The development context of the case study was described. A brief overview of each grouping within the case study was also given, explaining how they fit together as a network.

This chapter also gives a brief overview of the research design, methodology, and procedures undertaken in this study and concludes by outlining the structure of the thesis.

The theoretical framework for the study will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the theoretical background to the research. It commences with an overview of the conceptual evolution of Sustainable Development. The background to sustainable development theory ushers the reader towards the theory of sustainable livelihoods, as it stems from contemporary thinking on sustainable development. The chapter further unfolds by describing the concept of Social Capital, an important aspect of Sustainable Livelihoods Approaches (SLA).

2.2 Overview of Sustainable Development Theory

Poverty is an unyielding development challenge prevalent in many third world towns and cities. Manifestations of urban poverty include: inadequate housing; poor service delivery and unemployment, income inequalities and food insecurity, among others. Unsuccessful efforts to alleviate poverty can be attributed to distorted thinking on the meaning of development. Development theory has evolved over the years. A brief summary of these changes in development paradigm ensues:

Popular development theory of the 1950's and 1960's equated development with economic growth, using the GDP of a country as a yardstick to measure 'development'. This thinking stemmed from the success achieved under the Marshall Plan after World War II, which saw economic recovery and growth in Japan, Western Europe and North America (Nandi & Shahidullah, 1998: 83). Duplication of these Western economic models in third world countries proved unsuccessful and counter-productive. Economic benefits did not 'trickle-down' to the masses (Mehmet, 1999:19). The North-South wealth and power gap only deepened and perpetuated a dependency on the North for foreign aid and capital investment; which has led to the subsequent struggle of many African countries to settle foreign debt.

A turnabout in development thinking occurred at the end of the 1960's where the focus moved away from duplication of Western economic models towards including contextual, non-economic aspects, such as social, political and environmental factors. (Moser & Norton,

2001: 8) In the mid 1970's attention was given to peoples' basic needs. Here human development was endorsed. Through the works of writers such as Amartya Sen, the focus shifted towards promoting the capabilities of people and increasing their freedoms, such as political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, and protective security (Sen, 1999: 10).

Contemporary development models later emerged and recognised development as a multi-dimensional, people-centred, participatory process with aims to enhance people's well-being, abilities, equality, sustainability and livelihood security (Pearce, Markandya & Barbier, 1989). This way of thinking ushered in debate about the methods and priorities adopted in the development process and the trade-offs among the three main development objectives, viz. the Social objective (addressing *poverty*); the Economic objective (creating *prosperity*) and the Environmental objective (advocating *preservation*) (Adams, 1996: 128).

Contemporary development thinking became more focused on issues of sustainable practices in the development processes in both the North and the South. A definition of sustainable development that has been widely quoted is that presented in *Our Common Future*: "Sustainable development is a process of change in which the exploitation of resources, the direction of investments, the orientation of technological development and institutional change are all in harmony and enhance both current and future potential to meet needs and aspirations" (WCED, 1987: 46). This definition highlighted two fundamental issues: firstly, the issue of *needs* – the overriding priority of meeting the needs of the poor and maintaining natural and social capital integrity; and secondly, the issue of *environmental capacity to meet needs* – both present and future needs, in other words promoting intra-generational and intergenerational equity (Ohiorhenuan *et al.* 1988 in UNDP: South Africa Human Development Report, 2003:3).

Since the publication of the Brundtland Report, debate has ensued around various aspects of sustainable development. Today there is general consensus that the concept of sustainable development (as well as the concept of sustainable livelihoods; which will be discussed in the following section) is multi-dimensional in nature, including financial, social, human, physical and environmental components.

At this point it is important to note the distinction made between *weak sustainability* – where all natural, physical and human components are viewed as non-essential and therefore perfectly substitutional; and *strong sustainability* – where some components are essential and

therefore not substitutional. These essential components need to be kept “intact” because of imperfect substitutions; irreversible losses and uncertainty over their values (Barbier, 2005:1). Agenda 21, adopted at the Earth Summit is a good example of this ‘blueprint for strong sustainable development’ (UNDP, South Africa Human Development Report, 2003:3). It calls attention to the fact that the environment has intrinsic value, containing natural “capital” fundamental to growth and development in poorer economies” (Barbier, 2005: 1).

W. M. Adams’ writings in *Green Development* draw on work by Low & Gleeson to differentiate between three important schools of thought within mainstream sustainable development (Adams, 1996: 102-136). A brief summary of these three schools of thought ensue below:

Market environmentalism:

This perspective on sustainable development promotes continued capitalist growth and rejects environmentalist ideas of limits to growth. The market is seen as the most important mechanism for regulating people’s interactions with the environment. Market-orientated policy to address environmental problems such as over-exploitation of open-access resources is resolved by privatisation of resources, based on the assumption that privately owned resources are managed more efficiently and conserved.

Ecological modernisation:

According to Low and Gleeson, ecological modernisation is described as “a reformist perspective which, while recognising the ecological dangers posed by unfettered markets, believes in the self-corrective potential of capitalist modernisation” (Low & Gleeson, 1998:165 in Adams, 1996). It involves adopting more ‘rational’ planning, management, regulation and utilisation of human use of the environment. According to this school of thought, environmental problems are addressed by the ‘greening’ of society through “technical and procedural innovation” (Hajer 1996:249 in Adams, 1996).

Environmental populism:

This school of thought has a distinct local level focus on grassroots empowerment by emphasising peoples’ capacity to take hold of and improve their circumstances. It advocates the need for local participation – “development of the people, for the people, by the people” (Singh, 1980:1350).

Goals of sustainable development are set out in the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) adopted at the 56th Session of the General Assembly, *Follow up to the Outcome of the Millennium Summit* in September 2001. The goals demonstrate that poor peoples' livelihoods should be viewed within the context of their access to opportunities and the absence of insecurity. World leaders committed to attaining the following MDG by the year 2015:

- Eradicating extreme poverty and hunger
- Achieving universal primary education
- Promoting gender equality and empowering women
- Reducing child mortality
- Improving maternal health
- Combating HIV /AIDS, malaria and other diseases
- Ensuring environmental sustainability
- Building a global partnership for development

Popularity of Sustainable Livelihoods approaches is a result of learning from past mistakes; building on past successes; new ideas about sustainable development; responding to political movements and a commitment to the abovementioned Millennium Development Goals. Sustainable Livelihoods Theory will be discussed next.

2.3 Sustainable Livelihoods Theory

The concept of Sustainable Livelihoods can be attributed to Robert Chambers' work on development practices which links the idea of sustainable livelihoods with capabilities, equity and development. According to Chambers & Conway (1992) a livelihood "comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims, and access) and activities required for a means of living."

Many similarities exist between the concepts of Sustainable Development and Sustainable Livelihoods (SL), however SL goes beyond just meeting basic needs of the poor in a sustainable manner, as this does not guarantee that people can get out and stay out of absolute poverty. Sustainable Livelihoods (SL) implies interventions that are not project driven, but policy driven. SL strategies look at the mediating policies that negate achievement of desired livelihoods outcomes. This encourages practitioners to consider people's human rights and the ways in which they can lay claim to their rights and inform policy amendments to their

benefit. This is reflected in the paper *Operationalizing household security: A holistic approach for addressing poverty and vulnerability*² by Frankenberger, Drinkwater and Maxwell of the international NGO, CARE which states CARE's position on sustainable livelihood security, i.e. that sustainable livelihoods are dependent on enabling factors being in place. These factors include human rights recognition, civil participation/action, risk management, an enabling environment, gender equality and environmental stewardship.

Although criticised by various researchers, it has been modified and utilised by a range of multilateral agencies (e.g. FAO, the World Bank and UNDP); donors (e.g. the British Department for International Development) and NGOs (e.g. Oxfam and CARE). The rapid progression from concept to approach called for the unpacking “of policy-oriented livelihood frameworks, the description and analysis of driving forces, pressures, and impacts of all types of activities related to the local livelihood situation” (Knutsson, 2006: 90 in Frankenberger, et al. 2008).

In terms of Abalimi Bezekhaya's understanding of Sustainable Livelihoods, it is seen as the third phase in a development continuum that has been identified from field experience. “The continuum runs through four phases or levels, from Survival, to Subsistence, then onto Livelihood and finally into Commercial” (Small, 2007)

The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) and the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) will be discussed below.

2.3.1 Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach is “a way of thinking about the objectives, scope and priorities for development. A specific livelihoods framework has been developed to assist with implementation, but the approach goes beyond these. In essence it is a way of putting people at the centre of development, thereby increasing the effectiveness of development assistance” (DFID, 2008). In this illustration, ‘livelihoods’ refer to the capabilities, material and non-material assets and activities required for making a living.

There are 5 main categories of livelihoods assets or capital, illustrated as the *Assets Pentagon* in the SL framework. The DFID Guidance Sheets (www.livelihoods.org) include:

— *Human Assets*: skills, knowledge, good health, ability to work

² Frankenberger, Drinkwater & Maxwell's paper reflects on the household livelihood security programming framework officially adopted by CARE in 1994.

- *Financial Assets*: cash savings, liquid assets such as crops, income, credit
- *Natural Assets*: land, rivers, air quality, marine life, biodiversity
- *Physical Assets*: roads and transport, sanitation, buildings, communications
- *Social Assets*: relationships of trust and reciprocity, networks with wider institutions

2.3.2 Core Principles Underpinning Sustainable Livelihoods Approaches

Although SLA is flexible, it adheres to certain principles that cannot be compromised. Drawing further from the DFID's Guidance Sheets (ibid.), the eight core principles underpinning SLA is discussed below:

Principle 1: People-centred

People remain the focus of SLA, whether objectives are placed at a national/macro level or a community/micro level. Practically, this means that the SLA starts with an analysis of people's livelihoods through people's participation while respecting their views. It focuses on the impact of different policy and institutional arrangements affecting people as well as the dimensions of poverty/vulnerability as defined by the people. It also stresses the importance of influencing these policies and institutional arrangements so that they promote the agenda of the poor.

Principle 2: Participatory and responsive

In order to address issues of real concern, SLA seeks to address poverty issues through a participatory process with all stakeholders, including the poor themselves. In SLA participation needs to be authentic if livelihoods strategies are to be successful. People's participation cannot be passive. It must be inter-active, leading to self-mobilisation. It is therefore important to clearly understanding what is meant by people's participation.

In this regard SLA draws on Arnstein's eight-rung *Ladder of Citizen Participation* (Arnstein, 1965: 216-217) which distinguishes between different levels of participation. This understanding of participation is also detailed in Pretty's explanation on the different interpretations of participation as illustrated in Table 1 (Refer to Appendix A). Arnstein states that although processes claim to be participatory; it may refer to manipulation and not real peoples' participation. This is illustrated in the first and second rungs on Arnstein's ladder, which represents *non-participation*. The third, fourth and fifth rungs reflect a '*degree of tokenism*' and the rungs six to eight represents real people's participation or '*citizen power*'.

The latter reflects the underlying principle of SLA expressing the importance of ‘participatory and responsive’ processes.

Principle 3: Holistic

Poverty is complex and multi-faceted and as such requires a holistic approach if it is to be addressed adequately. Drawing from people’s own definitions, SLA priorities constraints and opportunities, seeking to identify and address the most pressing of these; regardless of the sector, geographical space or level at which these occur. To improve effectiveness of livelihood outcomes, the SL framework is used as a tool to organise the various inter-related factors which constrain or provide livelihoods opportunities.

Principle 4: Partnerships

Considering the complex nature of poverty, development practitioners need to recognise that no one organisation can effectively reduce poverty by working in isolation. The principle of partnerships emphasises the importance of collaborations in order to effectively address the issue of poverty. By building relationships between government departments, donors and civil society, constructive collaborations can be established that effectively address poverty at multiple levels. CARE defines partnerships as “mutually beneficial alliances of diverse types...Partnerships facilitate continuous two-way learning and are based on trust, shared vision and commitment to common objects.” (Frankenberger, Drinkwater and Maxwell, 2008: 8) In this case partnerships are seen as a means to increase the scale and scope of livelihoods programmes.

Principle 5: Building on strengths

SLA starts with an analysis of strengths, not just needs. In so doing, it recognises the inherent potential of everyone, and seeks to remove constraints to the realisation of people’s potential while also assisting people to enhance their ability to achieve their own objectives where feasible.

Principle 6: Dynamic

SLA is a dynamic approach, continuously seeking to learn from change; so that it can support positive patterns of change and help mitigate negative patterns of change. It implies on-going investigations into the complex nature of cause-and-effect relationships and iterative chains of events, instead of taking a snap shot view of livelihoods at a particular point in time. The dynamic nature of livelihoods is an important area for monitoring and evaluation of

initiatives as well as a means of lesson-learning in adapting and coping with possible future change.

Principle 7: Macro-micro links

SLA promotes a multi-level focus, emphasising the importance of macro level policy and institutions to the livelihoods options of communities and individuals. It also highlights the impact of policies on people by emphasising the need for macro policy development and planning to be informed by lessons learnt at the local level. By referring to Sen's work on the ingredients of famine, Adger & Winkels (in Atkinson, Dietz & Neumayer (eds.), 2007: 194) agree that manifestations of poverty, such as food insecurity, is a consequence of human activity, which can be prevented by modified behaviour and by political interventions. "Thus, it is the result of processes in which humans actively engage and which they can almost prevent." The establishment and maintenance of an enabling environment is important so that poor people can inform policy affecting their livelihoods. In this regard Moser & Norton (2001:40) adds that a number of complementary strategies and elements are important in order to facilitate poor people's ability to effectively make claims. These include: access to information; group solidarity and development of skills and capabilities.

Principle 8: Sustainability

This SL principle endorses strong sustainability, especially because "natural resources are considered as essential inputs in economic production, consumption or welfare that cannot be substituted for by manufactured or human capital." (van den Bergh, 2007 in Atkinson, Dietz & Neumayer (eds.), 2007: 65 & 66).

Livelihoods are sustainable when they are resilient to shocks, stresses; not dependent on external support; maintain long-term productivity of natural resources and so do not undermine the livelihoods or livelihoods option of others. Distinction can also be made between various dimensions of sustainability, viz.:

- *environmental sustainability* (conserving/enhancing the natural resource base);
- *economic sustainability* (where expenditure does not exceeding income);
- *social sustainability* (increased social equity and decreased social exclusion); and
- *institutional sustainability* (existing organisations' and institutions' ability to maintain their function in the long term).

Recognition of the multiple dimensions of sustainability and people’s multiple livelihood objectives is vital to SLA. It is also important to note that with diversity comes trade-offs brought on by tensions between the various dimensions of sustainability and livelihood outcomes, for example:

- Tensions between the achievement of individual or household objectives to reduce poverty and increase quality of life and wider concerns about environmental sustainability.
- Tensions between the achievement of individual or household livelihoods objectives and the requirement not to compromise the livelihood opportunities open to others.

Although not assuming to have all the answers to this dilemma, SL does provide an approach to thinking through these conflicts of interest. The Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) promotes a holistic approach and facilitates structured discussion of differing perspectives in terms of prioritising livelihood objectives. Trade-offs among (i) dimensions of sustainability; and (ii) livelihood objectives is, to a degree, inevitable, especially when considering people’s risk of exposure to changes in the environment, i.e. their vulnerability context. Difficult choices often need to be made; for example people’s need for fire wood to prepare food to eat and the conflicting priority to preserve and protect trees. This is illustrated below:

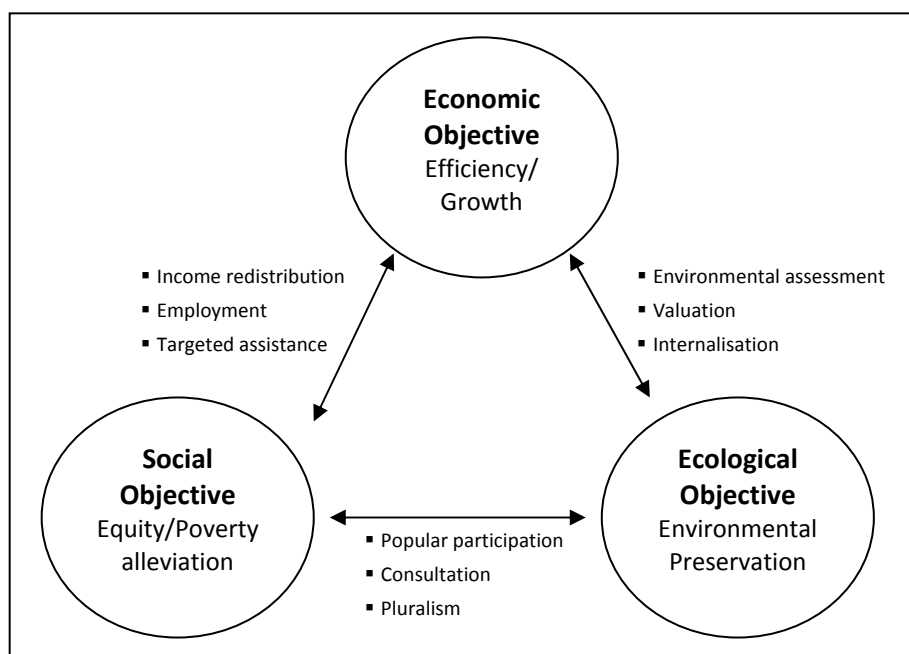


Fig.3 Trade-offs among diverse objectives of sustainable livelihoods

Source: Adapted from Adams, 2001:128

2.3.3 Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) refers to a sustainable and dynamic system that “enables people to pursue robust livelihood strategies that provide, in effect, ‘layers of resilience’ to overcome ‘waves of adversity’; enabling people to cope with and adapt to change, and even transform adversity into opportunity” (Glavovic, Scheyvens & Overton, 2003:289-290 in Glavovic & Boonzaier, 2007:2).

SLF is a tool to analyse people’s livelihoods and identify entry points that could potentially impact the livelihoods of the greatest number of people. This is done by considering five important units of analysis, viz.: contextual analysis; analysis of assets; analysis of mediating institutions; analysis of strategies and the analysis of outcomes. Each one of these is first discussed below, followed by a diagrammatical representation of the SLF.

— *Contextual Analysis:*

With the main objective being to reduce poverty, the SLA recognizes that poverty is not a static concept. It should be viewed in terms of vulnerability, which is dynamic by nature. Its poverty focus centres on people’s *vulnerability context*, in other words, their risk of exposure to changes, e.g. trends; shocks and seasonality and their resilience in coping with these changes by using their assets and entitlements to various types of capital, i.e. their possession of and/or access to Financial, Physical, Environmental, Human and Social Capital (Moser & Norton, 2001:5). The contextual analysis therefore examines and tries to understand what changes people are exposed to, as well as their resilience in coping with these changes.

— *Analysis of Assets*

The ‘amount’ or prevalence of each type of capital varies depending on people’s vulnerability context. This is depicted in the SL Framework (SLF) as the *livelihood assets pentagon*. The Livelihood Assets Pentagon is a visual tool used to assess and diagrammatically quantify people’s livelihoods options. The centre point of the pentagon represents zero access while the outer perimeter represents maximum access to the various types of capital.

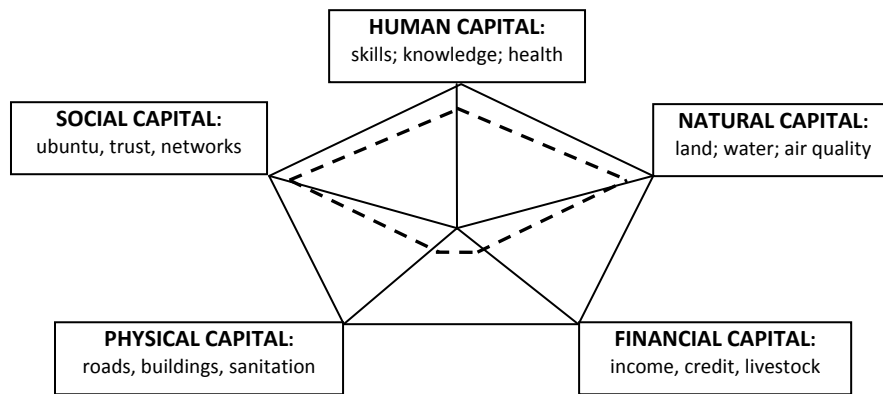


Fig. 4 Livelihood Assets Pentagon

Source: Adapted from DFID Guidance Sheets, www.livelihoods.org

The above assets pentagon depicts an example of a SL strategy with a very high social, natural and human capital, while the financial and physical capitals are rather low. When designing SL strategies, it is important to identify the dominant and recessive asset combinations as they will directly affect people’s livelihood options and outcomes. According to Moser & Norton (2001:6), the pentagon is useful as a point of departure for discussion around “suitable entry points, how these serve the needs of different social groups, and the likely trade-offs between different assets. It forces users to think holistically rather than sectorally about the basis of livelihoods, and to start with an analysis of strengths rather than weaknesses.”

It is important to note that when people engage in livelihood strategies, *access* to assets is just as important as *ownership* or possession of assets. Influencing structures and processes play a huge role in this regard and should not be ignored when analysing people’s assets³.

Amartya Sen’s (1984:452 – 456) study on famines explains this by way of looking at availability of and entitlement to food. He says that the approach of food availability decline has only superficial merit, since it seems natural to assume a shortage of food exists when people are dying of starvation. However, he argues that starvation is a matter of some people *not having* enough food to eat, and not a matter of there *not being* enough food for people to eat. On the entitlement approach he says that “ownership of food is one of the most primitive property rights, and in each society there are rules governing this right. The entitlement approach concentrates on each person’s entitlements to commodity bundles including food,

³ Schematic information on the interaction between peoples’ vulnerability context; their assets; and influencing policies, institutions, organisations and processes is represented in the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework illustration in section 2.3.3

and views starvation as resulting from a failure to be entitled to any bundle with enough food” (Sen, 1984:452 – 456).

— *Analysis of Mediating Institutions*

It is also important to understand and identify the transforming structures and processes that influence people’s access to assets and subsequently also affect the outcome of SL strategies.

These transforming structures and processes refer to the relevant *policies, institutions, organisations and processes* or *PIOPs* that either hinder or support people’s efforts to make a living. PIOPs therefore play a vital role in creating an enabling environment that reduces people’s vulnerability to trends, shocks and seasonal changes.

— *Analysis of Strategies*

Sustainable Livelihoods strategies reflect the diverse mechanisms used by people to cope with changes in their environment. Put another way, SL strategies refer to the portfolio of activities or range of options that individuals, households and communities undertake in order to make a living. Karen Iles of the IDL group has developed Sustainable Livelihoods Network training materials on SLF. It provides some examples of livelihood strategies including activities such as: formal employment, farming and fishing, trading, saving money in a bank, developing and fostering networks and studying at a university (www.livelihoods.org).

The types of livelihood strategies that people are able to engage in are determined by their access to assets. Poor people have limited assets and as a result they may also have fewer livelihood options at their disposal. For example, people who do not own a car (Physical Capital) or lack the money (Financial Capital) to invest in obtaining a motor vehicle license may have fewer formal employment opportunities in urban areas.

In practice SL strategies should reflect the underlying SL principles and as such should be designed in a way that consideration is given to the following:

- Identifying which coping mechanisms are currently being used by people exposed to trends, shocks, and seasonal changes
- Analysing the efficacy of these coping mechanisms and exploring possible new ways of coping

- Differentiating between conflicting livelihoods priorities of various groups within a community
- Equally considering both opportunities/resources and constraints/needs within a particular community
- Going beyond addressing poor peoples' basic needs by allowing them to work towards achieving their personally defined standard of living and quality of life.

It is important to note that households may engage in various livelihoods strategies. Their strategies may also be interdependent. For example, the members of one household may depend on the livelihoods strategies of each individual within the household. E.g.: a grandmother's livelihood strategies (or portfolio of activities and capabilities) may include income in the form of a pension which is supplemented by income generated from the sale of handicrafts such as beading work which she does from home while she takes care of her grandchildren. Her own daughter's livelihoods strategy includes income from a low-wage formal job. She also saves money on child care services because her mother takes care of her children. If either the grandmother or her daughter is hindered from engaging in their respective livelihoods strategies, the entire household's livelihoods outcome will be jeopardised.

— *Analysis of Outcomes*

SL outcomes refer to those objectives that people want to achieve by operationalizing their SL strategies. SL outcomes of the poor are often based on their interpretation of poverty and vulnerability. For example, people may understand poverty in terms of food insecurity. Their livelihood strategies might include activities such as planting vegetables for household consumption and for sale; farming with chickens and cows. In this case, the SL outcome would be to achieve food security.

The SL outcomes can also influence people's assets: for example people might want to achieve the livelihood outcome of increased knowledge and skills. The strategy used to achieve this outcome may involve studying at a university or participating in a learnership programme. By achieving their livelihood outcome, they also directly increase their Human Capital, which in turn also increases their range of options available to them for make a living; as they may now be able to obtain higher paid work.

The abovementioned units of analysis are depicted in the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework below:

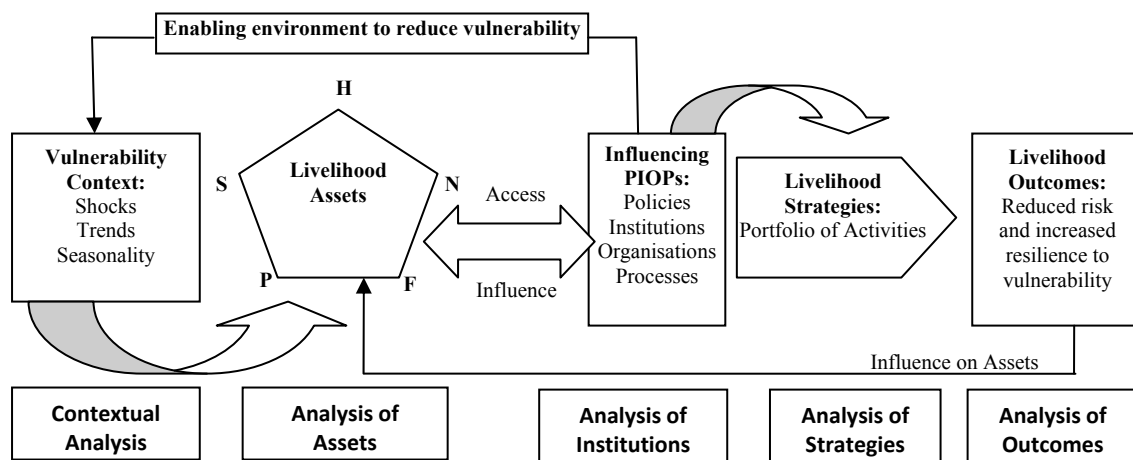


Fig. 5 Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

Source: Adapted from DFID; Glavovic & Boonzaier (2007:3) and Moser & Norton (2001:7)

2.3.4 Strengths and Limitations

The strengths of SLA include its ability to reflect on the range of assets and activities that people rely on for implementing livelihoods strategies. SLA is also able to draw attention to the wide range of policy issues regulating poor people’s access to livelihoods assets. Furthermore, it is based on sound principles such as being people-centred, building on strengths, promoting sustainability and multi-level partnership as well as a dynamic and holistic approach.

Another important strength (which relates to people’s participation and working in partnership with others) is the emphasis placed on *lesson learning*. Livelihoods strategies are informed by those coping mechanisms currently undertaken by the people. Thus, SL strategies build on indigenous knowledge of those living in a particular vulnerability context. In addition, by working in partnership with others, SL strategies can be enhanced by new ideas, technology and better ways of doing things.

Limitations of SLA include its tendency to over-emphasise the technical nature of development on a micro level while neglecting micro-macro policy linkages. According to Moser & Norton (2001:7) this requires a thorough analysis of social, economic and political issues “with particular emphasis on the ways in which power relations produce and reproduce deprivation. The fact that this critical dimension is not strongly addressed in the framework significantly weakens its claim to be (on its own) a holistic analytical approach.”

2.4 Social Capital Theory

The section introduces the concept of Social Capital. The discussion is structured as follows: Firstly, some background history is provided on the origin and development of the term. Secondly, definitional contestations are presented by stating what various writers think Social Capital is not (or what Social Capital should not be). Thirdly, evaluation of the term is presented by stating what various writers think Social Capital is (or what Social Capital should be). Finally, this section provides a plausible definition for Social Capital that consolidates the commonalities in definitions of Social Capital as presented by various analysts.

History of Social Capital Theory

As mentioned in Chapter 1, section 1.2, Hanifan's 1916 article is accredited with producing one of the first definitions of Social Capital. Later on writers such as Glenn Loury used it "to describe the sources of certain kinds of income disparities" (Loury, 1977 in Cohen & Prusak, 2001:4) On the other hand, underlying concepts implying Social Capital, (such as social cohesion and connectedness) dates back even further than Hanifan's work. This is evident in earlier works such as James Madison's *The Federalist Papers* and Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* which integrated concepts of social cohesion and connectedness into the pluralist tradition in American political science. It is also argued that John Dewey's 1899 writing, *The School and Society*, may have been the first to mention the direct mainstream use of the term "social capital", although he did not offer a definition for the term (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_capital).

Over the years the concept of Social Capital has been perceived in different ways by analysts from diverse fields such as economics, politics, and sociology. With interpretations rooted in multiple disciplines, it is not hard to see why consensus on an unambiguous universal definition for Social Capital is lacking.

Contestation of the concept

The many definitions ascribed to the concept of Social Capital are a result of the diverse definitions contributed by researchers from different disciplinary backgrounds and it has led certain analysts to challenge the term. What follows is a selection of these contestations.

— Contesting definitional contentions

In the face of controversy over what exactly Social Capital is (or should be), some researchers have chosen to dismiss the definitional contentions altogether. Woolcock

(2001:70) refers to the interpretations in Knack's Paper: *Economic Applications of Social Capital: An Economist's Perspective* which emphasises the importance of rather focusing on what researchers *do* with Social Capital instead of contesting the scope of Social Capital. Woolcock writes: "Just as social scientists do important and rigorous work on "power", "class" and "sustainability" without universally agreed-upon definitions of them, so too, these writers maintain, we should care less about praising terms and more about applying consistent scholarly standards to evaluating the merits of research on "social capital"."

— Is Social Capital really a 'capital'?

Some have questioned whether it can justifiably be referred to as a 'capital' in terms of the economic understanding of 'capital'. Coleman insists that social capital can justifiably be labelled a 'capital' because of its productive nature. "Like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible" (Coleman, 1988:98).

Other researchers are able to validate Coleman's claims. In the abstract to their research paper, Carter & Castillo found that social norms, such as altruism, trust and reciprocity have real economic effects on households' well-being. These economic effects "are significantly positive in urban communities, whereas the effects of these same norms are weaker or negative in more traditional rural areas (Carter & Castillo, 2002).

Others, such as Fischer, strongly dispute the '*capital-ness*' of Social Capital and sarcastically asks "Where can I borrow some 'social capital'? What is the going interest rate? Can I move some of my social capital offshore?" (Fischer, 2001:3).

— How functional or valuable is Social Capital?

Critics question the *value* of the seemingly all-encompassing nature of the concept. They accuse Social Capital of having "become all things to all people, and hence nothing to anyone" (Woolcock, 2001:69). Along the same vein, Kawachi refers to Portes' warning that "so many disparate social phenomena have been heaped upon the concept of 'social capital' that the 'point is approaching at which social capital comes to be applied to so many events and in so many different contexts as to lose any distinct meaning" (Kawachi *et al.* 2004:682)

Still other contestations include:

- Disputes over whether Social Capital is a *means to an end* (i.e. for the good of society) or *an end in itself* (i.e. a good society is characterised by a lot of trust and moral obligations to interpersonal relations);
- Disputes over whether Social Capital is to be understood as a *micro-community level* or *macro-institutional* phenomenon; and
- Disputes over *measuring* Social Capital comprehensively

Evaluations of the concept

The abovementioned contestations over the meaning of Social Capital serve only to describe what analysts think should not be regarded as Social Capital. The question thus still remains: “What *is* Social Capital (SC)?” To answer this question, standpoints from various analysts have been explored.

— SC as Social Connections

Michael Woolcock (2001:67) answers this question by drawing on the common aphorism: “It’s not what you know, it’s *who* you know.” He adds that an individual’s family relationships; friendship circles and other associations act as a “safety net” in times of crisis upon which individuals can rely on to overcome adversity; enjoy for its own sake and which can be leveraged for material gain. Woolcock refers to various research findings to substantiate claims that “the well connected are more likely to be hired, housed, healthy and happy” (Woolcock, 2001:68).

— SC as a neutral asset

By considering the positive outcomes derived from people’s connections, some have argued that Social Capital is a positive asset. However, other writers who have contributed extensively to the popularity of the concept, including Coleman, who disagrees with perceptions that Social Capital is inherently positive. Instead he views Social Capital as being *neutral* and when operationalized, it is capable of producing both positive and negative outcomes. Coleman (1988:98) defines Social Capital by its function. “It is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors – whether persons or corporate actors – within the structure. Like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible.”

Fukuyama (1999) also agrees that Social Capital is neutral, but emphasizes the tendency of Social Capital to produce negative externalities. According to Fukuyama, this is “because group solidarity in human communities is often purchased at the price of hostility toward out-group members.” Terrorist groups and gangs are examples of groups who use their Social Capital in a way that only benefits the group, but that produces abundant negative externalities for the larger society in which they are embedded.

— SC as an individual asset

Social Capital can thus be interpreted as an *individual* possession or resource available in varying degrees which can be used to the advantage of those who possess it. As Pierre Bourdieu (1986: 249) puts it, “the volume of social capital possessed by a given agent...depends on the size of the network of connections that he can effectively mobilize.” Francis Fukuyama adds that “since cooperation is necessary to virtually all individuals as a means of achieving their selfish ends, it stands to reason that they will produce it as a private good” (Fukuyama, 1999) and this often to the detriment of the collective. As a result many institutions enforce nepotism laws, “in explicit recognition that personal connections can be used to unfairly discriminate, distort and corrupt” (Woolcock, 2001: 68).

— SC as a collective asset

However, other writers are of the opinion that Social Capital is a *collective* asset producing mutual benefits. This positive, collective view of Social Capital is prominent in writings by Robert Putnam, the praise-singer of Social Capital, defining SC as the “features of social organisation, such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitates co-ordination and cooperation for mutual benefit” (Putnam, 1995: 67).

Putnam’s view of Social Capital gives hope to those concerned with poverty alleviation initiatives. It illustrates how possession of Social Capital helps reduce poor peoples’ vulnerability to adversity. Poor peoples’ Social Capital is seen as the one asset poor people can rely on to cope with shocks, trends and seasonal changes in their environment. Drawing on notes by Dordick, Michael Woolcock reiterates that “the very poor have “something to lose, namely each other” (Dordick, 1997 in Woolcock, 2001:78).

— SC as the ‘Missing Link’ to development

When considering the preceding view of Social Capital, the question could be asked: ‘Is Social Capital a panacea for the poor?’ A resounding “no!” comes from John Harriss who

disagrees strongly with the World Bank's proclamation that Social Capital is the "*missing link*" in international development. He emphasises that a perception of Social Capital as a "cure-all" for development challenges, such as poverty, fails to deal with important issues such as class relations and power (Harriss, 2002:1).

— Social Capital as harmful to development

This contestation refers to the dark side of Social Capital. Those who argue that Social Capital is harmful to development reflect on the negative externalities it produces. As Ostrom (2000b, 176-177) cited in the 2003 Commonwealth of Australia Review, points out: "...Gangs and the Mafia use social capital as the foundation for their organisational structure. Cartels also develop social capital in their efforts to keep control over an industry so as to reap more profits than would otherwise be the case. An authoritarian system of government based on military command and use of instruments of force destroy other sorts of social capital while building its own."

An example of the negative effects of Social Capital is reflected in violent or criminal activity encouraged through strong intra-group relationships. This argument alludes to the different forms of Social Capital (which will be discussed later in Section 2.4.1). It argues that too much bonding social capital and too little bridging social capital results in discord in society. A study of Hindus and Muslims in India reflected the destructive results of too much Bonding Social Capital. Woolcock comments that where cross-cutting ties exist between Hindus and Muslims; peaceful, constructive conflict resolution is possible and prominent. On the other hand, "where such ties are lacking, there are no established channels for dealing with difference." (Varshney, 2000 in Woolcock, 2002: 67)

Another more recent, local example of how a lack of cross-cutting ties negatively affects the broader society was reflected in the violent xenophobic attacks across South Africa. Foreigners, many refugees from other African countries were forced from their homes in the townships and brutally attacked by their South African "neighbours". Small businesses owned by foreign nationals were also ransacked. Refugees were then offered temporary housing by the South African government, but now measures are in place to facilitate their re-integrate into the communities that had expelled them so violently (Mail & Guardian, May 2008).

— Social Capital as a multi-level phenomenon

This understanding of Social Capital leads to some contestations over whether to construe the concept as a micro- or macro-level phenomenon.⁴ Some writers such as Grootaert & van Bastelaer endorse a broad definition of Social Capital encompassing values and norms on the micro-community level as well as state institutions and laws on the macro-institutional level. They define Social Capital broadly as the “institutions, relationships, attitudes, and values that govern interactions among people and contribute to economic and social development” (Grootaert & van Bastelaer, 2002:2).⁵ Although some analysts insist that broadening the definition to encompass micro, meso and macro levels weakens the usefulness of the concept, Grootaert & Bastelaer consider this broad multi-level understanding of Social Capital to be its strength.

2.4.1 Types of Social Capital

In their article, *Social Capital: The Bonds that Connect*, Woolcock & Sweetser (in Asian Development Report, 2002, vol.34(2)) stress the usefulness in making distinctions between Bonding, Bridging and Linking Capital, on the basis that Social Capital is multidimensional and not a single entity of which people have “more” or “less”. Recently these distinctions have been examined (see fig. 6) and respective definitions have been provided below:

- *Bonding Social Capital* – refers to the “social glue” that binds relatively homogenous groups together; or rephrased: “the trusting and cooperative relations between members of a network who are similar in terms of social identity.” For example: ethnic groups; family relations and friendship circles.
- *Bridging Social Capital* – refers to the “social oil that lubricates relations”; the more cross-cutting “weak ties” between heterogeneous groups, or said differently “the connections between those unlike each other yet on relatively equal levels of status and power’.” For example: business associates and acquaintances
- *Linking Social Capital* – refers to the vertical connections across power and authority ranks, or the “norms of respect and networks of trusting relationships between people

⁴ Then there are also those who are of the opinion that the micro-macro contentions should be overlooked completely so that energies could be spent on consistent and rigorous research on the concept

⁵ Refer to Fig.2 Forms and Scope of Social Capital on page 7 for a diagrammatical representation of Grootaert & van Bastelaer’s broad definition of Social Capital.

who are interacting across explicit, formal, or institutional power or authority gradients in society” (Szreter & Woolcock in Kawachi, *et al.* 2004, 33: 682).

Compared to Bonding and Bridging Social Capital, Linking Social Capital is a relatively new type of SC. It was introduced by Szreter & Woolcock in their work in the field of public health which led to their creation of a conceptual framework for studying Social Capital. This framework was based on existing public health perspectives on Social Capital, viz. ‘social support’ thesis; the ‘inequality’ perspective; and the ‘political economy’ approach. The intended use of the framework included “distinguishing and unpacking the concept of social capital in its different forms, namely, ‘bonding’, ‘bridging’, and ‘linking’ social capital.” (Kawachi *et al.* 2004:682)

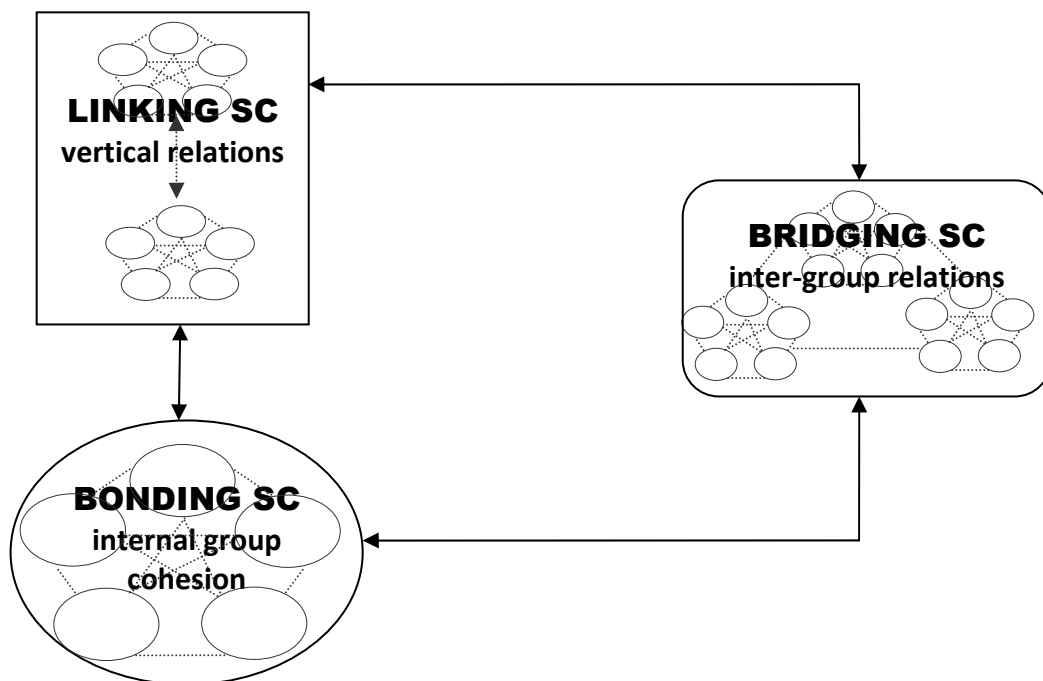


Fig. 6 The Three Types of Social Capital
 Source: Adapted from VCU/CENI Report, 2003

These distinctions are important for the development of Social Capital Theory as well as in practice. Of particular importance is the role of bridging capital as a potential benefit of empowerment/development projects (Harpham, *et al.* 2002:17(1):109). This has a huge impact on the success of poverty alleviation initiatives, such as the Sustainable Livelihoods initiative at SCAGA 1 & 2. When middle-level institutions, which are supposed to help citizens make connections with the state and the market organization, *are weak*, participation of civil society will remain limited (Krishna, 2002:171). Incentives for popular participation

generated by the state do not achieve their desired results if there are no strong middle-level institutions or agents to make these connections or pathways known to the people.

As Krishna puts it: “Weakness in middle-level institutions produce large gaps in information and access, and these gaps make it difficult for citizens to take full advantage of the opportunities for self-development that are made available by state organizations and market operations” (Krishna, 2002:170)

In addition, research has found persistent gender differences in levels of Bonding and Bridging Social Capital: “men tend to have the bridging networks, while women tend to have the bonding networks” (Woolcock & Sweetser, 2002). This could help to inform and improved direction of resources and focus of livelihoods strategies that benefit the most vulnerable. Such information would prove useful to development practitioners in local government and in the NGO-sectors.

2.4.2 Defining Social Capital

The many definitions that abound for the concept of Social Capital make it very difficult to fully understand what it refers to. The term has become popular recently, enjoying the limelight of much sociological discourse – and as the number of researchers investigating the meaning of the concept has increased, so too has the number of new variations on the concept.

Yet, as discussed in the preceding section, the idea of Social Capital is not a new one. In the Chinese social context, Social Capital can be closely linked with the concept of *guanxi*.⁶ In the South African context, the institution of *ubuntu* can be linked to the concept of Social Capital. Maluccio, Haddad and May (2000:57) refers to the traditional African institution of *ubuntu* in their study *Social Capital and Households Welfare in South Africa, 1993-98* by stating the following: “*Ubuntu* is a conceptualization of humanness that means, ‘I am because you exist’. It is seen as an expression of community life and collective responsibility and invokes notions of caring for and sharing with each other.”

The abovementioned ideas also allude to the idea of community building, what Farmer says is about bringing people together in a way that enables them to create new possibilities (Farmer, 2005:1). This relates to Bhattacharyya’s understanding of community development

⁶ “Connections”/“relationships” are common translations for the concept of *guanxi*. It refers to the dynamic and complex nature of personalised networks of influence and social relationships embodied in Chinese society.

as “solidarity”, i.e. human connectedness and “agency”, i.e. the capacity of human beings to act and change their environment” (Bhattacharyya, 2004:10 & 11)

Consensus amongst theorists regarding prominent themes that permeate the numerous definitions of Social Capital assists in clarifying the meaning of the term. These themes include: social networks; social norms; reciprocity; altruism; interconnectedness; and trust. The latter has been used as synonym for Social Capital.

A separate discussion on the various interpretations of trust is thus necessary. This discussion precedes the presentation of other definitions for Social Capital as obtained from the perspectives of three major contributing disciplines, viz. economics, sociology and political sciences.

— *Trust*

The first entry explaining the meaning of “trust” in the on line dictionary reference (<http://dictionary.reference.com>), describes it as follows: “reliance on the integrity, strength, ability, surety, etc., of a person or thing; confidence”. But what do writers on Social Capital mean by trust?

Some analysts, such as Robert Putnam equate trust with Social Capital. Others such as Harriss (200:2) disagree with Putnam’s definition for Social Capital as “trust, norms and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions”, stating that it overlooks issue of power relations which play a big role in establishing social trust.

Other theorists see trust as a source or prerequisite of Social Capital; while still others see trust as a product or outcome of Social Capital.

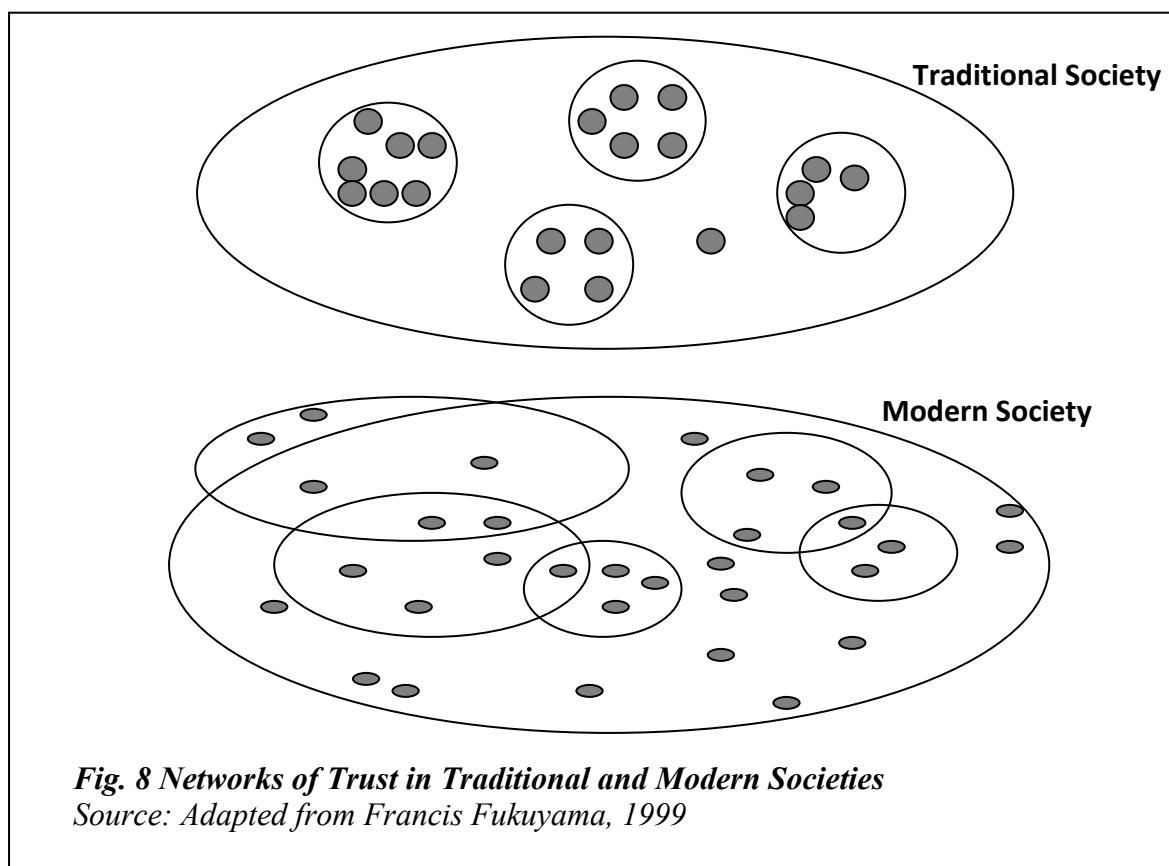
According to Fukuyama (1999) trust is often mistakenly equated with Social Capital. He maintains that trust “is epiphenomenal, arising as a result of social capital but not constituting social capital itself.” He emphasizes the role of the state in indirectly enabling the creation of social capital. “Given a stable and safe environment for public interaction and property rights, it is more likely that trust will arise spontaneously as a result of iterated interactions of rational individuals.”

The enforced laws of segregation under the Apartheid regime provide a South African example of how the state can destroy Social Capital. Maluccio, et al. cites Maluleke’s findings that showed a severe erosion of *ubuntu* as a result “of the enforcement of the pre-

1994 apartheid legislation and the imposition of institutions designed to ensure the political control of African countries.”(Maluleke, 1996 in Maluccio, Haddad & May, 2000:57)

Returning to Fukuyama’s definition: he explains further that the ‘instantiated norms’ of Social Capital must lead to group cooperation. He identified and listed the following norms: honesty, the keeping of commitments, and reliable performance of duties and reciprocity - all of which are, in fact, very closely linked to trust.

However, he explains that the presence of norms such as trust, network and civil society on their own do not necessarily produce benefits for those outside of the social network wherein these norms are embedded. He explains why closely knit groups find it difficult to trust outsiders by using the phrase narrow ‘radius of trust’. In traditional societies, social groups are separated by distinct boundary lines – specific clans, tribes, villages, etc. Circles of trust are narrow, serving only the specific group wherein it is found. While in modern societies, he argues, groups’ circles of trust tend to overlap as people are members of multiple social groups. Modern societies contain “weak ties”, i.e. “individuals at the periphery of the society’s various social networks who are able to move between groups and thereby become bearers of new ideas and information.” These weak ties promote cross-cutting trust. This is illustrated in the figure below:



Bayat (2005: 6) distinguishes between two types of trust: generalised trust – based on norms and beliefs about society in general; and particularised trust – based on information and rational choices about the nature of a particular individual or group. While some may argue that only generalised trust reflects Social Capital; others view generalised trust as Bridging Social Capital and particularised trust as Bonding Social Capital.

Bayat (2005:6 & 7) refers to the two interactive and mutually reinforcing dimensions of SC viz. the cognitive or attitudinal dimension and the structural dimension:

- the cognitive dimension: i.e. values, beliefs, attitudes, social norms and behaviour that exist within communities, such as social trust and norms, solidarity and reciprocity;
- the structural dimension: i.e. networks, linkages and practices within and between communities.” (Grant, 2001)

According to Bayat, trust belongs to the structural dimension.⁷ Here it is important to remember that the cognitive and structural dimensions of SC are interactive and mutually dependent. Grant (2001) cites Krishna & Sharader’s understanding of the mutually reinforcing nature of these two dimensions: “While cognitive elements predispose people toward mutually beneficial collective action, structural elements of Social Capital facilitate such action...they must be combined to represent the aggregate potential for mutually beneficial collective action that exists within any community.” (Krishna & Sharader, 2000 in Grant, 2001)

The many definitions of Social Capital reflect the respective discipline and background of the researcher and, in a sense, brings together the three major contributing disciplines, viz. sociology, political science and economics (Bayat, 2005:2). Each discipline has a distinct approach to SC and hence it follows that each discipline will present differing definitions for Social Capital.

— *The Economist’s Perspective*

“Economists focus on individual actors with freedom of action who make rational self-interested calculations in the market” (Bayat, 2005:2 & 3).

In line with an economic perspective, Garcia’s understanding of SC is rooted in the *embeddedness* argument. Garcia cites Uzzi’s definition of the term embeddedness, which

⁷ Refer to Fig. 2: Forms and Scope of Social Capital on page 7. According to Bayat, Trust would be placed in the two left quadrants of the diagram.

refers to the “process by which social relations shape economic action in ways that some mainstream economic schemes overlook or misspecify when they assume that social ties affect economic behaviour only minimally, or, in some stringent accounts, reduce the efficiency of the price system” (Uzzi in Garcia, 2006:16). This is similar to Coleman’s (1988:S97) understanding of embeddedness. Agreeing with the notion of embedded economic networks, “pre-existing social relations lead to trust, and in turn to embedded ties; trust generated subsequent commitments, which leads to reciprocated exchange, to concrete trust, and concrete trust again to embedded ties.” She also agrees with Granovetter’s interpretation which states that embeddedness is “the extent to which economic action is linked to or depends on actions or institutions that are non-economic in content, goals or processes”; and consequently defines SC as follows: “..., the social structure is a kind of capital, social capital that can create for certain individuals or groups, occupying a certain position in the structure, advantages in pursuing their ends; and therefore better connected actors enjoy higher returns” (Garcia, 2006:13, 15).

Another definition for SC also rooted in the field of economics is given by Coleman (1988:S97) who defines Social Capital by its function: “It is not a single entity but a variety but a variety of entities with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors – whether persons or corporate actors – within the structure.”

Nan Lin’s definition of Social Capital has an individualist underscore: “Investment in social relations with expected returns in the marketplace.” (Lin, 2001)

— *The Sociologist’s Perspective*

“Sociologists view actions as part of a collective, constrained by social structure, motivated by non-rational feelings, traditions and values, occurring throughout the society (Swedberg, 1991). He goes on to say that SC attempts to bridge economics and sociology and to move beyond the “hegemony of one particular perspective in public policy debate” (Bayat, 2005:2 & 3). He cites Fukuyama’s perception that Social Capital identifies culture and community as intrinsic to economic and human development.

One of the more prominent definitions for Social Capital from a socio-political perspective is given by Robert Putnam. It stems from his work on the ‘civic community’ as explained in *Making Democracy Work*. His subsequent research in the USA on the decline in political and civil engagement; informal ties; tolerance and trust as set out in *Bowling Alone* introduces the

concept of Social Capital. Here he defines SC as the “connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them.” In that sense SC is closely related to what some have called “civic virtue”. Putnam stresses that “social capital” differs from “civic virtue” in that SC refers to civic virtue that is embedded in a network of reciprocal social relations. In other words: A society containing many virtuous individuals is not per se rich in SC, especially not when these individuals live in isolation.

Reflecting on Putnam’s definition, Smith (2001, 2007) states the following: “interaction enables people to build communities, to commit themselves to each other, and to knit the social fabric.” (Smith, 2001, 2007 in the Encyclopaedia of Informal Education, www.infed.org/thinkers/putnam.htm)

— *The Political Scientist’s Perspective*

“From the political science perspective, social capital may be used to describe the underlying relationships which give rise to civil society.⁸ Thus, it brings together a single explanation for the functioning of markets, government and social development” (Kilby, 2002 in Bayat, 2005: 2& 3)

Given that the political perspective essentially overlaps with both economic and sociological perspectives, definitions stated in this section reflect ideas on Social Capital from all the major disciplines. Accordingly, Francis Fukuyama (1999) offers the following definition for Social Capital which emphasizes that norms must be instantiated in human relationships: “Social capital is an instantiated informal norm that promotes cooperation between two or more individuals. The norms that constitute social capital can range from a norm of reciprocity between two friends, all the way up to complex and elaborately articulated doctrines like Christianity or Confucianism.”

This understanding that Social Capital relates to ‘instantiated norms’ is contested by Krishna (2002) who defines Social Capital as follows: “Social Capital represents potential – a propensity for mutually beneficial collective action...Potential needs to be mobilized, however, and directed toward carefully selected ends. Agents assist in these tasks, and they help enhance the productivity of social capital.”

Despite the many definitions rooted in the fields of economics, sociology and political sciences, certain commonalities can be distinguished that could generate consensus on the

⁸ Here ‘civil society’ describes the non-governmental institutional arrangements of society in governance.

definition of social capital. Woolcock provides this definition: “Social Capital refers to the norms and networks that facilitate collective action” (Woolcock, 2001:70).

In terms of the purpose of this study, however, Social Capital is viewed as having potential to impact the livelihoods of project beneficiaries. A more appropriate definition would thus have a more positive view of Social Capital and therefore a more plausible definition would be as follows: “Social capital refers to resources that individuals could access by membership in particular types of networks.”(Woolcock & Sweetser, 2002)

2.4.3 Indicators of Social Capital

Measuring Social Capital is a challenge for various reasons: its many definitions; its multi-level scope; dual perspective and various types of Social Capital make it hard to arrive at reliable measuring instruments and indicators.

Measures need to consider many facets of Social Capital, including: the abstract nature of the concept; the structural and cognitive scope; ambiguity over what is considered an outcome, prerequisite or synonym of Social Capital; the multi-level, all encompassing definitions of Social Capital; and the many definitional contestations; and not forgetting the different types of Social Capital.

Unresolved issues in the measurement of social capital include:

- A clear understanding of the context and purpose of the measurement of social capital;
- Understanding the limitations of evaluation and measurement, and ensuring that the interpretation of measures is held within these limitations;
- The practical method of gaining community feedback; such as community representation and coverage, feedback to communities, use in local decision making, and resourcing measurement;
- Benchmarking versus measuring of incremental change;
- Dealing with qualitative information, diversity, variation and complexity;
- The nature and rigor of indicators;
- The interpretation and use of measurement information; and
- How evaluation itself can contribute to fostering social capital (Cavaye, 2004:13 in Claridge, 2008: www.gnudung.com/literature/measurement.html)

Woolcock (2001:79) states that Social Capital can only become a serious indicator of regional and national well-being, if measures of Social Capital are drawn up from large representative samples, using suitable pre-tested, refined indicators. He refers to the Guatemalan example, the *Living Standards Measurement Survey (LSMS)* – the standard bearer for high quality household data on income, expenditure, health and education – which is the first of its kind to incorporate a Social Capital module.

Other studies have produced a variety of indicators for Social Capital. For example:

Bullen & Onyx (2000) identify the following 8 factors for measuring social capital in their quantitative, holistic, and comprehensive study (although not without limitations) of five communities in Australia: (1) Participation in local community; (2) Neighbourhood connections; (3) Family/friends connections; (4) Work connections; (5) Proactivity in social context; (6) Feelings of trust and safety; (7) Tolerance of diversity; and (8) Value of life.

Factors numbered 1 to 5 reflect the structural dimension of social capital, while factors numbered 6 to 8 refer to the cognitive or attitudinal dimension of social capital. Useful as these elements may be, there is still need for quantitative methods to be fleshed out by qualitative methods such as the use of case studies.

Harpham et al. (2002:108 &109) developed the instrument A-SCAT by adapting and modifying Krishna & Shrader's Social Capital Assessment Tool (SCAT). A-SCAT (being used in Durban, South Africa; Lusaka, Zambia; and Cali, Columbia) has seven questions on structural social capital and eleven questions on cognitive social capital.⁹The advantages of this tool include: (i) it is not time consuming – on average interviews last about 15 minutes; (ii) it can be used in low income settings with low literacy levels – since it is administered by the interviewer; and (iii) with local pre-testing, it can be applied in a wide variety of developing country settings.

Harpham et al, goes on to comment that although empirical measures are becoming more comprehensive in their assessment of social capital, there are still many voids that need to be filled. In particular, they raise the need for studies exploring bonding, bridging and linking social capital, stating that only a few studies making this distinction have been undertaken. They do however acknowledge the Australian study as one such example, where Bullen & Onyx explored the bonding/bridging construct.

⁹ Refer to Appendix B - Table 3: The Adapted Social Capital Tool

A study by CENI distinguishes between Bonding, Bridging and Linking Social Capital. They have developed a framework for Social Capital indicators by drawing from those indicators identified by the World Bank; reorganising indicators into the three SC dimensions:

Bonding Social Capital – refers to internal cohesion or connectedness within a community;

Bridging Social Capital – refers to the levels of engagement between communities; and

Linking Social Capital – refers to the engagement between community and voluntary organisations and resource agencies and policy makers (VCU/CENI Report, 2003:91).

The indicators for each type of SC has been summarised in the table below:

Type of SC	Core Element	Indicators
Bonding SC	<i>Empowerment</i>	1. increased confidence to participate in group activity 2. contribute skills and leadership to group activity
	<i>Infrastructure</i>	3. connect and network with other people and groups 4. marginalised people represented in group structure
	<i>Connectedness</i>	5. levels of trust between people and groups 6. sharing information and resource between people 7. people working together to achieve shared goals
Bridging SC	<i>Engagement</i>	8. level of engagement with other groups/communities 9. quality of structures to facilitate engagement 10. understanding of group interdependence
	<i>Accessibility</i>	11. willingness to engage outside communities/sectors 12. know how to deal with differences between sectors
	<i>Innovation</i>	13. explore and adopt new ideas to meet community needs 14. appropriateness of new solutions to changing needs
Linking SC	<i>Resources</i>	15. formal contracts with resource/development agencies 16. value of additional resource leverage
	<i>Influence</i>	17. participation in public fora at local and regional levels 18. formation of alliances and changes in policy

Table 4: Indicators of Bonding, Bridging & Linking SC

Source: Adapted from VCU/CENI Report, 2003:94-97

Focusing on Bonding SC, De Wet Schutte (2000) identifies three elements which indicate the level of bonding within a group, viz.: pride to belong to the group; friendship circles within the group and social support systems accessible to the group.

The indicators for Bonding, Bridging and Linking SC used in the case study consider all the indicators cited above, drawing on the strengths of the various studies. In terms of the indicators used in the SCAGA case study, it was decided to list specific indicators for each type of SC. These are listed below:

- Bonding SC indicators: networks, voluntary association, civic norms and trust
- Bridging SC indicators: trust, external networks, and civic norms
- Linking SC indicators: partnerships and influence

2.4.4 Strengths and Limitations

The array of definitions for the concept is seen as a limitation to the theory, especially because of the implications for measuring Social Capital. However, some writers, such as Woolcock view the diverse definitions of Social Capital, which are rooted in various disciplines as strength of Social Capital theory. He says: “In reviving and revitalizing mainstream sociological insights, there has been a corresponding appreciation that different disciplines have a vital, distinctive and frequently complementary contribution to offer to inherently complex problems” (Woolcock, 2001:78)

Another important strength of Social Capital theory, which also relates to the purpose of this study, is the potential social capital has to produce benefits for the poor. This can be seen in the manifestation of social “banking” where conventional banking and credit facilities are not available to people in the developing world (Knack & Keefer, 1997:1251-1288).

Then there are the limitations of the theory: “One of the greatest weaknesses of the social capital concept is the absence of consensus on how to measure it” Fukuyama (1999). This sentiment is reiterated by Serageldin (World Bank, SCI Working Paper series from *Foreword* 1997) by referring to the objectives of the *Social Capital Initiatives*. Serageldin states that development agencies are faced with the challenge “to operationalize the concept of SC and to demonstrate how and how much it affects development outcomes.”

Michael Woolcock (2001:73-76) lists additional criticisms of SC as follows:

- It just repackages old ideas; is no more style (good “marketing”) than substance;

- It is merely the latest social scientific fad/buzz word
- It encourages and rewards “economic imperialism” (social relations as “capital”?)
- It reinforces or legitimizes orthodox (“Washington consensus”¹⁰ development policies)
- It neglects considerations of power, especially for those who are relatively powerless
- It is a Western (especially US) concept supported by Western research, with little relevance elsewhere.”

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented the theoretical background to the research. An overview was presented on Sustainable Development theory as it is the root theory in which Sustainable Livelihoods Theory is embedded. Next, the Social Capital theory was presented, highlighting its value as livelihood asset in the fight against poverty.

The theoretical framework serves to lay the foundation which informed the fieldwork. The most important theme to remember is that of sustainability: judicious use of natural resources; intra- and inter-generational needs and aspirations and, in terms of Social Capital, the idea of mutual benefits was also cited.

¹⁰ “Washington consensus” refers to common elements of structural adjustment plans (SAPs) offered to developing countries by major multilateral development agencies.

Chapter Three

Research Design and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The Participatory Rural Appraisal was applied in the exploration of the SCAGA case study. A brief overview of this method is discussed below:

Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) is rooted in Participatory Action Research (PAR) theory; which is not to be confused with Action Research (AR) – the latter is dominated more by the researcher, whereas Participatory Action Research is participant dominated. According to Friedlander (2001:6), PAR emphasises the role of the researcher as facilitator and consultant to the participant group; it should lead to empowerment of the group/community through reflection on information, which may lead to future action.

Yolanda Wadsworth (1998) defines Participatory Action Research as “research which involves all relevant parties in actively examining together current action (which they experience as problematic) in order to change and improve it.”

To ensure optimal inclusion of all relevant participants, data gathering techniques try to avoid writing wherever possible, focusing instead on tools that are appropriate for participants with limited or no literacy skills and that promote oral communication. These techniques could include focus group discussions, feedback sessions, triangulation and visualisation tools such as Venn diagrams. All of the techniques listed here were incorporated into the SCAGA case study.

Mouton, (2001:151) noting the strengths of this research design suggests that involvement on the part of PAR participants “enhances chances of high construct validity, low refusal rates and “ownership” of findings. Friedlander continues that the two-way learning that occurs in the application of the PAR, in a sense integrates theory and practice: “..., a scholar practitioner is not the sum of a scholar and a practitioner -- a person who does consulting sometimes and research/teaching sometimes. The scholar-practitioner is the integration of the two -- the enactment of concurrent scholarly and practice work. What I mean by integration is that no research occurs without studying also its repercussions and implications for practice.

And no practice occurs without developing its derivations and implications for scholarship and theory” (Friedlander, 2001).

Orlando Fals-Borda also played an extensive role in popularising PAR by organizing the first PAR conferences in Cartagena, Columbia. Studies presented at the 1997 PAR World Convergence Congress showed some significant solutions for pertinent methodological aspects. Fals-Borda (2000:633) identifies and categorises these solutions into three distinct directions: “(1) to recognise the role of combining people’s knowledge in popular struggle and in other activities, which may furnish the basis for a new and useful scientific paradigm; (2) to practice in such a way that it gives a moral and humanist orientation to the work of the activist/researcher; and (3) to gain a sense of personal commitment that combines the logic of action and the logic of research” (Fals-Borda 1998:218-219).

A key idea of the PAR paradigm is described by Chambers as ‘new professionalism’ for development – one that centres on decentralization and empowerment: “Decentralization means that resources and discretion are devolved; turning back the inward and upward flows of resources and people. Empowerment means that people, especially poorer people, are enabled to take more control over their lives, and secure a better livelihood with ownership and control of productive assets as one key element. Decentralization and empowerment enable people to exploit the diverse complexities of their own conditions and to adapt to rapid change” (Chambers, 1993)

Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) techniques imply the active involvement and empowerment of local populations in their struggle to cope with changes in their surrounding environment and improve their quality of life. PRA techniques can be traced back to Paulo Freire’s work in the field of education (where he challenged the traditional formal models of education where the “teacher” stands at the front and “imparts” information to “students” that are passive recipients). Chambers (1997:106) acknowledges Freire’s contribution to PRA in *Whose Reality Counts? Putting the First Last* by saying that “the Freirian theme, that poor people and exploited people can and should be enabled to analyze their own reality” is vital to successful rural community development. As an exponent of PRA, Robert Chambers developed Rapid Rural Appraisal techniques in the 1980s amid dissatisfaction that outsiders (e.g. Western development experts and researchers) miscommunicated and misunderstood the development context and history of local people in the South. This type of “modernising development” imposed on the “target populations” of the South resulted in disempowerment. “Targets” did not want this type of “development”. Consequently local people saw the need

to defend their “mechanisms and practices which they know best for survival in basic struggles such as those for land, power, and culture” (Fals-Borda, 2000:627)

The World Bank views PRA as the overarching name for a expanding “family of participatory approaches... that emphasize local knowledge and enable local people to make their own appraisal, ... The purpose of PRA is to enable development practitioners, government officials, and local people to work together to plan context-appropriate programs” (www.worldbank.org/wbi/sourcebook/sba104.htm).

The World Bank has also identified the following as key tenets of PRA:

- *Participation*: The ‘voice’ of local people is valuable and their input in the research process is important.
- *Teamwork*: Research is best conducted by a well-balanced team of local people and nationals or foreigners with a complementary mix of disciplinary backgrounds and experience.
- *Flexibility*: PRA does not provide blueprints for researchers. Techniques appropriate to particular development contexts are determined by variables such as: mix of PRA team, time and resources available as well as the topic and location of the study.
- *Optimal ignorance*: Effective utilization of funds and time implies that PRA research gathers just enough data necessary for making recommendations and decisions.
- *Triangulation*: PRA works with qualitative data. To ensure validity and reliability, at least three sources are consulted or techniques are used to investigate the same topics.

Another member in this “growing family of participatory approaches and methods” is used in Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD). Here the role of the community “*connector*” is identified as key to the process of connecting and mobilizing existing community assets. Susan Rans (2005:4) defines “*connectors*” as community members who know lots of people in the community. They have an important role to play in connecting different people and connecting people to assets within their “citizen space”, in other words; within their community or the space where neighbours interact and cooperate. These “connectors” offer valuable information about local people’s *SpaceTimes*¹¹. Fals-Borda cites Sachs’ expression of *SpaceTime* as the place “where people weave the present into their

¹¹ The phrase *SpaceTimes* was proposed by Wallerstein (1998) to understand the complexity of peoples’ situations arising from its historical roots in terms of space (where it happened) and time (when it happened).

particular thread of history” (Sachs 1992: 112 in Fals-Borda, 2000:627). “Connectors” can provide a clear understanding of people’s meaning-giving context; reducing the misunderstandings and miscommunication between researcher and participants by providing information on local affirmation, collective memory, and traditional practices.

It is also important to note that Participatory Rural Appraisal is not limited to rural settings, neither does it hold as prerequisite that development experts/researchers should hail from the local community.

PRA can be (and has been) adapted to urban settings as well. However, during PRA adaptation, consideration has to be given to the local contexts in order to clearly understand and communicate what people’s life-meanings are.

In terms of the criticisms against outsiders: Fals-Borda (2000: 630-632) suggests that development agencies/researchers promoting global social mechanisms (from the West) are not always met with opposition by local people in communities in the South.

He argues that people in the South are increasingly opening up to foreign innovative ideas that aim to contribute to the “good life” of local populations. His argument is based on four main points: *Firstly*, that assistance from North to South has increased and international institutions have shifted their development paradigm in a way that benefits the southern communities. (For example, the increased emphasis on sustainable development expressed by development agencies commitment to Agenda 21 and the MDGs.) *Secondly*, modern traits introduced into the South may not be completely rejected by locals. Through a process of “hybridity”, locals have assimilated certain technologies and innovations, especially in the use of electronic information networks. *Thirdly*, flexibility of concepts such as “participation, modernity and development” have allowed for them “to be deconstructed in order to rid them of those negative ideological characteristics which make them alien and damaging to the southern people.” However, in this regard care needs to be given that dominant agencies do not camouflage ideals of “participation” by attempting “incorporation and manipulation” techniques. *Fourthly*, the process of “hybridity” may not affect southern views of spirituality and mythical traditions, as these cultural beliefs and practices are still resilient and serve “to balance the materialism and instrumental reason carried along by destructive global agencies.” He concludes by stating that the most successful way to increase the quality of life of people in the south is to “convert cultural elements into political and economic actions.”

3.2 Justification for the Methodology

The Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) method has been applied in this case study based on the several strengths of this method (as has been explored in the preceding section). A few of the poignant reasons are highlighted below:

Firstly, there is a close link between the aim of PRA and that of the research itself, i.e. the empowerment of vulnerable people. PRA seeks to understand “development” by investigating what people’s understanding of development is. By facilitating a process of two-way learning, the research process serves to empower the participants; to allow for reflection on their actions and enable them to become active participants in their own development.

Commenting on the strength of PAR, (i.e. the overarching “family” name to which PRA belongs), Mouton (2001:151) states: “Where successful, the PAR involves participation and involvement on the part of subjects, which increases chances of high construct validity, low refusal rates and “ownership” of findings.”

Secondly, the PRA method has a strong focus on people’s participation in the research process. Given that Social Capital is both abstract and complex, this method (that encourages oral communication) proved useful in producing in-depth, thick descriptions of people’s understanding of their social assets as they experience it in their community. It also helped to keep the research process as transparent as possible. By participants’ involvement in the research process, they were able to foster an assurance of the purpose of the study as well as the researcher’s intent.

Thirdly, PRA techniques do not require participants to be literate. This made the PRA method very appealing, since the SCAGA members were all Xhosa-speakers with extremely limited reading and writing skills in English. Participants were able to communicate orally in their mother-tongue with the help of a Xhosa translator.

Fourthly, the PRA method provided equal opportunities for project beneficiaries, NGO development agents and local government officials to freely describe their perspectives on the role they play in the development process. The focus group discussions as well as the period of immersion provided a relaxed environment where participants could feel free to state their opinions.

Finally, PRA methods highlight the important role of “connectors” in empowering people. “Connectors” connect different people and provide clarity about a particular community’s

historical and cultural contexts. There was a prominent “connector” within the case study that the researcher was able to engage. This “connector” was both a SCAGA member and the core operations manager at AB. She knew lots of people and played an instrumental role in connecting local people to assets within the community.

3.3 Research Procedures

The researcher’s participation in the City of Cape Town’s Environmental Resource Management Department’s internship programme exposed her to the work done by that City Department’s newly established Sustainable Livelihoods and Greening Unit. Since all the local government officials were newly appointed to the recently established Unit, it was necessary to undertake a series of site visits to the various types of Sustainable Livelihoods projects and initiatives currently being supported, implemented and endorsed by the City. During this time, the researcher familiarised herself with Women and Environment Projects on the Cape Flats, which included the SCAGA initiative. The researcher also became acquainted with Abalimi Bezekhaya, the implementing NGO supporting SCAGA’s gardening activities on marginal City-owned land. AB is also a local partner in the Cape Town-Aachen Local Agenda 21 Partnership. Through participation in the LA 21 Partnership meetings and workshops, the researcher was able to observe the personal interactions between AB’s resource mobilisation manager and City officials.

Given that one of the most prominent features of Sustainable Livelihoods practice is *lesson-learning*, Sustainable Livelihoods assessments are an important output of the SL&G Unit’s work. The researcher saw an opportunity to synergize her own research objectives with those of the SL&G Unit’s in terms of their need for lesson-learning through SL assessments and the researcher’s study objectives.

Once the SL&G Unit manager and AB resource mobilisation manager gave their consent, the researcher was able to conduct the fieldwork phase of the study by following these research procedures¹²:

— *Introduction to the study*

First, CoCT: SL&G Unit and Abalimi Bezekhaya were informed of the intent to embark on a research study into the role of social capital in the creation of sustainable livelihoods. The

¹² These procedures did not always follow one after the other. Some steps overlapped and some were repeated. The research procedures stipulated in this section serve as a guide to identify the range of actions that took place during the fieldwork phase of the study.

usefulness of the research for the project beneficiaries, AB and CoCT: SL&G Unit was recognised and consent was given to go ahead with the study. The resource mobilisation manager of AB was helpful in identifying suitable projects to be investigated. The Siyazama Community Allotment Gardening Association was proposed. The researcher limited the study to focus only on SCAGA 1 & 2, given the limited resources and time at her disposal. Another reason for limiting the research to SCAGA 1 & 2 was because the remaining groups in the Gardening Association had not been working together for very long, and as such working relationships between beneficiaries were still new and forming; making it potentially very difficult to get a clear understanding of the nature of such newly formed groups' internal cohesion and connectedness. The researcher was introduced to AB fieldworkers and staff by the resource mobilisation manager and the fieldworkers introduced the researcher to the project beneficiaries at the respective food gardens.

— *Participant observation*

Second, the researcher engaged in a period of immersion at SCAGA 1 & 2 (observing project beneficiaries, gardening activities and training); at AB (observing fieldworker meetings and activities at the pack-shed); and at the CoCT: SL&G Unit (observing officials' interaction with partners, which includes AB and specifically AB's resource mobilisation manager). Field notes were kept, recording the observations made on how people interacted with one another in different settings. For example: SCAGA members and fieldworkers were observed during fieldworker meetings, while working in the gardens, at the Agri-planner training workshop, and at the pack-shed.

It is important to note here that at the same time that this study was being conducted, another researcher was also investigating one of AB's projects, viz. the *Harvest of Hope* project. This is a relatively new project¹³ which utilises a small pack shed close to AB's administrative offices in Philippi to collect, pack and deliver organic vegetable boxes to customers in Cape Town. Harvest of Hope offers regular income security to the community farmers (which include SCAGA 1 & 2); by contracting them to grow seasonal, organic produce at guaranteed prices. Customers (primarily families affiliated to affluent schools in Cape Town) sign up in advance to buy Harvest of Hope boxes.

Since there was an overlap in the research participants in both researchers' studies, some collaboration took place between the researchers. For example: during the immersion period

¹³ Harvest of Hope was launched in February 2008 as a special purpose project within Abalimi Bezekhaya

the researcher observed a SWOT analysis of the Harvest of Hope project which was facilitated by the other researcher with all the fieldworkers, including those fieldworkers that work with SCAGA 1 & 2. A list of the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats raised in the SWOT analysis was compiled and used to gain a better understanding of how the various AB project interlink.

The participants' contributions in this SWOT analysis were important to guide the researcher in understanding the Bridging Social Capital between the various Sustainable Livelihoods initiatives, while serving as a reflective learning experience for participants by stimulating discussion and enthusiasm. It also helped to guide the focus group probes.

Unlike the researcher's period of immersion at AB which was limited and periodic, the immersion period at the CoCT: SL&G Unit was continuous and uninterrupted. The researcher was able to observe the day-to-day activities of colleagues in various settings, such as meetings; workshops; and strategic planning sessions, amongst others.

— *Document Review*

Third, the researcher reviewed documents from the City (such as Memoranda of Understanding; minutes of meetings, newsletters, City policies, etc.) and documents from AB (such as minutes of various meetings, research reports, newsletters and evaluation reports).

— *Focus Groups*

Fourth, the researcher facilitated four focus group discussions. The focus group discussions with AB management team and CoCT: SL&G Unit team was facilitated by the researcher in English. The discussion was recorded using a dictaphone and transcribed. The focus group discussion with AB management dealt with three themes: *external networks*, *trust* and *civic norms*. The focus group discussion with the CoCT: SL&G Unit centred on two main themes: *partnerships* (referring to collaborations with other organisations) and *influence* (referring specifically to the role of AB in City partnerships).

Given that Xhosa is the first language of all the project beneficiaries, focus group discussions at SCAGA 1 & 2 were facilitated by a Xhosa-speaking translator while the researcher only observed. The researcher did however engage in a 10-week SAQA accredited Introductory Conversational Xhosa Course prior to the focus group session. The course also included a module on Xhosa culture. The knowledge and language skill acquired through this course,

although limited, was valuable in helping the researcher establish rapport with participants and to better understand non-verbal communication of participants.

The focus group probes were used only as a questioning framework to stimulate and direct discussions¹⁴. For example: at SCAGA 1 & 2 probes around Bonding SC and Sustainable Livelihoods allowed participants to speak freely within the broad themes, which included the following questions:

Networks: *“How would you describe your relationship with one another?”*

Trust: *“Do you trust one another to do their part of the work well?”*

Civic Norms: *“In what ways do you help each other?”*

Voluntary Association: *“What does it mean to be a part of this project?”*

Coping mechanisms: *“How does being a part of this project add value to your life and to the lives of those you live with?”*

Piloting of key focus group questions was deemed unnecessary because of the sharing of information that took place between both researchers studying the SCAGA initiative and the Harvest of Hope initiative. As mentioned earlier (on page 53 & 54), a SWOT analysis was conducted amongst the project beneficiaries. Similar questions were raised which related to Bridging Social Capital and Sustainable Livelihoods Strategies of project beneficiaries.

Also, the researcher engaged in a period of immersion at the organization, where she observed participants and become acquainted with the daily functions of the organization. This period of immersion allowed the researcher to pose some questions within the Focus Group Probing Framework to certain project beneficiaries during informal conversation. This was done with the help of a translator.

— Feedback Sessions

After translating and transcribing the SCAGA focus group discussions, a feedback session was held with fieldworkers. They were asked to talk about how they experienced working with the SCAGA members and the researcher also relayed SCAGA members' experiences as recorded during the focus group sessions. In this way the researcher was able to cross-check for contextual correctness of information and offered fieldworkers the opportunity to reflect on their work. The researcher also contributed preliminary findings on the focus group

¹⁴ Refer to Appendix C for copies of each of the focus group questioning frameworks.

discussions at SCAGA 1 & 2. Fieldworkers were given an opportunity to collaborate on those findings.

It is important to note that this evaluation exercise in itself may also contribute to the creation of Social Capital as participants share their individual perspectives with one another.

After the feedback session with the fieldworkers, another feedback session was held with the SCAGA members, where the researchers' findings were presented and participants were given the opportunity to comment and reflect on the findings, with the intention of providing a spring-board to be used by the project beneficiaries to actively engage in refining the ways in which they achieve their project objectives – and in so doing, improve their Sustainable Livelihoods outcomes.

— *Recording the data*

The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework was used as an analytical tool to examine data collected using the participant observation and document review techniques mentioned above. Textual data, based on the researcher's subjective field notes and summaries made while observing participants and reviewing documentation was grouped together using the five units of analysis stipulated in the SL Framework, i.e. analysis of context, assets, institutions, strategies and outcomes (see Fig 5). Once this was completed, an in-dept investigation was undertaken focusing on two out of the five units of analysis, viz.: Analysis of Strategies and Analysis of Assets, as these directly relate to the aim of this research.

In terms of the Analysis of Assets, the investigation focused exclusively on Social Capital, subdividing this asset into its three forms, viz.: Bonding, Bridging and Linking SC. Indicators were developed for each of these by drawing on previous research as outlined in chapter two. Probing questions were then developed around each indicator and participants were allowed to voice their views freely within these broad themes. Their main points raised in the focus groups and feedback sessions were highlighted and clustered around these indicators/themes.

With regard to the Analysis of Strategies, SL strategies were probed using two broad questions relating to (i) current coping mechanisms and (ii) possible future improvements. Participants' views that emerged from the discussion around these themes were grouped by highlighting their portfolio of activities for making a living as stated in the focus group transcriptions. The main points raised by participants were clustered around these two broad themes.

The main points under Bonding SC and SL Strategies were then collated using a Venn diagram to show how elements of each overlap.

Once translated and transcribed, focus group participants' views were analysed by grouping together prevalent commonalities within the text; such as repeated words, patterns in ideas and the hesitation in participants' speech. Non-verbal communication was also taken into consideration, for instance, the facilitator would encourage quieter participants to speak and manage verbally dominant participants. Facial expressions and general attitude toward the data collection process was also noted. For instance, the women at SCAGA 1 were very jovial and even though the dictaphone seemed strange to some, the ladies showed great interest and readily handled it while they made their contributions. However, the men at SCAGA 2 seemed apprehensive about the dictaphone and did not readily handle it. Their contributions were short and they regularly hesitated in their speech. Their tone of voice was formal and their contributions were rather repetitive.

The researcher's preliminary findings were taken back to the fieldworkers (including the community "connector"/core operation manager/SCAGA 1 gardener) to cross-check its validity. Unfortunately the other two AB managers were unable to attend this feedback session. During the feedback session, copies of the focus group transcriptions were first given to participants to study; to enable them to voice their understanding on project beneficiaries' statements and also comment on the researcher's preliminary findings. Through an open discussion, the researcher and participants compiled a list of agreed upon findings. These findings were taken back to the project beneficiaries for them to reflect on and hopefully it will act as a catalyst for new ideas about how they can improve their livelihoods strategies. The researcher used these findings to draw conclusions on the role of Bonding SC

Transcripts from focus group discussions dealing with Bridging SC and Linking SC were organised separately, but in the same way as Bonding SC – clustering participants' main points around the specifically developed indicators.

3.4 Limitations of the Methodology

No research methodology is without flaws and this includes the PRA method. Even exponents of PRA agree that there are limits to this method. For instance, Robert Chambers acknowledges the political nature of participatory methods that in itself tends to affect local power dynamics. He says that although much attention is given to participation and community involvement, in the end "a stronger person wants to change things for a person

who is weaker. From this paternal trap there is no complete escape” (Chambers, 1983). Other analysts, such as Diane Rocheleau have summarized limits to participatory methods on the grounds that it simply does not work; that it exposes the need of communities to be managed by development agencies, and that it is a tool of cooptation into neo-liberal development agendas (Rocheleau in Cooke & Korathi, 2001).

Other limitations to participatory methods refer to ethical challenges as pointed out by Manzo & Brightbill: “Participation will not, in and of itself, make research ‘ethical’; the approach can be developed to support a researcher’s pre-existing agenda, or to further the interests of a particular group.” The following ethical issues are also highlighted (Manzo & Brightbill, 2007: 39):

- Participant anonymity cannot be guaranteed in community group work;
- Giving participants a voice can reveal “survival strategies” to those that oppress them;
- Shared control over the research process “creates ethical conundrums that emerge throughout the process and are not easily predicted at the outset.”

In addition to these flaws, the role of the community “connector” may have contributed either negatively or positively to the research process. It was not possible to ask individuals privately if they thought the “connector” followed an unbiased process in connecting different people and connecting people to assets. Given the power that “connectors” have in directing resources, the possibility for abuse of that power is also present.

3.5 Conclusion

This section has described the design and methodology applied in the study. The researcher used the Participatory Rural Appraisal method, which is part of a family of Participatory Action Research methods. This choice of methodology was based primarily on similarities between the aim of the method and that of the study itself.

An overview of this methodology was presented, highlighting the strengths of the PRA method as well as the research procedures followed in the study. Finally, the limitations of the methodology were stressed.

Chapter Four

Research Findings

4.1 Introduction

This chapter illustrates the application of the empirical research design and methodology. It provides a clear presentation of the research procedures engaged in by the researcher. Data presentations and analysis will proceed as follows:

First a Sustainable Livelihoods Assessment of SCAGA 1 & 2 is presented using the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework as a tool for analysis (refer to Fig. 5 on p. 28). Research findings are first presented diagrammatically using the SLF. This is followed by a summary of the five units of analysis that were examined, viz.: Contextual Analysis; Analysis of Assets; Analysis of Institutions; Analysis of Strategies and Analysis of Outcomes (refer to sections 4.2.1 & 4.2.2). Data was gathered using various techniques in order to compile this assessment. These techniques include: document reviews and participant observations.

Next, two important units of analysis were investigated in depth, using the focus group and feedback session techniques, without of course disregarding relevant data collected using participant observation and document review techniques. These two units of analysis have been emphasised as they relate directly to the overarching purpose of the research study. They are: Analysis of Assets and Analysis of Strategies. With regard to the Analysis of Strategies, the investigation focused exclusively on coping mechanisms of project participants. In terms of the Analysis of Assets, the investigation focused exclusively on the Social Capital asset illustrated in the Assets Pentagon. In order to provide a comprehensive understanding on Social Capital, the concept was subdivided into its three forms, viz. Bonding, Bridging and Linking Social Capital. These were examined at different levels within the case study network and thus each type of Social Capital is presented separately in this section. The data from the focus group transcriptions¹⁵ is the primary source supporting the Social Capital findings.

¹⁵ Refer to Appendix D: Focus group transcriptions

Bonding Social Capital is analysed first as it is of particular interest in examining the ability of SCAGA 1 & SCAGA 2 to work together as a collective toward a common goal (Grant, 2001). Besides citing participants' contributions in the focus group discussions, Bonding Social Capital findings are also presented using two graphical representations. First cluster cloud diagrams are used to highlight the common topics raised in the focus group discussion at SCAGA 1 & 2. Then a Venn diagram is used to illustrate the overlap of Social Capital topics and Sustainable Livelihoods topics.

Finally Bridging and Linking Social Capital findings are presented using mainly focus group transcriptions.

4.2 Sustainable Livelihoods Assessment

The Sustainable Livelihoods Assessment aims to give an overview of SCAGA 1 & SCAGA 2 by drawing primarily from data collected in the field using participant observation and document review techniques. Each Sustainable Livelihoods Assessment is first graphically represented, followed by an explanation of each unit of analysis.

4.2.1 SCAGA

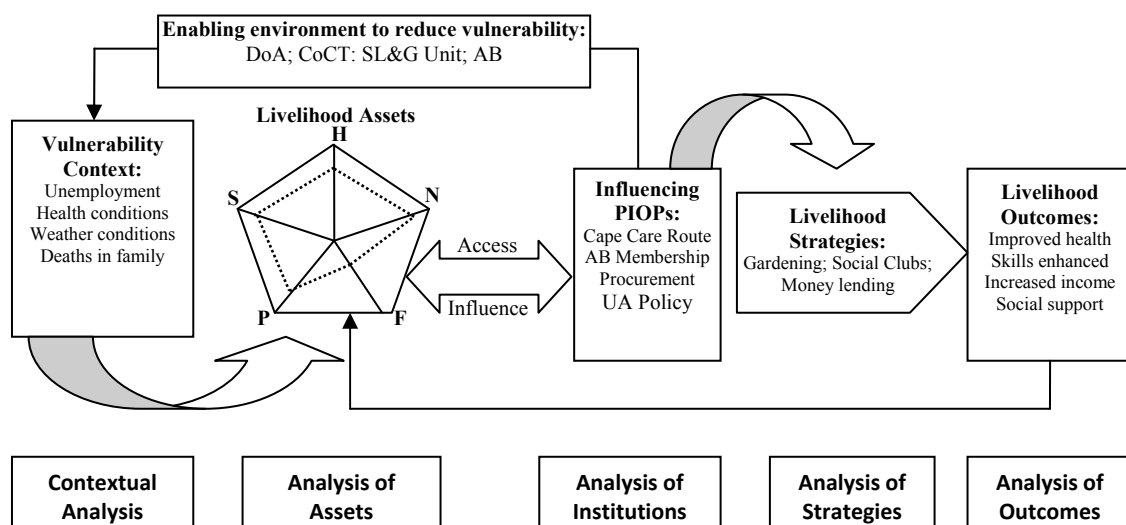


Fig. 8: SCAGA 1 - Sustainable Livelihoods Assessment
 Source: Adapted from SLF and data collected in the field

— Contextual Analysis

The SCAGA 1 group members consist of seven (7) middle-aged to elderly Xhosa mothers and grandmothers, originating primarily from the Eastern Cape Province but who now live in the Khayelitsha township. They all have limited formal education and were all previously disadvantaged under the previous Apartheid regime.

The women share religious and cultural traditions which are manifested in the way they cook and eat traditional foods; in the way they sing hymns and prayer together; and in the way they uphold traditional roles of women by taking care of their grandchildren.

In response to the problem of *unemployment* affecting local people within their community, the women have come together to pool their abilities/resources and create meaningful work by growing and selling organic vegetables at SCAGA 1. Some of the women receive a government pension in addition to income from the garden, while others are also dependent on the livelihood strategies of fellow household members who either have formal employment or who generate an income in the informal business sector. For some of the women however, the money generated from the sale of vegetables from the garden is their only source of income.

The aging women also have to deal with changes in *health conditions* related to aging and food/nutritional insecurity. They have also voiced concern over the health trend within the broader community where people are dying of AIDS related illnesses. The women offer support to people living with AIDS by providing them with either fresh vegetables or a cooked meal.

Extreme *weather conditions*, such as the annual flash floods typical of winter conditions in urban townships on the Cape Flats, also pose a threat to the garden. Group members do not work in rainy weather because it is not necessary to water their gardens when it rains and because of the potential risk of getting ill from working in those conditions. On the other hand, the rainy season allows them to collect rain water from the roof of the SCAGA 1 office building which is stored in rain water tanks and used when needed. In this way the water from their bore hole is used more judiciously.

Deaths of family members are shocks that threaten group members' resilience in overcoming poverty. This shock is three-fold: firstly, the death of a family member implies the loss of an income, if that family member was also a breadwinner in the household; secondly, the death of a family member implies increased expenses to pay for funerals, including burial, food for guests and travelling expenses to the Eastern Cape and last, but not least, the death of a family member results in emotional heartache which could leave a grieving group member completely debilitated and unable to work.

— *Analysis of Assets*

A look at the assets pentagon in the SLF illustrates that the women have extensive access to natural, human, physical and social capital, while their financial capital is relatively low.

Assets that were observed include the following:

Natural assets: arable land, bore-hole and rain water, compost, seedlings, vegetables

Physical assets: roads, office building, gardening implements and storage shed/container, garden centres and utility vehicle (bakkie)

Human assets: applied knowledge and skill obtained from the Agri-planner Course, indigenous knowledge, life experience, gardening capabilities, good health and occasional assistance from volunteers

Social assets: social clubs, money lending schemes, funeral schemes, friendship circles, and relationships with a community “connector” as well as with development agencies, including DoA; CoCT: SL&G Unit and AB. It is also important to note here that the women have very close friendship bonds with one another and regard each other as family. They work well together and enjoy spending time together at work in the garden. They are also interested and acquainted each other’s personal and/family life.

Financial assets: income from the sale of vegetables, financial savings from not having to purchase vegetables elsewhere, pensions, government grants and reliance on family members’ income. By promoting its various food gardening initiatives, AB has also made it possible for the women to benefit from financial donations from tourists – a financial asset now available to them as a direct result of their SCAGA membership.

— *Analysis of Institutions*

SCAGA 1 has been identified by an evaluation panel (consisting of the CoCT, Cape Town Tourism, Cape Town Routes Unlimited and the Civil Society City-Wide Forum) as a tourist destination on the Cape Care Route – a local tourism initiative that showcases projects that promote sustainable development in a practical way. They benefit from donations made by visiting tourists.

SCAGA 1 members need to present certain criteria and follow certain *procurement procedures* when obtaining compost and other gardening essential support from organisations and institutions such as the DoA and AB.

SCAGA 1 members' *AB membership* status gives them access to gardening essentials at reduced prices from AB's garden centres/nurseries located in Khayelitsha and Nyanga. Community gardens on City-owned land such as SCAGA 1 can also benefit from AB membership by receiving AB support with planning, capital developments, installation of plant and equipment, training, soil inputs and plants, as well as follow-up support over an initial three year period.

SCAGA 1 is also affected by various City processes, with the City's procurement systems being of greatest importance as it affects when and how funds can be made available to outsource capacitated organisations (e.g. AB) who can implement development initiatives in local communities. Influencing City policies include the Integrated Development Plan (IDP); the Integrated Metropolitan Environmental Policy (IMEP) and, more specifically, the Urban Agriculture Policy (UAP) for the City of Cape Town all affect the execution of SCAGA 1 objectives.

In terms of the institutional framework of the UAP, the Urban Agricultural Unit (UAU) housed in the CoCT: Directorate for Economic and Human Development and which is linked to relevant internal and external partners will serve as (a) a clearing house for all urban agricultural development assistance rendered by the City; and (b) a mechanism to align and coordinate the development efforts of all role players.

SCAGA 1 members can access these services and development assistance from the UAU through the following channels:

Channel 1: UAU —————→ *Urban Farmers*

The UAU can interface directly with beneficiaries and play the lead role as facilitator.

Channel 2: UAU —————→ *Urban Agricultural Resource Centre* —————→ *Urban Farmers*

The UAU can render assistance through the (to be) established Agricultural Resource Centres

Channel 3: UAU —————→ *Internal Departments* —————→ *Urban Farmers*

The UAU can utilize other internal departments to interface with beneficiaries and to act as lead facilitators or project managers. This means that any internal department can initiate and implement a project or render a support service as long as it has been cleared by the UAU.

Channel 4: UAU —————→ *External Government Agents* —————→ *Urban Farmers*

The UAU can utilize and/or cooperate with any external government agent to render assistance to urban farmers. These would include the national and regional departments of Agriculture, Health, Education, Poverty Alleviation, etc.

Channel 5: UAU → NGOs → Urban Farmers

NGOs can be utilized through material support to the NGO itself or to utilize the NGO as a project manager or service provider to beneficiaries.

Channel 6: UAU → Private Firms → Urban Farmers

The UAU can contract a private company to implement a project or render certain support services such as advice, construction of infrastructure, marketing, etc. Private sector initiatives or projects can also be supported through this channel.

— *Analysis of Strategies*

The women of SCAGA 1 engage in a variety of livelihood strategies. These include: planting organic vegetables for both consumption and for sale at the various locally established markets. Even though they work together as a collective unit, they receive individual incomes which are deposited into their personal bank accounts.

In addition to the incomes generated from the garden, the women also get sporadic income from the donations made by visiting tourists.

The women also engage in social clubs, money lending schemes and funeral schemes. However, their incomes are very low and they often also rely on the livelihood strategies of fellow household members to supplement their meager income.

— *Analysis of Outcomes*

SCAGA 1 members have increased their gardening skills and have broadened their knowledge through the training and support provided by AB. They have become acquainted with new technologies in sustainable, organic agriculture that preserves the environment, while also supplementing their household income. The women of SCAGA 1 also see the project as a place of fellowship, thus the group in itself is a positive outcome, relating to the social support that they now have at their disposal.

Some of the women have even commented on the health benefits that they have derived from participating in the project. This could be linked to the consumption of organic vegetables as well as the gardening activity itself which offers gardeners a stress release mechanism.

The women have indicated that they would like to improve their current coping mechanisms by acquiring better gardening attire, by starting a seasonal soup kitchen and sewing group; while the community “connector” (who is also a member of SCAGA 1) has highlighted a catering kitchen; the appointment of a caretaker; and the launch of a crèche as possible future improvements.

4.2.2 SCAGA 2

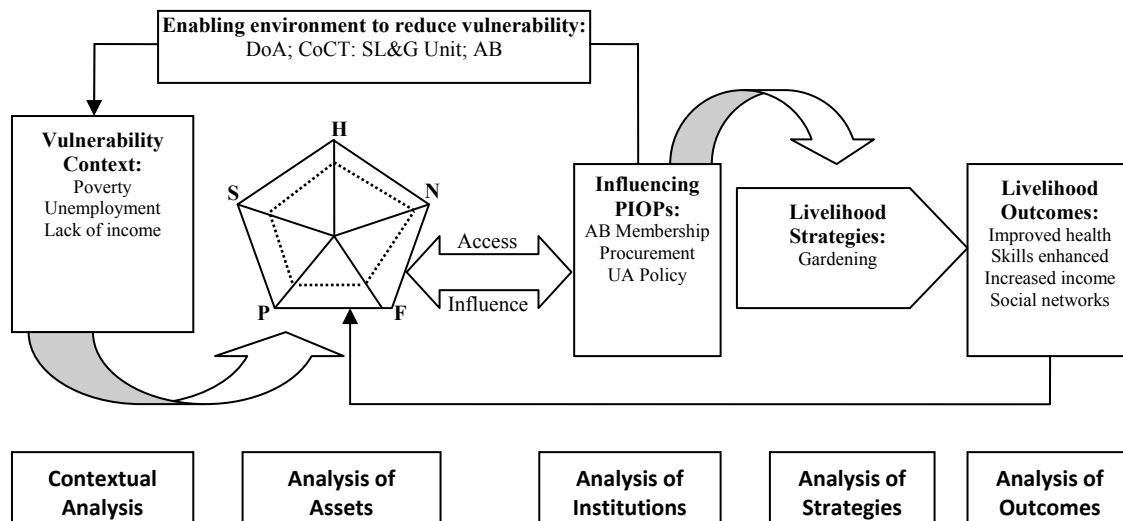


Fig. 9: SCAGA 2 - Sustainable Livelihoods Assessment
 Source: Adapted from SLF and data collected in the field

— Contextual Analysis

The SCAGA 2 group members consist of four (4) young, middle-aged to elderly Xhosa fathers and grandfathers, originating primarily from the Eastern Cape Province but who now live in the Khayelitsha township. They all have limited formal education and were all previously disadvantaged under the previous Apartheid regime.

The four men had previously been members of a larger group of vegetable farmers. This group was known as “Eden” and consisted of about 25 Xhosa men from different age groups. “Eden” planted vegetables illegally in a wetland area close to Somerset West, Cape Town. They would sell their vegetables to the local community, transporting their produce in wheelbarrows. The community “connector” came to hear about their efforts and their challenges; the latter included extensive crop loss each time it flooded or when grazing cows would destroy their vegetable gardens. To prevent seedlings going wasted, the “connector” would donate AB Garden Centres’ excess seedlings to the “Eden” group.

Once the marginal land adjacent to the SCAGA 1 garden became available, the community “connector” approached this group of vegetable farmers, inviting them to come and utilise the available land for urban agriculture. Only four men splintered away from the main group and, under the guidance and support of the community “connector”, these men formed the “New Eden” group which has since become known as SCAGA 2.

The men have forged a formal, business relationship in order to address the unpredictable and unavoidable changes in their environment. Their work is governed by an agreed upon constitution which promotes their productivity.

These fathers have identified *poverty*, *unemployment* and a need for a *steady income* as the core reasons for coming together and working hard to plant and sell their vegetables so as to provide for their families.

As previously discussed, *poverty* is a complex concept, associated with real feelings of powerlessness; vulnerability; isolation/exclusion; and physical weakness, the culmination of which makes it nearly impossible to escape a state of deprivation. The formation of the SCAGA 2 group was catalysed by the community “connector”. Since its formation, the men have used the group as a mechanism to overcome poverty.

The men have also made reference to how the group has enabled them to address the frustration of *unemployment* by providing them with meaningful work – which does more than provide a *steady income*, but affords them other psychological benefits of work as well, such as personal empowerment, increased self-confidence, increased social status and a sense of achievement by reaching self-set goals and making a contribution to the betterment of their own lives. They achieved their self-set goal, as stated by one of the men: “So, it was a small place and our ambition was to get a bigger place so that we can provide for our families. And we got this place.” (refer to Appendix D – Focus Group Transcriptions)

Other environmental changes include extreme weather conditions and natural pestilence or disease that could negatively affect their crops.

— *Analysis of Assets*

The Asset Pentagon shows that SCAGA 2 has access to a high level of human and natural assets; a moderate level of bonding social capital and physical capital and a relatively high level of financial capital. Examples of these assets are listed below:

Natural assets: arable land, compost, seedlings, bore-hole and rain water

Human assets: applied knowledge of Agri-planner Courses, indigenous knowledge, life experience, gardening experience, good health and occasional assistance from volunteers

Physical assets: roads, office building, gardening implements, storage shed/container, garden centre, utility vehicle (bakkie)

Financial assets: government pensions and grants, money from sale of vegetables that is deposited into the group's bank account, income from livelihood strategies of other household members and financial savings from not having to purchase vegetables for consumption

Social assets: “weak ties” between group members and between SCAGA 1 & 2; networks with development agencies including AB, DoA, CoCT: SL&G Unit as well as a good relationship with the community “connector”.

— *Analysis of Institutions*

SCAGA 2's access to assets is influenced by all the PIOPs mentioned in the SCAGA 1 Sustainable Livelihoods Assessment. However, SCAGA 2 is not part of the Cape Care Route and thus would not benefit from donations made by visiting tourists.

The men also highlighted the important co-ordinating function fulfilled by the fieldworker from AB who assists the group in becoming aware of new opportunities that they could be used to the group's advantage. For example, the fieldworker informs the group of upcoming opportunities, e.g. Agri-planner training courses.

— *Analysis of Strategies*

SCAGA 2 is focused exclusively on their gardening activities, working closely with AB and other organisations that offer them assistance in their plight to make a successful business out of their gardening venture. They sell most of the vegetables and also allocate some of their produce for consumption at home. The community “connector” however, has noticed that vegetables from the area allocated for consumption has been increasingly sold at the local markets and not eaten.

The men work in the garden from 8:30am until 4:30pm and they even work over weekends. The vegetables are sold at various local markets and they also produce vegetables for sale via the Harvest of Hope project.

Finally, the men do not make loans from their group income. If someone needs to make a personal loan; an advanced payment is given to all four members. In other words: they would

withdraw the loan amount requested multiplied by four, so that each person receives the same amount.

— *Analysis of Outcomes*

SCAGA 2 has been working together on the plot adjacent to SCAGA 1 since the beginning of this year. They have increased both their entrepreneurial and gardening skills as well as their knowledge of the use of contemporary environmentally friendly technologies in sustainable, organic agriculture by applying skills acquired from participating in the Agri-Planner course.

Some men have commented on the health benefits of participating in the gardening project. This could be linked to the consumption of fresh, organic vegetables and the activity of gardening itself.

Some men have also indicated the psychological benefits of meaningful work that they now enjoy as a result of participating in the gardening association. For example, some men expressed a sense of empowerment. This is substantiated by participants stating that: “There is no ‘baas’, there is no employer, we are the employers.” and “It teaches us ...to be independent...that you are your own boss.” (Appendix D: Focus Group Transcriptions)

4.3 Focus Group Analysis

The focus group discussions¹⁶ along with the subsequent feedback sessions were the main sources of information gathered on Bonding, Bridging and Linking Social Capital. These will be represented individually by means of a Social Capital cluster cloud diagram. In the case of SCAGA 1 & 2, Sustainable Livelihoods cluster cloud diagrams will also be used to illustrate participants’ opinions on specific Sustainable Livelihoods aspects that were raised in the focus group discussions. Cluster cloud diagrams have been used as a way to structure the outcome of the focus group discussions and visualize the main commonalities expressed by the group. These main commonalities are illustrated in a grey font in all cluster cloud diagrams.

The main points highlighted in the Sustainable Livelihoods cluster cloud for SCAGA 1 & 2 will be linked with the main points highlighted in the Bonding Social Capital cluster cloud by way of a Venn diagram. In this way a graphical representation will be provided of the overlapping elements of Bonding SC and SL strategies.

¹⁶ Refer to Appendix C for copies of focus group questioning frameworks

SCAGA 1 & SCAGA 2 focus group discussions dealt with two main sections, viz.: Bonding Social Capital and Sustainable Livelihoods. Under the Bonding Social Capital section, four probes were asked to stimulate discussion around the following Bonding SC themes, viz.:

- Networks / Connections with one another
- Voluntary Association / Belonging to the group
- Trust / Dependence on one another
- Civic Norms / The way you treat one another

Under the Sustainable Livelihoods section, two probes were asked to stimulate discussion around the following SL themes, viz.:

- Current Coping mechanisms / How do people cope with changes
- Possible Future improvements / How can the project be improved

In addition to the cluster cloud diagrams, inserts from the participants' contributions in focus group discussions will also be highlighted in boxes.

The AB focus group discussion dealt with Bridging SC and probes steered the discussion in three directions:

- External networks / level of engagement with external partners
- Trust / ability to work together as a collective and to collaborate with others
- Civic Norms / norms that facilitate constructive interaction and reflect the level of accessibility to organisation

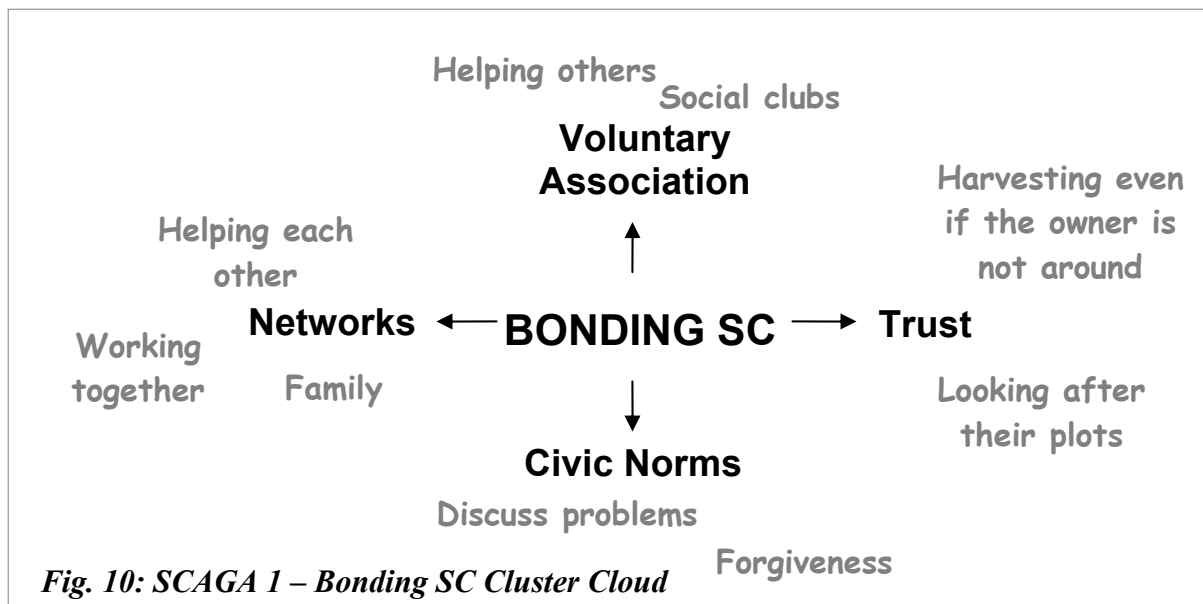
Additional information on Bonding SC and SL strategies at SCAGA 1 & 2 were also gleaned from this focus group discussion.

The CoCT: SL&G Unit focus group discussion dealt with Linking SC and probes steered the focus group discussion as follows:

- Partnerships / describing the experiences engaging with external partners
- Influence / describing AB role with City partnerships

4.3.1 SCAGA 1

The diagram below depicts the main points (in the grey font) that came to the fore during the Bonding Social Capital section of the focus group discussions at SCAGA 1.



The main points under *Networks* that were noted from the translated and transcribed focus group discussions include the following and are depicted in Box 1:

— **Family**

“Here we live as if we are from the same mother.”

“Here I am very happy because...I had a problem last year...it was like my parents came when these mothers came from the gardens...I said: ‘Oh, I even have parents in Cape Town.’ Because when they came, they saw the pain that I was in and it lessened.”

“We are even cooking! Vegetables, coffee, we drink and have fun.”

“There are a lot of things we have learnt because of our *sibanye* [togetherness]”

— **Helping each other**

“Yes, in our group, if one of us has a ...problem at home – like if your child has lost her job and there is nothing or there is no money for her to look for a job...yes, they were getting vegetables, but we were lending them the money that we have.”

“We are here because of poverty and because we saw that our children are struggling at school. And we told ourselves that we’re going to give everything for this garden and plant. And yes, we are planting and our children are getting help.”

— **Working together**

“We help each other by looking after their plots and irrigate and put water and make sure that those plants get enough water all the time.”

“Everything that needs to be harvested we get a list of what we going to harvest ... Whoever has, we harvest from their gardens and we help each other by harvesting...”

“We are two different things – the one is [planting for] the market and the other side is [planting as a project of] Abalimi.”

Box 1: SCAGA 1 –Bonding SC (Networks theme)
 Source: Focus group transcription

The main points under *Voluntary Association* that were noted from the translated and transcribed focus group discussions include the following and are depicted in Box 2:

- Helping others: which refers to the group’s relationship with the community
- Social clubs: which refers to group membership

— ***Helping others***

“The other thing: we are helping sick people. We are giving them food from the garden. The other people that were kicked out of their houses and beaten; we distributed vegetables to the halls for them to eat.”

“One other thing is that if we can leave this garden we’ll be letting a lot of people down. Because a lot of people are sick, so they need these vegetables that we are planting. They can’t eat anything besides these vegetables. So we are helping those people by planting. If you can leave here we will be killing them. We’ve got to come here to the garden.”

“Those from that garden [referring to SCAGA 2] – is the other group. They are borrowing our wheelbarrows. They were borrowing everything for working from us.”

— ***Social clubs***

“We like it here. We have social groups and funeral plans.”

“People were able to get money from us as a group. We were lending money to people so they can buy food for their children at home. And when they got paid, they give the money back. Now it is difficult, because we don’t have enough. Even the money that we are getting is going straight to our banks and from there to our homes. But we don’t have that problem at the moment.”

Box 2: SCAGA 1 – Bonding SC (Voluntary Association theme)
Source: Focus group transcriptions

The main points under *Trust* that were noted from the translated and transcribed focus group discussions include the following:

- Harvesting others’ crops in their absence: which indicates the level of honesty within the group
- Looking after their own plots: which indicates the degree to which fellow group members can depend on each other to accomplish their collective goal

— ***Harvesting others' crops***

“Whoever has, we harvest from their garden and we help each other by harvesting even if the owner is not around, we harvest from her garden....We count their things and weigh them, because we weigh some of them so that we can write down that we harvest this much from so-and-so's plot. Even the money, when it comes, she gets it because there is no one who says that we have not harvested your plot [because] your vegetables were not ripe.”

— ***Looking after their plots***

“This side we have some plots that we are looking after. Everyone is taking care of her own plot.”

“Even if the garden is mine or yours, we work together in one garden.”

“...everyone has her own plot that she is ploughing and when it's ready we harvest and write it and send it to be sold on Tuesdays.”

Box 3: SCAGA 1 – Bonding SC (Trust theme)

Source: Focus group transcriptions

The main points under *Civic Norms* that were noted from the translated and transcribed focus group discussions include:

- Problem-solving: which reflects the ability of the group to resolve differences in a constructive manner; it also reflects the level of teamwork within the group
- Forgiveness: which reflects the group members' desire to preserve their relationships

— ***Problem-solving***

“Even if a person is hurt, no we solve that thing.”

“In December some are going home and others will be left behind. There is going to be three of us that will be left behind, we will look after their gardens and the market. There's nothing dirty that's going to disturb us.”

— ***Forgiveness***

“We sit down and talk and ask for forgiveness. If you've done something wrong I'll ask you to forgive me. Because there is no way that you can't make mistakes. Yes, we work together very well.”

“We forgive one another and be happy. We work, we cook, we work.”

Box 4: SCAGA 1 – Bonding SC (Civic norms theme)

Source: Focus group transcriptions

The diagram below depicts the main points (in the grey font) that came to the fore during the *Sustainable Livelihoods Strategies* section of the focus group discussions at SCAGA 1:



The main points under “*Current coping mechanisms*” that were noted from the translated and transcribed focus group discussions include: gardening activities, pensions, donations, social clubs, money lending and training. These are depicted in Box 5:

— ***Gardening activities***

“We really like this; ...we don’t have another place that we are working at. This is our job.”
 “...things that I should’ve bought from the stand I get from my garden. I’m not buying it.”
 ...even if my husband does not work for the whole week, I sell 3 bunches of spinach and when I get home I buy electricity and ...no one is fighting because there is no money.”
 ‘... I like it here in this garden...now that I’m here, I don’t get sick the way I used to before when I was still staying in the township doing nothing...now I’m here, I don’t have stress.”

— ***Pensions***

“I’m getting an old age grant, but it’s not helping...when there is no one working at home.”

— ***Donations***

“...we even get white visitors from overseas. They come here...and they give us something, whatever it is.”

— ***Social clubs***

“We like it here. We have social groups and funeral plans.”

— ***Money lending***

“This is really helpful when you are in trouble. They lend you money in this project.”

— ***Training***

“I’ve learnt how to plant... I was not able to do. And now I know how to do.”

Box 5: SCAGA 1 – Sustainable Livelihoods Strategies (Current coping mechanisms)
 Source: Focus group transcriptions

The main points under “*Possible future improvements*” that were noted from the translated and transcribed focus group discussions include: a soup kitchen, sewing group and better gardening attire. These are depicted in Box 6:

— ***Soup Kitchen***

“If we could have another way, we could have soup. So we can sell to the people in the garden and to the school close by.

— ***Sewing group***

“...I wish we could have materials and machines so that when it’s raining, when we can’t go to the garden, we can sew. And we can teach each other how to sew.”

— ***Gardening Attire***

“We are working in old takkies [sport shoes]. The following morning you can’t wear those takkies because they are wet. We get these things we are wearing from our children. When your child is not wearing it, you just take it and wear it.”

Box 6: SCAGA 1 – Sustainable Livelihoods Strategies (Possible future improvements)

Source: Focus group transcriptions

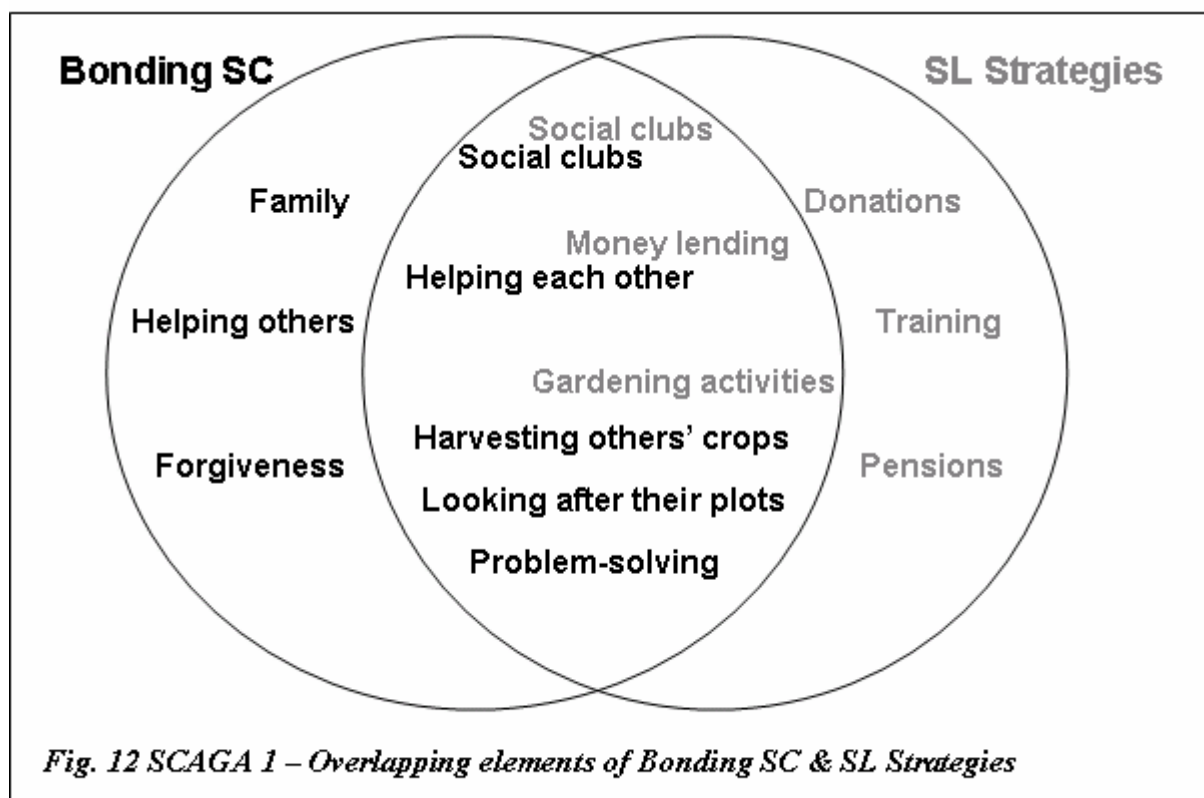
In addition to the focus groups, the feedback sessions with the fieldworkers revealed the following perspectives:

- SCAGA 1 members trust one another and always consider one another’s “feelings”. Their level of social cohesion is very high, but they still offer help to outsiders on a regular basis; sharing both their knowledge and produce with the broader community. However, there is a tendency to exclude new-comers trying to enter the group.
- The women have benefitted from consuming their organically produced vegetables and herbs and some women claim a significant decrease in chronic high blood pressure since joining the gardening association.
- SCAGA 1 members had insufficient capacity to manage their finances as a group, hence money from vegetable sales are now deposited into individual member’s bank accounts. This has reduced the group’s ability to engage in money lending schemes. The decision to make individual payments was taken as a result of inadequate record-keeping of daily sales and donations received, with money either disappearing or being shared in an inequitable manner amongst certain group members. However, the decision to deposit money into individual bank accounts has not done much to improve their financial management skills, as the women withdraw all their money as soon as it is deposited and no money is saved. On the other hand, this practice could

be due to the women’s belief that they will lose their government pension or grant if they have more than a certain amount of money in their account.

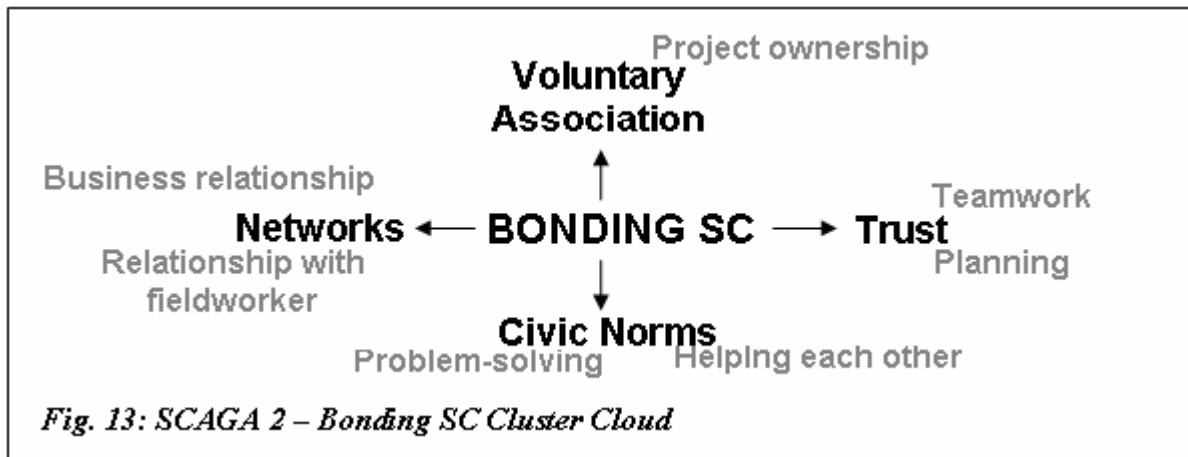
- The women also have insufficient capacity to engage in future endeavours such as the idea proposed by the community “connector” of establishing a catering kitchen. They are also unwilling to welcome new members on board who have the capacity to engage in such endeavours.
- Finally, there also seems to be a limited level of leadership within the group coupled with the desire to maintain the current structure and scope of the project. Members not shown a desire to expand the project; they seem happy socialising, and enjoy eating together; even though they only make the little money that they do.

The Venn diagram below depicts the overlapping Bonding SC elements (in black font) and aspects of current SL Strategies (in grey font) as found at SCAGA 1.



4.3.2 SCAGA 2

The diagram below depicts the main points (in the grey font) that came to the fore during the Bonding Social Capital section of the focus group discussions at SCAGA 2.



The main points under *Networks* that were noted from the translated and transcribed focus group discussions include the following and are depicted in Box 7:

- Business relationship: which indicates the nature of the intra-group relationships
- Relationship: which indicates the linkage the group has with Abalimi Bezekhaya

— ***Business relationship***

“...our business relationship makes things easy for us and we are working according to the rules and regulations of the project.”

“...we are here at work; we work according to our constitution.”

— ***Relationship with fieldworker***

“We do have a coordinator that is coordinating everything that we do. She is giving us information about what other projects are doing.”

Box 7: SCAGA 2 – Bonding SC (Networks theme)
Source: Focus group transcriptions

The main point under *Voluntary Association* that was noted from the translated and transcribed focus group discussion includes project ownership and is depicted in Box 8:

— ***Project Ownership***

“The reason why we came up with this plan to be in this project is because there is no other job, so we decided to come here.”

“...when you don’t get a job you know that you are your own boss. You should stand up for your job, knowing that it is mine. If I’m sleeping, my job is standing still.”

“There is no ‘baas’, there is no employer, we are the employers.”

Box 8: SCAGA 2 – Bonding SC (Voluntary Association theme)
Source: Focus group transcriptions

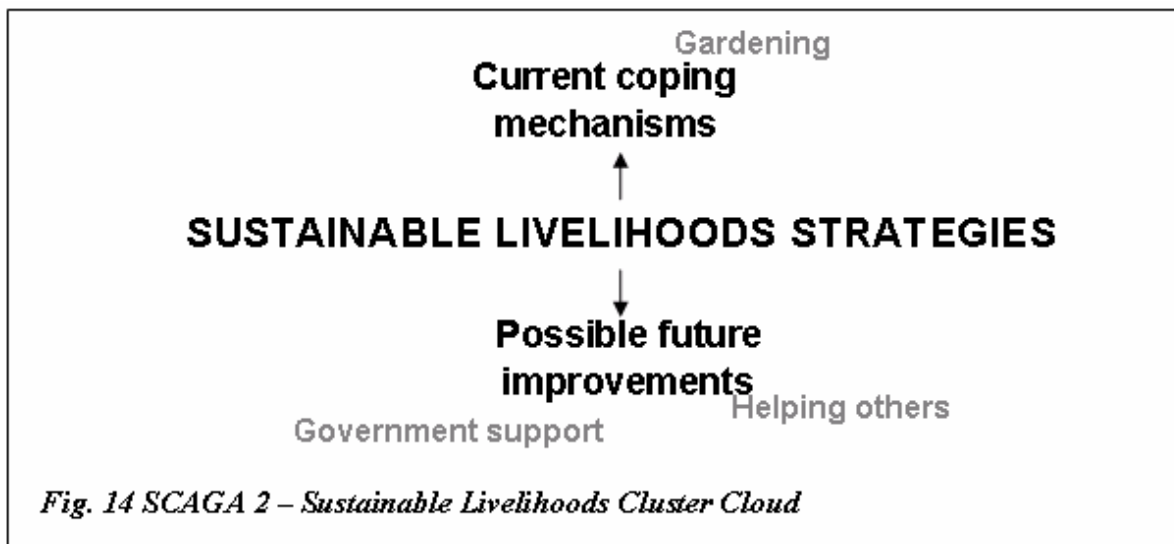
The main points under *Trust* that were noted from the translated and transcribed focus group discussion include teamwork and planning and are depicted in Box 9:

<p>— Teamwork</p> <p>“... firstly our trust in our ‘ukumanyana’ [togetherness]. Everything we do, I’m not doing it alone, without others’ acknowledgement.</p> <p>“There is nothing that we do when someone is not here; like selling something or maybe his things get damaged in the garden, because his in hospital. No, everything we will be doing. We’ll be hoeing, watering, harvesting and then go and sell then split the money equally.”</p> <p>— Planning</p> <p>“...what the workers are saying is true. We work like that. We plan what we are going to do, so we can do it together.”</p> <p>Box 9: SCAGA 2 – Bonding SC (Trust theme) <i>Source: Focus group transcriptions</i></p>

The main points under *Civic Norms* that were noted from the translated and transcribed focus group discussion include the following and are depicted in Box 10:

<p>— Problem-solving</p> <p>“If you have a problem and you tell us about it, we let you go and solve your problem.”</p> <p>“When we have a problem we sit down and see how we can solve the problem.”</p> <p>“...our problems are not the same and our households are not the same. There are times when you have special problems that need money; well that requires the group to sit down and discuss your problem of how much money you need. So we withdraw the money; maybe you need R800. Well, each one of us has to get R800 and then decide on what they’re going to with it and you can use the money to work out your problem...”</p> <p>— Helping each other</p> <p>“We help each other when someone is off sick. We water his garden and do all his work, we don’t say: ‘no, his not here, he’ll do his work when he gets back. We help each other so that when he gets back his things will be alright.”</p> <p>“But we do your work while you are gone. And things like food, we make sure you get enough food, just like everyone else.”</p> <p>Box 10: SCAGA 2 – Bonding SC (Civic norms theme) <i>Source: Focus group transcriptions</i></p>
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The diagram below depicts the main points (in the grey font) that came to the fore during the *Sustainable Livelihoods Strategies* section of the focus group discussions at SCAGA 2:



Gardening was the only “*Current coping mechanism*” noted from the translated and transcribed focus group discussion and is depicted in Box 11:

— **Gardening**

“So when you get to work...moving your blood, at least your body gets built and alright and see that it’s a reward.”

“The truth is, when you are in the garden they cannot say that you’re not working because every time when you go home, I’ll always have a bunch of spinach or cabbage or carrots, so I don’t have to buy too many groceries, because I come home with vegetables.”

“No we were not withdrawing any money. The only money we withdraw was for buying manure and something like that.”

“...here in this project you are not like someone who is idle at home. If you come here, it happens sometimes that a person buys a bunch of spinach from your plot and you get money to buy paraffin.”

“It [the project] teaches us to be independent...you learn ...that you are your own boss.”

“...we’ve started working here in October? August, ja. So we cannot split the money and send home. We only go home in December and then we’ll see if there are any changes, as we are not working [elsewhere].”

Box 11: SCAGA 2 – Sustainable Livelihoods Strategies (Current coping mechanisms)
Source: Focus group transcriptions

The main points under “*Possible future improvements*” that were noted from the translated and transcribed focus group discussions include: government support and helping others as depicted in Box 12:

— ***Government support***

“We want government to support us and see that these people are working with him and sponsor us with other things that we don’t have.”

“Ja, that improves the project. Because the government can see that you are not working for yourself, you are working with him to fight poverty.”

— ***Helping support***

“There are special schools for people with disabilities. We thought of visiting those schools to give them what we’ve planted. That is still pending because we are still not able to do it.”

“The project can improve if while you are planting, you are not planting for yourself. You are looking out for the underprivileged like you.”

“We’ve learnt a lot from this project in a way that if someone has the power to start his own project, even when I go home and find people that I can train them to run their own projects.”

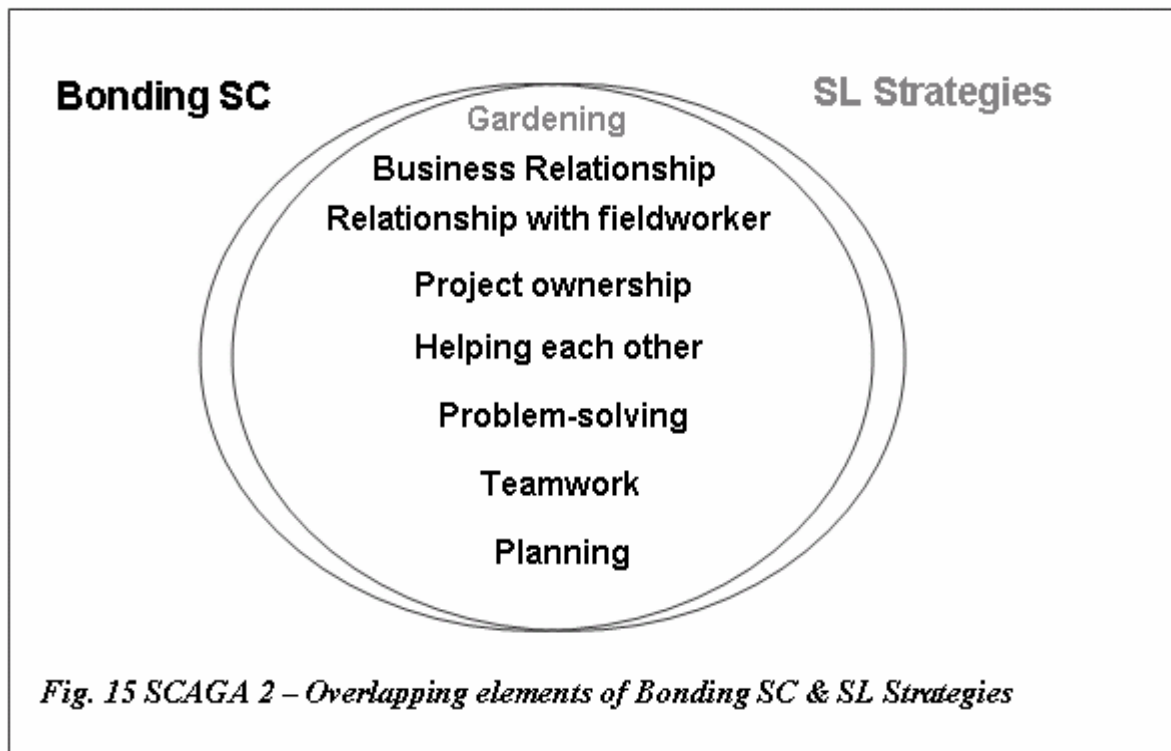
Box 12: SCAGA 2 – Sustainable Livelihoods Strategies (Possible future improvements)

Source: Focus group transcriptions

In addition to the focus groups, the feedback sessions with fieldworkers revealed the following perspective:

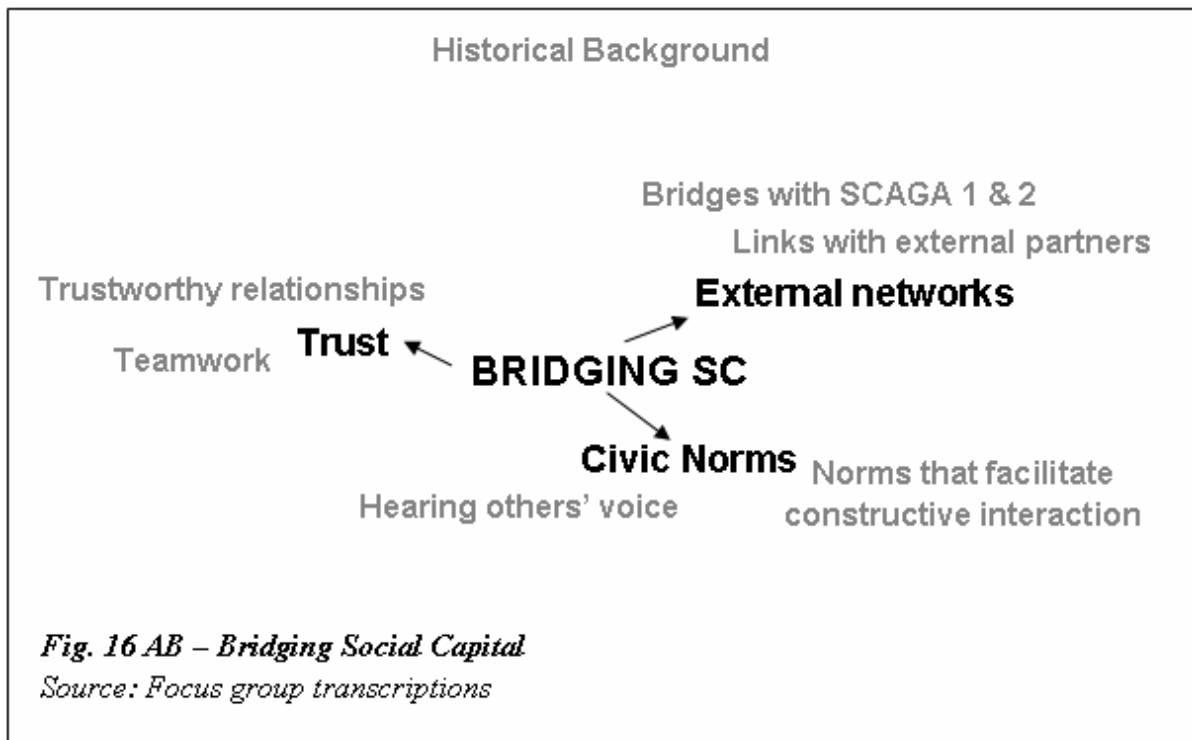
- SCAGA 2 members save and invest money into their business venture. They demonstrate an entrepreneurial spirit and have expressed interest in learning about how to apply new technological innovations in order to produce their own seedlings.
- The men’s group is structured around a formal constitution and they have ambitions of expanding their garden in future.
- Their intra-group relationships are based on “weak ties” and they do not allow members to borrow money from the group. Their relationship with the broader community is very limited. They do not give away any group-owned resources to community members in need or to other gardening groups.
- Finally, there is a great level of commitment by all men and a strong sense of shared ownership and pride to belong to the group.

The Venn diagram below depicts the overlapping Bonding SC elements (in black font) and aspects of current SL Strategies (in grey font) as found at SCAGA 2:



4.3.3 Abalimi Bezekhaya

The focus group session with the AB management team can be divided into seven sections: the organisation’s historical background; bridges with SCAGA 1 & 2; links with external partners; trustworthy relationships; teamwork civic norms facilitating constructive interaction; and hearing others’ voice. These sections will first be illustrated in a cluster cloud diagram (using a grey font) and then discussed, giving evidence from contributions made in the focus group discussion.



Introduction:

— *Historical Background*

The three managers who participated in the focus group discussion include: (i) the core operations manager – who functions as a link from the field (i.e. the two Garden Centres, project sites/gardens and community members) to AB management, through to the Board level; (ii) the finance and administrative manager – who is primarily responsible for financial reports and (iii) the resource mobilisation manager – who is responsible for fundraising and strategic planning along with the other managers.

Since 1989, when the Garden Centre was launched in Khayelitsha, until 1994, AB was engaged in introducing the organisation and its goals to the community. It was difficult to promote food gardens during this time since many people were protesting against the Apartheid government. This was noted in the focus group:

“We [were] not saying the community mustn’t go to fight for their freedom, but we said: yes, go and start something to eat.”

“...until 1994 it was really just helping people to survive at home, only since post-1994 it has been possible to work with people developmentally...we’re still struggling with the inheritance...especially the older generation and now we have in the younger generation, they inherited that sense of being somehow victims.”

Their work focused on helping unemployed women by training them to start their own home food gardens. They were able to reach the broader community with the help of Radio Zibonele and became well known beyond their geographical working region concentrated on the Cape Flats, with their reputation extending to areas such as the old Transkei Homeland. Further campaigning efforts ensued but became less prevalent later on as the organisation gained reputable standing with the community. Then community members started approaching AB for assistance. As noted in the focus group discussion:

“We did manure runs. We went out to promote gardening. Wherever we were, we gave talks on it, we gave demonstration; we took it to the people. But since ’95 or so it has become less...now its just people standing at the door, asking for help...”

External network:

— *Bridges with SCAGA 1 & 2*

The community “connector” (who also happens to be AB’s core operations manager) along with the fieldworkers represent the most important bridge between SCAGA 1 & 2 and AB.

In order for AB to fully understand their target group’s community dynamics, they have employed the community “connector” as their ‘eyes and ears’ on the ground. Besides being part of AB management, she works closely with the women of SCAGA 1. She also has her own plots at SCAGA 1 and participates in the group’s gardening activities. Likewise, she has a close working relationship with the men at SCAGA 2 and has played an instrumental role in facilitating that group’s move to the garden and linking them to resources previously out of their grasp.

Then there are local AB fieldworkers who offer technical support and training to project beneficiaries. They also monitor AB projects and provide valuable knowledge on what is happening on the ground (especially during their weekly staff meetings). Their role was highlighted in the focus group discussion:

“So, the very people we want to help must be the people who are employed, grown up to help the very people.”

Community members are also able to approach AB directly. AB have an open door policy and assists any community member who approaches the organisation as they are able to, by helping them through the process of accessing available resources and offering them support, information and training. This is brought to light in the focus group reference below:

“...; they have no idea where they can get the land...The fieldworker goes there and meet them and hear their needs. And then if there is a school nearby them, she motivates them and tells them ‘you can go to your school and ask [to use] the land of the school.’ If the school agree they need to give you the letter for how long [you may use the land] and give you the water ‘till you stand, ‘till we see how we can help you more. We always say, yes, if the school give you the land and the water, then we can introduce you to the other government departments like Department of Agriculture, Department of Health and Department of Social Services.”

— *Links with external partners*

AB relies mostly on international donor agencies for funding, with its core funding (since AB’s inception) coming from a German development agency. They do not consider government funding to be reliable in the long-term and subsequently do not depend on government funds for core functions; although they have used government funding to either initiate or complete projects. Their fundraising approach has been to slowly build personal relationships with external partners in order to inspire them to support the organisation’s cause. Their approach is transparent and inclusive. To promote AB’s cause they offer between 500 to 1000 free tours of the organisation’s projects every year and to date they have established a friendship base of approximately 2500 friends. They keep these friends (and other interested people/organisations) informed about what is happening at AB by way of a newsletter that is circulated annually. As noted in the focus group discussion:

“So, over the years we’ve built a relationship base of around 2500 names...we’ve always been working with the people concerned, not the organisation...targeting people in an organisation, unless it’s the lottery, there you can never speak to people, you only speak to an organisation... And that informs the way we deal also with government as well as with other service providers.”

Trust:

— *Trustworthy relationships*

As mentioned above, AB’s fundraising approach is to build relationships with people in funding agencies and other organisations. This requires trust between AB and their donors. They have not been able to forge these long standing, trustworthy relationships with government agencies, given that some government officials frequently change their positions. Evidence from focus group discussions is provided below:

“...the approach is to negotiate long-term friendships between individuals and higher decision-makers. With government it’s more difficult...we’ve tried our best to build relationships with government agencies, but our experience is that government doesn’t want to deal with civil society...because we are not accountable to them... But, then in certain instances, like for instances the LA 21 programme, there it has been possible, where we are developing relationships with officials who are activists within government.”

“As long as you can find those officials who are not career officials in the sense of wanting to always fly off for bigger salary...You can’t really trust those people. But it’s where they...really mean business and they want to do something good.”

In terms of trustworthy relationships amongst AB staff: it is important to note that some staff members have been working together for many years and have established personal friendships as well as a constructive environment for problem-solving. They are open about problems they have overcome within the organisation and with the community. They even have nicknames for one another which reflect how comfortable they are about their individuality and diversity. This was emphasised in the focus group discussion:

“I feel they [AB staff} are being trusted, even the community we work with. They’ve got names because of the community...is the “Perm Man.”

“...each one of us brings a different thing. I mean...is called “Pretoria”...because he likes to stick to the policy...”

The organisation has also afforded upward career mobility for most of its staff coming from the target group. This reflects a degree of trust in the potential of people; as AB invests in developing staff members’ capabilities through increased responsibilities and duties. The community “connector” is a sterling example of this upward mobility – her involvement with AB started as a project beneficiary; then as a fieldworker. Later she was promoted to the position of senior fieldworker and finally she became AB’s core operations manager. She recounted her story in the focus group discussion as follows:

“But when they appoint me to become a senior fieldworker...I feel these people they not here to come to grow their pockets, there here to develop us...the day they gave me the bakkie [utility vehicle] and said I must take it home; to find a person to train me to drive. They buy the book for me to learn the learners – after I think, no they don’t want me. They want me to fall in a hole, because I can’t read this book, because I can’t drive, because I am a popeye. I’m born on a farm. I can’t speak English. How can they make me a big person? I start to

trust them, because I did learn the learners and one day in Greenpoint I bring the learners and then I did try to drive and then one day I bring the license. I am because of being built by the big educated people... Is where I trust them; they trust me.”

— *Teamwork*

“...we can always sit down and talk about problems and actually, it might be that we go in different directions, but we find a middle way to go forward. Teamwork is a matter of trust.”

“...knowing the snake is there and then also of being able then to have the absolute commitment, we have to find a way to agree. We don’t take votes here, we agree by consensus...unless we can find a solution, an agreement...it stays under discussion...”

Civic Norms:

— *Civic norms facilitating constructive interaction*

AB has tried to keep people and their well-being at the centre of their development initiatives, treating them with respect and dignity. They have sought to gain a thorough understanding of the target group’s meaning-giving context and acknowledge that the people drive the development process. Evidence from focus group discussion is cited below:

“The way we work with them is not to tell, like, although we push like mad, its still people at the centre; and just the other thing is, it’s women-led. So, I used to be the leader. Although there are some men now, really this organisation is led by the mothers for the mothers.”

— *Hearing others’ voice*

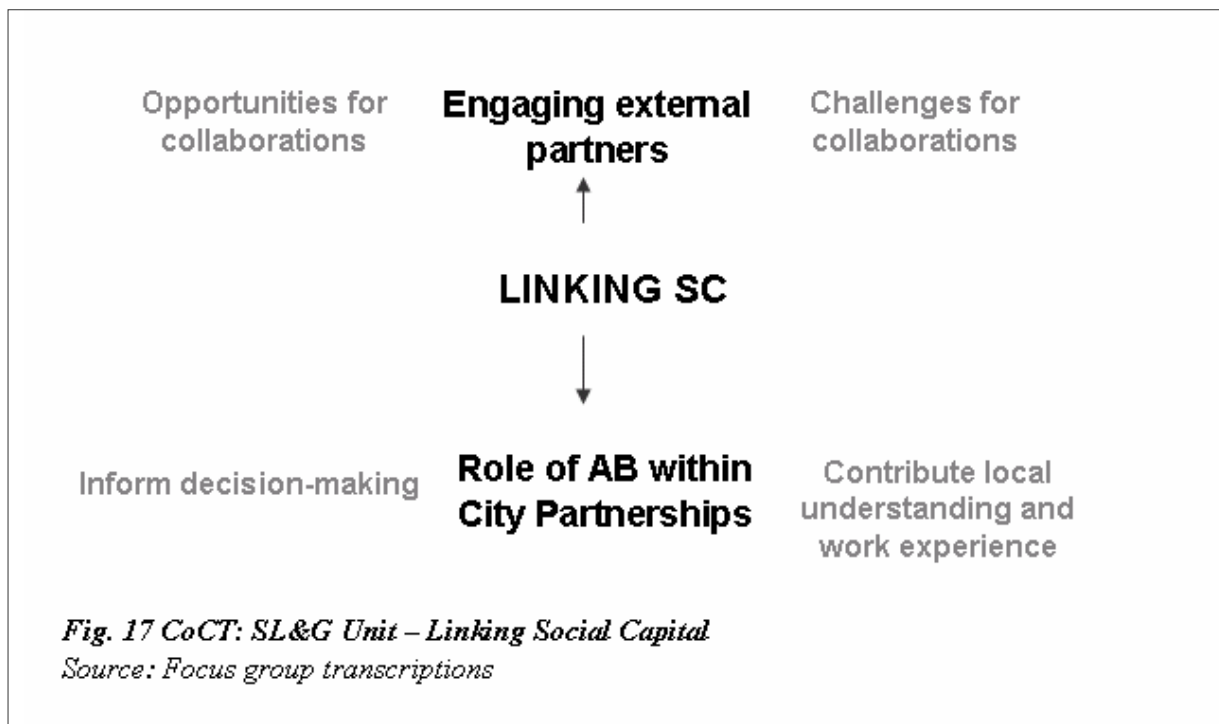
AB employees have developed a transparent, respectful working relationship. People are able to voice their differences and work out their problems constructively. Their inputs are valued and even though those higher up in the organisational hierarchy may have strong viewpoints, the voice of the target group is still heard. Efforts are made to reach a consensus so that relationships are preserved. An example was given in the focus group discussion of a difference of opinions relating to the equitable remuneration of staff:

“Yes, we’ve always fought about money...who gets paid what, and how; and it has taken us many years to sort it out to get to the point where we have an equitable system. Because remember that funding came and there would be managing within one framework, trying to be fair and then later finding out we were not actually, according to our people, fair; and then growing to become fair. And we are...Everyone thinks our pay scales are fair, but everyone wants to grow...So there is that attitude in Abalimi that if something is wrong, you don’t drop

the work. There is a way forward. And yes, you can toyi-toyi, but not at the expense of the work....everyone understands that Abalimi is like a tree. You can't chop the roots to make the fruit come down.”

4.3.4 CoCT: Sustainable Livelihoods & Greening Unit

A focus group discussion was facilitated with the CoCT: SL&G Unit to try to understand and describe two issues: (i) their experience when engaging with external partners; and (ii) the role of AB within partnerships, such as the inter-city Cape Town – Aachen LA 21 Partnership and the local Sustainable Livelihoods Network, although the latter network is in an infancy stage, having being birthed out of the Cape Town – Aachen LA 21 Partnership with many partners holding dual membership. These themes are illustrated in the cluster cloud diagram below and main points coming out of the focus group discussion have been highlighted (in a grey font). The two main themes are then discussed giving evidence from the focus group discussion:



— *Engaging external partners*

The City has limited resources with which to address pressing development challenges.

CoCT: SL&G Unit acknowledges that this is a near impossible task for any local authority to accomplish in isolation. It upholds the SL principle of working in partnership with others,

recognising that this is a strategically effective way of working, as it results in the appropriate investment of limited resources to affect maximum benefit.

However, in practice it is not always easy or possible for the CoCT: SL&G Unit to partner with others. There are times when partners' agendas cannot be aligned, making it impossible to synergize activities. A lack of knowledge about City processes and policies can also restrict collaborations. Time delays resulting from cumbersome City processes can disrupt or damage partnerships, especially when every effort has been made to synchronise activities. Also, each partner has their own specific work to focus on, which can distract from efforts to collaborate effectively.

Even so, CoCT: SL&G Unit continues to foster partnerships with relevant stakeholders whenever possible and it also facilitates collaborations between various partners, by looking for opportunities where commonalities exist between prospective partners.

Evidence from the focus groups that supports these ideas is cited below:

"...some partners...might have a different agenda, not completely in line with yours. It will be difficult to get...the best kind of cooperation from them. Then you get others, where you have a mutual goal, such as many of the NGOs we work with in terms of greening...they are always short of funds to do more. On our side funding is not the problem, capacity is the problem. They can provide the capacity, so it's a good synergy in that sense."

"We see partnerships as an extremely important part of our work. We are a small team, so we need to rely on them."

"...thus far, we've spoken to the local and provincial Departments of Social Services and other departments. Most of the departments would like to work together; it just takes a unit like us to start facilitating that cooperation and partnerships. People want to work together; just sometimes they don't know how to work together. And if we can help them identify the commonalities that exist between them, more organisations, units, departments will come on board."

"...we can unlock barriers they [NGOs] encounter with other departments, because sometimes the organisation can find it difficult to know who to speak to, to solve a certain problem."

“The reason is that we all have our jobs to do...The only time that we do work together is when one component has funding and the other component has capacity for a specific function, which is not rare, it happens.”

— *Role of AB within City partnerships*

AB is a local partner within the Cape Town – Aachen LA 21 Partnership. As mentioned in Chapter One, the CoCT: SL&G Unit facilitates North-South links between NGOs based in Aachen with NGOs and other partners based in Cape Town. Although AB does is not directly linked with a particular NGO in the North at the moment, AB still plays an important within the Partnership in terms of administrating the German funding which supports the Partnership.

AB also offers a wealth of knowledge and experience working with local communities on the Cape Flats, which assists the CoCT: SL&G Unit in making decisions about how best to allocate limited resources. Their role was elaborated on in the focus group discussion and is referred to below:

“In the Aachen Partnership [AB] manages the finances...and in terms of the SL Network, that is still in the process of being established, so...”

“AB has a good track record; they are well connected; they know the development landscape and I think what they bring to both these networks/partnerships is a thorough understanding of the challenges; understanding how the donor world operates, those kinds of dynamics and they bring their experiences...I think that the City is in a very good position to start tapping into...this local understanding of development. Abalimi, given their experience, affords us the opportunity to actually broaden our understanding of how the poor operate, how they survive on a daily basis.”

“The SL Network is a good way to link CBOs and NGOs to the City as the local authority. But in terms of our practical working together, there is not much of that...those partners contribute to our policy formulation. They will provide input from the ground...they will inform policy; they will tell us which way to go in terms of a specific decision. We don't get ruled by that, but we do take that into consideration...”

“There is a huge requirement from the poor communities in the City of Cape Town – where there is too much to address at once...these partners do contribute to the effective decision-making, when it comes to appropriate investment of resources.”

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter presented the data collected in the field through document reviews, participant observations, focus group discussions and feedback sessions in three groups: i.e.: project beneficiaries (SCAGA 1 & 2); implementing NGO (AB fieldworkers and management) and the local authority (CoCT: SL&G Unit).

Statements pertaining to group interactions were supported by citing contributions made in focus group discussions and in the feedback sessions. Research findings are briefly summarised below:

Intra-group relationships at SCAGA 1 are characterised by a very high level of social cohesion. They enjoy coming together to socialise and view the gardening activities as one of many means to make a living.

Intra-group relationships at SCAGA 2 are characterised by “weak ties” based on a formal constitution. They come together for the main aim of generating an income by selling organically produced vegetables.

AB has good bridges with their target community and these bridges are represented by the fieldworkers who coordinate project activities and facilitate training sessions with project beneficiaries. The core operations manager/community “connector” also plays a pivotal role in linking not only project beneficiaries, but also linking the broader community to the organisation’s top decision makers and other resources.

CoCT: SL&G Unit links with AB primarily through the Cape Town – Aachen LA 21 Partnership, where AB plays an advisory role, informing City policy and decision-making in terms of effectively investing limited resources. The City has expressed the miss-match in the project and/or programme objectives of various partners as a challenge for collaborating with external partners. AB, on the other hand has identified a lack of long-standing, trustworthy relationships with government officials as the major impediment for working in partnership with local government.

The following chapter will present the conclusions of these research findings and provide certain recommendations for the three groups that participated in the research.

Chapter Five

Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Summary

This study sought to answer the question: In what ways does social capital assist in sustainable livelihoods creation? The enormous development challenges prevalent in Cape Town's urban poverty pockets make creating sustainable livelihoods for the poor a priority. A review of the literature revealed that Social Capital is one of the few assets the poor have access to; however writers cannot seem to agree whether Social Capital is indeed an asset useful for development (refer to section 2.4). This case study assumes the standpoint that Social Capital does in fact play a role in improving the lives of the poor; agreeing with Lin (et al) that the "Social Capital metaphor is that the people who do better are somehow better connected" (Lin, et al. 2001:32). To reach a clear conclusion on that role, a working definition for SC was used. Drawing extensively on Woolcock & Sweester (2002), it refers to SC as the assets/resources that individuals can access/lay claim to by membership in particular types of networks. In order to better clarify conclusions, the SC was sub-divided into its three types. The study thus focused on Bonding SC at SCAGA 1 & 2; Bridging SC at AB; and Linking SC at CoCT: SL&G Unit. Some of the research findings are briefly summarised below in order to refresh understanding of the case study:

— *Bonding SC at SCAGA 1*

SCAGA 1 consisted of seven Xhosa-speaking mothers and grandmothers who share cultural and religious affinities. They come together for many reasons: to socialise as close friends – cooking, eating and having fun; to do community outreach as a group – helping the sick and destitute; to participate in their social clubs – such as their funeral and money lending schemes; and last but not least: to grow, sell and eat their organically produced vegetables.

There is a high level of social cohesion in this group. They value their intra-group relationships, regarding one another as family. Their concern for one another and for others in their community seems to be equally, if not more important to them than making a profit

selling their vegetables either as a group or for personal gain. Hence, they readily share their vegetables with those in need.

Their livelihoods strategies are diverse and interdependent. Some of their strategies depend on the trustworthy relationships that they have formed with group members. Take money lending as an example: since group members now receive payment into individual bank accounts, group members seeking access to credit from within the group will have to depend on willing individuals to loan them money from their personal funds.

Elements of Bonding SC which affect their SL strategies include: their willingness to help each other; their involvement in social clubs; their transparency with regards to cash donations received; their honesty when harvesting other members' crops in their absence; their diligence in taking care of their own and others' garden plots and the constructive manner in which they solve problems.

— *Bonding SC at SCAGA 2*

SCAGA 2 consisted of four Xhosa-speaking men who had previously worked within a larger group of vegetable planters in a wetlands area until the community “connector” facilitated their move to the garden adjacent to SCAGA 1. They come together to achieve one common goal: to make money by selling their organic vegetables. They do eat their vegetables as well, but according to the community “connector”, this is increasingly becoming less prevalent as vegetables designated for consumption are also sold at the local markets. They have a moderate level of social cohesion and all the Bonding SC elements identified in the focus group discussion are geared toward facilitating their SL strategy. These include: their business relationship and their relationship with the fieldworker; their sense of ownership; their ability to work as a team and work according to a plan; their problem-solving abilities and their willingness to help each other. However, in terms of the latter, they tend to help each other more readily when the outcome will benefit the whole group. When it comes to solving individual problems, the group does offer direct assistance, instead they create the space for that individual to resolve his own problem, and this not at the expense of the work.

— *Bridging SC at Abalimi Bezekhaya*

The focus group consisted of the management team: two men and one woman. The organisation works on the Cape Flats and focuses primarily on empowering women, although some men are also involved. They have strong bridges with members of SCAGA 1 & 2; with

the organisation's core operations manager/community "connector" owning her own plots and gardening alongside the women's group; while also supporting the men's group.

Although the bridges that exist between AB and SCAGA 1 & 2 are strong and functional, the research has shown that, in terms of a vision for a better future, project beneficiaries and the organisation's staff are not on the same page. This is reflected in a difference in opinion over possible future improvements for SCAGA 1 & 2 that came to light during the study:

The women of SCAGA 1 indicated that they would like to establish a soup kitchen and a sewing group where they could engage in needlework and beading during the rainy season when they were not so busy in the garden. Also, SCAGA 1 members requested better gardening attire, specifically appropriate shoes for gardening. However, in a separate discussion, the "connector" envisaged an ongoing catering kitchen; a formal crèche for babies already being looked after by their grandmothers at the garden; and the appointment of a caretaker at the building at SCAGA 1 all of these would require the participation of newcomers to the group; and; the "connector" would agree that this idea is not readily welcomed by the women.

The men at SCAGA 2, on the other hand, have expressed a desire to partner with government in the fight against poverty; they plan to do this by reaching out to those in need in the community. This endeavour would require increased support from government in the future. However, reflecting on this point in the fieldworkers' feedback session, the "connector" stated that she seriously doubted whether they would engage in community outreach activities. To substantiate her claim she mentioned an incident where, when asked to share their compost with a fellow AB-supported garden, the men refused to do so on the grounds that the compost was bought with money they had generated from the sale of their vegetables and thus belonged to them.

— *Linking SC at CoCT: SL&G Unit*

The CoCT: SL&G Unit consisted of three male local government officials who apply SL principles in their approach to their work, viewing partnerships as very important in the successful execution of their mandate. They have links with AB through the Cape Town – Aachen LA 21 Partnership as well as the emerging SL Network. There is evidence of a good interaction with the resource mobilisation manager of AB. They recognise the value in terms of experience, local knowledge and AB's good reputation and try to identify ways in which they can use these strengths when deciding how to best utilise limited resources. It was

emphasised that collaborations work best when there is one component with funding and another component with capacity to execute a specific function. Challenges inhibiting collaboration with external partners have also been highlighted and the following reasons were given for these obstacles, viz.: partners may have conflicting agendas; partners dedicate more time and energy to executing their own work, and the fact that partners may find it difficult to meander their way through cumbersome City processes.

According to opinions expressed during AB management focus group session, collaborations with government institutions work best when there are trustworthy relationships between AB staff and committed government officials. Hiccups in collaborations occur when designated officials change jobs and hand over the baton to unfamiliar officials or when political decisions are made which directly affect the partnership between civil society and government. AB management has said that collaborative effects are threatened in this way and as a result they have found it difficult to put their trust in partnerships with government.

5.2 Conclusions

The conclusions drawn out of the case study by guided by the following questions (as stated in section 1:3):

- What are the prevailing *norms* and *networks*?
- How do these norms and networks affect *cooperation/collaboration*?
- How do these collaborations *benefit* those involved?

5.2.1 Conclusions on Bonding Social Capital

Prevailing norms and networks at SCAGA 1 & 2

SCAGA 1 members have shown high level of group cohesion or bonding. Prevailing norms include: (i) *reciprocity*, expressed in the way they help each other in the garden; (ii) *altruism*, expressed in the way they help the sick and destitute within their surrounding community and (iii) *honesty* or *trust*, expressed in the way they harvest others' vegetables even when they are not around.

The women have strong social support networks and stand together to help each other in times of need. There AB membership affords them the opportunity to gain information, training and technical support. It also enables them to link with other institutions that could offer them assistance.

SCAGA 2 members have shown a moderate level of group cohesion or “weak ties”. Prevailing norms include: (i) *diligence*, expressed in their commitment to working in the garden all day, everyday; (ii) *trust*, expressed in the way they depend on each other to fulfil their share of the work; (iii) *discipline*, expressed in the way they follow the rules and regulations set out in their constitution.

The men have strong business networks; they have a good relationship with the fieldworkers and use this as an advantage to gain assistance in aligning with others and achieving their individual goals.

However, the literature study revealed that the mere manifestation of norms such as trust, networks and civil society prevalent in highly cohesive groups do not translate into benefits for outsiders. In fact, it was argued that a narrow “radius of trust” exists in such instances which encourage social exclusion. To some degree exclusion of outsiders was observed at both SCAGA 1 & 2 – the women showed reluctance to welcome new group members, while the men showed reluctance to share their resources with others. It is important to note that the SCAGA 1 women demonstrated a higher level of Bonding SC while the SCAGA 2 men expressed their desire for improved connections with other organizations, particularly government institutions. This affirms research findings related to gender difference and levels of Bonding SC and Bridging SC where it was found that “men tend to have the bridging networks, while women tend to have the bonding networks” (Woolcock & Sweetser, 2002).

Nature of cooperation

The women at SCAGA 1 have very close relationships and this makes it easy for them to work together. However, in terms of the expectation of mutual exchange or reciprocity, it was not established if individual members or ‘cliques’ within the group that abuse others by regularly expecting others to do their share of the work, while not offering to help them out in return. This is important as it could lead to unwillingness to cooperate, with those who usually work hard becoming de-motivated.

Although the women engage in community outreach activities, they tend to discourage newcomers from entering their group. Thus, to a degree, they block access to resources and opportunities made available to members by AB and its partners.

The men at SCAGA 2 have an understanding that they need to work together in order to have access/ lay claim to the resources and opportunities made available to them as members of AB. They have a professional working arrangement and seem to avoid getting involved in

each others' personal affairs. They use their SC as an individual asset – cooperating with one another in order to reap the benefits associated with such collaboration, for themselves and their households only.

Benefits of cooperation

The Venn diagrams depicting the overlapping elements of Bonding SC and SL strategies at SCAGA 1 & 2 (see figures 12 & 15) enabled the researcher to draw some conclusions on how Bonding SC affect the SL strategies of project beneficiaries. These overlapping elements were examined by linking evidence in focus group transcriptions with contextual information gathered using feedback sessions, participant observation, and document review techniques. Conclusions drawn from each set of overlapping elements found at SCAGA 1 & 2 respectively are stated below:

First, the Venn diagram for *SCAGA 1* (see fig. 12) illustrates an overlap between the Bonding SC element: *helping each other* and the SL strategy element: *money lending*. From the focus groups it was determined that the women at SCAGA 1 used to generate their income as a group with proceeds being deposited into a shared bank account. This joint income allowed them to offer group members access to credit. However, discrepancies over money management and poor record keeping led to the cessation of group payments. Now proceeds are deposited into individual members' bank accounts; although they still continue to care for the garden as a group. As a result of this change, the group is no longer in a financial position to offer credit to group members (and non-members). They also no longer benefit from the possible savings in shared banking costs. According to the community “connector”, poor financial management persists, since the women are not saving any money. The women withdraw all their proceeds and no money is ploughed back into the garden. Despite these changes, they continue to assist one another financially where possible.

Based on the above findings, the researcher concluded that the women have insufficient capacity to manage their money correctly; there is a shortage of entrepreneurial spirit/skill; and some members have in the past taken money from the group without their consent or knowledge of other members. This poses a threat to the sustainability of the project, should continued support from AB also begin to wane. It also reflects a low level of shared ownership of the project and the fickle nature of group bonding – where, given certain circumstances, individuals sought personal gain at the group's expense.

Second, the Venn diagram illustrates “*social clubs*” as the common element relating to both Bonding SC and SL Strategies at SCAGA 1. As mentioned above, the women engaged in money lending schemes. They also have funeral plans that provide financial and social assistance to members in terms of traditional funeral expenses which take place predominately in the Eastern Cape – the place the women still refer to as home, despite having lived in Khayelitsha for a number of years.

It is concluded that the women share very strong traditional, cultural and religious beliefs and values. As a result of this deep bond, they have organised themselves and developed plans for overcoming contingencies such as the death of a loved one.

Third, the Venn diagram links the SL strategy “*gardening*” with elements of Bonding SC reflected in the way the group *harvests; cares for their garden plots* and the way they *solve their problems*. Informal discussions with group members during the immersion period as well as focus group discussions revealed that the garden is essentially divided into two sections: one section is primarily for personal consumption, although it also allows gardeners to either trade or sell vegetables on an ad hoc basis; and in the second section vegetables are produced for sale at local market as well as for the Harvest of Hope project. When group members are unable to work in the gardens, their co-workers do their part of the work, while still diligently taking care of their own garden plots. Not much evidence was gleaned to support the idea that a structured work schedule exists making it difficult to gauge whether certain members actually abuse the goodwill of co-workers who tend to their plots and harvest their vegetables in their absence.

It is concluded that the women thus depend on trustworthy intra-group relationships to effectively produce sufficient vegetables for sale at local markets and for consumption in their households.

In terms of the Venn diagram for SCAGA 2: every aspect of Bonding SC highlighted in the focus group discussion was geared towards meeting *commercial gardening* ends. These Bonding SC elements include: their *formalised business relationship*, their *relationship with the fieldworker*, *shared ownership* of the project, *trust*, *teamwork*, *planning*, *problem-solving* and *helping each other*. The men view the gardening association as a milieu providing a source of meaningful work, which enables each member to benefit from his association with the group. From the focus group discussions it is evident that they work according to an agreed upon constitution and work plans. Their garden is divided into two sections: a large

section for commercial gardening and a smaller section for consumption. It was noted by the community “connector” that the amount of vegetables for consumption is lessening, as more and more vegetables are produced for local markets and the Harvest of Hope project. These individual benefits are both financial (i.e. a steady income) and psychological (i.e. an increased sense of empowerment, achievement, self-confidence and social status). These individual benefits also serve to incentivize collaboration amongst the four men. The men save almost all of the money they earn as a group, withdrawing only sufficient proceeds to pay for manure and other gardening materials. They do not readily share these materials with other AB-supported gardens in the community and they also do not participate in any community outreach. Lending money from the project is not an option for group members either, even when in need. A suggestion was made in the focus group session to allow for all group members to receive an advanced, equal payout in such cases. The group has decided to only withdraw their joint savings as a lump sum at the end of the year and split it equally amongst the four of them.

It is concluded that the men use their AB membership and the gardening association as a platform for providing for themselves and their households, while benefits to the broader community is very limited. They have a high level of entrepreneurial spirit/skill and display only weak social ties, referring to one another as “co-workers”. They also avoid getting involved in group members’ personal problem.

5.2.2 Conclusions on Bridging Social Capital

Prevailing norms and networks

AB staff has worked together for many years and as a result the most prevalent norms are *trust*, which is evident in their teamwork abilities; and *passion*, which drives them to commit to the cause of helping people, even in the face of challenges. This means that AB’s bridges with SCAGA 1 & 2 are based on the authentic desire to see poor people empowered. In this way AB has been able to inspire other organisations by showcasing how passionate they are about the work in they do in the community, gaining their support by the good reputation that they have in the community.

In terms of prevailing networks, AB membership is the most prominent connecting the target community to the organization as well as to other organizations and government departments.

As a middle-level institution, AB helps the SCAGA members make connections with government institutions, which allows members to, firstly be informed about and secondly, to

take advantage of opportunities for self-development that are made available by state organisations and market operations.

Nature of cooperation

SCAGA and AB's cooperation is based on trust and a desire to empower the poor. This is evident in AB's open door policy, helping those in the community in a transparent way. AB's approach to also employ people from the target community enhances the organisation's transparency and this in turn builds trust, which in turn strengthens cooperation.

Benefits of cooperation

Three indicators of Bridging SC (i.e. external networks, trust, and civic norms) were used to identify bridges between AB and SCAGA 1 & 2. The main points raised in the focus group discussion with AB management were analysed by looking at commonalities and patterns in ideas and illustrated using a cluster cloud diagram (see fig 16). The following conclusions were made based on participants' contributions while recognising the historical background of AB.

It has taken many years for AB to develop the strong bonds that exist between the organisation and the target community. AB has gained the trust of community members by investing in the potential of the local people, empowering them with the necessary knowledge and skills to produce their own food. Project beneficiaries have to become members of AB. In this way, community members have become assimilated into the organisation. A good example of this can be seen in the employment of the community "connector". AB utilised her influence in the community to promote AB's vision. AB built on her strengths, creating an enabling environment for further training and professional development. She started out as a project beneficiary and is currently the core operations manager of AB. Likewise; AB has invested in the lives of many other project beneficiaries who have now become staff members. Most of the fieldworkers have progressed in this way and have become assimilated into the organisation. The development initiatives of the organisation can be viewed as development for the people, by the people.

It is concluded that the bridges between AB and the target community are very strong and rely heavily on long standing relationships with passionate people within the community who are used as agents of change amongst their fellow community members. This approach has enabled the organisation to gain an in-depth understanding of how people survive from day to day. The fact that there are passionate champions involved in driving the mission of AB and

the fact that community members are very attached to these passionate individuals within the organisation can be seen as being both positive and potentially negative. These project champions may not always be around to inspire the community to adopt AB's vision as their own. Although people are always being assimilated into the organisation, the next champion in line will have very big shoes to fill. Fortunately, the legacy of project champions, the good reputation of the organisation, along with a good track record of successful sustainable livelihoods initiatives, will do much to cultivate new relationships. However, this highlights the danger that can arise from placing too much emphasis on the bonds with people in an organisation and not enough attention on the principles and ideals that ought to bond the people in an organisation.

5.2.3 Conclusions on Linking Social Capital

Prevailing norms and networks

The link that CoCT: SL&G Unit has with AB demonstrates a desire to collaborate, but it has been shown in the study that this is not always possible, given that the CoCT: SL&G and their external partner do not always have the same agenda. However, when agendas are aligned, there is promise of productive collaborations.

The most significant network with AB is the Cape Town – Aachen LA 21 Partnership and the emerging Sustainable Livelihoods Network. Since Linking SC refers to vertical connections across ranks of power and authority, it is important to acknowledge the effect this difference in power and authority has on AB's leverage ability in influencing development initiatives aimed at improving the lives of SCAGA members.

Nature of cooperation

Cooperation between AB and CoCT: SL&G Unit is dependant on the contributions each component can bring to the collaborative effort. In other words, they can only really work together when there is a formal, legal arrangement that governs the actions expected by AB in response to what is offered by the City, i.e. usually funding for specific projects or programmes.

Benefits of cooperation

The CoCT: SL&G Unit focus group discussion focused on (i) engaging with external partners and (ii) AB's role within these partnerships. From the focus group discussions it was revealed that AB plays an advisory role, informing the City of the reality facing people on the ground.

AB also informs decision-making processes in terms of effective investment of City resources in Sustainable Livelihoods initiatives that address relevant issues facing the people in their communities. Relationships are being built between AB's resource mobilisation manager and the officials employed in the CoCT: SL&G Unit.

The CoCT: SL&G Unit and AB seem to only collaborate practically when AB can provide the capacity to implement specific projects and the City can provide the funding for these projects. This requires a comprehensive understanding of City processes, in terms of the tendering and procurement processes. A clear understanding of the City's funding cycles is also important in this regard in order to synchronise activities to meet project objectives within the predetermined timeframe. Failure to fully comprehend these City processes could lead to sustainable livelihoods efforts being frustrated. It could also allow feelings of distrust to fester between partners.

It is concluded that a comprehensive understanding of City processes is vital to facilitate collaborative efforts between AB and the CoCT: SL&G Unit.

Below is a summary of the conclusion around Bonding, Bridging and Linking SC as it relates to indicators explored during the literature review (see Table 4, p. 44)

Bonding SC

- Empowerment:* SCAGA 1 & 2 members have participated actively in group activities.
SCAGA 1 & 2 members have applied their new gardening skills and leadership abilities to group activities.
- Infrastructure:* SCAGA 2 members have demonstrated a desire to network with government institutions, while SCAGA 1 members tend to focus predominately on intra-group connections.
- Connectedness:* SCAGA members have demonstrated that they can work together to improve their livelihoods.

Bridging SC

- Engagement:* SCAGA and AB have good quality structures in place to facilitate engagement.
- Accessibility:* AB and SCAGA have mechanisms in place to deal with differences.

Innovation: AB has been successful in encouraging SCAGA members to utilise food gardening technologies that are environmentally friendly.

Linking SC

Resources: CoCT has formal working agreement with AB via the Cape Town – Aachen LA 21 Partnership.

Influence: AB participates in the SL Network and in public fora.

5.3 Recommendations

Besides the recommendations for the different groups in the case study, it is also recommended that further research be conducted to provide a better understanding of the interplay other forms of Capital, specifically Human Capital as well as a clearer understanding of how Sustainable Livelihood Outcomes influence people's assets.

5.3.1 Recommendations for SCAGA

Based on the research findings, it is clear that the mindset of the ladies at SCAGA1 is not geared toward commercial farming. They come together for the sake of coming together; finding value in the relationships that they have with one another and the contribution they are able to make in the lives of the sick and destitute within their community.

According to the Sustainable Livelihoods principle of *building on people's strengths*, it is recommended that the group reflect on ways that they could continue to engage in community outreach activities. The women, AB and the CoCT: SL&G Unit could look for alternative sources of funding that could support the women's passions for helping the needy. Links with church organisations could be one possible avenue for financial and other support for the noble acts of charity and generosity undertaken by the women of SCAGA 1. This relates to Fals-Borda's suggestion to "convert cultural elements into political and economic actions" (Fals-Bords, 2000:630-632). This is necessary if the women are to progress from a survival level towards a livelihoods level. There appears to be too many people trying to benefit from a high level of Bonding SC and as a result the group itself is left wanting.

In terms of SCAGA 2, the research findings show that these men are ambitious in their entrepreneurial endeavours, working diligently to provide for their families. They have enough social capital to facilitate collective action, although individual financial profit seems to be their main motivator for coming together as a group.

The men possess what Rooke and Seymour (2002:305) refer to as two bodies of knowledge: practical knowledge/“knowing how” and objective knowledge/“knowing that”. In accordance with this theoretical understanding, SCAGA 2 members are biased in favour of one type of knowledge, viz.: practical knowledge. Collective ownership over each body of knowledge is conscientiously defended, so that, in this case, objective inputs made by AB is disregarded or discredited. This is evident in the fact that the men are consuming less and less of their organically produced vegetables; even though they have been informed of the nutritional value it holds. It is recommended that the men reflect on the value of the method in which they make their living, so that the importance of nature conservation and nutritional food security is not neglected.

Furthermore, efforts could be made to promote this garden as a showcase of how it is possible to increase financial assets without putting undue pressure on natural assets. Stronger bridges with other government departments would do much to promote sustainable livelihoods outcomes, while also promoting the movement towards locally produced food.

5.3.2 Recommendations for AB

AB is well established and has a good reputation for the work they do on the Cape Flats. They have strong links with various international agencies and have a contemporary understanding of the urban poor living in townships on the Cape Flats. It is recommended that their approach to sustainable livelihoods development be used as a micro-urban agriculture model that could be replicated elsewhere on Cape Town’s marginal land, based on the success they have achieved over the years.

It is also recommended that the fieldworkers and project beneficiaries engage in a reflective self-evaluation exercise to establish the direction in which the project is moving and to discuss what changes (if any) should be made to better align these objectives with the project beneficiaries’ expectations and aspirations and see how they “fit” with the objectives of AB. The importance of project “fit” has been emphasised by David Korten (1980:495) where he stresses the need for a three-way alignment between:

- (i) Beneficiaries and the program: people’s needs must line up with AB program outputs. (Here the focus is on the people and their needs and aspirations.)
- (ii) Program and the organisation: interventionists’ role in producing program outputs and distinctive competences of AB. (Here the community development interventionists are the focal point.)

(iii) Beneficiaries and the assisting organisation: the means by which the people are able to communicate and define their needs and the processes by which the organisation makes decisions and responds to such information. (Here AB is the focal point.)

5.3.3 Recommendations for CoCT: SL&G Unit

The CoCT: SL&G Unit play a major role in informing City policies. It is recommended that the unit continues to keep informed on what is really happening on the ground, so that policies affecting poor people's livelihoods are geared towards benefiting those who need it most. This requires the Unit to develop and maintain relationships with organisations, as well as with individuals within those organisations who share similar goals. A good example of how these relationships can be maintained is embodied in the idea of a Sustainable Livelihoods Network which has recently emerged out of the Cape Town – Aachen LA 21 Partnership.

Furthermore, the City could seek to formalise their relationship with external partners by, for instance, formulating a MoU soliciting the specific capacity of external partners for specific City interventions, which could be used whenever capacity and funding is aligned. This would be a positive step in overcoming some of the restrictions caused by cumbersome City tender and procurement processes. In addition, it could build external partners' trust in the goodwill of the City.

Lastly, it is recommended that the City actively engage in monitoring under-utilised City owned resources, which are often vandalised and which could alternatively be used by external partners toward creating sustainable livelihoods for the poor living in Cape Town.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter concludes the SCAGA case study and offers some recommendations to be considered by all research participants. These recommendations are not meant to prescribe future action; it only offers some suggestions based on the researcher's understanding of the development context. It is intended to stimulate reflection on past and current development practices with the aim of lesson-learning and improved development practices in future. How has the research question been answered?

By distinguishing between the different types of SC, the study has shown that the role of each type of Social Capital is vital to the creation of sustainable livelihoods.

Bonding SC is important to enable collective action, but a very high level of bonding can actually be counter-productive in creating SL outcomes, as in the case of SCAGA 1. Their focus is so directed toward being together and helping others, that they do not invest much in energy in the economics of gardening as a group. However, group membership is very important for unlocking access to opportunities. Here SCAGA 2 members have taken full advantage of the opportunities that their AB membership offers them.

While Bridging SC and Linking SC are important to get the resources to the people on the ground that needs it most.

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Appendix A:

Table 2: Forms of Participation

Source: Pretty, J (1995). The many interpretations of participation. In *Focus*, (16), 4-5.

Participation Type	Characteristics
Manipulative Participation	Participation is simply a pretence - beneficiary group representatives are appointed and not elected and have no power.
Passive Participation	People participate by being told what has been decided or has already happened. It involves unilateral announcements by administration or project management, with any information being shared belonging only to external professionals.
Participation by Consultation	People participate by being consulted or by answering questions. External agents defined problems and information gathering processes, and so control analysis. Such a consultative process does not concede any decision-making and professionals are under no obligation to take on board people's views.
Participation for Material Incentives	People participate by contributing resources, for example labour, in return for food, cash or other material incentives. They are involved in neither the experimentation nor the process of learning. It is very often common to see this called participation, yet people have no stake in prolonging technologies or practices when the incentives end.
Functional Participation	Participation is seen by the external agencies as a means to achieve project goals, especially at reduced costs. People may participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives related to the project. Such involvement may be interactive and involve shared decision-making, but tends to arise only after major decisions have already being made by external agents. At worst, local people may be co-opted to serve external goals.
Interactive Participation	People participate in joint analysis, development of action plans and formation or strengthening of local institutions. Participation is seen as a right, not just as a means to achieve the programme objectives. The process involves interdisciplinary methodologies that seek multiple perspectives and make use of systemic and structured learning processes. As groups take control over local decisions and determine how available resources are used, so they have a stake in maintaining structures and practices.
Self-mobilization	People participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems. They develop contacts with external institutions for resource and technical advice they need, but retain control over how resources are used. Self-mobilization can spread if governments and NGO's provide an enabling framework of support. Such self-initiated mobilization may or may not challenge existing distributions of wealth and power.

Appendix B:

Table 3: The Adapted Social Capital Assessment Tool (A-SCAT)

Source: Harpham, Grant & Thomas, 2002:109

Structural SC (“connectedness”)	Cognitive SC (reciprocity, sharing, trust)
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Participation in organisations. 2. Institutional linkages (connections to services, facilities and organisations). 3. Frequency of general collective action. 4. Specific collective action (whether people would get together to address named hypothetical situations). 5. Degree of citizenship (whether the respondent has voted/campaigned/taken part in other neighbourhood or city-wide activity). 6. Links to groups with resources (such as local government or aid agencies). 7. Links to parallel groups (namely other communities). 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. General social support. 2. Emotional support (enabling people to ‘feel’ things). 3. Instrumental support (enabling people to ‘do’ things). 4. Informational support (enabling people to ‘know’ things). 5. Trust. 6. Fellow feeling (showing interest in the fortunes of others). 7. Reciprocity and cooperation. 8. Social harmony. 9. Sense of belonging. 10. Perceived fairness (would others in the community take advantage of people). 11. Perceived social responsibility (would others in the community return lost items).

Appendix C:

Focus Group Questioning Frameworks:

— Probes for SCAGA 1 & 2

Opening: *Talk about how you came to be a part of this project.*

Section 1: Bonding Social Capital

1.1 Networks theme (connections with each other)

How would you describe your relationship with one another? / Nigabucacisa njani ubundlelwane pahakathi kwenu?

How do you communicate with one another about work and/or your personal life? / Ingaba nithetha kanjani ngomsebenzi kunye nezinto eziyimfihlo kuni?

1.2 Trust theme (dependence on each other)

Do you trust one another to do their part of the work well? / Ingaba niyathembana ukuba wonke umntu uthatha inxaxheba ngokupheleleyo apha emsebenzini?

Do you feel that you get your fair share out of this project? / Nicinga ukuba nifumana oko kunifaneleyo, nokulilungelo kulo mbutho?

1.3 Civic Norms (the way you treat each other)

In what ways do you help each other out? / Zeziphi indlela enancedana ngazo?

1.4 Voluntary Association (belonging to the project)

What does it mean to you to be a part of this project? / Kuthetha ntoni kuni ukuba yinxalenye yalo mbutho?

Section 2: Sustainable Livelihoods Strategies

2.1 Current coping mechanisms

How does being a part of this project add value to your life and to the lives of those you live with? / Ingaba ukubayinxalenye yalo mbutho kuwenzisa kangakanani umahluko empilweni yenu kwanyunye nabo nihlala nabo?

Besides working in this project, how else do you and your household make a living? / Ngaphandle kokuba nisebenza kulo mbutho, yeyiphi enye indlela nina nentsapho wenu eniphila ngalo?

2.2 Possible future improvements

How do you think things could be done better in this project? / Nicinga ukuba zingenziwa ngcono njani izinto ukuphucula umbutho?

— Probes for Abalimi Bezekhaya Management

Opening: *Introduce yourself and talk a bit about your role and responsibilities here at AB.*

1. External Networks (bridges with the target group & links with outsiders)

How would you describe the connections/links that AB has with external partners both in the target community and in other organisations?

2. Trust (dependence others)

Do you trust each other to his/her work well? Please explain why you say so.

Do you trust your external partners to do their work well? Please explain why you say so.

3. Civic Norms (the way you treat others)

What qualities do you think are present within AB that shows you can work well together?

Do you feel that your colleagues listen to and value your opinions?

Do you feel that AB listens to and values the opinions of the target community?

— Probes for CoCT: Sustainable Livelihoods and Greening Unit

1. Engaging external partners

How would you describe your experience when engaging external partners?

2. Role of AB within City partnerships

What role does AB play in the Cape Town-Aachen LA 21 Partnership and the emerging SL Network?

Appendix D:

Focus Group Transcriptions:

SCAGA 1: Focus group session facilitated by Xhosa-speaking, middle-aged male

Section 1 – Bonding SC (Responses reflecting Networks, Civic Norms, Trust and Voluntary Association themes):

- Here we live as if we are from the same mother. There is nothing that is disturbing us. We are doing everything together. And even our work, we are doing it all together. We are 2 different things – the other one is the market and the other side is Abalimi. They (referring to the SCAGA 1 group members) are planting for the family and they are helping their neighbours that don't have food in their houses. As we work together, we go home at the same time.
- We, in this place, we are staying nicely together in a way that... We came here because we are busy. Maybe I don't have money, I go to another mother and say: "Mother, can you borrow me some money." Maybe I have a problem at home. Maybe I have a certain problem at home. We are helping each other. Other person says, "No, I'm going to help you. Here is the money." And when I have it I give it back. The other thing: we are helping sick people. We are giving them food from the garden. The other people that were...that were... that were kicked out of their houses and beaten; we distributed vegetables to the halls for them to eat. We are staying nicely here, really. And we really like this; what we doing. Because we don't have another place that we are working at. This is our job.
- No, here we are happy. We look out for each other. In a way that, when someone face something, we discuss and talk the day that we can go and visit. Like now, I arrived here today. I went home to bury my brother. And I brought some things for my fellow brothers that I am working with. I know that something that I've planted – the ones that are left will look after it. In December some are going home and others will be left behind. There is going to be three of us that will be left behind, we will look after their gardens and the market. There's nothing dirty that's going to disturb us. I believe that we are going to be together forever. Thank you.

- Here we are staying very well, a lot. The other thing that we compliment and that we liked is Abalimi. We saw Ayanda bringing us seeds. And we were able to plant seedlings on our own. They brought us wheelbarrows, rakes, let me say, all the tools that we use. And we saw that we are welcome in this garden. We are very thankful to the Abalimi for this.
- ...We are staying well together. Even if you have a death in the family, maybe your mother or your husband, there is a money that you are given from this organisation. There is a money that you are given so that you can buy tea to drink. And when a member is dead, we put money together so that we can help the members of the family because this (that) person was a member of the garden. We are staying here very nicely, that's why I'm saying, I must compliment. Because with all these things we still work together even though its difficult.... Yes.
- They came here to ask questions just like you. Ayanda came here to ask how we do things here. Who is helping us; where do we get things from and we said that when we got here some of the things were here. We don't know where they come from; how. And she ask: "When you get here as a group, where did you go for help?" Because people are going, they are going around asking around. And we said we don't know those things. We heard from the people from Social Services. **Where is this Ayanda from?** He is from Agriculture. **Oh, he is from the Department of Agriculture?** Yes. **So say it mama.** (Giggles.) Yes, he is from Department of Agriculture. Ayanda.
- Those from that garden – is the other group. They have nothing. They are borrowing from us. They are borrowing our wheelbarrows. They were borrowing everything for working from us. We got them from Ayanda from Agriculture.
- We are the first people here. So we are the head office. And now there is SCAGA 2. And there is SCAGA 3. So we are SCAGA 1. So everything that they need they get it from us, because they are still staying in the containers. And we have a house. Yes.
- We are even cooking! Vegetables, coffee, we drink and have fun. Even the courses that we do we are having them here, here in the head office. Everyone who wants to learn they are brought here to the head office. It's nice here. We are happy. **You didn't cook for us.** **(Laughing)** (Laughing) No, you didn't tell us. We would have cooked vegetables. **Oh, I like vegetables.** (Everyone laughs.)

- We sit down and talk and ask for forgiveness. If I've done something wrong I'll ask you to forgive me. Because there no way that you can't make mistakes. Yes. Yes, we work together very well.
- No, here, I can't find the word, it's nice. Even if a person is hurt, no we solve that thing. We forgive one another and be happy. We work, we cook, we work. **You said earlier that when someone is not around someone will look after their garden. So how do you help each other? Can you please explain.**
- We help each other by looking after their plots and irrigate and put water and make sure that the plant gets enough water all the time. **When the owner is not around?** Yes, when the owner is not around. If there are things that need to be sold, we harvest them and sell and keep the money and the owner gets it. Thank you.

Section 2 – SL Strategies (Responses reflecting Current coping mechanisms and possible future improvements):

- The other side of the market we harvest the vegetables on Tuesdays. Everything that needs to be harvest we get the list of what we going to harvest, this and that, that is from everyone's garden. Whoever has, we harvest from their gardens and we help each other by harvesting even if the owner is not around, we harvest from her garden. Even if she is not around. We count their things and weigh them, because we weigh some of them so that we can write down that we harvest this much from so-and-so's plot. Even the money, when it comes, she gets it because there is no one who says that if we have not harvested your plot: "Your vegetables are not ripe." So you don't get the money if your vegetables are not ready to be sold. But when they are ripe you get your money just like anyone. On that side of the market – does everyone have their own garden? Yes, on that side of the market everyone has their own plot that she's looking after on this side. And on the other side we have our own plots that we are looking after because we are taking the vegetables home. Even if you are selling the spinach on the bunch, the money is yours. You put it in your pocket and go and buy paraffin at home. Ok, on that side of the market, do you sell the crop as a group or do they sell it for you? At first they were selling it as a group, but now this year it's changed. We said it's not going to be sold as a group. They are for the group, SCAGA has plots and they have people that are looking after them. You say which one you are going to look after and look after the project and the money that you get at December

time. This side we have some plots that we are looking after. Everyone is taking care of her own plot. Ok.

- We are even getting money if I have harvested my things, I even get R20. I get that amount.
- We get cheques from our bank.
- Even if I'm not around and there is something that they need to harvest from my plot, they harvest it, these people, because we are a group, and wash it, they write my name and send it. Can you explain it mama? How do work together: this side and the other side of the market? I don't get a clear understanding. We have days that we work on that side and some days we work this side and we help each other this side because we are making money. Ok. Yes. Even if the garden is mine or yours, we work together in one garden. Oh, ok.
- We harvest these things we are selling. Let me say, everyone has her own plot that she is ploughing and when it's ready we harvest and weigh it and write it and send it to be sold on Tuesdays. Every Tuesday. We don't get that money weekly. That money we get it at the end of the month. Er. Every Tuesday we collect it and get the money at the end of the month. And those plots that we got, we harvest. Everyone has a plot. We harvest and eat and sell to the people that we are staying with in the community. Er.
- I am getting an old age grant, but it's not helping. Because we have school children. Everything, when there is no one working at home, this garden is helping. Because some of the things that I should have bought from the stand I get it from my garden. I'm not going to buy it. We are planting a lot of things, like spinach, carrots, cabbage, broccoli and everything. We are getting a lot of our vegetables here. Especially in December time. We harvest food for Christmas and go and cook at home and we are happy. Thank you.
- We came here because of poverty and because we saw that our children are struggling at school. And we told ourselves that we're going to give everything for this garden and plant. And yes, we are planting and our children getting help.
- We like it here. We have social groups and funeral plans. **Er?** Er. It's nice here.
- The reason why I like it here in this garden... the reason why I like coming here is because even if... now that I'm here, I don't get sick the way that I used to before when I was still staying in the township doing nothing. Because now that I'm here, I don't have stress. When you're in the township, the problems in the township are a lot. And when I'm here I don't think of any one of those problems. I think of them when I get home. You get a chance to chat here? Yes. Here I stay with people. I'm happy for the whole day. I don't even notice the sunset, I just hear when they say when its time to go home. When I

get home there are no problems, but when I'm in the township, there are a lot of things that are happening in the township. Here I'm very happy because even if you have a problem... I had a problem last year...this year....it was like my parents came when these mothers came from the gardens. Because when I saw the problem that I was in, when they came in, I said – "Oh, I even have parents in Cape Town." Because when they came, they saw the pain that I was in and it lessened. And even something that I was thinking; it became better when they came. I got happy.

- Secondly, here, it's nice here the way that we even get white visitors from overseas. They come here, sit and we make tea, coffee for them and they eat and they give us something, whatever it is. Here, if I didn't come here, I don't feel happy because I'm a sick person. I've got high blood pressure. But now that I'm here, every time when I go to the clinic for the treatment they say it's normal all the time. Because, by the time I was sick... I was really sick...but now when I'm here I'm really happy.
- The time we were planting well, we were getting a lot of money. People were able to get money from us as a group. We were lending money to people so they can buy food for their children at home. And when they got paid, they give the money back. Now it is very difficult, because we don't have enough. Even the money that we are getting is going straight to our banks and from there to our houses. But we don't have that kind of a problem at the moment. How does the project help you? Yes, in our group, if one of us has a problem, like the one mentioned before, that if you have a problem at home – like if your child has lost her job and there is nothing or there is there is no money for her to go look for a job. Do you bring them veg? Mmmh, yes, they were getting vegetables, but we were lending them the money that we have.
- No, this project is helpful because, in my house, my husband is working on the road, on construction. When it rains, like it's raining now, in winter, they are not working. He is staying at home, but now, because I'm here I can see the difference than before. Because before I came in this garden there was a big difference. Because before, when it was raining for the whole week, my husband will not get paid and I also will not have hope, because I'm sitting at home and there was nothing I could bring. Now I can see the difference, because even if he does not work for the whole week, I sell 3 bunches of

spinach and buy when I get home I buy electricity and live and be happy, with no problems and no one is fighting because there is no money. And there is no money that you will spend on vegetables. No, we get the vegetables from the garden and I get the money for electricity from the garden. Even if he is not working, sitting at home because it's raining, he is back from work, there is a big difference. I compliment the idea of this garden.

- We going look like we are repeating the same thing. This is my third year here. I don't buy vegetables. I bring vegetables from the garden. Everything, like carrots, beetroot and everything, I get it from the garden. This project has helped me the time when my brother passed away in the Eastern Cape. I had no money to go home. They lent me money from this garden. I went home to bury him and I came back. When I came back, I gave them their money. This is really helpful when you are in trouble. They lend you money in this project.
- There is a big difference in our presence here. There are a lot of things that help us. As I have said, I was not around. I went to bury my brother. They sold vegetables from my plot. And when I came back I had money. I give it here and there. Yes, there is a big difference. There are a lot of things that have changed in our lives as we grow up. We are grown ups now. There are a lot of things we have learnt because of our (sibanye) togetherness.

Possible Future Improvements:

- There are things.... There are a lot of things that can be added, because now of my presence here, I have learnt from this garden. I've learnt how to plant and everything that I know, even if I can go home, I can never leave my garden. Because I have a garden, land in the Eastern Cape, I cannot leave it and not plant on it. I can plant vegetables so that I can have money in the Eastern Cape. I cannot just leave it here. Because I cannot just sit around here. Even if I can go and stay in the Eastern Cape, I cannot live without planting. Are these things you were not able to do before you come to the project? Yes, these are the things I was not able to do, because I didn't know these things in the Eastern Cape we take the seeds and throw it in one place and when it grows, we just plant those seedlings and we didn't know what to do and how. And now I know how to do. Even if I want to plant I know what to do.

- And sometimes when it's cold and raining like today we sit at home and do something with our hands. This garden is not the only work that we do. We sew when there are machines. We do hand work because we are running away from the cold in winter. (Laughing) Thank you.
- I was going to say, I wish we could have material and machines so that when it's raining, when we can't go to the garden, we can sew. Er. And we can teach each other how to sew. Yesterday when we came here there was no one, so if you were doing those things you would have been here yesterday? (Everyone says: "Yes, we would have been here.") We don't have material. We don't have machine. Nothing. There are no beads to put on the string. Er. Those are the things that we will do. These are things that we wish we could have.
- If we could have another way we could have soup. So that we can sell to the people in the garden and to the school close by. So, for now, there is nothing else that you are doing. You just go home when it's raining.
- For now, when it's raining, we go home, because we have nothing to do. But the soup is easy. We can just do it and leave it there. So what is the reason that you are not making soup? We don't have plans because we don't have a stove. We had an old stove, but its not working. We don't have pots.
- Hey, it is difficult because we are feeling cold. We are working in the rain. We are working in old takkies. They get wet. The following morning you can't wear those takkies because they are wet. We get these things we are wearing from our children. When your child is not wearing it, you just take it and wear it. That is the problem that we have.
- As I am here, I have a problem. My have an iron screw in my leg. I had an accident. Even if I come here in this garden, because I like coming here, but I have this problem with my leg. Now that it is cold, because we are working in the cold, it becomes

difficult because of this operation in my leg. But I come because I love what I have to do here. Umh. I'm not even getting a pension, but I know the only place that is going to help me is this one. Umh.

- One other thing is that if we can leave this garden we'll be letting a lot of people down. Because a lot of people are sick, so they need these vegetables that we are planting. They can't... they can't... they can't eat anything besides these vegetables. So we are helping those people by planting. If you can leave here we will be killing them. We've got to come here to the garden. Even if the weather is bad, we've got to be here. So the people that you are helping are encouraging you to come here? Yes, the sick people. Yes, yes.

Input from Mama Kaba about SCAGA after Abalimi Management Focus Group Discussion

“They did go to Somerset, those men, there was in the forest that side, and try to grow vegetable and they was doing, but then they was not legal to be there, because it's the wetland. I know them, they coming to Abalimi to buy some seeds and go back to the forest. Even us when we got more extra seedlings to our order stock to our group we do not want those seedlings to rotten in the Centre, we was donate to these men, but when we get that land, I see that they make business there. They sell their, their, their vegetable, but one day when they come the vegetable is gone by the cows. The other times when its winter, when they come mornings the waters take all the vegetable out. I say that, one day when we got the land, somewhere, I need to take those people because really they are young men, mixed men that time I met them that side. They doing that, because they not, they haven't got job, you know. And then I told them, when we got this land, they come, and write their letters; apply in the process we used to do and we get them in. To them, even me, I work with them, it's a business. Yes, they got little plots near to the shady house where they grow, to take home. But I notice that even those one vegetable they sell it in local, what they want is the money and they make it, really, they make it. They make the money, they work like an employee. They there 8o'clock 'till half past four. They there in the weekend, you know. They take that, really the market.

Then the women, I like to, I like the women side, I like the livelihood, I like to see the SCAGA, the catering kitchen, all the things. Already we started to organise all those box, the SCAGA kitchen staff, the stove here, everything. The, the new house we putting there we like to find the caretaker er, o watch the house because it will be more beautiful among the women. We like to see the crèche, because the grannies they look after the babies at home. Because their children they bring the babies and they go to school. We want them doing their own crèche too, support them when they busy working there. To me, to, to, to SCAGA 1, SCAGA is more social and small market. They like to eat, they like to cook it at SCAGA, take those vegetables cook it and sit down and eat. Its what I like, you know. We share. The way to eat our food, er traditional food and they know a lot how to cook the traditional food, because from the garden at home, there. Yes, they got some money to put together with their pension. But they not there really, really because of the business, they there because of social, eat and save.

[Rob: Can I just, just strategically if you read, this, I er, I sent you a whole lot of documentation. Our three year plans and our new plans. We, Abalimi has recognised this tendency among women. Obviously there are women who will go commercial, and there, there's already a couple. (Cristina: Yes) They are they are focused on the money more than...But most of the women who are mothers and grandmothers, and younger women who are mothers, will tend to, we know, want the livelihood level. They want mixed things, they don't just want the money, ok. (Cristina:Yes) Unless they're a young women like this (Rob points to Akhona) they just want money, money, money. That's all they want, nothing else, hey? (laughing) Um, but, um, we're talking about the average mother and, and, and grandmother, we're actually not presuming anything. I'm just joking, ja. Um, um, so, so, but we are committed to also developing the commercial model, ok. And, we also know, and our experiences have told us that already, that's what Harvest of Hope is, it's placed at the commercial end, ok. It's like sucking people up, from a commercial point of view. And straight away we are seeing the benefits to the wider community shrinking. While more money comes into the hands, pockets of the people, the benefits, the wider benefits start shrinking. And this is brought out by other research, by Dawn, other researcher has seen that actually documented in her research. Where the more commercial impulse tends to shrink the benefits and the poor, er, er, a few benefit while the masses stay poor. That's the nature of the commercial impulse. We want to create a new commercial impulse and we are looking to transform it and make it, somehow, that Harvest of Hope and this whole commercial impulse

is not, not like the others, where the benefits keep going back to the masses. So, its not that only few people will benefit, but we now want to make everybody rich, not just a few. So we are trying to create a new commercial model, ja, not this old commercial model where just a few clever's, with, with all the brains, and the papers, ticky-tacky, ticky-tacky (Rob imitates typing on a PC keyboard) can make the money for them to run away quietly while all the other ones starve, but where this commercial model is really now not just going to benefit the few, but really that everybody will have the opportunity. So, and I think that's what livelihood will be, livelihood will be that new form, which isn't there anymore, you can't find livelihood anywhere as a, it's new ...it's a completely new model. And that when it comes, the commercial will be in its right place, while the pure commercial will tend to always benefit fewer and fewer people, ja. So, we're experimenting with that. So we don't know what the result will be, but it's... we're its going to be another action research process. See what comes out.]

SCAGA 2: Focus group session facilitated by Xhosa-speaking, middle-aged male

Section 1 – Bonding SC (Responses reflecting Networks, Civic Norms, Trust and Voluntary Association themes):

- What's happening..... Please speak into that. Ok, what's happening here our business relationship makes things easy for us and we are working according to the rules and regulations of the project. Are you working as one? Yes, "tata". It's like that. Do you have a constitution? Yes, we do.
- No, what I agree with is that, even if we are going to work in the garden, we sit down first and we stand and decide that we all going to do one thing.
- Yes, no, what the workers are saying is true. We work like that. We plan what we are going to do, so that we can do it together. Thank you.
- It's like that. We are going to be repeating the same thing. Because everything that we do, we sit down and talk about it.

- We do have a coordinator that is coordinating everything that we have to do. She is giving us information about what other projects are doing. Its Joyce, I forgot her surname. She is our coordinator.

- Er, as the member has said, the “tata”, yes really, everything that other projects are doing, we get the information from the coordinator. She comes and dish out information.

- Yes, firstly, “tata”, as we are here at work, we work according to our constitution. We ask questions. If someone has a problem, we ask questions: “What do we do?” We’ve got plans that we are planning. When we have a problem we sit down and see how we can solve the problem. Thank you. Oh, you sit down when you have problems. Yes, yes, “tata”. Ok.

- Ja, we trust each other. We trust each other a lot here. Because we are four, we are four. If you have a problem and you tell us about your problem, we let you go and solve your problem. But we do your work while you are gone. And things like food, we make sure that you get enough food, just like everyone else. So all I’m saying is that we trust each other too much. Thank you.

- Yes “tata”, firstly our trust is our togetherness (“ukumanyana”). Everything that we do, I’m not doing it alone, without others’ acknowledgement. Everything that we do, we sit d...down and plan that thing and say: “Now, if things are like this, what do we do? How can we do it?” We get our plan there. And say that, and see, that we trust.... k...k...k...Firstly, before we were brought from N2, we were brought N2 because the Abalimi saw us working there and I think we’ve worked there for about 5 years. Just the four of you? No, there are others that are left. Oh, that are left? Yes, “tata”. No, it’s not all of us that came. There are others that are left. So now they saw us there that these people are working together. That everything that they do, they do it as one. Er. Thank you, “tata”.

- Er, as the, as the buyers, we used to take up our wheelbarrows selling whatever we are selling like spinach, beetroot, cabbage and so on. It depends; we share the R100 that we get among the four of us: R25, R25, and buy paraffin for our houses. At least its not the same as before. Jikelezwe yindlovu.

- Yes, as the “tata” said, er... mmhhh... We were not selling in one place; we were selling in the markets as well. So, things like market... its because we are... maybe... let me say, we haven’t completed a year here yet to see that... maybe... what we can do at the end of the month. Maybe we can see that we don’t have to withdraw the money and share it equally. We have not done that because we have not completed a year. So, as we are the people that are planting of that side... we opened another place in the school in Site B. Emm... Matthew Goniwe... So, it was a small place and our ambition was to get a bigger place. So that we can provide for our families. And we got the place. The Abalimi said they are going to put us this side. Thank you. So, are you using two places? No, no, no, we left the other place to the other women, because we were working with them. So, when we got this place, we left them there. OK. Thank you.

- Yes, even in the market, it’s as the other worker has said, that when we get the R100 from the wheelbarrow, we split it R25, R25. In the market, ok, even if we don’t withdraw, but, we know that when the paper comes back from the bank saying we’ve got this and this much money and each and everyone knows how much he has in there. Because it’s for the four of us. There is no one else. There is no ‘baas’, there is no employer, we are the employers. Er, thank you.

- Er, as the ‘tata’ has said, er as I have said before that we have not yet completed a year so that we can see what we are going to do, but... So, you have not withdrawn any money from the money that comes from the market? No, we have not withdrawn any money. The only money that we withdraw was for buying manure and something like that. So, you’ve taken from that money? Yes. Yes. OK.

- Yes, because we are people, our problems are no the same and our households are not the same. There are times when you have special problems, that needs money and you don't have money, well that requires the group to sit down and discuss my problem; on how much money you need. So we withdraw the money. Well, after we have withdrawn the money, maybe you need R800. Well, so each one, one, one, has to get R800 and then decide on what they're going to do with that R800. And I use the money to work out the problem that I needed the money for. We are withdrawing that way for the time-being.
- We help each other when someone is off sick. We water his garden and do all his work, we don't say: no, his not here, he'll do his work when his back. We help each other so that when he comes back his things will be alright. Even money, if you sold something? Even if we've sold something, er, we share the money. We share it equally. OK.
- Er, it's like the 'tata' said; er it's true what he is saying. There is nothing that we do when someone is not here; like selling something or, or maybe his things, er, er, er, er, get damage in the garden, because his in the hospital. No, everything we will be doing. We'll be hoeing, watering, harvesting and then go and sell them and split the money equally. Thank you.
- The reason why we came up with this plan to be in this project is because there is no other job, so we decided to come here. Because here in this project you are not like someone who is idle at home. If you come here, it happens sometimes that a person buys a bunch of spinach from your plot and you get money to buy paraffin. Its not the same as when you are sitting at home. So, it's helpful for you for it to be here? Yes, it is helpful for me for it to be here. Even the money that we usually split on Fridays; when I get there, no one can say that I am not working.
- It's, its as the worker has said; true, true, true, er, the project is...if they were introduced back then, a black person would be far. It's the good way to work. It's

above waking up in the morning and saying: 'good morning sir', no this is the way to walk, but we were delayed. Thank you.

- It teaches us... when you want to be independent...you learn because, when you don't get a job, when you don't get a job you know that you are your own boss. You should stand up for your job, knowing that its mine. If I'm sleeping, my job is standing still. If I'm still, the job is still. So, the project is teaching a lot. Its very important.
- Er, the workers have stated, it's just to reinforce what they say, yes, the, the project is building your body. When you are sitting, your body, your body, when you are sitting doing nothing, your body is always tired. So, when you get to work, and um, moving your blood, at least your body is get built and alright and see that it's a reward. I can see that these elders are not getting old, because they are working hard. (laughing)
- Em, when you, when you, when you are in this project, in your house, the hunger, when you are a worker, you hear it from other people sometimes, because you always have different kinds of vegetables in your house. When you knock off, you take for example, cabbage, bunch of spinach, potatoes, green pepper, take it to your house and sit, eat, and be happy. Even if you don't have a cent in your pocket, no one can say, because you always have something to eat.
- Em, when they were talking about children, or, or a girl or a boy that has been working and who looses the job. The truth is, when you are in the garden they cannot say that you're not working because every time when I go home, I'll always have a bunch of spinach or a cabbage or carrots, so I don't have to buy too many groceries, because I come home with vegetables.
- Er, the workers have said it all. Really, at home when we have those things, when we get out of here, at least at home you need to buy small things like electricity; paraffin but all of other things I get from the project.

- Er, firstly, ‘tata’, er...what I want to say is...we...are...er, we are these people, we, we, we are here in this place because we think its better. We get visitors from all over. Ja, we are not, maybe, let me say, we don’t have knowledge when we get home, what we can do because we have not completed a year in this place. We just got this land. Before, when we were not under government, this area was just an open space and our things were not going the way we wanted them to. We didn’t have the market. We were just selling as we went around and split the money then and go home and take care of what you are supposed to at home.
- Ja, ‘tata’, there were people that were working when we were there, maybe since... because people were working maybe 2 days or 3 days, things like that. So, they were not bringing the money to us, they were taking the money to their houses to help the family eat. And we understood that one of our member is at work.
- Er, as the ‘tata’ has said, ever since we started here, we’ve started last year, in October? ...August, ja. So we cannot split the money and send home. We only go home in December and see if there are any changes, as we are not working. Thank you.
- Ja, no, there is a difference. Yes, we have not completed a year. Well, let me say, we do not have shares. But as you can see, you can see that, ok, the years that I have not been in this project, I couldn’t take care of something, but this year I’m trying to take care of something. Thank you.
- We’ve learnt a lot from this project in a way that if someone have the power to start his own project, even when I go home and find people that I can train and train them to run their own projects.
- The ‘tata’ is telling the truth. There is a big difference. Even though we have not completed a year here, but when we look, there is a difference. It’s not like waking up

and sitting in the sun, then moving up and down the house. We can see the difference. Maybe after 2 to 3 years we will see a light. Things are getting better. Thank you.

- We've reached an agreement to improve. There are special schools for people with disabilities and there are schools for mothers and fathers. We thought of visiting those schools to give them what we've planted. That is still pending because we have not yet able to do it. (How do you think you can improve the project?) The project can improve if while you planting, you not planting for yourself. You looking out for the underprivileged like you. You want to draw them to your side when they have a right.
- Ja, that improves the project. Because the government can see that you not working for yourself, you working with him to fight poverty. Ja, thank you.
- Yes, they've said it all. The development is important. We trying to improve by giving to people. We want the government to support us. And see that these people are working him and sponsor us with other things that we don't have. (So, you don't know which things you will like them to support you with? Have you checked what it is that you really need?) No, we have not checked. We are still going to sit in a meeting and see what we really that he need can help us with.
- The workers have said it all, jaaaa...really the things that the workers are saying are true. Whatever you do, since you working with people, not on your own, because when you are working on your own, you think of something and do it. But now, because you working with people, you have to sit down...and draft what you plan to do and come up with something. Thanks, 'tata'. I want to add on what the 'tatas' have said about the project and the needs of the project and about working with the government. You don't need to look at yourself, you must look out there and see what other projects are doing. Thank you.

Abalimi Management Focus Group – 7th August 2008

Abalimi Bezekhaya Management Team: Focus group facilitated by researcher in English

Introductions:

1. Cristina Kaba: Abalimi Core operations Manager

Responsibilities:

Weekly planning sessions at Khayalitsha and Nyanga Center

Project site visits and report-back at field meetings, to management and to the Board

Connecting link from field through to Board level

Liaising with community to resolve problems; eg. Access to water problem

Leads all process relating to community dynamics

2. Roland Venter: Abalimi Finance & Admin Manager

Responsibilities:

Produce financial reports

Regular interchange with management, both formally and informally

Managing sprout farm

Helps Cristina and field workers with sustainability index measurements

3. Rob Small: Resource Mobilisation Manager

Responsibilities:

Fundraising

Strategic planning with Cristina and Roland

Section 1: Networks

(Cristina) From 1989 when we opened the Garden Centre in Khayalitsha, er til to 1994 we would introduce ourselves that time to the community. We became more active in 1995 because the first time, those '89; '94 yes, we were there working with them at the home

gardens; we were there to go to SANCOB, especially me, I was go to SANCO to tell SANCO community that we are project assisting in Khayalitsha at the Catholic church we there in Nyanga TB Clinic centre, our work is this work to train the women; helping the poor and poorest women, unemployment women to start their home gardens. We did that, allowed that until Radio Zibonele come in, we put er, er, our names there and put our, er, er introducing ourselves to the Radio Zibonele to a large community. Now, we not really doing that because we were well known. We well known even the area we not capable to go to the Transkei. People come there to ask us the training in Khayalitsha in Nyanga to ask us we can go to Transkei to help them. Because there are people who don't know properly that we not a government project. We non-government project, we supported by those people feel what we doing is a good thing to help the people to grow themselves and stand up themselves. Then what I can say to that community area; they write the letters now themselves to us. They do request us with the letters that we are 10 people in this area; we want to be helped to start our garden; we got the land or we haven't got the land. How you can help us. Those ones they really, they haven't got land; they have no idea where they can get the land, we, we, we go to visit them. We call them and we tell them what time we going to visit them. The field worker go there and meet them and hear their, er, er, needs. And then if there is a school nearby them, er he motivate them and tell them you can go to your school and ask the land to the school. If the school agree they need to give you the letter for how long, how many years, and then how many years, er, er, er, give you a water till you stand up, till we see how we can help you more. We always say, yes, if the school give you the land and the water and then we can start introduce you to the other government, NGO like er, er, Department of Agriculture, the other time was Department of Health, and the other time er, Department of Social Service.

I think, yes, we doing that. But we come from the very difficult time. Abalimi been here, around here in the very bad time; because was those toyi-toyi and then make the people not to go to the Centres, especially the whites. But Abalimi was there. They was come, because I was there like a light, because I know what we doing is good for the community. We not saying the community mustn't go to fight for their freedom, but we say yes go and start something to eat. Yes.

(Rob) If I may just add a little bit to that to em. Er, er, in the beginning years as Cristina said we were just helping people to survive. You know, that began since '82. Ja, em, then Cristina

you joined us in '89, em, I, joined Abalimi in '89. So, em, until 1994 it was really just helping people to survive at home, only since post-1994 it has been possible to work with people developmentally. And I think that we too soon forget that. Ja, and we really only had a period of 12, how many years since 1994? We've had 14 years in which to launch a truly developmental impulse on the base of a desolated community. Ok, em, so that has to be really, really strongly held. People too easily forget that. And there is truth in the fact that we're still struggling with the inheritance of a community particularly the older generation... and er...and now we have in the younger generation they inherited that sense of being somehow victims. Ja, and it's a huge thing, ja. So, just with that as a background. Then, then we did campaigning, we did campaign. Cristina led the campaigning. We did manure runs. We went out to promote gardening. Wherever we were, we gave talks on it, we gave demonstrations, we took it to people. But since '95 or so it has become less and less and less and now its just people standing at the door, asking us to help, not the other way around. Very seldom do we campaign. From the point of view of em, other communications (phone rings) let me just switch this off. There, I'll start with the fundraising because that's where I began er,full-time with Abalimi in '91. Em, yes, the approach to, to fundraising that I have led is building er, er, er, friendships. So, ever since '91 we've been working to build a circle of friends around Abalimi. I mean real friends, not just people who are feeling guilty or em, er, er, er, er you know, want a quick return, or, you know, fast food funding. That's not what we've gone in for. Er. We've gone in for building relationships slowly, step by step. So everyone who comes to Abalimi, we try to welcome as a potential friend. Er, we never charge for that service. In other words, we give tours freely; we often make a suggestion for a donation, if they can afford it. But there's no charge, I give tours ... that's how we built it up. Face to face tours, so hundreds of people come every month, ja, errr, I think usually I do about 500 to 1000 people per annum. Ja, coming through Abalimi, ja. Em, to see what we do firsthand, and to meet the people, to meet the farmers, to see what's happening, ja. So that's the fundamental approach, is, is relationship building over time. And trying to win support through inspiring people, not through making them feel guilty or obliged or er, somehow, oh, we must help the poor black people because, er, we should feel guilty. It's about, wow! Look at what these guys are doing, let's get on board. Rather that, er. So always trying rather to go in that direction. So over the years we've built a friendship base around 2500 individual names; individuals, companies, small trusts, er, larger funding organisations. We've always been working with the people concerned. Not the organisation, so I'm always targeting people in an organisation. I don't, er...unless it's the lottery, there you can never speak to

people, you only speak to an organisation. Um, that in a way dictates our strategy, er, and just to add to that, we do not target government funding for core costs, we don't see government funding as reliable... er... long-term. We have got substantial amounts but its for beginning and ending projects. So our core funding comes from private trusts, individuals and so on. So that's the, er... And that informs the way we deal also with the government as well and with other service providers. And then with regard to networking with other service providers who are working in our field, the approach we try to take is that everything we do is transparent, and open. Nothing is to be hidden away, ja, and everything is for the benefit of everybody. However, we have to take some precautions when some people come in and take our information and they've done that, and then they've published it under their name or they've done things to make money off us. And there we have a problem with that kind of behaviour. Um, so we always try to, to, to find out before we give this information who these people are and why they want it. And we've been approached by many smart-alecks who come under lots of nice talk, ja. But, er, between Cristina and Roland and I we usually discover the snake in sight, so we just knock the snake away, ja. So we part with as little as possible. They'll get it anyway if they want it, but we don't so-operate with people like that. And that's about it.

(Roland) Ja, just in terms of the community, we've got actually regular meetings now started were community members are actually coming together and actually can exchange what they are experiencing on the ground level. And in terms of the fundraising I just want to add on that we've got a regular newsletter actually, once or twice a year where we communicate with other organisations, individuals and other service providers.

(Rob) That is the main organ for fundraising – our newsletter. Have you seen it? [yes] You have seen it, so, so that, without that, when that goes out, that letter comes out once a year at the moment, it used to be 4 times a year, then twice a year, now its once a year, but I've got to start picking it up again. Um, that has been, the... all our reports have a newsletter in..., we add the information, technical information to it, that is the base to all our reporting.

Section 2: Trust

(Rob) Um, the main, in terms of the main partners, funding-wise, it's a German agency called Misereor who's been with us since inception and their push has always been for us to reduce

our dependence on them and our push on them is because we know them and we to maintain our relationship. So, we've managed to negotiate an ongoing relationship with them, but with reduced funding. So, there is a very high level of trust. They... that is our core sort of only 25% of our total, but it provides a golden thread. We also negotiated long term, so we need one or two or three core funding partnerships and the other one was donor Green Trust, WWF. Also, they came to us... we... and then we, er it was mutual and they stayed with us for over 10 years. Um, so the approach is to negotiate long term friendships between individuals and higher the decision makers. And then since Green Trust left, we have now launched a partnership with the West Bank Fund under er, er, er First Rand Foundation and there we are, I am connected personally to the very high decision makers as well as the lower ones and I help them develop their policy. So, so, and that relationship goes right back 25 years when I first there, er, as an individual working with, the outside of Abalimi. But, so you're talking about relationship building, ja? (yes) So with that kind of thing... With government it's more difficult because every time a top decision maker change and very often the officials are burdened with politicians driving agendas which destroy their good work. So they set up a wonderful program then a politician comes in and says it must go this way or that way and it actually damages everything. Or it can help as well, sometimes, ja. So there we, our experience is we've tried our best to, to build relationships with government agencies, but our experience is that government doesn't want to deal with civil society, ja. That generally speaking the politic, the political level of decision making does not like us because we are not accountable to them, ja. We are, even then though we may support ANC individually, you know, we, Abalimi does not take a political stand. Everybody is welcome. And we always make that, no, we don't excluded anyone no matter what politician is standing there, ja. So, that threatens some people, um so in that sense we take a definite non-political stand and as a result we can't negotiate long term trust partnerships with government because government is always being driven by political things which often conflict and programmes change, and ja. But, then in certain instances, like for instance the LA21 programme there it has been possible where we are developing relationships with officials who are activists within government. So those officials in government who somehow manage to keep their seats and don't get just re-deployed every time a politician comes in and there have been a few of them, just a handful where they've managed to hang on and they've stuck with their jobs. They don't go running every time after the smell of money or after something else. They're not career officials, they are dedicated individuals who, you know, there where we find those individuals there we develop real relationships with government departments or

sections. (And would you consider those relationships trustworthy?) Yes, well, to a high degree, yes. Once they feel they can drop down their guard and tell the truth about what they're experiencing, in other words, in a situation and we're not gonna go blab it to everybody. So Abalimi is engaging organisations, we are not here to criticise government, although we may desperately want to. But Cristina (Cristina: Especially me) Cristina keeps me shut. I want to say, very often, or take out a big stick, but then she tells me no keep quiet, you've got to praise them nicely and go tell them something quietly. Slowly, massage the ego, and so, but our principle is to engage, we're not to bring government down, we here to make what government does work better. That's it. That's our standpoint, although we might criticise, but we, our first overriding standpoint is that when we meet good officials who really are dedicated, that's the core, we find the politicians can be dispensed of. As long as you can find those officials who are not career officials in the sense of wanting to always fly off for bigger salary or pay packet, like most of them are, they, they just career orientated. You can't really trust those people. But its where the people are solid and where they really mean business and they want to do something good. So we try and find good people. (So, would I be correct in understanding that where relationships are formed with officials, there is some level of trust?) Ja. (But not necessarily when you are engaging with government departments where officials aren't really the people you are engaging with, but the department?) Very difficult to trust, I mean you're basically getting a, what's it, a , a smoke and mirrors act, ja , behind which there are many, many layers and there's a nice programme and all of that but until you meet good people who really mean business and who can really say; see us for what we are; not treat us like we are trying to undermine their, their ego agenda, or their political agenda, where they can actually be enlightened enough to see that we are actually supporting all agendas, that kind of person. (If I can just bring to some introspection: communication between colleagues.) Tell the truth

(Roland) Ja, I think I can because I mean, we can always sit down and talk about problems and actually, it might be that we go in different directions, but we, we find a middle way to go forward. And I think that's the bottom line to work together.

(Rob) We've had lots of fights. (laughs) Big fights. And er, the decision we've taken, even though we might hold completely different views, is that, that first of all we had to identify the snake in us and in others. We've got to recognise that we all have that snake, that snakes wants only for itself, ja. Its not really wanting to help other people, it only wants to get for itself, put in its pocket, have everything for itself and its family. But, or its own agenda,

whatever that is. And so we, we make practice of saying our prayers before we meet, usually. And also then of, knowing the snake is there and then also of being able then to have the absolute commitment, we have to find a way to agree. We don't take votes here, we agree by consensus. So unless we can find a solution, an agreement where we all agree, it stays under discussion until we reach an agreement. So we, nowhere will we take a, we haven't yet had a situation where we had to take to Board a decision that we ourselves cannot make, ja. So our commitment is that we have to make that decision here and not burden the Board with our inability to. And the same goes into the field, so since Cristina took over leadership in the field, she is a er, er true leader, er and she's a servant leader in that she always, and this is something that I find frustrating, never, seldom dictates, always waits for people to see what they must do. And she will even go so far as to let people fall into the hole, often, ja, and even projects might fail. And she waits, and I'll ahh! but the funders are coming. She waits and then she comes later to look down into the hole and she says 'hello, are you happy down there can, can we help you out? Would you like some help? And then, so it takes longer. So we have a way, I think we've adopted a situation of, of allowing people to make their mistakes as long as it doesn't threaten the organisation. (Anything to add Cristina?)

(Cristina) I think to be, to come be a manager at Abalimi, I was at the field, I was the senior field worker, and I come be a outreach for many years and then I come be to the position I am working now. I always, from the start, when I was a field worker believe in Abalimi. I believe because when I speak with them and when they see the poor people, when they see the other problems besides the vegetable gardens to the community. They start to think twice how we can help this person. Yes we do do what she is crying for, but how we can put him in a right way to find what she's want to do. I start to see by myself, a standard two person that can be trust by director that time. Rob was director and Dave was coordinator and the other lady was a secretary for Abalimi. But when they point me to come be a senior fieldworker, outreach, to coordinate the staff, I feel this people they not here to come to grow their pockets, they here to develop us. When the day they give me the bakkie and say I must take it at home, to find person to train me to drive, they buy the book to give me to learn the learners after I think, no, they don't want me. They want me to fall in a hole, because I can't read this book, because I can't drive, because I'm a popeye I'm born in a farm. I can't speak quite English. How can they can make me a big person? I start to trust them because I did learn the learners and one day in Greenpoint I bring the learners and then I did try to drive and then one day I bring the license. I am because of been built by the big educated people. From the

popeyes to go to help the other popeyes, because to me I feel that they see themselves that yes, we can fundraise the money, we can manage the money. But those popeye out there, the uneducated, they need the other popeye to deal with them; where they can feel humble to work with the same level people. Is where I trust them, they trust me. I trust myself, they trust me, because what Rob says, everything is open. Because I'm a manager, I'm not trying to handle my stuff as manager. I work with them as a colleague. I work with them, with my daughters and my fathers. I'm a real old, old, not because of working with Abalimi, from my age. To the staff, I'm a mother, any problem, their marriage problems they come to me. And I speak with them and I help them. To working with this project, Abalimi, there's no one person, since I was working here, they chase out because this you not done, this you not done, this, everything come to the table. We negotiate and then, pray, say to you, please don't do that. Like Rob says we coordinate, like any company coordinates, but when we find that those snakes we don't chase them one day out, because you are snake, you done this and this. We take one person and speak with them and openly. They were; I feel the are being trusted even the community we work with. They've got names because of the community. Says Rob is the "Perm Man". And that "Perm Man" he promised us that and he go to do it, when he come back say: why you did promise them that Rob, because we need to treat them like this. Says no, Cristina look those grannies, really. They are people meeting together they are the magic, I don't know how we been meeting together and working together in the same heart.

(Rob)Just, just to add to that, is that our employment policy has not always consciously, it is conscious, we, we, employ people or Abalimi has always employed people from the target group, from the target group. So the very people we want to help must be the people who are employed, grown up to help the very people, ja. Not someone who has grown up nice, sweet with long nails who think they know everything and know nothing from the side of really where people come. So, all our staff, majority of them are farmers themselves, who have come up from the project and are, who are in the, who are, so the only exceptions would be someone like Weziwe, because we needed the clever one with the nails (Cristina: and the computer) And the computer, (laughs) and she is now having to come in to learn to become the popeye, so unless the people can become the popeye, then we can't work here. We all need to become popeyes, ja. Er, so that's our university degree. Its called the Professor of Popeye. And er, so Cristina is our professor and we all have to qualify to become the popeye. You come with your paper its nothing, ja. Its nothing until you become popeye. Then, if you can make that paper work in the popeye, properly, like a popeye, humbly, with humbleness

because the people are very special. The way we work with them is not to tell like, although sometimes we push like mad. (You still have people at the centre) It's the people at the centre. So, and, and, and its just the other thing is its women led. So, I used to be the leader. Although there's some men now, really this organisation is led, led by the mothers for the mothers, ja. And it's the women farmers. There are men involved, but our target group is women and mothers and grandmothers. That is the core target group. Those are the people who are actually carrying the candle here.

Section 3: Civic Norms

(Ok, the third..., I think we've sort of covered that now. I'd like to move onto the third and last section and that is to do with CIVIC NORMS – (Rob: what norms?) – CIVIC NORMS – (Rob: civic norms.) The way you treat one another. And we've touched on it a little bit, where Cristina has said, you know, she was valued, her opinion was valued, even though she felt that she had a standard two - how she was still accepted, and, and what she had to bring was important, er and it was built on; that she went further and got her learners, got her license, got asked to be part of management. Em, (Rob) We're in big, big trouble now. (laughing) Shoo! I'm thinking about the way you treat one another. That was an example. So, the question that I am posing now is: what teamwork qualities, characteristics, features of teamwork would an outsider, er... clearly see or what do you think? (Rob: let me give you an example) Yes, an example would be good.

Yes, yes, we've always fought about money, ok. In other words, who gets paid what, and how. And its taken us many years to sort it out to get to the point where we have actually an equitable system. Because remember that funding came and there'd be managing within one framework, trying to be fair and then, then later finding out we were not actually, according to our people fair, and then growing to become fair. Now I think we're there. And we are...Everyone thinks our pay scales are fair, but everyone wants to grow, ja. And they, they want to go to a certain point, they want to know where they want to go to and we have to make those steps, so everyone is clear, ja, where they can to go to. Now, the, the way we treat each other, Ma Dlamini has, or, we call her Ma Dlamini, Tengiwe, Tembi, I call here Mama Zuma... um, there is many names. (Cristina laughs) But, um at any rate, she has taught us

and, and the staff that the way to toyi-toyi is not just to stop the work, so what she does, and she used to do that often, always on my birthday, when I was director, is arrange... this is my birthday present, then the staff are toyi-toyi-ing, but waiting for more money, ja, but, before that is happening, then always the work is done first, you see. So, you did not find that things are just falling apart. So, there is that attitude in Abalimi that if something is wrong you don't drop the work. You, you... There is a way to go forward. And yes, you can toyi-toyi, but not at the expense of the work. (Ok, so individual or specific issues can be raised, but the team still needs to, or cannot be negatively affected by that?) And, and the organisation. I think Mama Kaba has made it so that everyone understands that Abalimi is like a tree. You can't go chop the roots to make the fruit come down, ja. So, er, and I think that we have that culture in the organisation. That there is a real sense of ... although we've had people come in, with a powerful snake above them, where they've really tried to take over, and its been a struggle and we've allowed them to go and go and go until eventually they had to decide to leave, ja. (Roland, would you like to add to that? Any characteristics that you know, really shows Abalimi teamwork?)

Roland: I mean... Teamwork is for me, is a matter of trust, so, we've already discussed this partly, and, er, ja, relationship I think, well it is improve over quite a couple if years. I've never experienced it somewhere else, in, in, in its difficult to explain what it is. It's a matter of trust actually of each other. And we are treating each other with respect, and so we can always come and er to solutions of problems and, ja, that's. (Ok, then in closing, in closing, the final question. And I've touched on this before, but I'd like to emphasise this, each person in the organisation has their own voice. Do you feel and I know that... I can gather from what you've said earlier that you can feel free to answer this question honestly. Do you feel that your voice is really heard and valued?)

Mine, mine yes. Yes, mine, yes, because I'm a person who really there to the people, because whatsoever the problem we can get. We can't get problem amongst ourselves. The most problem come from there! They listen, and they check. If the way I say this thing must be handled is the right way. Yes, each everyone their views must be there. But to me, I, I think I've been treated or I've been listened by these men like they say I'm a Mama Zuma, but I'm not. (laughs) You see, I think I'm a person really, my voice has been listened by my

colleague. (So you speak and then actions follow. Roland, would you like to comment on your voice, about the value of your voice in the organisation?)

(Roland) Ja, I think people listen to me, er and I think the value of my input might be perhaps from time to time coming from a diff... er separate perspective and perhaps a little bit of a strange perspective because I also got business background and well I think that all of them value it and take it into consideration.

(Rob): Ja, each one of us brings a different thing, I mean call Roland "Pretoria". And that's Cristina's name. No, because then he likes to stick to the policy, you know. We like to always change the policy, but then he says: sorry, that's the policy, that's the policy, we agreed, ja. And if you want to change it then you must change the policy. So we have to go right back to the start to change the policy, like the constitution, and he holds us to that. And everyone hates him for that, but they also love him for that, ja. Because without that, er we have agreements which we... we've had times in Abalimi when no one was obeying the rules. That was the time where people were unhappy with there money, men mostly, ja. And always, and so we're always struggling to make that right and now in the last few years, since Mama Kaba took over leadership properly, ja, things have settled down. And um, where, where people, if, ja, where if they accept as long as she shows that she can deal with this "Pretoria" thing, ja. And then, then me, I'm like some sort of god. The money comes from somewhere and everyone's job depends on the money. That's how I see myself, this perm person, ja. Somehow the money comes through the perm, down, out, I don't know how, but, something like that and, so I'm given a lot of respect. Um, but I'm not always listened to. In other words, I may have viewpoint, a very strong viewpoint and Mama Kaba and the ladies, you know with African way they say yes, yes, but they mean no and other times they say no, but they mean yes. And then you, you, but generally speaking now I hear very quickly if I'm wrong, ja. So that is corrected. I'm a strong, each one of us is strong people and we have a way to self-correct which is useful, and we only hope we can keep it like that.

Thank you very much.

City of Cape Town: Sustainable Livelihoods and Greening Unit:

Focus group facilitated by researcher in English

Section 1: Engaging External Partners

Q: How would you describe your experience when engaging with external partners? And you can feel free to give examples.

Ok, well, that would depend on who we are dealing with. It changes from partner to partner. Um, there are some partners um, where you, you try and engage with them and they might have a separate agenda, a different agenda, not completely in line with yours. It will be difficult, more difficult, um to get, um, the most out of them or the best kind of cooperation from them. Then you get others, where you have a, almost like a mutual goal, um, such as many of the NGOs we work with in terms of greening. And, um our goals are aligned with theirs. Maybe, as an example: Abalimi, um, where we try to develop home food gardens with communities. Um, they are always, um, short of funds to do more. Um, on our side funding it's not the problem, capacity is the problem, they can provide the capacity, so, it's a good synergy in that sense.

Through the Aachen Partnership we engage directly with civil society. It is a way to increase service delivery because of the capacity that they have and the knowledge they have of working with communities.

The City can't work alone. If you look at the complexity of development... major challenges, the City is open and creates the spaces for other organisations to come in. Thus far, we've spoken to Social Services, Provisional and City and other departments. Usually there is a positiveness around partnering with the City.

We are encouraged by the eagerness and willingness of external partners. We see partnerships as an extremely important part of our work. We are a small team, so we do rely on them.

Many departments would like to work together; it just takes a Unit like us to start facilitating that cooperation and partnerships. People want to work together; just sometimes they don't know how to work together. And if we can help them identify the commonalities that exist between them, more organisations, units, departments, will come on board.

An advantage of NGO partnership with CoCT – we can unlock barriers they encounter with other departments. Because sometimes the organisations can find it difficult to know which department they need to engage; to know who to speak to solve a certain problem.

Section 2: Partnership with AB

I know that you are engaging external partnerships through the Cape Town – Aachen Partnership and also the Sustainable Livelihoods Network. How would you describe the role that Abalimi plays in these partnerships?

In the Aachen Partnership, Rob manages the finances from Misereor; and the SL Network is still in the process of development, of establishment, so...

Abalimi has a good track record; they are well connected, they know NGOs. Abalimi understands the development landscape and I think what they bring to both these networks/partnerships is a thorough understanding; understanding the challenges, understanding how the donor world operates – those kinds of dynamics. And they bring their experiences, those kinds of skills, knowledge. And I think that the City is in a very good position to start tapping into those skills, this local knowledge, this understanding of development. You know, part of Sustainable Livelihoods is to better understand how the poor operate. Abalimi, given their experience, affords us the opportunity to actually broaden our understanding of how the poor operates, how they survive on a daily basis. So that is what they bring to both of these partnerships and what they bring to the City.

The Sustainable Livelihoods Network is a good way to link CBO, NGOs to the City as the local authority. We are not the leaders of that Network, but we are a partner and I suppose we play a leading role to an extent, but we are regarded as an equal partner. Where we can synergise, we do, so we often find that these partners, those organisations that have a goal

similar to ours and then we can align. But in terms of practically working together, there is not much of that happening. The reason is that we all have our jobs to do and we all have other things to do. The only time we do work closely together is when one component has funding and the other component has capacity for a specific, common function; which is not rare, it happens. Especially with people like Abalimi, its happened where we are planning additional things with them around greening...The other one is; those contribute to our policy formulation. They will provide input from the ground. They are our sensors on the ground and they will inform policy. They will tell us which way to go in term of a specific decision – we don't get ruled by that, but we do take that into consideration because it's an unbiased opinion from an organisation that's proved commitment. So, they will also inform decision making in terms of specific projects or interventions. If we have an amount of money to invest in a community, they provide advice as to where to focus that – if it needs to be focused. There's a huge requirement from the poor communities in the City of Cape Town – where there's too much to address at once. And there is no way we have enough funds to address all their problems at once. So we have to be strategic and very effective with the little resources we have and these partners do contribute to the effective decision-making, when it comes to appropriate investment of these resources.
