THE LINK BETWEEN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES (RDP & GEAR) AND POVERTY REDUCTION

(Airport Valley as an illustrative case)

THELMA THOKOZILE BATYI
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THELMA THOKOZILE BATYI

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Supervisor: R. Ncwadi
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ABSTRACT

The key debates after apartheid have been on the successes and shortcomings of the social and economic policies that were adopted after apartheid. The ANC government decided to approach poverty reduction by closing the inequality gap between racial groups in the country. It planned to provide services that would improve the poor people’s lives and also create employment to sustain development. To provide the necessary services, the government formulated two broad, but linked macroeconomic policies namely: the RDP and GEAR which focused on the demand and supply side respectively (Venter and Landsberg (2006)). This indicated the importance with which the people’s welfare and growth were regarded by the South African government. It indicated that the government believed in pro-poor growth.

The purpose of this study was to gain better and deeper understanding about poverty reduction since the 1994 political transition, from the poor people of Airport Valley (in the Nelson Mandela Metropolital Municipality), who experience poverty from the real world. The study attempted to find out from these people if there was improvement in their lives since democratisation.

This qualitative and quantitative study used three methods of collecting data namely: a questionnaire, interviews and observation. The results of the study suggest that there has been lack of commitment by RDP and GEAR, as the conditions under which the people live and therefore their standard of living have not improved.

The study recommends that the government should speed up the process of service delivery at Airport Valley and also include the people in decision making about the future of Airport Valley.
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Chapter I

1.1 Introduction:

When this present government took over in 1994, one of its goals was to reduce poverty especially in previously disadvantaged groups that were suffering social exclusion under the apartheid government. Research confirms success of economic development programmes meant for poverty reduction in some regions. For example, in some dimensions, poverty has been reduced in Gauteng, Kwa-Zulu Natal and Limpopo according to the 1996 to 2001 comparison study (Bhorat, Poswell and Naidoo, 2004).

This research was intended to investigate poverty reduction at an informal settlement in Airport Valley near Walmer Township in Port Elizabeth (Eastern Cape). Shacks in this previous dumping area mushroomed from the late 1980’s and early 1990’s and on commencement of this research they were still growing in number. The growth of this informal settlement could be an indication that more people who had previously not been poor but who had been vulnerable in some dimensions of poverty had been shocked into this condition, and also, those people who had already been poor were shocked into even deeper poverty (Osmani, 2003).

When Osmani (2003), describes the idea of vulnerability he argues that there are two groups of people that might be affected by vulnerability. Firstly, people who are on the side of the non-poor, but are so close to the fence that if there was any shock, they would fall on the side of the poor. Secondly, Osmani (2003) claims that even those who are already poor could be in danger of falling into deeper poverty should there be a shock on one or two dimensions. It means those who were not poor, together with those who were already poor, could be vulnerable to poverty. This could be the case at Walmer, where the number of people moving into Airport Valley has been increasing. More people felt helpless against poverty shocks such as unemployment, diseases, sudden death of breadwinners and many others, and decided to move to this area. “[Failure] of [their] basic
capabilities to reach certain minimally acceptable levels” (Sen, 1992:109), caused them to be poor. If the municipal government in Port Elizabeth does not immediately do something about these people, they might be ‘chronically poor’, and unable to access resources and free themselves from poverty for the rest of their lives. But the question is: How can the government make sure that the economic development of Airport Valley aids poverty reduction? And if it does not, what are the challenges it encounters in service delivery? If there are any, it is important to communicate them as they might delay the poverty reduction process. When communicating these obstacles the government has to include the affected community.

There was disagreement over land between the Airport Valley community and the Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality. The community claimed that it was promised houses on the land the Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality described as “NEVER zoned for housing” (South African Political Party Media Releases, February 27, 2007), but earmarked for industrial development by the previous Port Elizabeth Municipality (PEM) and sold in March 2000 with the Premier’s approval on 6 September 2000. This resulted in a conflict of interest over this piece of land, between the Airport Valley community and Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality. However, this is not supposed to be an obstacle to economic development of this place, as the government agreed to use redistribution of land to transform and redress the imbalances caused by colonialism and apartheid to reduce poverty (Ntsebeza and Hall, 2007). According to Ntsebeza and Hall (2007:112), the ANC Bill of Rights during the negotiation of property rights stated in section (13) that, “[p]roperty rights impose obligations and their exercise should not be in conflict with the public interest.” Thus, this land could be expropriated for public purposes, as poverty reduction among the previously disadvantaged comes first in this country.

Economic development is aimed at reducing poverty, and after achieving political freedom in 1994, South Africa adopted economic development programmes such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) in 1994; Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) in 1996 and Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative of South Africa (ASGISA) with the aim of reducing poverty in
extremely poor communities. This researcher investigated whether the Airport Valley community benefited from the above economic development programmes or not, and also, whether these programmes were effective for poverty reduction at Airport Valley.

All government departments in the country have a common theme in their development - that of poverty reduction - and therefore should prevent poverty from escalating into violence. In attempting to halve poverty by 2015, the government should adopt the participatory approach and let the poor communities participate in the process. With full participation of communities in the Nelson Mandela Bay Municipal area, there could be communication and a partnership relationship could be built (Plummer, 2000). Thus, the volatility of violence could be curbed and the fear and vulnerability of non-poor and poor people when they are aware of a risk of falling into poverty and deeper poverty (respectively), could be taken into consideration while communicating. If there is no relationship and no communication between municipalities and communities, economic development programmes might not work to reduce poverty and service delivery might be slow and inadequate.

While there is escalating poverty in the Eastern Cape, departments are accused of under-spending. For example, “the national housing department had to take back R500-million from the [Eastern] province because it was not being spent as there were not [housing] projects ready to be implemented” (The Herald, 19 October, 2007). If this is true, it further exacerbates poverty instead of reducing it, and could mean that the Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality, like many others in the province, also does not have housing projects to implement. If this municipality does have projects, this could be revealing lack of skills and capacity to handle such projects in government officials and also, lack of coordination between local and provincial governments. On the other hand, the whole issue of taking this money back could be a sign that the present economic development programmes can actually generate more money than can be used to reduce poverty in the country.

The key political and economic issue after 1994 has been to improve the socio-economic status of the previously disadvantaged poor Blacks in the country. If
after thirteen years in democracy there are previously disadvantaged people who are still unable to satisfy their basic needs, this could mean there is a problem, either with the economic development programmes adopted or the capability of government officials that are supposed to implement them with the community representatives negotiating the needs of the people. Tracing the effects of economic development in the Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality may lead to a solution that could help relieve the Airport Valley community from poverty and inform the local government of issues causing delay in improving the social lives of the people and bring about stability in the area.

1.2 The aims of the study:

The purpose of this quantitative and qualitative study was to gain better and deeper understanding about poverty reduction issues since the 1994 political transition, from the non-poor and poor people, who experience poverty from the real world. The study attempted to find out from these people if there was improvement in their lives since democrratisation. If economic development is a way of creating wealth to be used to improve the citizens’ quality of life in a country (Venter and Landsberg, 2006), the purpose of this study was also to investigate inadequacies in this process so as to inform the government about problems with redistribution of the wealth created. This was also done in order to contribute towards international poverty reduction strategies, to enable the country to reach the Millennium Development Goals, of 2015. Participants were people who regarded themselves as vulnerable to the shocks of poverty. It is those people who experience incapability to free themselves from poverty.

It is important to keep checking the challenges in the way of poverty reduction as communities are unique and therefore might need different approaches to economic development. If certain projects do not work for service delivery with one poor community, it does not mean that they could not work with other poor communities. Thus, evaluating the economic development programmes by checking whether they are effective in poverty reduction in some communities is a

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1 And that of halving poverty in this country by 2014
positive step to take, hence this study investigated challenges that might have been cropping up in service delivery since democratisation, so that the economic development programmes could be directed to them.

This researcher collected first hand information about the conditions under which poor communities in South Africa live, in order to provide policy makers with information on adequacy or inadequacy of their policies including their implementation. The goals of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), as outlined by the Government of National Unity in 1994 were to eliminate poverty and close the racial gap between the rich and the poor in the society. To ensure effectiveness of this economic policy, a macro-economic system\(^2\) designed to generate growth and create employment was adopted, and later on was supported by ASGISA, a skills development programme.

On many occasions communities find themselves disadvantaged because of the geographical areas in which they are situated, and government resources tend to be allocated to the already established urban areas. In that case critiques of the present economic development programmes like Robinson (2006:1) argue that:

> even ASGISA does not evolve to bring about more inclusive growth ...It lacks any systematic attempt to ensure that growth of what ever figure – 6% or more – does not perpetuate the current growth path of inequality. It doesn't address the critical question of how to ensure that the beneficiaries of growth don’t continue to be largely the same suspects.

Fighting inequality seems to be difficult in the country if after 11 years of the democratic transition and the adoption of new economic policies, there are still reports that 61% of the poor are Africans, 38% are coloured, 5% Indian and 1% white (Poverty and Inequality in South Africa, 2006). These seem to be the same ratios of poverty as they were during apartheid, and it seems to confirm Robinson above.

The principal aim of this study was to assess the effectiveness of economic strategies adopted after 1994 in combating poverty, particularly in the community

\(^2\) The Reconstruction, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR)
of Airport Valley in Walmer, Port Elizabeth. To assess the effectiveness of the economic strategies, this researcher checked if the standard of living of the people living in this area had been raised since the political transition. Also, the investigation of the smooth running of the service delivery process in this area provided information on the effectiveness of the economic development strategies in this area. That means this study focused on systematic reform and dismantling of the apartheid-created structures and procedures.

The aim of this study was also to confirm or refute critics’ statements like the one above by Robinson (2006) in which he states that people are not sure of the growth path, whether it is still perpetuating inequality and allows those who benefited from it under the previous government to continue benefiting. It was in this study where the community of Airport Valley provided information about how the government had been helping them acquire skills in order to contribute towards economic growth in the country and so that they could also benefit from it. So, this study evaluates poverty, unemployment and inequality at Airport Valley.

1.3 Significance of the study:

Since this study provides an assessment of the impact of government policies (e.g. RDP and Gear) on poverty in the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan’s Airport Valley, the government at all three levels (local, provincial and national) will benefit from it. The local government for example, will know exactly where to channel the resources earmarked by the national government for poverty reduction. It will know what still needs to be done towards service delivery in this settlement. The national and provincial government need information on parts of the country and communities that are benefiting and those that are not touched by its poverty reduction policies. Thus, this study will assist those implementing the government’s poverty reduction policies with the information they need to enhance this process.

Apart from the assistance this study will provide to the government to evaluate the impact of its policies, it will also be of great benefit to the Airport Valley community, as it will create a space for them to communicate their needs. In this case,
government officials will have information to rely on in their decision making about further activities towards service delivery. This study will provide the voice of the Airport Valley people.

In addition, the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University will benefit from this study, as it contributes to research already conducted in this institution and will be made available to all those who need it.

1.4 Research question:

The primary questions posed by this study are:

Does the economic development of Airport Valley contribute towards poverty reduction and if not, what are the challenges it encounters in service delivery?

1.5 Reasons for selecting Airport Valley:

This study evaluates the effectiveness of the economic development programmes (RDP and GEAR) in reducing poverty in South Africa after the democratic and economic transition and when it comes to poor communities. This restricts the sample to a poor and a medium large community like the one at Airport Valley. Thirty households are in the sample and the following factors determine the size of the sample:

- The willingness of the Airport Valley people to talk about poverty, unemployment and their feelings of inequality;

- The availability of the people despite having to go out almost every day in search of income to satisfy basic needs;

- The experience and interest of the researcher in development and working to raise the standard of living of the poor working with an NGO has prompted the evaluation of the effectiveness of the
economic development programmes in reducing poverty in this community.

The Airport Valley community was chosen because it is one of the communities that were (and still are) poor. The researcher watched and helped households in this area who had been shocked into poverty by sometimes a sudden death of the breadwinner. She watched the tensions between the Airport Valley people and the Municipal office in this area, as the community in the sample got impatient with waiting for the trickle down of the economic growth. The researcher decided to check if the growth was used for economic development and if that economic development if there was any, reduced poverty in the target community. The researcher has seen economic development working to reduce poverty in other communities and wondered if it had the same effect on this community.

1.6 Chapter breakdown:

This study has five chapters. Chapter one includes the aims of the study, research question and its significance, reasons for selecting Airport Valley as a sample and chapter breakdown.

Chapter two describes poverty reduction and economic development programmes e.g. RDP, GEAR and ASGISA, while it grapples with relevant theories and literature review.

Chapter three discusses methodology, that is, it deals with methods of collecting data and provides reasons for these methods to be used.

Chapter four is about the findings and analysis of this data with the results reached from the analysis presented.

Chapter five provides the recommendation and conclusion.
Chapter II

Literature Review: Theories

2.1 Introduction:

From the time when the ANC government took over from the apartheid government in 1994, it has been faced by major development challenges like employment, industrial policy, urban governance, the informal economy and social challenges of poverty, inequality, HIV/AIDS and health policy. As a result, the key debates of the post apartheid era have been more on the successes and shortcomings of the economic and social policies adopted during the first decade after the political transition, in order to decide whether they are developmental or not.

The economic policy adopted by the new government after 1994 was the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which was soon consolidated in 1996 by the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Programme, also known as GEAR (Padayachee, 2006). The adoption of these two economic policies, one after the other is a clear indication that, economic growth and the welfare of the people are important, and the South African government did not trade off welfare to adopt economic growth or vice versa. Thus, from the beginning of the democratic rule, the government chose the above economic plans to alleviate people from poverty.

These development trends could confirm South Africa to be following a developmental economic reform. However, it is important to examine the above economic development policies together with their outcomes on different South African contexts, and decide if they have been effective in reducing poverty or not. In other words, the link between the economic development programmes adopted after 1994 and poverty reduction as a major challenge, need to be checked to make sure that all the poor, both in urban and in rural areas, benefit from the economic growth in the country, as planned by the government in 1994.
Thus, for deep understanding of poverty, the national economic development programmes adopted in the name of poverty reduction are revisited, explained and their meaningfulness in alleviating poverty in previously disadvantaged groups in the country are examined. In this process, relevant international programmes like the Washington Consensus, the United Nations Development Programme and the Millennium Development Goals are highlighted. The aim of this chapter is to discuss theories of economic development, the extent of poverty and strategies to combat poverty in South Africa.

2.2 Theories of economic development

2.2.1 Rostow’s five stages of development:

Rostow (1960) in Davids, Theron and Maphunye (2005:9) points out that there are five stages of development through which less developed countries go. These stages are: Traditional society; Preconditions to take-off; Take-off; Drive to maturity and Age of high mass consumption.

Since development was initially perceived to be a process of becoming modern (Mc Gowan and Nel, 2002), the first stage Traditional society indicates the origins of the developed society, that is, the pre-industrial stage of a society\(^3\). In development people have to change their traditional ways of producing and adopt the North and Western modern methods. Hence the first stage in development deals with the change of the traditional society to make it ready for development. This traditional society might not accept development if it is forced to adopt it. However, Ayittey (2005) argues that one of the reasons development fails in Africa could be the destruction of the African people’s traditions in the process. He believes that African societies’ traditions should be part of development. In other words, Africans should not abandon their traditions in favour of modernity. Nabudere in Padayachee (2005:39) supports this argument when he suggests that there is a need to look at ‘tradition’ as a basis for the non-European countries’ own programmes of social transformation. Thus, while Rostow believed that people in

\(^3\) However, South Africa went through industrialization and urbanization process long before 1994
underdeveloped countries need to be converted from traditional to modern economic ways, Africans⁴ suggest that it is the process of changing the traditional society that makes development unsuccessful, as people’s values are undermined. So, development could be improved if tradition could be maintained. This stage is also about social change, which according to Terreblache (2002) had not happened in South Africa after eight years of political change, as inequality, unemployment and poverty still existed for the African group⁵. Inequality in the South African society has led to the separation of the economy into two; the first and the second economies. It seems this society has not transformed if pre-1994 inequality still exists, and therefore development might not proceed to the next stage if people belong to two economies instead of one.

The next stage, Precondition to take off is about the formulation of policies to be followed in development. This stage is also about the preparations for the development process. Seemingly if these two foundational stages are not properly done, development might not take off. For instance, if the policy formulators are not present during the implementation stage, there might be gaps or unanswered questions in the policies which could delay this stage. In addition, if during the first stage people are not intellectually enabled to formulate good and effective policies, development might not go beyond this stage. People need to be equipped with skills for innovation and research development. Thus, at this stage the environment has to be enabled for development (Ayittey, 2005).

During the Take off stage the economy of the country is supposed to be showing signs of growing, and with effective management of the development process by less corrupt leaders in the country, this stage could be smooth and could take fewer years than expected. Ayittey (2005) believes that the power to let development take off is with the African leaders. Corruption does not necessarily mean mismanagement of funds but also choice of policies that could undermine the poor by causing unemployment and inequality especially when the economy of the country is still in the initial stages of development. Also, development depends

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⁴ Ayittey and Nabudere
⁵ Blacks
on increasing the productivity of the education sector, which leads to a higher level of human capital (Kejak, 2003) to proceed from this stage.

From the above transitional stages in which “a dual [economic] structure with underemployment...can occur as a general equilibrium phenomenon” (Sachs, Yang and Zhang, 1999), the Drive to maturity stage starts. The dual economic sectors are integrated and development is driven to maturity by capable leaders, who make sure that gains do not go only to the developed economy. For development to reach maturity in a country, it is important for leaders to create an environment for both foreign and domestic investment as “development does not take place in a swamp or vacuum but in an ‘enabling environment’ which must have...security of persons and property; rule of law; and basic infrastructure” (Ayittey, 2005). It would be difficult for this to happen if the level of human capital was low in a country.

The last stage, Age of high mass consumption happens after the economy has adjusted on the unsteady state of the Drive to maturity, when people are motivated to devote more time on education and when there is a balance between human and physical capital. The probable reason why the South African Deputy President Mlambo Ngcuka is busy promoting skills development in the country, is to gain increased efficiency of the labour force, so as to unchain development from the Take off to the last two stages.

Rostow explains that if a movement from one stage to the next does not naturally take place, then it means there are obstacles in the way of the “natural development process” and that “[the] removal of [these obstacles] …will allow development to follow its natural course” Davids et al. (2005:11). There could also be obstacles in the way of the development of some poor South African communities, and this researcher believes that obstacles need to be identified as they cannot be removed without identification. Hence the research is conducted in order to inform the government of exactly where the obstacles are.

Rostow in Davids et al. (2005:11) also believes that “at some stage in the process of development there will be a filtering or diffusion of growth (development) from
the ‘more developed’ to the ‘less developed’ areas to form one economy instead of a dual economy in a country,” and if this ‘trickle down’ effect does not happen, then it means there is an obstacle. This researcher believes that the South African economy is rocked by the upheavals of the “take-off” stage and does not move beyond it. Although a developing country can take up to 60 years in this stage (Rostow 1960 in Davids et al. 2005), if obstacles that impede the ‘filtering’ of growth are identified in time and addressed, it can take far less than 60 years in this stage. Yet, when one looks back at the purpose of Rostow’s decision on the five developmental stages, one would understand why South Africa is taking time to go through each stage. This theory about the five developmental stages was designed especially to “counterbalance the Marxist five modes of production [and it] was part of the ideological baggage to back up the new approach of modernisation during the 1960s, (Nabudere in Padayachee, 2006:38).

The concept “modes of production” means the way of producing that cannot exist without human labour, power and means of production\(^6\). In economic development too, growth cannot be achieved without skilled labour, owners of the production, raw material and land. According to this theory of modes of production, the way of producing depends on the means of production at a particular time. In modes of production such as the stages of development, social change takes place. For example, from the Traditional society to a skilled and well educated society that can handle the instability when the economy jumps from the Take off to the Drive to maturity stage of Rostow’s economic development. On the other hand, the development of new social relations that conflict with an existing mode of production gives rise to a transitional era of social instability and social conflict until a new social order is finally consolidated with a new mode of production. Thus, social change leads to a new development stage or modes of production in both theories.

So, if Rostow’s developmental theory was coined in order to “counterbalance” Marx’s theory, development could surely be delayed by the strong Marxist beliefs

\(^6\)Means of production which are tools, equipment, buildings and technology, material and improved land
in the country\textsuperscript{7}, as these groups would like socialist theories to eventually win in the country. Thus, there might be another force challenging development and pulling it towards a different direction from that of Rostow’s development and capitalism in the country, which might cause the process to be slower. For example, theorists against this development argue that Rostow’s capitalistic development encourages dependency of the poorer and underdeveloped countries on the rich and developed countries and in this way enhances the exploitation of the poor by the rich countries.

When looking closely at Rostow’s theory of the stages in the economic development process, it is clear that economic development in less developed countries was supposed to follow the same stages as that of the Northern and Western countries, although the two contexts are different. This could be the reason why economic development in South Africa cannot move beyond the “Take off” stage. The first three stages are very important as they form the foundation of development and therefore, if something goes wrong in them, development might not take off. First of all, it seems Ayittey (2005) is right when he says African countries have a tendency to ignore traditional society during the economic development process. Before the Western idea of development, traditional societies had their own ways of development which should not be ignored. Ideas from traditional societies should be included in development for the process to succeed. President Mbeki’s idea of going back to the roots of Africans by including ideas from traditional leaders to remove obstacles like crime and let economic development take off, might have been influenced by Ayittey’s cry regarding the widespread ignorance of the traditional society in the economic development of African countries. So, the first stage of development, that of changing the traditional society into a modern society, does not seem to fit well in Africa as Africans do not seem to be ready to throw their cultures out of the window in favour of modern ways of living which are said to enhance economic development.

Rostow’s “Pre-condition to take off” stage seems to imply preparation of the society for the “Take off” in the economic development process. This could be the key to a

\textsuperscript{7} e.g. SACP and Cosatu’s Marxist theories
successful development process, as the attitudes of the people need to be prepared for the change. Apart from the people’s attitudes, readiness for economic development includes readiness with skills for innovation during the process, hence South Africa has gone back to skills development through programmes like ASGISA to loosen the bottleneck in the development process and let it take off. This stage is supposed to be for capacity building for development, and if this has not happened there could be more incidents like the one above where the national government has to take back some money from the province because it has not been used, (The Herald, 19 October, 2007). This clearly demonstrates lack of capacity, as government officials do not seem to be ready to handle some development projects. Thus, the Pre-condition stage needs to be revisited and government officials equipped with skills to handle economic development.

Another obstacle that could be delaying the “Take off” stage could be the corruption in African leadership (Ayittey, 2005), which shows lack of respect for the poor communities they represent. This could also delay the trickle-down of growth to the poorer communities, as funds that are supposed to be used for development of the poorer communities could be embezzled by corrupt leaders. So, development does not happen in a suitable environment in the country, hence it is stuck in the “Take off” stage. Ayittey (2005) argues that the key to successful African development is with the Africans themselves. Thus, with economic development that does not ignore the traditional society, high regard of skills and research development together with capacity building, while discouraging corruption, a less developed country’s governments (national, provincial and local) could be able to handle an economic development that goes beyond the “Take off” stage.

2.2.2 Dependency Theory:

Dependency theory is a model of economic and social development that explains global inequality in terms of the historical exploitation of poor nations by rich ones. According to the dependency theory, underdevelopment is a result of unequal power relations between developed capitalist countries and poor developing
countries. Dependency refers to over-reliance of developing nations on developed nations. This means a situation in which the economy of a certain country is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected (Larrain, 1994:112).

The relation of interdependence between two or more economies assumes the form of dependence where some countries (the dominant ones) expand at the expense of the developing nations. This suggests that independent growth and development are impossible for dependant economies.

The dependency school of thought divides the world into the centre and periphery. In the centre, economies are dynamic and growth in them is stimulated by factors internal to their economies. In the periphery, growth may occur, but the sources of this growth are external in nature and located in the centre. It is therefore clear that underdevelopment of the periphery is the direct result of the development of the centre.

Development in the core countries and underdevelopment in the peripheral countries are two sides of the same coin. This means that underdevelopment in one was caused by development in the other. Therefore one necessarily implies the other. This argument is supported by Wiber and Jameson (1992:115) where they state that the developing countries did not have a chance against the forces of expanding and developing capitalism and their own development had to be sacrificed to that of others. The dependency theory focuses on the relations between the core and the periphery societies, which are exploitative and a useful means to account for the limited progress in peripheral countries in terms of economic development.

According to Skarstein (1997: 46) the metropolis expropriates economic surplus from its satellites and appropriates it for its own economic development. The satellites remain underdeveloped for lack of access to their own surplus and exploitative contradictions, which the metropolis introduces and maintains in the satellite’s domestic economic structure. This implies that the satellites are already capitalist all through and are being penetrated by and integrated into the world
capitalist system from the beginning. In other words, the process of capitalists “development of underdevelopment” has been a permanent phenomenon in the periphery ever since capitalism started to develop in the core (Skarstein, 1997:47).

The issue of exploitation originated from unequal conditions of trade. For example, peripheral countries at a particular stage in their development exported cheaper goods, and bought more expensive goods in return. There was also a tendency for the prices of primary goods to fall and the manufactured ones to rise. This led to chronic balance of payments problems for peripheral countries. Capital was continually being transferred from the periphery to the core (Skarstein, 1997: 47). This exploitative country-to-country relationship extended to urban-rural relationships. For example, an extended chain of exploitation from the local centres, to landowners, or merchants who expropriate surplus from small peasants or tenants or even from tenants to landless labourers exploited by them in turn. So, what made this exploitation possible was the distortion of peripheral economies to serve the needs of the core economies.

According to Turker (1999: 191) development is a process whereby other people are dominated and their destinies are shaped according to an essentially Western way of conceiving and perceiving the world. The development discourse is part of an imperial process whereby other people are appropriated and turned into objects. Tucker does not see any tangible contribution of the developed countries in the stability and improvement of the developing countries. He argues that development cannot be seen as a natural process and disagrees completely with the notion that development theory should be elevated to the status of a natural phenomenon. The main argument of the dependency school of thought is that foreign and financial investments entangle the periphery into the capitalist network of the centre, and the profits arising from these investments are transferred as surplus from the periphery to the centre, therefore aggravating poverty of the periphery.

Capitalism in the wealthier core countries ensures that developing countries remain under-developed by continuously exploiting poorer or peripheral countries (Coetzee et al. 2004). This exploitative relationship between the core and
Peripheral countries extend to urban and rural areas within the developing countries themselves. It is common to find in developing countries the skewed distribution of resources in favour of core urban areas whilst the countryside is neglected. Because of the skewed distribution of resources, the migrant labour tends to be concentrated in urban areas leading to shortage of proper houses and mushrooming of informal settlement in urban areas. Similarly, developed economies in the core distort the underdevelopment in the periphery in order to maintain their development status. It is against this background that the stages of growth as suggested by Rostow (1960) may not be as successful as the theory suggests (Davids et al. 2005:11).

Further, the apartheid system in South Africa led to the exploitation of the vulnerable groups through unequal distribution of resources within the country (Coetzee et al. 2004:84). Although South Africa is in its 13th year of democracy, the scars and the legacy of apartheid still remain. The economic power is still concentrated in the hands of the few. The transformation process is taking place but in slow motion. Signs of poverty-stricken areas and dependency of the vulnerable on economically strong members of the population are discernible in South African society.

Most of the people living in informal settlements in the country can be compared to those in the periphery of capitalism and it could be guessed that, the rich people in the centre of the capitalist system are not interested to help them escape the poverty they find themselves in, as disentangling them from it could lead to collapse of capitalism and their loss of wealth. Hence the enhancement of the filtering of wealth from the rich to the poor to reduce poverty seems to only be a theory. It seems this process in South Africa is expected to be monitored by the same people that are already benefiting from the system, and that could be one of the reasons why it is slow or does not happen.

As the world is divided into the centre and the periphery by the dependency school of thought, the same seems to be happening in South Africa. Socially and economically the country is divided into two groups, the rich and the poor belonging into the first and the second economies respectively. While the rich in
the centre and in the first economy have control over factors stimulating their economy, for those in the periphery and in the second economy in South Africa sources of growth are controlled externally, in the centre and by those in control of the first economy. It means, therefore that the underdevelopment of those living in informal settlements could be the direct results of the development of those in the first economy and in the centre. For example, in the country growth is stimulated by GEAR a policy internal to the first economy. Underdevelopment of the poor in the second economy and especially of those living in informal settlements could be the direct results of the development of the rich in the centre under the first economy. And as Wiber and Jameson (1992:115) above argue, the peripheral societies, like developing countries do not have a chance against the forces of expanding and developing capitalism and their own development has to be sacrificed to that of others. The poor societies remain poor and do not have access to growth while they have contributed through their cheap labour to its creation in South Africa. It is these exploitative relations between these societies that the dependency theory is focusing.

2.2.3 Poverty and its meanings:

To be poor is to be hungry, to lack shelter and clothing, to be sick and not cared for, to be illiterate and not schooled. But for poor people, living in poverty is more than this. Poor people are particularly vulnerable to adverse events outside their control. They are often treated badly by the institutions of state and society, and excluded from voice and power in those institutions (World Bank, 2000: 15).

The concept “poverty” was developed by the non-poor (Øyen, 2005), to indicate inadequate command of resources. Some people are born into poverty by virtue of belonging to a certain class, for them poverty is inescapable, as children born into this class cannot change that. Societies consist of different social classes, for example, those who are capable of accessing social and economic resources, and who are always on top in the societal strata, and those who are not capable of accessing resources to improve their lives at the bottom.

Thirteen years after the coming of democracy right-wing coups or hyperinflation are not on the horizon. However, that the poor remain as large a group as ever
seems to be an intractable feature of post-liberation South Africa. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) revealed in its 2004 report that the poverty rate in South Africa stood at 48% (UNDP, 2003). The Taylor Commission reported a poverty rate of between 45% and 55%. Charles Meth holds that there were some 19.5 million people living below the poverty line in 2002, up from the 1997 figure of 17.2 million. Of these people somewhere between 7 and 15 million are living in utter destitution (Meth, 2004). A government agency, Statistics South Africa, reports that households earning less than R670 a month increased from 20% of the population in 1995 to 28% in 2000 (StatsSA, 2002).

Blacks are generally poorer than other races in South Africa. Most black people are not capable of accessing both economic and social sources. For example, Davids et al, (2005:41) argue that in South Africa “it was the colour of people’s skin, their locality (rural or urban) and their gender that determined their wealth or poverty”. Amongst the poor blacks, women were the poorest (Davids et al, 2005).

Poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon that is not easy to examine and describe. It can be caused by various reasons such as capability, vulnerability and social exclusion (Sen, 1993 and Osmani, 2003). Capability, vulnerability and social exclusion as causes of poverty are discussed in the following sub-paragraphs:

2.3.1 Capability:

Poverty results from low levels of capability to reach certain minimally acceptable levels (Sen, 1992:109). If a person is denied an opportunity to access education he or she might not be skilled enough to get income that would provide him or her with capability to improve his standard of living and escape poverty. Further, a person who uses the income on gambling and drinking alcohol instead of using it to access the basic need such as food for his/her family, this could mean that person does not have the capability of ‘functioning’ in a way that will help him improve his well-being, either because he is deprived of the capability to think properly by illiteracy or because of mere selfishness.
Qizilbash (2005) argues that income is not a dimension to measure poverty but rather an instrument that affects a person’s well-being. However, in contrast to Qizilbash’s perception about income and poverty, income per household indicates whether people live above or below the income measure or poverty line (Davids et al., 2005). In addition, if one has capability to collect a reasonable income but does not know how to use it in a way that will free one from poverty, one can remain poor while one has an opportunity to free oneself (Osmani, 2003).

In its Reconstruction and Development Programme, the South African government is redistributing land, building houses, providing free education and free health care to provide capacity to people to free themselves from poverty (Padayachee, 2006). Without tangible assets such as shelter and security, people would be poor, as their income might not be enough to pay for land and a house. This could mean that one can be capable of collecting high income to stay in a house instead of staying in a shack but, if that person is deprived of the opportunity to get a piece of free land for a house as a citizen, the income will mean nothing.

In other words, the income alone will not let that person live with dignity, especially rural people who have come to urban areas to seek employment, as these people are not familiar with life in rented flats in city centres. During the apartheid era black people could not free themselves from the lower class as they were deprived of certain tangible assets such as land and houses by the previous government. Policies in place during this time in this country did not provide capability to people to free themselves from the lower class. Even though some people had incomes, they lacked the capability to access land. They could not occupy any land they liked because of the Group Areas Act or the Influx Control Act.

The new democratic government promises to provide people with land and to halve poverty by 2014. However, because of incapability to access land, improving the well-being of the majority of the black poor is still far from being realised (De Villiers, in the Financial Mail 27, October 2006).
2.3.2 Vulnerability:

Vulnerability means to be weak and be easily hurt physically or emotionally. In the context of this dissertation, vulnerability is used to explain the inability of the poor to cope with economic development (Davids et al. 2005). Osmani (2003) argues that there are two groups of people that are vulnerable. Firstly, people who are not poor but are so close to poverty that if there could be any “shock”, they would slide completely into poverty. Secondly, Osmani (2003) claims that even those that are already poor could be in danger of falling into “deeper poverty” should there be a shock.

Vulnerability goes with ‘risk’. For example, vulnerable people live in fear of being shocked into poverty or deeper poverty and therefore need the government to protect them from vulnerability and the risk of falling into poverty (Osmani, 2003).

2.3.3 Social Exclusion:

Social exclusion is a political term because it implies inequality of social groups in a society. Despite welfare and general wealth provided by the state, there remains a group that is excluded from the mainstream benefits of the society (Davids et al., 2005:39). In South Africa for instance, during the apartheid era, blacks were deprived of a quality educational system.

However, although the democratic government of South Africa provides equal education to all, access to education is not easy to all population groups. Previously white schools had facilities such as scientific laboratories, libraries and computer laboratories for learners while in some black schools these facilities are still lacking.

Strategies adopted by the government to alleviate poverty are discussed in the following section:
2.4 Poverty Reduction:

Poverty reduction implies that poverty is not eradicated but reduced. Poverty reduction is what is actually taking place in the developing countries. According to Davids et al (2005) active participation by the poor in poverty reduction is essential in that the poor know better what their needs are, rather than someone else thinking what is best for them. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was designed to empower people so that they could become self-reliant in the long run. Thus, the RDP could be seen as a people-driven development strategy.

2.4.1 Economic development as a strategy for poverty reduction:

Poverty, inequality and unemployment are intertwined in South Africa and it is believed that poverty can be reduced by first boosting economic growth and then using the growth to develop or improve the conditions of the poor. Gelb (2007) believes that the process of growth through redistribution is focusing on redistributing income and wealth to the poor to increase domestic demand to drive growth.

Lindow in Naidoo (2007) says “the economy has now a reserve cushion that can be used in cases of absolute emergency [and the] government’s relative low debt is also a draw card.” This means that more money can now be used for social spending, which means that the ‘trickle down’ effect can be expected to take place in South Africa. The government’s seriousness about poverty reduction in South Africa is reflected in its macroeconomic policies, namely, RDP, GEAR and ASGISA. These policies are discussed in the following sub-paragraphs:

2.4.1.1 Reconstruction and Development Programme:

The objectives of RDP were to:

Empower people so that they could become self-reliant in the long-run;
Build local capacity through development support;
Initiate development programmes and projects on a participatory basis and Address the injustices of the past caused by both colonialism and apartheid (Davids et al. 2005:43).

As a result of the above policy, people participated in their own development and some objectives were realized. The government promised shelter for all, and pledged to build a million houses in five years, that is between 1994 and 1999. The millionth house was built in 2003, probably because the number of people living in shacks increased between 1994 and 2002, (Hemson and O'Donovan in Buhlungu, Daniel, Southall and Lutchman, 2006). People were promised access to clean running water, basic sanitation, electricity, social security, improved health, education and security conditions. However, fulfilling all these promises for all those in poverty seems to have been difficult for the government as the population increased by 2.8 million from 1994 (Buhlungu et al., 2006). Instead the government’s 2004 election promise changed to creating a million jobs over five years through the expanded public works programmes. Although some RDP objectives are not being fulfilled in time, it seems they cannot be jettisoned. They will always be part of the government package as they echo the Freedom Charter and as a result give a spark of hope to the poor.

However, the RDP was consolidated into the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy. According to Venter and Landsberg (2006), to redress the country’s past inequalities, two broad but linked macroeconomic policies were formulated. The first was the 1994 RDP, which focused on the demand side of the economy, and dealt with the people’s expectations from the government, while the second was the 1996 GEAR, which was for the stimulation of growth to fulfil the demands and therefore was on the supply side of the economy. In other words, the two economic policies were linked and not separated. GEAR as an economic policy and a strategy for poverty reduction is discussed in the paragraphs below:
2.4.1.2 Growth, Employment and Redistribution:

GEAR was adopted in order to balance the RDP (Manuel, 2006) which was seen as just a vision and a promise to be fulfilled. But, there is an argument that the shift from the people-driven RDP to the neo-liberal prescription of the GEAR was in line with the Washington Consensus policies imposed by the World Bank International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organisation (WTO) (Davids et al., 2005). The Washington Consensus is “the idea which had set the stage for the reduction of the role of the state in the ‘development thinking’ of global bodies such as International Monetary Fund and the World Bank since the 1980s” (Buhlungu et al., 2006). Many scholars interpreted the Washington Consensus as an attempt by international financial institutions to ensure debt repayment, rather than benefit the countries involved (Venter and Landsberg, 2006).

GEAR as a poverty reduction strategy has been accused of increasing inequality between and within the various population groups in South Africa. GEAR has also been accused of its inability to reduce poverty through decreasing unemployment. While GEAR has been seen as successful in generating growth, the poverty reduction strategy has not been seen as being successful in reducing poverty in this decade, as the wealth generated is claimed not to have been able to reach the poor in the lower strata of the society. In other words, the “trickle down” effect has not happened (Terreblanche, 2005). Instead it is claimed to have made the rich, richer and the poor, poorer. In addition, GEAR has been accused of widening the gap between the rich and the poor in South Africa (Venter and Landsberg, 2005). As a result of this gap between the rich and the poor, President Thabo Mbeki claims that there are two nations and two economies in South Africa. The distribution of income and resources is still skewed and does not reach everyone (Terreblanche, 2005).

Nzimande (2005) believes that even if growth reaches 6% it will not necessarily translate into jobs and development. With a huge wealth gap and the paucity of skills within the majority of the population, a higher growth on its own can only lead to more accumulation by a few, with very little impact on the majority of the poor
people. As long as the growth does not address the developmental needs of the poor majority, it is useless to generate it as only few people benefit from it. But, the government chose to reduce poverty through the growth approach and there can be a loophole to make it work. Mbeki (2001) believes that through the creation of a non-racial, non-sexist democratic society, past inequalities could be addressed and poverty could be reduced. He believes with a raised standard of living the people will be equal and will become one nation with one economy.

2.4.1.3 ASGISA as a strategy for Poverty Reduction:

As the RDP was supported by GEAR, the government decided to support GEAR with Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA) which is a programme that is aimed at making sure unemployment and poverty are halved by 2014 in the country. This programme is in line with the country’s social objectives and the Millennium Development Goals, according to which poverty has to be halved by 2015.

ASGISA as a programme was launched in February 2005 by Mlambo Ngcuka who emphasized the fact that it was a national programme of shared economic growth (ASGISA: accelerated growth for all, 2008). This is interesting as the inequality gap between the rich and the poor keeps widening in the country. It means if this programme could be effective the inequality gap could be narrowed and dependency of the poor on the rich, that is, of the second on the first economy could be limited. South Africa seems to neutralise the first world economic strategy it has adopted (GEAR) with one which suits the majority in the country that still belong to the second economy. The country has been generating growth (from 3% during the first decade of freedom to 5% in 2005 and is targeting 6% in future). However, growth has not been enjoyed by all South Africans. In other words, the filtering down of growth from the rich to the poor has not been happening, hence ASGISA has been adopted to make sure there is an end to the social injustice of excluding the majority of the population from the mainstream economy (ASGISA: accelerated growth for all, 2008).
Since a significant number of the South African population is still trapped in poverty due to lack of skills, the skills training to be delivered through the ASGISA could relieve people from poverty. With skills people could stop depending on government grants, and the government would have to design better redistribution strategy. ASGISA could make sure that more people are able to leave the second to the first economy instead of the few millionaires created by GEAR. It seems the President Thabo Mbeki himself acknowledges the fact that, in GEAR the filtering down of wealth from the rich to the poor does not happen or is very slow, and the inequality gap between the rich and the poor is widening. Hence all these negative elements of the rapid growth strategy (GEAR) are neutralised by the adoption of ASGISA.

Also, it is clear that the government in South Africa is aware that the second stage of Rowstow’s development (*Precondition to take off*) needs polishing. This is a stage during which capacity to handle the mainstream economy is built. Building human capital through skills development happens during this stage, and if the country goes back to it while it was thought to be already in the third stage (*Take-Off stage*), it means the government has realized its mistakes and goes back to undo them.

**2.5 Conclusion:**

Poverty is a universal problem, which needs each developed and underdeveloped country to be always aware of its dimensions for each community so that strategies to combat it can be effective. If poverty is treated as the same universally, strategies implemented to reduce it might not work, as the dimensions in which one community is poor, might differ from other communities’ dimensions of poverty. Poverty is caused by lack of development, hence development means alleviating, reducing or eliminating it (Davids et al, 2005). Yet, in the developed world, development happens without alleviating poverty as poverty of the lower class is always necessary to maintain the development of the classes higher up in the society strata.
South Africa adopted economic development strategies to reduce poverty. The country first adopted the RDP to improve the standard of living of the poor. When it became difficult for the government to implement this economic development strategy, it balanced it with the GEAR, a macro-economic strategy which was adopted to increase economic growth and create new job opportunities. This macro-economic strategy was to generate growth which was to be redistributed in such a way that it reached the poor and reduced poverty. When it was clear that unemployment was still rife while growth was increasing, a new strategy, the ASGISA, was adopted to develop skills within poor communities so that the poor could also participate in their own development.

It is the impact of these economic development strategies that needs to be evaluated. For example, one needs to examine the link between the economic strategies from 1994 and poverty reduction in poor communities. This will help the government know the impact of its economic strategies for each community in South Africa, instead of a blanket conclusion that the strategies are not effective.

Having outlined poverty and its meanings in this chapter, the following chapter will present the empirical finding of the socio-economic issues in the Airport Valley Walmer Township in Port Elizabeth.
Chapter III
Research Design

3.1 Introduction:

Most people in developing countries especially in Sub-Saharan Africa suffer extreme poverty. According to Sachs (2005:22) extreme poverty means that households cannot meet basic needs for survival. He further suggests that if 25% of a country’s total population is in extreme poverty, the whole country “is deemed to suffer from extreme poverty”. In South Africa’s population of 46.9 million, 17.49 million between the ages 15-65 and 37.2% of this age group are unemployed (Nogenga, 2007). South Africa seems to have a problem of many people suffering from extreme poverty as Nogenga (2007) reports that 28% were living below the poverty line in 1995. This could be one of the reasons for the new government to commit itself on alleviating poverty through the adoption of the RDP on its inception in 1994.

The high rate of unemployment is racially skewed and not in favour of blacks in the country and has been causing the inequality gap to widen. The RDP as a poverty reduction strategy was designed to close this gap and relieve the poor from the poverty of the apartheid era. The promises in the RDP and in the 2005-2006 State of the Nation address include deadlines for achieving some objectives. It is therefore important to assess whether or not RDP has had a positive impact on poverty reduction. Hence this study explores the link between RDP and GEAR as economic development strategies adopted after the 1994 democratic transition on one hand, and poverty reduction since this transition on the other.

The setting for this study is the community of Airport Valley, an informal settlement in Walmer, in Port Elizabeth.
3.2 The Sample

Since Airport Valley, an informal settlement area, is chosen, the sample is expected to include many poor people. The researcher has randomly chosen about sixty households to participate in the study. Every fifth household has participated in the study. Choosing them randomly has assisted in the validity of the study as neighbours could not share answers over the fence. So, it has been difficult for one household to know who else is participating in the study. Choosing the fifth household helps in getting different answers that assist with getting close to the true reflection of poverty and service delivery in this area. At least participants are scattered all over the area and are not to be found in one corner. Again sixty households is a reasonable number that can represent the community of about plus minus one thousand households in the area.

Analysis of the data is not difficult as information is manageable with this sample. Photographs of the informal settlement have been taken including the best and the worst shack. The inside and the outside of the shack have been photographed. If a household has some people staying at the backyard, only the main household is given a questionnaire, but information on the number of people living on one site is kept as that provides information about access to land and services for the people.

Walmer Township, where Airport Valley is, is close to the city and the airport. The people in this informal settlement are organized. They have community leaders and they belong to different political parties. While most of them are originally from Walmer Township, and have left homes because of population growth and growing households, others come from rural areas and farms near the city of Port Elizabeth and around the Eastern Cape. Hemson and O'Donovan in Buhlungu et al. (2006) confirm that the South African population is increasing at less than 2.5% each year and the number of households is increasing at twice this rate. There is also evidence of reduction in sizes of households, something which has led to the increase in number of these units.

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8 Thirty households answered the questionnaire and thirty were interviewed.
People at Airport Valley are eligible to vote and some of them voted for the present government. They are enjoying and are also still waiting for some services promised in the RDP. Hence it is wise to evaluate the impact of economic development on poverty reduction in this area.

### 3.3 Research Methodology

This study is conducted to address the problem of poverty and unemployment in the Airport Valley community, which could result from lack of economic development and inadequate redistribution of the country’s economic growth by government officials in local government and in the province. Thus, this researcher investigates the link between economic development and poverty reduction in this area. While this topic is widely researched, this investigation is conducted in order to make the government officials, who are also representatives of the Airport Valley (Walmer) community, aware of the role economic development programmes could play in uplifting people’s standard of living and reduce poverty. In order to find out whether there has been improvement in the extremely poor conditions in which this community has been living, research has to be conducted and government officials and community representatives have to be aware and decide on strategies to implement. Thus, this research is an attempt to contribute to generating solutions.

This study is both qualitative and quantitative. A qualitative study tests people’s attitudes or social values and methods of collecting data for this type of study are usually practical, as it deals with social values. Thus, this researcher has gone out and interacted with people in the field. In doing this the researcher has been very careful and has not led the participants with questions to give expected answers. Data has been collected through surveys in which questionnaires and interviews were used. To achieve Denzin’s triangulation as mentioned in Mouton (1998), observation as a third method for collecting data for this study has been used. This data has then been examined by evaluating the answers of the participants against the questions in the questionnaire or interviews and also against the economic development and poverty reduction theories. So, since a qualitative study measures words it depends largely on the participants’ answers,
as it is inductive and starts with the empirical world then checks people’s actions against a theory.

A quantitative study on the other hand, follows a deductive approach. It is abstract and starts by understanding and discussing an abstract theory that forms basic understanding of processes in the real world. A quantitative study measures numbers, for example in statistics. So, the impact of RDP, a programme contributing towards economic development and a poverty reduction strategy for Airport Valley, is judged on the number of people whose standard of living has improved since 1994.

For data collection and to fulfil its qualitative aspect, this study consists of structured interviews for government officials and questionnaires for the community members who have participated in the study. These people have been interviewed for their perceptions on how to resolve the poverty problem in this area. It is hoped that this information has exposed some shortcomings in economic development projects in this community, so that other stakeholders can intervene if necessary.

To the local government officials together with the community leaders, this interview has elicited information on what they perceive to be their strengths and weaknesses in economically developing the Airport Valley area. It has tried to find out from them what steps could now be taken to resolve the poverty situation in this area and where they think resources to resolve the situation could come from. Also, the questionnaire given to the community is to find out if their basic needs have been satisfied by the government since 1994 and to which extent. They also have explained if there has been relief from poverty from the period after political transition up to this moment. The researcher is aware that many variables could intervene here since this is a very long period, and tries by all means to prevent these variables. For example, in households the researcher has tried to use people of almost the same age to answer the questionnaire, that is, people who were already not at school by 1994. But, if households do not

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9 the time in which a new economic policy was adopted
have these people, the eldest at home has been requested to answer the questionnaire. Answers to these questionnaires have exposed vulnerable households which could be shocked to poverty if for example the breadwinner was retrenched or stopped working for health reasons. The researcher understands that a common shock at Airport Valley is the HIV/AIDS disease, and in that case has not neglected households headed by children. HIV/AIDS could shock a household into poverty or deeper poverty especially if the infected family member is a breadwinner.

Since this study deals with the real-life problem of poverty, information-gathering has taken the form of questionnaires, interviews and observation. The community leaders have been contacted to let them know about the research project. Then, the researcher has randomly chosen households to participate in the study. Each household-head then has been given a letter of consent by the researcher to read and sign to confirm participation in the study. Those that cannot understand the English version of the letter were given one in their first language\(^{10}\). The head of the household has been helped by the researcher to understand the letter. Then risks and benefits were explained to the participants so that they could be aware of what they were getting into.

The questions in the questionnaire have also been explained in the language of the participants, as illiteracy in informal settlements is usually rife. Objective, spontaneous and honest answers were encouraged to give a true reflection of the poverty condition and how the economic development programmes have been managing to reduce it. The researcher has also designed the questions in such a way that they have elicited information about participants' capabilities to free themselves from poverty. It is designed in order to elicit information about risk and vulnerability to the most common dimensions of poverty, the dependent variable in the study. The open ended part of the questionnaire is designed to allow the participants unlimited space to give information about their conditions since political transition in 1994. Then they have listed ten items they need most immediately after that to confirm their access to basic needs. The participants

\(^{10}\) Xhosa
have chosen appropriate answers by putting a tick in a box. People might not be vulnerable in all dimensions of poverty. Even when vulnerable, they might differ in degrees of vulnerability to poverty in particular dimensions. Thus, the Likert type questions have assisted in exposing those degrees, while they have let the researcher see dimensions frequently given a positive or negative answer.

3.4 Negotiating undertaking of the study:

To get access to Airport Valley the researcher visited the economic development office at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality and made an appointment to see the economic development official. A day before the appointment the researcher was contacted and informed that the official had to attend an urgent meeting outside Port Elizabeth. Further attempts to meet this official were unsuccessful. The researcher attempted to meet the councillor of the Walmer Township. This was also difficult as the office of the councillor at this time had been burnt down by protestors. The researcher was helped by the economic development office in the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality to locate the councillor telephonically and permission to meet ward committee members and interview them was given by the councillor. One ward committee and community leaders were met before the distribution of the questionnaires to the community. The researcher explained to these community representatives what the research was about and how it could help both the community and the government to understand what had been done and what needed to be done towards service delivery.

After permission was granted for this study to be undertaken, the researcher randomly chose the households to participate. Before each household-head could take part in the study a letter of consent was read to the participant and if the household head decided to take part, then he/she would sign the letter, and then start answering the questions. For interviews, three ward committee members were interviewed and they individually answered the same questions. For observation also the community leaders and ward committees were consulted.
Chapter IV
Findings and analysis

4.1 Introduction and background to the study

“Currently, more than eight million people around the world die each year because they are too poor to stay alive… [the] poor die in hospital wards that lack drugs…in houses that lack safe drinking water…[they] die namelessly, without public comment” Sachs (2005:1).

The objectives of the democratic government which took over in 1994 were to reduce poverty and close the inequality gap in the society by providing basic needs to the poor in South Africa, so that the number of people who died of poverty in the country could decrease, hence the adoption of the RDP as an economic policy. However, GEAR an economic policy adopted to support RDP, seemed to exacerbate unemployment and therefore inequality; the two causes of poverty that are inherited from colonialism and apartheid. The South African government had hoped to generate growth and redistribute the wealth fairly to reduce poverty. That is, the ANC government believed in a pro-poor growth with ‘redistribution’ as the keyword.

Amongst the basic needs the government promised to provide to the poor in 1994 were land, electricity, housing, job creation, clean water and sanitation, improved health, education, social security and security conditions. The government has fairly managed to deliver some of these promises although there is a great backlog in others. It is important to know exactly how many of the 286,353 houses built in the Eastern Cape from 1994 to 2006 (Nogenga, 2007), have been for the Airport Valley community. Also, water and sanitation are amongst the most important basic needs, and in South Africa the President promised in the 2007 State of the Nation Address that the government needed to eradicate the dehumanising system of bucket toilets by the end of 2007 (Nogenga, 2007). This study contains information about the achievements of the government in eradicating the bucket system in this area. Nogenga (2007) reports that between April and November 2006 the total number of buckets removed was 31, 787 while there is a backlog of 16, 630. This
study is meant to assist the government in focusing its resources on those communities which still have basic needs, as it has promised to regard poverty reduction as a priority.

In its 1994 RDP, the government promised to build 1 million houses every five years to fight the housing backlog and racial inequality which had been inherited from the apartheid era and has been the cause of poverty. But fast-growing urban areas have contributed to the increase in number of households in these areas and this creates a problem in meeting the housing backlog in the country. However, there has been significant achievement by the government in addressing the housing backlog with the total of 286,353 houses built in the Eastern Cape (Nogenga, 2007).

Growth of the Walmer Township in Port Elizabeth has also caused expansion of Airport Valley, the informal settlement in this area which started during the late 1980s. The information given by the 30 households that answered the questionnaire in the community of Airport Valley provides knowledge on poverty and poverty reduction in this area.
4.2 Presentation of results : Questionnaire

4.2.1 Family sizes:
Like any other black residential area, Airport Valley has households with big families that range from one to ten members. One abnormally biggest household in the sample has 19 members. The households are overcrowded and overcrowding reflects the living standards of the families (Bhorat, Poswell and Naidoo, 2004). The average of ± 4 family members per room reflects deprivation of space which is a health hazard to the family members. This overcrowding also shows vulnerability of these households to poverty. For example, most members in this family are forced to stay here as they are unemployed and therefore would not be able to run their own households. Fear of getting deeper into poverty is demonstrated by Airport Valley people’s staying together and sharing the minimal income they can get as a family.

4.2.2 Household income levels:
The biggest household (mentioned in the paragraph above) lives on an income of R1200 per month and is run by a female pensioner of 62 years old. Should the household-head dies this big vulnerable household could be shocked into deeper poverty and that could contribute to the increase in poverty in the area and in the whole country. Figure 4.1 below shows the Airport Valley households’ monthly income:

Figure 4.1: Household monthly income
According to the information on figure 4.1, households at Airport Valley belong to various levels of poverty. Although some families are living in this informal settlement and are categorized as poor for their inability to buy themselves land and or houses, they do not seem to be extremely poor, if they could be promoted to formal subsidized dwellings, they can afford to run them\textsuperscript{11}. However, others are extremely poor and find it very difficult to run without the government’s support. The 13.33% of the 30 households that has no income in figure 4.1 for example depends on grants and is extremely poor. Meanwhile, the 40% that has a monthly income of R1000, which is not enough for some big families, is also poor but better than the first group which has no hope except for handouts from the government. These are the groups the government is supposed to pay attention to in order to reduce poverty at Airport Valley. If the growth obtained through GEAR could filter down to reach these people then the inequality gap could be minimized and poverty could be reduced. At this level of poverty, people in these two categories might not feel the freedom and democracy obtained by South Africa in 1994.

Some of the 26.67% households (those who earn R1500 and above, depending on the sizes of their families) can afford to run houses as mentioned above, but obtaining land and building on it might be a problem for them, hence the government has to intervene and rescue the families from this poverty. Living in an informal settlement with an income of R2000 or R3000 demonstrates the failure of the government to accommodate people. It is clear that while these households are poor, they are doing everything in their power to escape poverty and just need assistance from the government. However, others have this type of income because of many children in a household, who obtain grants from the government, not because they work for the income. In addition, not all household-heads have income others depend on some family members. See figure 4.2 below:

\textsuperscript{11} This refers to households with monthly income of R1500 and above.
Figure 4.2 above (16.67%) is proof of unemployment of also household heads at Airport Valley, while in 50% of the households there is only one family member that is employed. This is surely not enough as families in this area are big. Job-creation could save these people from extreme poverty. So the bottom line is that, people in these households are poor and do not adequately benefit from the country’s economic development programme.

4.2.3 Ages of the household heads

Almost all the households are run by adults\textsuperscript{12} although some are headed by young adults. 16 of the 30 households in the study are run by adults above the age of 40. These people experienced poverty under the apartheid government. The fact that at the age of 40 they are still living in shacks means they have not benefited from the RDP in a way of owning their houses. That is, there has been lack of commitment or delay by the government in providing houses of minimum standard to the poor as promised in the RDP.

\textsuperscript{12} People above the age of 21 years.
The eldest household-head is 65 and has been a pensioner for a long time, while the youngest is 24 and cleans the streets with a Grade 12 certificate to earn an income which is not monthly as cleaners depend on the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality to pay the company they work for\textsuperscript{13} before they are paid. However, people have income even if it takes two months to come (but surely not monthly income as they say).

This confirms the severe unemployment rate between the ages of 15-65 mentioned above by Nogenga (2007). The fact that a household head with a Grade 12 certificate cleans streets indicates joblessness of unskilled people. What is happening in this small community reflects the demand of skills by the national economy. The youth has to obtain a Grade 12 certificate plus a trade or tertiary education in a special field to be employable.

4.2.4 Educational levels of household heads and family members

According to Bhorat, Poswell and Naidoo (2004:11), “To be poor is to be illiterate [and] not being schooled and to lack adequately paid and secure job”. This means there is a strong relationship between education and employment. Out of 30 households that have answered the questionnaire at Airport Valley, only 6 are run by heads who have passed Grade 12 at school, and none are run by household-heads with education above this level. This shows the level of poverty in this area and also confirms the “robust relationship between educational outcomes and poverty” (Bhorat, Poswell and Naidoo (2004:11). Figure 4.3 below indicates the education level of the household-heads at Airport Valley. The majority of household heads there have an education level which is between grade 6 and 10, which means that their English reading ability is that of children between grade 3 and 6, as it has been proven that grade 12 children in South African township schools have an English reading ability of grade 8 and below (Pretorius, 2004). This poor English literacy amongst people at Airport Valley is one of the factors contributing towards

\textsuperscript{13} A process which takes more than a month
unemployment and poverty. The inability to read English amongst the people is confirmed by the participants’ constant request of a translation of the questionnaire into their mother tongue (Xhosa).

Figure 4.3: Educational levels of household heads

Thus, poverty in this area could be caused by the low income these people have which results from illiteracy. It is also clear that these household-heads have not been affected by the free education and funding of the senior secondary education the government promised in the RDP (Bond, 2005), probably because they were already out of school by 1994. However, some household heads at Airport Valley have benefited from the RDP’s basic adult education, as most of them at least have attended school. But their education level might not render them capable of freeing themselves from poverty.

While there is improvement on schooling in the other household members in this community, it seems achieving education above Grade 12 is still very difficult. When interviewed almost all the people with Grade 12 (3.3% in fig. 4.3 above) did not have access to tertiary education because they lacked funds.

Figure 4.5 below shows the number of school going children in the households participating in the study. The attendance of school by children in the households
sometimes depends on whether there is an income in a household or not, for while there is free education in terms of tuition and learning materials in lower classes, parents or guardians still have to buy school clothes in South African schools. Inability to do so sometimes leads to children dropping out of school as they do not want to look different. These children too might depend on the government support for education beyond grade 12 level. However, children in township schools usually do not know about government bursaries until they are at tertiary level, something which is a disadvantage to them.

Figure 4.4 Number of school going children in household

High illiteracy rate at Airport Valley is indicated above by the 30% of households that have no children attending school and the 16.67% households with one child each attending school. Something needs to be done for the future of children in this informal settlement, as without education their future can be bleak. Very few parents can afford to send their children to school at Airport Valley. The 3% of households with 5 and 6 children each that can attend school shows that they have higher monthly income than other households.
4.2.5 Further analysis of the results and the implications of the findings

About 13 of the 30 homes have monthly income which is between R500 and R800. This includes female household-heads that are employed as domestic workers and earn between R600 and R800 per month. Some male household-heads work as security guards and petrol attendants and earn R1500 and R900 per month respectively, while others work in the gardens of wealthier white people at Walmer and earn between R1000 and R1200. Males seem to earn more than their female counterparts when they have jobs at Airport Valley. However, many males were unemployed in the area, females even reported to be employed part-time as street cleaners, a job which used to be done by males in the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality.

Chances of living a better life and having a secure future are very thin without education. Many people only engage in informal jobs when they lack education and as a result, they do not earn enough to satisfy their food needs. At Airport Valley too many people cannot satisfy their food needs and they depend on those with income. In many cases the income comes from pension funds and grants. For example, in the big family of 19 members, 72% of the income comes through the 62-year-old pensioner and the rest through the child grant. All the adult members of the family are unemployed. Other three big families here have 10 members each. Seemingly one of the reasons for these big families is that the unemployed family members seek income protection and end up living with those family members that can earn income. At the same time, this also proves the effectiveness of the social security grants in alleviating poverty. Many homes are helped by the grants to satisfy their food needs. However, it is this dependency on the government that can destroy the country’s economy. It means the grants encourage many poor people not to contribute their labour towards the growth of the country’s income. Yet, they are the people waiting for the trickle-down of the wealth from the rich to the poor in the country.

14 R870 of the R1200 income.
15 By selling their labour
It seems employment and housing are priorities for the people at Airport Valley and for poverty to be reduced in this area. Meanwhile the government stated in the RDP that many people are unemployed as they do not have skills to offer to get jobs. As a result, they engage in informal jobs for which they are not skilled. This could be linked to the limited education people in this area have, as there seems to be lack of commitment to adult education and training, and reduced commitment to funding of senior secondary education as promised in RDP (Bond, 2005).

Most people arrived during the early 1990’s in this area, only few were already there during the late 1980’s. For instance, 1 out of the 30 households arrived in 1988, and few others randomly interviewed also reported having been there for 20 years now. Thus, these people have been living in poverty for a long time and it seems they have moved “from racial to class apartheid” (Bond, 2005:308). President Mbeki’s 2002 ANC policy conference address revealed that elites were aware that the tenth anniversary of South African freedom was no cause for celebration by the oppressed (Bond, 2005). In other words, this was admission that the poor were still poor in this country after a decade of freedom.

One of the reasons that could have caused this situation is the adoption of GEAR - a macro-economic policy to support RDP. Although President Mbeki denied when confronted by leftists that the RDP was abandoned when the GEAR was adopted, the “undebated closure of the RDP Ministry in the Office of the President in March 1996”, together with the unfulfilled promises of the RDP confirms this leftist claim. For example, the promised job creation of “620,000 new formal sector jobs from 1996 to 1998” (Bond, 2005:182)16 and “[the] promised land redistribution target of 30 per cent within five years was scaled down dramatically (less than 1 per cent of land was redistributed), and substantial funding for land redistribution was not forthcoming” (Bond, 2005:115). This unfulfilled land redistribution promise could be one of the reasons the Airport Valley community does not want to move away from the land to Chatty River. As mentioned in chapter one of this study, the government agreed to redistribute land in a way to redress the imbalances of colonialism and apartheid so as to reduce poverty. Also, section (13) of the ANC Bill of Rights states

16 “When in fact at least 400,000 were lost” (Bond, 2007:182).
that, “[property] rights impose obligations and their exercise should not be in conflict with the public interest” (Ntsebeza and Hall, 2007:112). This could mean that, if the Airport Valley community show interest in the land they occupied since the late 1980s, this public interest should not be ignored, as it could contribute towards poverty reduction should it be considered in favour of the occupants.

However, the government officials approached by the researcher reported that the Airport Valley community does not want to move away from this former dumping area, to formal dwellings close to Chatty River. When asked about this issue, most people at Airport Valley complained of distance between the city and the Chatty River area, and also the distance between this new area and their families at Walmer.

The answer about the long distance between the Chatty River and the city centre, where these people are used to finding informal one-day jobs and being able to satisfy their food needs, makes sense. The Airport Valley people walk to the city as some do not have money for what they call high taxi fare. For unemployed people to be far from the city centre could worsen their poverty. They might be unable to walk the distance from Chatty River to the city to get one-day jobs and might die of hunger. Thus, moving might worsen their vulnerability to poverty.

However, that does not mean the people should be allowed to stay in a dangerous place, which is suspected of having gasses\textsuperscript{17} as it was a dumping area. The former dumping area also did not take up the whole Airport Valley, so the government could develop the safe side of Airport Valley and fence the dangerous zone to keep children\textsuperscript{18} away from it, to prioritise “public interest” as promised in the Bill of Rights (Ntsebeza and Hall, 2007:112). When asked about moving to Chatty River, the Airport Valley community members seemed to be against this proposal by the government, and also want the government to develop this place for them. The disagreement by the Airport Valley people to do what the local government\textsuperscript{19} instructed them to do, and their resistance, seem to confirm what Bond (2005) says

\textsuperscript{17} Information given by one government official interviewed.
\textsuperscript{18} Who have been staying in this former dumping area for almost twenty years.
\textsuperscript{19} Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality
about means of influencing the housing policy which are the spirit of resistance that remained the greatest strength of the grassroots forces and their best hope of achieving decent housing in the face of powerful neo-liberal influences which had reached deep into their own movements. The resistance by this poor community could be a reaction to the unfulfilled promises of the RDP and GEAR.

While the RDP is regarded as a “development agenda”, the “non-negotiable” GEAR seems to have been put together by “mostly white male economists” (Padayachee, 2006:1) who were not (and still are not) affected much by poverty in South Africa, so their sympathy towards the poor and their commitment towards poverty reduction are doubted. GEAR is always referred to as a pro-growth economic strategy that is meant to fulfil the RDP agenda. That is, equal redistribution of the growth is implied in this claim. However, after 13 years of democracy, people at Airport Valley are still living in shacks, without clean water, electricity and are using the bucket system. As a result, they are losing hope and regret having voted the present government in. Lately even the bucket system is disturbed by resistance from the angry Airport Valley residents and the people empty their own buckets. This could be a health hazard and could cause an outbreak of diseases to the already vulnerable community. Development according to Rostow also meant raising the poor people’s standard of living. Yet, development in South Africa does not seem to have touched the lives of the Airport Valley community. The people report their desire to communicate with their councillor and inform her of their needs, however, the soured relations between them and their councillor make it very difficult for even the councillor to visit the area as she fears for her life.

When asked in part two of the questionnaire about what they need most in their lives in this area, a common answer from almost all the households was “indlu yesamente” (a cement house) or “ubomi obungcono”, which means better life. This means the people in this community are aware of their being trapped in poverty and wish to be freed from this situation. While others do not know where to get the next meal, they seem to regard shelter as a priority. The South African government meanwhile has managed to change the housing conditions of the apartheid era (Nogenga, 2007) but seemingly not for all South Africans, as this Airport Valley community is still waiting.
In their lists of ten items that they need most, again a house is always in the first five items. Other services needed by this community are also in line with housing. For example: clean water, flush toilets, electricity and roads. People also do not feel safe here. This is indicated by their need for police / security or even a police station in their answers. They report a lot of crime especially at night as it is dark in the area. The single pole flood light does not seem to give enough light for the whole area. Hence the people feel that if at least they could be provided with police, crime might be reduced even if they could not get electricity.

Some of the items in their lists include jobs, access to ambulances, food, increase of the pension grant, clinics and schools. These items including those in the paragraph above are mostly the basic needs promised to be provided to the poor in five years of the RDP after 1994:

- a million new low cost houses available to even the poorest South Africans,
- electrification of 2.5 million houses, hundreds of thousands of new jobs,
- redistribution of 30 per cent of good agricultural land,
- clean water and sanitation for all,
- a cleaner environment,
- full reproductive rights for women,
- universal primary health care and social welfare,
- a massive educational initiative and more.

(Bond, 2005:95)

If the people at Airport Valley are still demanding the above basic needs after they were promised to them in five years time after 1994, their resistance could be justifiable. Under no circumstances should a legitimate government fail to fulfil its promise to the poor without communicating to them the reason for delay.

Access to clean water could make a difference to the lives of the people at Airport Valley. It could improve their health, especially that of their children and women. Already the people are complaining of clinics which are a distance to them and which have poor services. The government in South Africa has remarkably transformed the health care system, but the people at Airport Valley do not feel much change, they complain about distance from their homes to clinics, shortage of medication in the public clinics, poor services which make them wait in long queues for hours and shortage of professional personnel in the clinics. These services are
not easily accessed at Chatty River either, to which area the community is supposed to move.

The lack of access to running water and the toilet bucket system could turn Airport Valley into a breeding place for diseases. The government prioritised these services in its plan for poverty eradication, and it managed to remove 31,787 bucket toilets between April 2005 and November 2006 with a backlog of 16,630 in the Eastern Cape. However, the Airport Valley community has not benefited in this service delivery, instead it seems to be included in the 16,630 backlog, which the government can eradicate in a year if it can remove 31,787 bucket toilets in two years. The President (Thabo Mbeki) also indicated in his 2007 State of the Nation Address that there was a need to eradicate the dehumanising bucket toilets by the end of 2007. But, the succession race in the ANC seems to have delayed some service delivery in the whole country, as politicians and government officials seem to have shelved service delivery and have been focusing more on who is to lead the party and later on the country. So, end of 2007 targets could not be met, the people are still waiting and seem to be losing patience.

Another common item on their lists is the construction of roads. The community explains that ambulances cannot enter the area to pick up patients. They have to carry sick people in wheelbarrows to the end of Airport Valley so the ambulances can take them from there. This they say is very difficult at night as it is also dark in the area. A wheelbarrow is not meant for carrying human beings. This is another dehumanising action which the government is supposed to stamp out. This confirms inequality as other people in the nearby township and city, drive their cars or travel in taxis. Taxis also do not enter this informal settlement, because of uneven roads and people have to take a fifteen-minute walk for taxis, and they say it becomes unsafe in winter as it soon becomes dark. Most of them do not even have money to commute in taxis and prefer to walk. Another way of poverty eradication is by providing public transport at affordable subsidised rates to the poor. However, subsidies seem to have been a problem as the State has been forced to roll back since the adoption of GEAR. With petrol prices going up, it would be very difficult to force taxis to keep their prices low. Thus, some of the promises by the RDP
coincide with global economic demands which are beyond the South African government’s control.

Schools also seem to be in demand. Airport Valley is growing quickly and some households are far from the Walmer Township schools. This distance is becoming dangerous for young children to walk home alone from school. Hence they want to have schools close to their homes. Some Airport Valley people complain of discrimination against their children in the Walmer Township schools. But the addition of another school could be a problem to the government as there might be a shortage of qualified teachers to take this job over. Already South Africa is reported to have one of the poorest human resource development indices in the world, in terms of both the skill levels of the workforce and the resources spent on training. The government seems to be having difficulty in improving resources in the existing schools. So, building new ones could be a problem. However, this community voices its needs and as South Africans expect to be equally provided with the services they need to be free of poverty.

In part three of the questionnaire, dissatisfaction at the service delivery was clear. For instance, 20 of the 30 households that answered the questionnaire show in the Lickert scale that they totally disagree that “the government's delivery of services to reduce poverty is satisfactory”. They also disagree that “the government is delivering in its land redistribution programme in order to reduce poverty”. The Airport Valley community seems to have difficulty meeting their subsistence needs and that confirms lack of service delivery to them. Meanwhile, the country boasts of a sustainable growth of about 6%. Lack of this growth’s positive impact on the extremely poor people of this country confirms Venter and Landsberg’s (2006) argument that growth does not necessarily mean economic development. That is, growth can be attained but if it is not fairly distributed, it does not constitute economic development of the poor as their standard of living remains the same. The standard of living of the Airport Valley people does not seem to have been raised by the growth. This community feels socio-economically marginalised and seemingly it is not the only one in the country and the government should take these complaints into consideration and remember that it was dissatisfaction with political economy that brought about the demise of Apartheid. Thus, “[continued] and
growing poverty, deprivation and unemployment may in the long run undermine social cohesion, political stability, the moral fibre of society, confidence in the country and legitimacy of the government “ (Venter and Landsberg, 2006:247). The country at this stage of development\textsuperscript{20} does not need anything that could further delay it from taking off.

About travelling to and from work in part three of the questionnaire, 23 out of 30 households disagreed and totally disagreed that this was easy, and when the fieldworker probed and took additional notes, they all argued that it was not difficult to get taxis or buses, but that fare was a problem for them as it was too high. This again comes back to the low income of these households, as the highest income of the 30 households was R1800 per month. These household members might not be able to afford food and travel in the income. The only people that could travel easily were the subsidised pensioners. However, unlike the working people and job seekers, they did not travel regularly and did not constitute the majority of this community.

All the community members totally disagreed that life at Airport Valley was comfortable since they did not have electricity. This confirms their answers in part two of the questionnaire in which they revealed the insecurity of the area especially at night as the one-pole flood light did not seem to give enough light. Those without income use paraffin for cooking or fire wood. This is surely not a comfortable life, as shacks can easily catch fire from paraffin stoves and candles.

However, to counter this situation the Airport Valley households illegally connect electricity from those Walmer Township residents close to this informal settlement and pay monthly or weekly rents for this service. In some cases a Walmer Township household that has legal electricity shares it with five more households that are close by, but are at Airport Valley. In turn the Airport Valley households pass the electricity to others that are further away from Walmer Township. The live wires used for connection are sometimes more than two hundred metres long. So, when walking in between the shacks one has to be very careful and not trample the wires.

\textsuperscript{20} Take off (Third stage of development) which is actually very slow
This is dangerous as people especially children could be shocked. Development of this area could save many lives and stop these illegal connections of electricity, although this enables some households to buy food, as unemployment is rife at Walmer and Airport Valley.

While people in this informal settlement are poor, they do not seem to make efforts and make vegetable gardens but instead they chose to live the capitalist lifestyle of buying food. One out of 30 households has indicated that he would like to be given land for farming. Meanwhile some of the people here are from rural areas and are used to farming and can live a subsistence life. This could result from the macroeconomic policies formulated by the government for this country to reduce poverty and inequality and create employment. People have a desire to buy all the time.

All households seem to agree that the “social security grant is a good strategy to alleviate poverty”. This again confirms the approval of grants as a poverty reduction strategy by the people in this informal settlement, and is in line with the idea of increased amounts for grants in part two of the questionnaire. Dependency on grants could affect economic growth, as those receiving them do not contribute towards growth but are a liability to it.

All the households totally disagree with the statement that “as black South African citizens and residents of Airport Valley [they] feel equal to other racial groups in the country (e.g. whites, Indians and coloureds).” This answer proves the awareness by the Airport Valley community of both racial and income inequality with other groups. Venter and Landsberg (2006) argue that because of the dual political economy of the country, the distribution was and still is skewed in favour of the white minority. 40% of households in South Africa are reported to be poor and 95% of the poor in the country are black (Venter and Landsberg, 2006), 38% are coloureds, 5% are Indian and 1% are white (Poverty and Inequality Report (PIR). Feelings of inequality are sure to surface in poor communities if close to 50% of the poor in the country only receive 11% of the total income, while the richest 10% of households receive

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21 RDP and GEAR
over 40% of the total income (PIR). South Africa is regarded as having one of the most unequal economies in the world and this inequality is indicated at the Gini coefficient\textsuperscript{22} of 0,68 (Venter and Landsberg, 2006) or 0,58 (PIR). Even accelerated job creation\textsuperscript{23} could not close the inequality gap. Thus, the feelings of inequality in this Airport Valley community could be perpetrated by the above national economic inequality.

It could be this feeling of inequality that leads all the households to feel vulnerable, as all seem to believe that without the household head that provides the income for the family to survive, they might be unable to survive poverty. Already some households report having lost breadwinners towards HIV/AIDS or TB and are sometimes forced to live a life they are not proud of\textsuperscript{24} until they are old enough to work as domestic workers. It is these feelings of vulnerability that the government should curb in the poor communities. Providing the community with education and training could leave them with skills that might make them independent of each other. The link between the RDP and GEAR policies on one hand and human development on the other seems to be lacking for this Airport Valley community, and yet development is incomplete without human development.

All the households totally disagree that “getting a loan from the commercial bank is easy for [them]“. Almost all the households report that because they do not have houses or insurance policies that could stand as collateral until they finish paying for the loans, the banks refuse to give them loans. Meanwhile the South African government is encouraging poor people to get into groups and start cooperatives which would be given loans by the government to start business as a way to reduce poverty. However, not everyone wants to be in a group. The government should make sure that getting loans for those who want to individually improve their lives is not difficult. This could also ensure that the poor people contribute towards the activities that build the economic growth needed to reduce poverty in the country and in that way this could provide them with opportunity to participate in the process of attaining capability to free themselves from poverty.

\textsuperscript{22} According to the PIR the Gini coefficient ranges from 0 (absolute equality) to 1 (absolute inequality).
\textsuperscript{23} Accelerated job creation recognized by GEAR as a strategy to reduce inequality (PIR).
\textsuperscript{24} For example, women.
For the last statement in part three of the questionnaire, where the households had to give information about the access to medical facilities, 24 out of 30 households agreed that clinics were not far from Airport Valley for sick people who could walk, especially the one at 8th Avenue. However, while this one is not far, they say they have to wait long hours before they are attended if they do not have TB. All the additional notes taken from all the 30 households complain about poor services in the clinics. In other words, there are clinics but services in the clinics are not up to standard. These are some of the complaints from their answers written exactly as they gave them with interpretation [some of the sentences had incorrect spelling- these were recorded verbatim]. Others were written by the field worker as the people could not write:

1. **Notes:**
   Asinabo abantu ababiziweyo kulemihla bahleli nje banecheeky nangoku ke selezikufuphi uhlala imini yonke eklindi ki ube unyuswa usisi wa ngapha nangapha uncedo ulufumane kudala

   **Interpretation:**
   We do not have people who are serving a call these days. They are cheeky all the time even though clinics are not far you stay the whole day there and they send you to all the departments there and you get help after long hours.

2. **Notes:**
   Akukho lula ngohlobo lokuba uyakuhlala eklindi ki imini yonke ugula suka amanesi aKuxelele ukuba ayashota masithethe no Rhulumente wethu.

   **Interpretation:**
   It is not easy (to get access to medical facilities) because people stay in the clinic the whole day while they are sick after that the nurses tell you that they are short-staffed and we must talk to our government.

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25 Medical facilities are easily accessible in this area (fieldworker to probe and take notes)
3. Notes:

3. Notes:
li kliniki zona zikufuphi kodwa uyuufika khona amanurse ephtihizela ungade uyibone into ayenzayo ufike ngo-7 kusasa uyekuphuma ngo-2 basuke bathi bashort staff yingxaki karhulumiende

Interpretation:
The clinics are close but nurses go up and down and you will not see what they are doing. You arrive at 7 am and leave at 2 pm and they will tell you they are short staffed. That is the government’s problem.

4. Notes:

Zona zikufuphi qha lona uncedo soze ulufumane lula.

Interpretation:
They are close but you will never easily get helped.

5. Notes:

the is no medicene in that close clinics

It is clear from these notes that people are happy with the distance from Airport Valley to the clinics (especially the one at 8th Avenue), but they all reveal that the closeness of the clinic does not help when there is no medication in the clinic. Moreover, people seem to be unhappy with the time they have to spend there before getting help. Nurses in these clinics do not seem to sympathise with these people or cooperate with the government’s attempts to reduce poverty, as they unprofessionally communicate their problems about the clinics to the patients. They could also communicate their shortage of staff in their reports to the government. Providing free medication to women and children under six was one of the RDP pledges, which means that it was an attempt to reduce poverty and close the inequality gap.
The government built “a total of over 1 300 new clinics” between 1994 and 2004 (Nogenga, 2007) to increase access to services and availability of primary health care to everyone. However, as indicated in the notes provided by the households at Airport Valley, while clinics do exist, there seems to be a shortage of health professionals in the country, as many are migrating to developed countries (e.g. England and the Middle East). The government is also facing a problem of clinics that do not have medication. This means the government’s budget on medicine for the public health care sector is too low and does not fulfil the government’s wishes of equity between public and private health care sectors. Also there seems to be a geographical difference on the availability of medicine in clinics. To compare this lack of medicine and shortage of staff in clinics, a clinic at Linton Grange in Port Elizabeth was visited. Patients also complained of waiting for long hours but they received medication similar to that given to people in the private health sectors. So, there is still an inequality gap when it comes to the type of medicines they receive, while all the clinics, whether they are in poor or rich geographical environments, are affected by the migration of health professionals, seem to differ on access to and quality of medicines. So, the inequality gap exists in this regard.

In part four of the questionnaire the households were supposed to write down any concerns they have about the environment they live in including service delivery at Airport Valley since 1994. The following table indicates the 30 households’ concerns about their environment. Some households mentioned more than one concern.

Table 4.1: Concerns and the number of households mentioning them

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concerns</th>
<th>No. of households concerned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rainy days</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roads</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire and closeness of shacks</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buckets on the road</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moving to Chatty</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Councillor’s unavailability</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water for putting out fire</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Next to each concern there is a number of households that have mentioned it. For example, in 7 households, people mentioned crime as their concern. Criminals seem to take advantage since police vehicles cannot enter this area because of its uneven roads. The people at Airport Valley report that unemployment makes people open taverns and they are the nucleus for crime.

There is also a concern over rain and flooding in the shacks as some roofs leak. The income is insufficient for basic needs such as food, so it cannot be stretched to building material. Moreover, people argue that they cannot improve shacks when they could be forcefully removed to Chatty any time. This is linked to lack of information about moving to this area and also not being able to reach the councillor to air their concerns. People say there are rumours that they are moving to Chatty and they are not well-informed about this issue. All communities are represented by councillors on government matters. The people in this area do not seem to regard the councillor as their representative. Most of them last saw the councillor before elections.

The issue of road construction was mentioned in about 4 households also. This was not a concern for people who would like to buy cars but, for people who have seen the difficulty which ambulances, fire-fighters and police experience in entering the area. Since there are no roads between the shacks there is difficulty bringing these services to the people. That is why many people in this area demand a better life from the government.

About six households mentioned the health hazard caused by the bucket system, especially when the municipality is collecting them. The people report that the buckets are placed on the road outside Airport Valley for the municipality to collect them since they also cannot enter the area. But, they take time to collect the buckets since the area is big. Sometimes the buckets stand for days on the road until people have to dig and bury the contents, wash their buckets and reuse them. This is not supposed to be done by households, as special disinfectants are used to
clean the buckets. This is not only a health hazard, but also a dehumanising act which exacerbates the feelings of social exclusion and inequality in the people. The sooner the government intervenes and eradicates this toilet system, the better.

The answers to the last question in part four of the questionnaire about private goods owned by each of the 30 households went as follows:

Table 4.2: Ownership of selected private goods in 30 of the Airport Valley households

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goods</th>
<th>No. of households owning it</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Insurance policies</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funeral policies</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hot running water</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fridge</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VCR</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vacuum cleaner</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A washing machine</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A computer</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An electric stove</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV set</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A tumble dryer</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Telkom home telephone</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hi- Fi or music centre</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Built-in kitchen sink</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home security service</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A deep freezer</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to Bhorat, Poswell and Naidoo (2004:10) “[individual] ownership of and access to a number of basic goods are also indicators of variations in living standard”. For example, in 3 of the 30 households they do not own any of the private goods in the list. This indicates the type of lives people in these households live. Some of the households visited cannot afford furniture. The only income if there is any, is used for food.

In the above table (Table 4.2), almost all the households\textsuperscript{26} have funeral policies, although only 4 out of 30 have other insurance policies. This shows the feeling of vulnerability that people at Airport Valley have. These household heads are aware that as sometimes they are the only breadwinners, no one would be able to finance their burials and therefore they decide to have funeral covers for themselves and other family members. Death always come unexpectedly and shocks already destitute homes into deeper poverty, especially if it is the breadwinner that dies, as burials are expensive these days. So, these homes are trying to prevent being shocked into deeper poverty. Some insurance policies are not formal policies from Sanlam or Old Mutual, but informal groups that come together and pay certain amounts each time a family member dies in the area. Others are certain amounts paid to under-takers monthly, covering a particular member that brings income into a household. This is usually common with pensioners.

\textsuperscript{26} Except the three households that do not have the private goods on the list

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goods</th>
<th>No. of households owning it</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M-Net and /or DStv</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A dishwasher</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A sewing machine</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DVD player</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A motor vehicle</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cell phone</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Another common private possession in households at Airport Valley is a cell phone. Most of them did not buy them but were given to them as presents by relatives or employers (especially domestic workers) when they get new or upgraded sets. This is usually done in order to easily contact these family members or employees. However, others regard a cell phone as a basic need and made sacrifices to have it when they work in order to be able to call for help should anything happen.

As this area is undeveloped there are no telephone facilities installed to enable people to have Telkom telephones. Even in formal households that have telephone infrastructure near Airport Valley, the use of the cell phone is more common than that of the landline. The only means of communication with people outside this area is by cell phone. But not every household can afford a cell phone, only 20 out of 30 own cell phones. A cell phone in a household does not necessarily belong to the household head, as long as there is one member of the family that owns one, even if the family member is not always at home for the cell phone to be used in an emergency.

Possession of some goods on the list indicates access to electricity. There are people who own these goods although there is no electricity at Airport Valley. Due to desperation to improve their lives, electricity is illegally connected from Area E. The people in this area are deprived of a basic need (electricity). They might have food, but without electricity or money for paraffin, they might end up having to go to the nearby forests for firewood, something which is dangerous as crime such as rape is reported by the community to be rife in this area. Lack of access to electricity also indicates deprivation experienced by members of this community together with the level of poverty in this area. The people at Airport Valley feel socially excluded from the Area E people and those of Walmer Township as a whole, as these other people have electricity while they have to pay for their electricity to these people as the municipality in the area does not find this area suitable for development yet.

Only 5 households own radios, while 11 own TV sets. One would expect more households to own radios than television sets in an area without electricity. This

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27 Part of Walmer Township which is close to Airport Valley
again shows the attempts of the people to improve their standard of living. However, there are assets, such as land, houses and all the services that go with them (e.g. electricity for hot running water, sanitation and refuse removal) which are difficult to obtain without the government’s approval. The ownership of motor vehicles is also very low at Airport Valley, as only 2 out of 30 households have them.

Although poverty is not a static condition and is supposed to change according to time and shocks during each time, the Airport Valley community seems to have been in this condition for a long time now, as there are people who have been in the area for 19 and 17 years without being relieved from poverty. The exclusion of these people from the benefits of growth in the country worsens inequality among blacks and between blacks and other groups in the country. While poverty in the country resulted from long-term trends such as the racial discrimination of colonialism and Apartheid, present trends like macroeconomic trends seem to intervene and worsen this condition. The trickle-down of wealth from the rich to the poor seems to be a myth for this community even though it is in an urban area and close to the city centre. Many people believe poverty in cities is better than in rural areas but not for places like Airport Valley with its high unemployment rates.

4.3 Interviews:

After communication with the councillor of Walmer Township, to whom the researcher was referred by the municipal office of economic development, three ward committee members were interviewed. All were females between the ages of 40 and 55. They work in the councillor’s office and assist in the management of the ward and provide solutions to problems encountered. All these ward committee members answered prepared questions that attempted to elicit information about poverty reduction at Airport Valley. One lady was interviewed alone and recorded while the other two were interviewed together and answers written down by the interviewer. The reason why all three ladies were not interviewed at the same time was to achieve reliability.
When asked what they had been doing at local government level to reduce poverty at Airport Valley28, the first ward committee member mentioned food parcels for destitute homes - those who do not have any income even from social security grants. While this is a positive gesture by the government, it seems to be a short-term solution, as it encourages dependency of the poor on the government or other people. The government officials provide a basic need, food. However, it would be better if they provide opportunities for the full physical, mental and social development of the human personality as Streeten et al., (1982) in Martinussen (1997) suggest. Giving the people food parcels will not improve their standard of living; instead it will be a burden on economic growth and thus, it is bad development.

The second ward committee member explained that they encourage people to form cooperatives. But starting cooperatives without education does not materialise. People have to know how to register cooperatives, make business plans and apply for loans from banks. Already the people have indicated that banks do not give them loans as they do not have home addresses or insurance policies that could serve as collateral. The formation of cooperatives by people at Airport Valley could succeed if the government sent mobile offices to assist them with paperwork in preparation, as there is no municipal office in Walmer at the moment. This act could in fact improve the people’s situation in this area, as they could then depend on themselves and grow economically. Another way of improving the lives of the people would be to help them to become young entrepreneurs. In this case, the rich could help the poor, as by doing that they would be helping themselves. According to Martinussen (1997:301) “[helping] the poor would contribute to aggregate growth both directly and indirectly, primarily because an increase in the purchasing power of the poor would “trickle up’ in the shape of increased demand” and domestic demand is required to boost the growth. Also, as Martinussen says, inexpensive productivity improvements among the poor producers would create additional growth. This would mean the poor would participate in creating the growth they expect to trickle down to them in the long term.

28 See Appendix B (interview questions for government officials).
The third ward committee member reported about “Sodlasonke”, a Cleaning and Greening project. People are chosen to work for two months before another group starts in the Chola-chola Litter Project. People clean the beaches and the coast generally. This is not only for the people at Airport Valley, but for unemployed people at Walmer and around the Nelson Mandela Bay Municipal area. So, the ward committee explained that they take 20 people from each area. While these job creation projects are acknowledged by the people, they do not seem to curb unemployment as it is rife at Airport Valley. Giving a job to twenty people for two months does not seem to be sustainable development in this poverty stricken area, as after two months people go back to poverty. In other words, it does not help the poor to break out of poverty.

The second question was whether as government officials they think service delivery is happening at Airport Valley. Their answers were similar, as they implied that it was not happening. The first committee member explained that it was very difficult to provide services at an informal settlement, but as soon as the area is improved all services will be provided to the people. For example, she said the government could not eradicate the bucket system in shacks but when the people got formal houses, they would be provided with flushing toilets. This sounds reasonable enough, but the question is whether people at Airport Valley understand this process? Some of them indicated lack of information from the municipal office. Martinussen (1997) argues that when a special development strategy for the poor is worked out, “[special] arrangements must be made for, and in co-operation with, this target group if it is to break out of poverty and exclusion and achieve decisive improvements”. Thus, Martinussen (1997:299) regards “poor understanding of available options” and “no access to decision-making”, as political poverty. The second committee member reported that the only services provided to the people are “house-to-house” refuse collection while the third one added that the issue of Airport Valley and service delivery is being prioritised by the municipality.

When asked about the support or obstacles they encounter when trying to solve problems of service delivery for this community, the committee members unanimously agreed on the difficulty they used to encounter in this area. However, they all reported improvement of relations between the local government office and
the community, as the people’s attitude towards municipal officials is changing. Committee members believe that politicians were taking advantage of the poor community. Politicians on the other hand complained of corruption in the government officials, especially those in top positions for development at Walmer. If this is true, it could confirm Aytteyi’s (2005) belief that development in many African countries tends to fail because of corrupt leaders, and that the key to development is in the leaders’ hands. Thus, if leaders were to stop corruption, development could be smooth and succeed. It seems the Airport Valley community has been misinformed and because of their desperation to break out of poverty, they are taken advantage of by both government officials and politicians, especially for their support during elections. As some interviewees from Airport Valley indicated, the people feel cheated and most of them vowed never to vote again.

About the ownership of the land in which Airport Valley is situated, again all committee members give similar answers as they explained that the land was earmarked for privately-owned business\(^{29}\) until the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality bought it to accommodate some of the people at Airport Valley. The Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality seems to have considered section (13) of the Bill of Rights where it is stated that the implementation of the property rights policy should not be in conflict with the public interest. The public interest seems to have been prioritised here although it has taken a violent struggle by the Airport Valley community to convince the municipality. The committee members were however, concerned that part of Airport Valley might be affected by methane gas as it was a dumping area. However, there seems to be agreement on the development of part of Airport Valley which is not affected by the suspected gas. Development according to these members will start at Area E Walmer Township. The problem is that Airport Valley people are not informed about these decisions and plans for their area, hence some are still very angry towards the Metro Municipality. This is another example of political poverty. People from this poverty stricken informal settlement seem not to have been involved in decision making about their future and as a result they have sometimes been suffering unnecessary vulnerability. Poverty is also caused by being politically passive (Martinussen (1997)).

\(^{29}\) Industrial area
When asked about what they thought the Airport Valley people needed most, like the people themselves they believe this community need houses and all public services for people in formal dwellings. They are aware that the people need employment together with a safe environment. The lists of things they think this community needs most were not as long as that of the households visited.

The committee members were asked about their strengths and weaknesses as the government in economically developing Airport Valley. The first committee member did not know or had no answer for this question while the second mentioned that the weakness was that the national government is too slow in policy implementation. The third committee member did not give any weaknesses but the strength of the government. She believed the government has successfully encouraged participation in self development. However, this contradicts the information about food parcels regularly given to the poor in this area. Encouraging the poor to receive grants and providing them with food parcels does not encourage participation in self development.

About community facilities, e.g. clinics, schools and a sports centre in the area, they all indicated that these facilities did not exist for Airport Valley, but the people in this area were using those at Walmer. This issue of community facilities, especially schools and a clinic close to Airport Valley were dominant in the list by households of things they need most. But the committee members believe this community is not far from the existing community facilities. One committee member informed the researcher about a modern clinic that is under way close to Airport Valley. This she said was particularly a result of the Walmer population increase. However, the demands of the people showed poor understanding about this available option.

When asked about their concerns as government officials about Airport Valley, they all mentioned crime. This confirms the concern of Airport Valley residents about crime. If formal houses and roads could be built at Airport Valley, maybe the crime rate could decrease, as police could easily use their vehicles to patrol the area. One committee member reported as a concern that the Airport Valley community is easily misled. That is, they generally believe anyone who addresses them, especially
about housing and service delivery for development. In fact, this could be related to
the community’s low level of education, which is regarded by Martinussen
(1997:298) to be on top of the vicious circle of economic poverty, as he argues that
“[the] difficulties [of the poor] are compounded by the lack of education and the often
associated poor understanding of the options for action available.” So, this means
those educated enough to understand available options, take advantage of the poor.
Another committee member was concerned about lack of knowledge about the
municipal processes in the community. This means some conflict between the
Airport Valley community and the municipal office could have been avoided, had the
people been made aware of how the municipality operates from the beginning. This
committee member suggested the use of workshops like Masithethisane (Let us talk
to each other) or imbizo (gathering) for this awareness purposes.

On the question of where they think resources for Airport Valley development could
be found, they all mentioned the national government as the first source of funds for
this poor community’s development. One committee member believed that funds
should come from all levels of government (national, provincial and local
government). Another committee member also believed that the private sector,
particularly industries in Port Elizabeth, should assist in the development of not only
Airport Valley but also of Walmer as a whole. However, inequality already exists in
the Walmer community, and this could be further increased if development does not
prioritise the extremely poor (that is the Airport Valley community).

When the committee members were asked to give the researcher any kind of
information about the Airport Valley development, they mentioned the Metro Plan to
appoint a private firm to look at how the development of this area could be
approached as some areas in it were suspected to contain methane gas from the
oils of the cars that were dumped there. Another member revealed that not all the
Airport Valley people will be accommodated in the small part to be developed at
Airport Valley, people might still have to move away from this area. However, this
time there was no mention of Chatty River, but instead areas close to Walmer were
to be explored for this purpose. Aytteyi (2005) believes that one of the reasons for
the failure of development in Africa is the destruction of the African people’s
traditions in the development process. Removing Airport Valley people from an
environment where their roots are, and where some of them buried their parents, would not be good for them and as a result it would lead to non-participation by the people in their development. The overall information given by the committee members indicated a positive future for Airport Valley and this would happen provided they participated in their development.

4.4 Observation:

As activities at Airport Valley were observed for certain hours each day a video and some photos of the activities were taken. Observing activities of the target group provided additional information to confirm or refute the information gathered through other methods\(^{30}\). Thus, it assisted in achieving triangulation in the study and ensures validity and reliability.

As activities in this informal settlement were observed, the researcher visited communal places like their shops and observed what was sold at what prices and how much they bought. Most shops in this area were owned by foreigners from Somalia. This group of people seem to have taken this type of business over from black South Africans not only at Airport Valley but in almost all informal settlements. Hence attempts by the government to help poor blacks to start entrepreneurship especially of opening \textit{spaza} shops (small shops selling items used everyday) does not seem to take off. Somalians seem to sell at cheaper prices when compared to South Africans and South Africans end up losing their customers to this new group of shop owners. At the beginning Somalians owning shops were attacked at Walmer, but they seem to be accepted now and when asked about their safety they were also happy.

The only business they do not want to risk is selling liquor. All the taverns belonged to black South Africans and there were quite a number of them, hence the crime. Also households visited in this area voiced their concern over the number of taverns in this area, even tavern owners themselves. One tavern owned by a woman was selling African beer and the woman was unemployed but earning income by brewing

\(^{30}\) e.g. questionnaire and interviews in this case.
and selling this beer. The tavern was full of unemployed men who instead of going out and look for one day jobs, were busy drinking as they said it was raining and would not be wise to stand on the rain

Products sold in the shops include rice, soap, beans, samp, paraffin, bread, and everything that forms part of groceries in an informal settlement in small to big packets. For example, rice was sold in small, medium and big packets like 5 and 10 kilograms (kg). What struck the researcher though was the low quality of some of the products, for instance there was not tastic rice, while packets of 10 kilograms were packed against the wall up to the roof in one shop. The wooden floors were dusty from all the customers’ shoes but some stuff like vegetables were put on the floor. The owners live at Korsten but have hired other poorer Somalians to stay in the shops and run them.

When in one shop the researcher observed the buying behaviour of the Airport Valley people, small amounts of everything were bought starting from half a loaf of bread to one sachet of eno and two disprins for medication. Unlike people who buy in bulks from Pick ’n Pay and other chain stores and store goods at their homes, the people at Airport Valley seem to buy what they need at that particular time. This seems to be caused by lack of little purchasing power as their income is low and sometimes does not exist. Poverty of households in this area was demonstrated also by the malnourished children sent to buy from the households. The level of income of households was also demonstrated by the children’s clothes. Some were in clean but old clothes while others were in dirty old clothes. There were those who were topless or bottomless. While all these types of clothes could demonstrate unemployment and level of poverty in the child’s home, those clean but old clothes could show that there is occasional income even if it is low and at least the family is not trapped in extreme poverty. While dirty clothes old clothes could indicate a household trapped in poverty with no income. Topless could mean many things, amongst them a child that is topless while wearing a new or clean pant can just be doing that out of feeling hot. But a bottomless dirty child could mean the household does not have means to clothe the child. These are the types of children met in this

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31 Another business area with Moslem, Coloured and Indian shop owners, with residences
area. Martinussen (1997) believes that malnourishment, low income and little purchasing power while living in an place with poor housing standard is called economic poverty.

So, at Airport Valley there is economic poverty, and the purchasing power of the people confirms the idea of one nation and two economies by President Mbeki. The people in this informal settlement surely belong to the informal and second economy. It seems the government has to work hard to enable this group of people to participate in the formal economy of the country, and have the inequality gap between those belonging in these two economies closed. The South African economy is delayed by poverty in groups like these from going beyond Rostow’s Take off stage of development.

The researcher also learnt that on rainy days, the streets were worse as one has to jump or swerve to escape small dams of water in the middle of the unconstructed roads. For this reason, even small vans with goods for the shops stop at the edge of the informal settlement and let van-boys carry the goods to the shops. The shops sell different type of drinks and have refrigerators running on electricity connected from Area E. (Walmer Township houses close to Airport Valley).

The researcher also noticed that walking at night could be dangerous because of the live and sometimes broken electric wires. One has to look down all the time and not trample these wires as one could be choked. This looks official as even the tarred road separating Area E and Airport Valley has cracks from the people digging it to put their electric wires underneath when they cross the road, so that enemies could not just cut them and leave them without electricity.

The shacks at Airport Valley also demonstrate the level of income in the different households. Despite lack of electricity in this area, there are few shacks that look like formal dwellings with garages waiting the day the owner will have enough money to buy a car. There was one beautiful shack with a refrigerator, an electric stove, kettle, toaster, television set, DVD and everything which is found in a normal

32 See in the Video
house with electricity. Households like these according to the ward committee members were people who had jobs but no place to stay in Port Elizabeth as some of them come from outside the city. All those who do not have houses and would like to be close to the city, also built themselves shacks here. This shows the change in the community of this area which is now happening. Thus, people in this area come from different levels of poverty. Some new few arrivals have jobs but no houses, while others have come to open businesses in the area (e.g. Somalians). What was obvious was the fact that, the majority of households at Airport Valley were very poor with no other hope except the government to free them from poverty. To achieve its goal of eradicating poverty by 2014, the South African government has seven years to improve the living standard of people like these in the country.

Some shacks were in bad condition. This was caused in others by lack of income for building material as some household heads were not working and had enough money from relatives or grants to buy food. When inside a shack one could see gaps between the wall and the roof of some shacks. This could lead to health problems to the family members especially at winter. Yet the people do not have enough income to see private doctors, they depend on the government clinics which they say always have a shortage of medication. One shack which was really in bad shape was occupied by two brothers whose mother died of HIV/AIDS. This family was under the protection of an aunt who was working three days a week and had her own family of four children.

During observation some criminal acts were encountered but to be safe in the area one has to explain what she was doing there and why she was observing activities there. This part of the research was not safe at all, people were sensitive to the camera and suspicious of an unknown person walking or sitting in one place in the area. It was clear that drinking was common in the area as there were always many people in the taverns. One could not stay till late in the area.

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33 See the video
Chapter V

Summary, Recommendations and Conclusions

5.1 Introduction:

The key debates after apartheid have been on the successes and shortcomings of the social and economic policies that were adopted after apartheid. The ANC government decided to approach poverty reduction by closing the inequality gap between racial groups in the country. It planned to provide services that would improve the poor people’s lives and also create employment to sustain development. To provide the necessary services, the government formulated two broad, but linked macroeconomic policies namely: the RDP and GEAR which focused on the demand and supply side respectively (Venter and Landsberg (2006). This indicated the importance with which the people’s welfare and growth were regarded by the South African government. It indicated that the government believed in pro-poor growth. That is, building economic growth that would be distributed to reach the poor and free them from poverty.

5.2 Recommendations:

When the outcomes of the above economic development policies are evaluated on the poor community of Airport Valley, there seems to have been a lack of commitment by the government in improving the people’s lives for a long time in this area. One committee member confirmed this when she explained that there are no services provided except refuse and toilet bucket collection at Airport Valley. Other services the committees indicated will wait until the people are in formal houses. It means this community has not yet benefited in the RDP housing promise by the government. This researcher is aware of the 286,353 houses delivered in the Eastern Cape between April 1994 and December 2006, and is aware of the growing population in South African cities (Nogenga, 2007). However, at Airport Valley some community members were staying in these shacks before 1994 and they are still in them today. So, their lives have not improved yet. What the government needs to
do is to speed up the housing process for Airport Valley to reduce poverty in the households. The Airport Valley community (together with the ward committee members) have indicated that what they need most are houses. That means the municipality should speed up the housing process and in doing that, involve the Airport Valley people because they seem to lack information about the local government’s plans in as far as their area is concerned. Some are still concerned about leaving their relatives and their parents’ graves to move to Chatty, but the municipality seems to have another option which is not known by most of the people here. As the government has decided to develop part of Airport Valley, that is, the part which is not affected by the suspected methane gas, the people have to be informed. All the households visited seemed not to be sure whether they are still moving to Chatty or staying at Airport Valley or Walmer, as ward committee members indicated that even those who could not be accommodated at Airport Valley might get houses close to Walmer. According to Martinussen (1997) no access to decision making, poor understanding of available options and political passiveness is political poverty. So, if the people at Airport Valley are not involved by decision makers and not informed about their future, the government is increasing political poverty instead of reducing it. Exclusion of the target group is political poverty, hence special “arrangements must be made for and in co-operation with this target group if it is to break out of poverty and exclusion and achieve decisive improvements” (Martinussen, 1997:301). Thus for the Millennium Development Goals to be achieved, the national government has to closely supervise economic development at Airport Valley too.

The social change from Rostow’s *Traditional society* to a modern society does not seem to be negotiated with the people at Airport Valley hence sometimes the municipality encounters resistance from the people. Nabudere in Padayachee (2005:39) suggests that “there is a need to look at ‘tradition’ as a basis for the non-European countries’ own programmes of social transformation”. So, people’s traditions should not be destroyed in the social transformation process (Aiyittey, 2005), but should be incorporated and maintained for development to be successful. In the African culture community leaders are trusted and *imbizos* (*informative meetings*) are regarded as important and people are used to communal ways of living. If an economic development process undermines those values, it might not
succeed and poverty also might not be reduced. Maybe the Airport Valley community resists some changes because they feel they are carved to fit into the system as citizens, instead of being empowered into citizens that can change the system in their favour.

Different regions and areas in some regions seem to be in different levels of the economic development’s initial stages. Airport Valley seems to be stuck in Rostow’s first economic development stage as changing the traditional to a modern society seems to be still in process. Social transformation has not happened if the pre-1994 inequality still exists. Compared to other groups and even other black communities, the inequality gap is even wider as other groups’ living standards are improving while these people’s is the same as pre-1994 when it comes to houses and public services that go with housing. Hence the social change does not seem to have succeeded. The feelings of inequality, unemployment and poverty that drove them to Airport Valley does not seem to have changed, as every month some depend on the government to give them grants instead of earning income to sustain the process of poverty reduction. The few that have informal jobs cannot break out of poverty, but are trapped into it. Should they not get the little income they work for, which sometimes is not even regular (that is, monthly) they could be shocked into deeper poverty.

The local government should also ensure skills development in the Airport Valley community so that people could be employable. Rostow’s Pre-condition stage of development is also about educationally preparing the people for development. If people together with those driving development lack capacity, development might be slow or fail. The people at Airport Valley are not intellectually or emotionally enabled to escape economic poverty. Martinussen (1997:300) explains that:

As a result of ...inadequate education, the poor are generally less productive than the rest of the population...they are poorly paid when employed and unable to exploit the opportunities available through self-employment...they continue to have little income and, consequently, their purchasing power remains highly inadequate.
Thus, to help them break out of poverty the people must be prepared to live in the changing economic environment. If the economic environment around them is changing while they cannot participate in it, they might remain poor. Even the government officials driving development in this area need to be equipped with skills for innovation and research to create a suitable environment for development.

The South African economy is showing signs of growing like any other economy in Rostow’s Take off stage. However, what it needs right now to go beyond this stage in fewer years, is management by less corrupt leaders, and as corruption is unpacked by Ayittey (2005), it is not only mismanagement of funds but also choice of policies that could undermine the poor by causing unemployment and inequality. In this case, the choice of policies might not be the responsibility of the economic development drivers in poor communities, but that of the national government, hence there has to be coordination between the local and the national government. Those involved in policy formulation in national government should monitor the implementation by local governments of the policies. So, capacity building by the government to make sure leaders are ready for their economic development task is important, as Ayittey (2005) argues that the power to let economic development take off is with the African leaders.

What is happening in South Africa now and affecting the people at Airport Valley is due to happen when an economy is in the transitional stages of economic development. The economy of the country is divided into two, the first and the second economy. People at Airport Valley surely do not belong to the first but to the lower levels of the second economy. Until these two economies are integrated, the South African economy might not be able to move beyond this Take off stage, as Rostow’s next economic development stage needs an integrated economy. So, without improving the economic development of communities like the one at Airport Valley, the country might be stuck in this present stage. Hence capable leaders to drive economic development are necessary.

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34 6% sustainable growth (Robinson, 2006).
35 Drive to maturity
The government needs to make sure at this stage that the filtering down of growth happens fast. South Africa chose a pro-poor growth path to economic development (Padayachee, 2006), this path has to be monitored to make sure the poor, for whom the RDP and GEAR\textsuperscript{36} were adopted, are freed from poverty.

With formal unemployment between 33% and 40% in the country (Venter and Landsberg, 2006), the inequality gap might take time to be closed. Yet, employment provides people with capability to free them from poverty, even if it is in the informal sector. Most people at Airport Valley are in the informal sector as they work as domestic workers, clean streets and beaches, and sell fruit and vegetables on the streets. Nogenga (2007:12) believes that “[those] in informal sector in South Africa tend to remain in poverty while still being in employment, since the informal sector consists of survivalist activities. Thus, the government job creation in this case does not relieve the poor from poverty and this job creation might not close the inequality gap and therefore not help to integrate the country’s economy. Meanwhile the economy has to integrate before it pulls out of the initial stages of development. This means that, the trickle down of growth is taking time to reach poor communities such as those in Airport Valley. Maybe if the government could make sure that the people in this area are organized into cooperatives and given skills to manufacture easy products like toilet papers, nappies and even bake bread to be sold at schools, poverty might be reduced and the integration of the present dual economy might happen quickly.

Many people at Airport Valley including government officials interviewed complained about crime. It is clear that people here do not feel safe, and yet in this democratic country it is their right to live in a safe place. Thus, the government has to provide them with safety and security. Crime might be one of the obstacles that impedes the economic growth which is required for economic development. If the government could make sure the housing project goes on and that almost every deserving household at last is accommodated into a house with electricity and water, crime might go down and higher growth attained so that filtering down of the growth could

\textsuperscript{36} Economic development strategies.
be easy. Maybe the reason for this lack of or slow filtering of the growth down to the poor communities is because of insufficient achievement of growth.

The only time when people feel the trickle down of the growth is when they receive social security grants. Buhlungu et al. (2006:30) assumes that “[one] of the most successful redistributive measures taken by the state has been the expansion of state grants and, in particular (CSG)”. They believe that between “2000 and 2004 there was a more than tenfold increase in the total number of people who receive this modest grant (R170) per month per child”. At Airport Valley this has also been obvious as many households have the social grants as the only source of income. If all those getting grants could also contribute a service to the government, maybe the money used for grants would find a way to grow again. At the moment funds given for grants do not grow but instead they are a burden to the economic growth.

5.3 Conclusion:

During the transition in 1994 the main goal of the democratic government was to reduce poverty in previously poor groups and close the inequality gap by amongst other this creating jobs for the unemployed. To do this the government adopted the RDP and GEAR for economic development. Without doubt the government has been successful in some aspects of poverty reduction. For example, the reduction of poverty through social security grants has temporarily relieved many people from poverty as some households have at least a monthly income from the government. Nogenga (2007) too agrees that “South Africa has made remarkable strides towards reducing poverty and hunger. It has put in place programmes and initiatives aimed at ensuring that every South African has a decent living standard and economic security”. Even some households at Airport Valley seem to find relief from the social security grant by the government.

The government has at last after a struggle by Airport Valley people fulfilled its promise of prioritising public interest in land redistribution\(^\text{37}\), as the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality has bought the land which was previously earmarked for

\(^{37}\) As suggested in The Bill of Rights Section (13).
business. If this land will now be developed for Airport Valley, there is hope that houses will soon be built for the people.

Many Airport Valley households complained of poor services in the clinics and the government’s answer is to build yet another clinic this time with modern equipment close to this community. It means the government is trying to improve the primary health care system for this community too as promised in the RDP. Yet, the problem according to the households at Airport Valley was not equipment or shortage of clinics but understaffed clinics. The modern clinic could be provided to the community, if the government does not recruit more people to the medical profession, people will experience the same predicament.

However, a lot needs to be done for the Airport Valley community as it seemed to have been forgotten by the government for a long time when it comes to benefits from RDP and the growth obtained from GEAR. If the only services provided to the people at Airport Valley for all these past twelve years, as the government officials have reported are refuse and buckets from toilets collection and cleaning, it means there is lack of commitment to RDP for this poor community.

As the informal settlement is growing from fast urbanisation and population increase which results to growth of family members in households, this is also an indication that more people feel vulnerable and are shocked into deeper poverty. What contributes to these problems (e.g. fast urbanisation) is unemployment. Poverty cannot be reduced if jobs are not created for people to earn income and be independent of the social security grants from the government. The rate of unemployment at Airport Valley reflects unemployment nationally. One of the reasons for unemployment here is lack of education as indicated by the graphs on page 38 and 39 of this study. As Martinussen (1997) believes that the vicious circle of economic poverty starts with lack of education that leads to low productivity, followed by low income, little purchasing power, malnourishment, poor housing standard and poor health. So, the end result of economic poverty could be poor

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38 From the report by ward one committee member interviewed.
health. Before Airport Valley becomes a breeding place for diseases, the
government has to speed up economic development of this area.

The people at Airport Valley are at the moment suffering from both economic and political poverty. They are suffering economic poverty because of the economic conditions under which they live. For example, they do not have houses they live in shacks, there is no running water except communal taps most of which are not working, there is no electricity in their area except five flood lights of which only one is working, no proper sanitation, people are unemployed, there is no infrastructure what so ever, roads not built, no community facilities except those at Walmer, which are over used as they have to accommodate the increasing population in this area. In addition to all this economic poverty, there is political poverty as people are not well informed about what is to happen to them in future. So the poor understanding of available options, the unorganized municipal office in this area, together with political passiveness of the Airport Valley community, social differentiation and conflicts of interest (that have been caused by claims on land) and no access to decision making of this community constitute political poverty according to Martinussen (1997).

So, if the entire services above are outstanding for Airport Valley, it means there has been lack of commitment by the RDP for this community. The people are still living in the same conditions as before 1994 in this area. In addition, if all these services are not yet provided to the Airport Valley community, it means the economic growth achieved in the country is not fairly redistributed to also reach this poor community. Thus, the trickle down of wealth attained does not work for this area. It goes back to what Venter and Landsberg (2006) suggest that growth does not necessarily mean economic development. In other words, growth could mean economic development when it is used for it.

The people at Airport Valley experienced poverty which was racially skewed and under the present government they still experience poverty, hence Bond (2005:308) believes it is “from racial to class apartheid” in South Africa, as few elite’s status is

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39 For Airport Valley.
raised higher while some poor people’s living conditions are becoming worse. That means the inequality gap is widening. Development according to Rostow also means raising the poor people’s standard of living. Although there are now plans to improve the conditions for this community, the Airport Valley people’s living standard has not been raised as according to the promise in the RDP since 1994. Also no jobs have been created for the unemployed in this area. Thus the people are still poor and inequality still exists.
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Good morning / Afternoon. Kindly take part in this economic development and poverty reduction survey by Thoko Batyi a lecturer and a student at NMMU and Khuselwa Yona her assistant. To fulfil the requirements of this study, your household has been randomly selected to be included in the survey. The questionnaire will take about 15 minutes to answer and your answers will be confidential. Thoko or Khuselwa will help you with the questionnaire if necessary.

Thank you.

**Fill in this information first:**
*Fakela impendulo apha kuqala:*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Number of people living in this household</th>
<th>2. Number of children living in this household</th>
<th>3. Gender of the head of this household</th>
<th>4. Age of the head of this household</th>
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<tr>
<td>5. Marital status of the head of this household</td>
<td>6. Employment status of the head of this household</td>
<td>7. Income level of the head of this household</td>
<td>8. How many people are employed in this household?</td>
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<td>8. Gross monthly income in this household</td>
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<td>9. Number of school going children in this household?</td>
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<td>10. Highest level of education of the head of this household</td>
<td>11. Levels of education of the other members of this household (list from the oldest to the youngest)</td>
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<th>Gender</th>
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<tr>
<td>12. how long have you been living in this area?</td>
<td>13. type of dwelling</td>
<td>14. Water available in this dwelling?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Shack</td>
<td>RDP</td>
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<td>15. electricity available in this dwelling?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<th>16. Sanitary facilities</th>
<th>17. Number of rooms in this house</th>
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<tr>
<td>Flushing toilets</td>
<td>Bucket system</td>
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**PART TWO:**

*ISIGABA SESIBINI:*

Please answer the following questions honestly:

*Nceda phendula le mibuzo ilandelayo ngokunyanisekileyo:*

1. **Which services/goods do you need most in your life since 1994 and why?**
   *Yintoni oyinqwenela ngamandla ebomini bakho ukususela ngo 1994, ngoba?*

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2. **Can you access the services/goods you have mentioned above? If no, Why not?**
   *Unakho ukuyifumana le nto ingentla, ukuba akunakho, nika isizathu.*

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3. List ten of your most important needs in order of priority.
Dwelisa izinto zibelishumi ozinqwenela ngamandla

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<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>3.10</td>
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PART THREE:
ISIGABA SESITHATHU:

KEY: (ISIKHOKELO)
1. Totally disagree (Andivumelani kwaphela)
2. Disagree (Andivumelani)
3. No Answer (Andinampendulo)
4. Agree (Ndiyavuma)
5. Totally Agree (Ndívuma ngokupheleleleyo)

✓ Tick the box with the answer of your choice in the following:
(Bonisa impendulo yakho ngolu phawu)

(a) Our children are capable of accessing education since it is free.
(Abantwana bethu bayakwazi ukuyifumana imfundo kuba ayihlawulelwana)

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(b) The government’s delivery of services to reduce poverty is satisfactory
(URulumente ubanikile abantu umhlaba ukunciphisa ubuhlwempu)

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(c) The government is delivering in its land redistribution programme in order
to reduce poverty. (URulumente ubanikile abantu umhlaba ukunciphisa ubuhlwempu)

(d) Travelling to and from work is easy (fieldworker to probe and take additional notes)
(Ukuya nokubuya emsebenzini kulula ngoba ziyafumaneka izinto ezikhwelwayo yaye azibizi kango)

(e) Life is comfortable since we have electricity in our homes.
(Ubomi bulula ebusika kuba sinombane)

(f) Social security grant is a good strategy to alleviate poverty
(Besizakusokola ngakumi xa besingekho isibonelelo sikaRulumente)

(g) We can still survive here at home even if the bread winner becomes unemployed.
Singaqhubeka ngobomi nokuba umngenisi mali kweli khaya angayeka Ukusebenza

(h) As black South African citizens and residents of Airport Valley we feel equal to other racial groups in the country (e.g. whites, Indians and coloureds).
Njengabemi abamnyama beloMzantsi Afrika, nabahlali base Airport Valley, siziva silingana namanye amaqela kweli lizwe lethu

(i) Getting a loan from the commercial bank is easy for me (fieldworker to probe and take additional notes)
(Kulula kum ukufumana imali –mboleko ebhankeni kuba ndinotyalo-mali Endalenzayo)

(j) Medical facilities are easily accessible in this area (fieldworker to probe and take additional notes)
Kulula ukuzuza unyango xa sigula kuba iindawo zonyango zikufuphi
PART FOUR:

ISIGABA SESINE:

Write any concerns that you have about the environment you live in and or service delivery at Airport Valley since 1994:


PART FOUR

Please indicate which of the following, if any, are presently available in your household

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Insurance policies</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Funeral policies</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Hot running water</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Fridge</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. VCR</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Vacuum cleaner</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. A washing machine</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. A computer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. An electric stove</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. TV sets</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. A tumble dryer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. A Telkom home telephone</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Hi-Fi or music centre</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Built in kitchen sink</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>15. Home security services</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. A deep freezer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>17. M-Net and/or DStv</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>18. A dishwasher</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>19. A sewing machine</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>20. DVD player</td>
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<td>0</td>
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APPENDIX 2.

QUESTIONS ABOUT AIRPORT VALLEY: FOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

(To be answered verbally or in writing)

1) What have you been doing as the local government to reduce poverty at Airport Valley?

2) Is service delivery happening in this area? Give me examples of projects that constitute service delivery at Airport Valley.
3) What support or obstacles do you encounter when delivering services in the area?

4) Who owns the land in which Airport Valley is situated? Can it be developed for people to live in it? What else can you tell me about this land?

5) What do you think the Airport Valley people need most?
6) What are your strengths and or weaknesses in economically developing this area?

7) Are there community facilities in this area (e.g. schools, clinics, sports field / centre) if not are they in the local government’s plans?
8) What are your concerns as a government official about Airport Valley?

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9) Where do you think resources to develop Airport Valley could be found?

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10) Give me any information about this area and housing.

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